



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE RCIT

ONE WORLD - ONE STRUGGLE - ONE REVOLUTION



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*Revolutionary Communism* is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Turkey, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria. In addition the RCIT has fraternal relations with the *International Revolutionary Workers* (Zimbabwe).

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## The RCIT holds its First World Congress

*Report from the International Secretariat of the RCIT, 03.11.2016*

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) is proud to announce that it held its first World Congress on the weekend 29/30 October 2016. The delegates represented their sections and activists from the following countries Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Israel/Occupied Palestine, Turkey, Yemen, Tunisia, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany and Austria, thus truly an internationalist organization.

The key component of the congress was the discussion, amendment and adoption of a new Manifesto to aid the class struggle internationally. Our document constitutes a reconfirmation, continuation and actualization of the RCIT's Program (*The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto*), published in 2012, while taking into account the important lessons and experiences of the world class struggle during the last four years.

Furthermore, our delegates discussed, amended and adopted a document on Women's Liberation and another on the organizational perspectives of the RCIT for 2017. As part of our perspectives, our delegates approved the proposal of the outgoing *International Executive Committee*

to organize a longer and extensive second World Congress in late 2017.

Our congress was also proud to officially admit *Sınıf Savaşı* (formerly named *Dördüncü Blok*) as the new section of the RCIT in Turkey. In addition, our delegates also confirmed the statutes which had been elaborated and provisionally adopted by the outgoing *International Executive Committee*. We concluded our congress with the election a new *International Executive Committee* which, in its first meeting at the end of the Congress, elected a new *International Secretariat*.

The RCIT's First World Congress concluded a very successful period of political and organizational progress of our international organization. From only having a handful of cadres in 2011 in one country, we have witnessed how a consistent effort over the past five years can develop a democratic-centralist organization that has sections and activists in 13 countries in all continents today! We have every reason to look with full optimism to the coming period in which we are sure our Tendency will aid the construction of a new *Revolutionary World Party* together with other comrades!



Activists of the Austrian Section of the RCIT in March 2016

## Yemen: Condemn the Massacre in Sana'a!

### Down with the Al-Saud Gang of Aggressors!

*Statement by the International Secretariat of the RCIT and the RCIT Yemen, 11.10.2016*

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) sharply condemns the massacre in Yemen's capital city Sana'a, purportedly perpetrated by the Saudi-led coalition of aggressors against the Yemeni people. According to health officials, at least 140 people have been killed and 525 wounded. We send our sincerest condolences to the families of the martyrs.

The Saudi aggressors attacked a hall in which many people had gathered for the funeral of the father of the interior minister of the Houthis-led government. Despite halfhearted denials, there is no doubt that the culprits for this massacre are the rulers in Riyadh, the other Gulf States and Cairo, as well as their imperialist backers.

This massacre demonstrates once again the thoroughly reactionary character of the Saudi-led war of aggression against the Yemeni people. This aggression is being led by the corrupt and reactionary Saudi monarchy of King Salman and is supported by the bloody military dictatorship in Egypt of General al-Sisi as well as by US and EU imperialism. Its sole purpose is to restore the puppet government of al-Hadi and to liquidate the, albeit limited, democratic and social victories achieved since the popular uprising started in Yemen in the autumn of 2014.

We wholeheartedly support the *military* struggle of the heroic resistance of the Yemeni people against the Saudi-led aggression, while refraining from giving any *political* support to its leading force, the Houthis, whom we consider to be a petty-bourgeois Islamist force.

We see the resistance of the Yemeni people as part of the ongoing Arab Revolution along with the heroic struggle of the Syrian people in its revolution against the tyrant Assad, the resistance of the Egyptian people against General al-Sisi, the steadfast Palestinian people, as well as many other examples.

The RCIT sends its greetings to all Yemeni revolutionaries who are participating in the difficult task of national liberation while at the same time combining this effort with the struggle for a socialist program.

*For a single Intifada of the workers and peasants – from Sana'a, Aleppo, Tripoli and Cairo to Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine!*

*International Secretariat of the RCIT*

For the RCIT's analysis of the Yemeni Revolution we refer readers to:

RCIT: Greetings to the Yemeni 'Socialists against Aggression', 15 July 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/greetings-to-yemeni-socialists/>

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

RCIT: Yemen: The al-Hadi Puppet Government Calls for an Imperialist Invasion! Victory to Yemen! Defeat the Al-Saud Gang of Aggressors! 8.5.2015, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 36, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/assault-on-yemen/>

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

RCIT: Defend Yemen against the Al-Saud Gang of Aggressors! No to Sectarian Divisions and Civil War! For a Workers' and Popular Government! Joint Statement of the International Secretariat of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) and the RCIT Yemen, 3.4.2015, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 34, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/saudi-aggression-vs-yemen/](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/saudi-aggression-vs-yemen/)

Mohammed Al Wazeer: Yemen Under Attack, RCIT Yemen, 15.4.2015, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/yemen-under-attack](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/yemen-under-attack)

RCIT: Yemen: Down with the Price Hikes! For a "Second Revolution" to Establish a Workers and Fallahin Government! 3.9.2014, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 27, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/yemen-uprising/>

Yemen: The Mass Protests continue, Report from a Yemeni Supporter of the RCIT, 4.9.2014, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 27, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/yemen-report-4-9-2014/>

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# TEK YOL DEVRİM!

## Action Program for Turkey

By *Sınıf Savaşı* (Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency in Turkey), October 2016

### Introduction

**I** When we closely examine our world, we see the same problems everywhere. Millions work till their backs break, while a relatively few benefit from their labor. Working families are not able to pay back their debts, while the banks get richer and richer every day. Wars destroy hundred of thousands of lives, while those who sell the weapons turn blood into money. The wealth of the poorer countries continually decreases, while the great powers get richer and more powerful. Democratic rights are taken away from the masses of the people, while the powerful who own the media control the government and are in the bed with the generals. Vast landscapes get undergo the effects of droughts and global warming, while the rich water their golf-courses.

This madness is not our fate, it is man-made. And like every other problem that is made by people, it can be changed by people. In the last decade we have witnessed more than ever that the evil in the world is increasing and it will continue to increase if it is not stopped by the masses of the poor and working people.

*Sınıf Savaşı*, together with its comrades of the RCIT, is fighting to change the system in which we are living into a system that serves the people. Today we all live under one or another version of capitalism, regardless of the specific color it might paint itself. It doesn't matter if it wears the mask of "democracy," secularism, Islamism or even "social democracy." As long as the masses of the people are not really in power and as long as the economy is not in the hands of the workers, nothing really changes. Capitalism divides our society into classes. On the one side are the capitalists, the owners of the banks, the big corporations and the media – on the other side is the working class, which doesn't have any ownership of the places in which it works but which is creating nearly all the wealth. The classes in between, the peasantry and the middle class (doctors, lawyers, small shop owners, engineers, etc.) are increasingly eroded and become part of the working class and the huge and growing mass of unemployed and poor. Because of its ability to shut down the economy, because of its centralization both in the cities and in the factories and workplaces, and because they don't have a field or shop they need to be worried about, the working class is the only class that can be revolutionary.

We are fighting for the overthrow of this system which gives us, the workers and poor, no future worth living. We want to build a system in which those who actually do the work and create the world's wealth rule, and not those who enrich themselves like parasites exploiting the labor of others. The system we are fighting for is socialism. It will combine all achievements of mankind, and will organize the economy in the interest of the workers and poor and a maximum democratic rights for the oppressed. But socialism will not come about spontaneously. It will not fall into our hands like a ripe apple from a tree; it must

be taken! Like every other progress made in the history of mankind, it is not given by the powerful, but it must be fought for by the oppressed! To achieve such a system we need to build an organization that is able to lead the working class to power. Such an organization must understand the contradictory development of our society and the various political forces characterizing it. This organization must be able to develop the right tactics for revolutionaries in every situation and forge a revolutionary party for the struggles ahead. Such an organization will be a force that can withstand every form of repression; that will emerge from the ranks of our class, and that will have a close relationship with the popular masses. *Sınıf Savaşı* is dedicated to build such a party.

### I. Turkey in the World

We define Turkey as a capitalist country. Its bourgeoisie tries to play the role of a regional power, but its room for maneuvering is limited by the Great Powers – the US, EU, Russia and China – which play a dominant role in the Middle East.

The Turkish ruling class wants to become an accepted regional power, but this project seems more and more improbable given the increasing instability of our region and the whole world. But even if it would be realistic, the workers and oppressed have nothing to gain from such a project with is based on their exploitation and the plundering of smaller nations.

This maneuvering of the ruling class, the efforts of the AKP to establish a dictatorial police state and the instable situation in the neighboring countries will also significantly increase the instability in our country. These developments open big opportunities for revolutionaries, but also for the enemies of the people. The workers and oppressed must fight for a revolution which achieves complete independence from the imperialist great powers. We cannot support or side with one imperialist camp against another. We fight for the complete liberation of all people in the region from foreign domination and oppression. We stand with the famous words of Friedrich Engels who wrote: "A nation cannot be free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations."



## II. Down with the Capitalists Parties!

The capitalist class is not a completely homogeneous one. It has various wings and political factions whose disagreements with one another are mostly about how they can best exploit the workers. The capitalist parties extend from the most liberal wing, who believes that allowing limited democratic liberties is the best way to pacify the class struggle, down to its open terrorist-fascist wing who just wants to break the will of the people by force. Revolutionaries need to explain the differences between the various factions of the capitalists not because we have sympathy for any one of them, but because we can use the conflicts between them in the interest of the workers, and because doing so we will better understand in which direction the state is heading.

### The AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) – Justice and Development Party

The AKP is not an ordinary capitalist party. It is trying to perform a balancing act between various forces and political aims. The AKP is mistrusted by the central groups of Turkish capitalists as well as by US and EU imperialism. This mistrust of the imperialists doesn't mean that the AKP is playing a progressive role. Rather, they are mistrusted by these powers because they have certain popular support among the population due their persecution in the past by the hated Turkish military, which served as a submissive instrument of NATO imperialism for decades. The AKP utilizes moderately anti-imperialist rhetoric (while at the same time supporting the great imperialist powers and their plans), and they are associated with Turkey's economic growth in the first decade of the new millennium. We characterize the AKP as a bourgeois-Islamist, reactionary-populist, bonapartist party. Although the AKP has substantial support among the popular masses – particularly with the rural and urban poor – their policy is arch-reactionary. The main aim of Erdoğan

is to establish a bonapartist police state. This means that he presents himself to the ruling class as a “savior of the nation,” allowing him to dictatorially balance between the fighting classes and political factions. He also wants to achieve the same on an international level, establishing Turkey as a relative independent regional power balancing between the different imperialist states (the US, EU, Russia and Israel), as well as the regional powers, Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Erdoğan's pretensions are the main reason for the hostility towards the AKP government by western imperialism and sectors of the NATO generals in the Turkish army. *Smif Savaş* defends the AKP government against assaults of the great imperialist powers and the collaborating Turkish generals as we did during the failed military coup that take place during the night between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of July 2016. We will fight in the streets alongside the AKP supporters against the military if they try to assault the masses once again. However, at no time have we or will we give any *political* support to the reactionary policy of the AKP. It is a central task of revolutionaries to break workers and poor away from the political influence of the AKP. Therefore, we must make social and democratic demands on the AKP in order to drive a wedge between the bourgeois leadership of the party and the workers and poor in the AKP rank and file.

Obviously, we must criticize the policy of the AKP, but without falling in line with the sectarian left which simply slanders the AKP as being “fascist.” The AKP and Erdoğan are not fascists. We don't deny this label out of any political sympathy with them, but because it is ultimately most important to understand our political enemies instead of unjustifiably using the most radical political terms to simply slander them. Fascism is a specific political movement which aims to physically eradicate the vanguard of the workers' movement and oppressed people, while at the same time destroying all democratic rights. Erdoğan wants to establish a presidential-dictatorial police state, but without building concentration camps.

## Order RCIT Document's in Arab Language



### The CHP and Kemalism

The CHP (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* – Republican People's Party) is the traditional party of the Turkish capitalists and the NATO generals. We revolutionaries have to launch a political struggle against the arch-reactionary ideology of Kemalism. As an ideology, Kemalism played an ambivalent role during the formation of the Turkish republic, only to eventually become an arch-reactionary one. During the early 1920s, Kemalism organized a bureaucratic-nationalist resistance against the great powers who sought to divide Turkey between them. The Soviet Union and revolutionaries supported this anti-imperialist resistance, along with all progressive reforms launched by Kemal Pasha. At the same time, revolutionaries maintained political independence and attempted to strengthen the forces of consistent anti-imperialism and revolution. During the 1920s, the reactionary side of Kemalism became more visible, manifesting itself in the brutal oppression of national minorities and the persecution of communists. Since then, Kemalism relinquished any opposition to the imperialist great powers and became a loyal watch dog for American imperialism in the region.

The CHP has its strongest support among Turkey's urban liberal middle class. In contrast to the AKP, the CHP has virtually no organic connections with the masses of the workers and the urban and rural poor. However, when the CHP is in the parliamentary opposition to the government, there is the chance that their supporters participate in legitimate democratic protest movements like the 2013 Gezi protests. In such cases, revolutionaries oppose forming any sort of political bloc with the CHP or

Kemalism. Nevertheless, we can still fight in the streets alongside ordinary supporters of the CHP for democratic rights. Revolutionaries defend the CHP against anti-democratic attacks from the AKP, while at the same time stating unequivocally that the CHP is *not* a party of democracy but one sympathetic to military rule.

We don't view the CHP's emphasis on secularism as in any way being progressive. Their secularism has been used as a pretext to humiliate sisters who wear a hijab. The secularism of revolutionaries is always directed against the rich and gives all religions the maximum of freedom, as long as any given religion is not attempting to undermine the freedom of other religions.

### The MHP (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*) – Nationalist Movement Party

The MHP is a fascist-front party. It represents the angry, reactionary middle class which thinks that Turkey's oppressed are responsible for their difficulties. Revolutionaries must fight this fascist-front party in the streets, making sure that they have no platform to spread their hatred. We must prepare the workers and oppressed to be able to defend themselves against the fascist gangs of the MHP.

In addition to supporting the AKP government in parliament, the MHP supports the Erdoğan regime in its bonapartist project by clearing the streets for them. In this way they seek to present themselves as a useful attack dog for whichever capitalist party is currently in power.



Comrades of *Sınıf Savaşı* (Section of the RCIT in Turkey) at a rally in solidarity with Refugees and the Syrian people

### III. For a Revolutionary Line – No to Reformism

The main reason the working class, and with it all oppressed and poor people, has not succeed in taking power until now is primarily because our class has been misled by non-revolutionary leaderships. If we want to make a revolution, we need to build a genuine revolutionary organization that understands the various non-revolutionary forces inside our class and their weaknesses.

#### The HDP (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi*) – Peoples' Democratic Party

The HDP represents an alliance of various political forces. It can be characterized as a reformist petty-bourgeois populist party. While it also has some Kurdish capitalists in its ranks, the dominant sector of HDP supporters are mostly workers and peasants. But the HDP is an openly reformist party. This means that they don't fight against capitalism and Turkish militarism in a revolutionary manner, nor do they understand that capitalism and militarism can only be ended by a successful socialist revolution which establishes the rule of the working class in alliance with the poor and oppressed.

While we are strongly critical of the reformist leadership and electoralism of the HDP, we recognize their support among various sectors of the masses; thus it is incumbent that revolutionaries put demands on the leadership of this party in an attempt to draw them into the class struggle and consistently fight for democratic rights, social justice, and the national liberation of the Kurdish people. Revolutionaries have to defend the HDP against every form of oppression from the state; and we have to defend them against the attacks of fascists and Islamists.

But at the same time, we need to politically fight against the party's pro-imperialist leadership and their willingness to let themselves be integrated into a popular front (i.e., a joint front of workers' organizations and a wing of the capitalist class, in which the workers organizations become subordinate to the capitalists). If the HDP considers or actually enters a government or forms a bloc with any capitalist party, revolutionaries call upon the HDP to break with such forces – and if strong enough – to take the power based upon mass mobilizations of the workers and oppressed, supported by popular militias. We revolutionaries are prepared to consider critical electoral support for the HDP, but this has to be decided in every concrete situation. Critical electoral support means that we call to vote for the party, but at the same time warn the masses about the treacherous role played by the leadership of a reformist or radical-populist party in the class struggle. We place demands on its leadership designed to push the party to the left. We say to the rank and file: *"Test your leaders in power, and you will see that revolution is the only way to liberation – but if you don't trust us yet, see for yourselves!"*

### PKK, Guerrillaism and Apoism

The PKK (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê* – Kurdistan Workers' Party) is a leftwing-nationalist, petty bourgeois-guerilla party. Revolutionaries in Turkey and Kurdistan support the right of national self-determination for the Kurdish people, including the right to have their own state. Now most of the brave fighters who give their blood and energy for this aim follow the Apoist leaders of the PKK, the PYD (*Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat* – Democratic Union Party), or the PJAK (*Partiya Jiyana Azad a Kurdistanê* – Kurdistan Free Life Party). As revolutionaries, we honor all those who gave their live for the liberation of the oppressed, no matter which party or ideology they followed. We respect the sacrifices of the uncounted ordinary Kurdish workers and peasants who are dedicating their live to struggle for the liberation of their people.

However, at the same time we have to oppose the erroneous tactics of the PKK as well as their capitulating reformist leadership. Until 2015, the leadership of the PKK was willing to surrender all weapons to the Turkish state in the framework of a totally rotten compromise. But these weapons are vital to protect the Kurdish people against the Turkish army of occupation and fascist forces. As Marxist revolutionaries we know that the working class plays the central role in society as well as in the struggle for liberation. For this reason, the struggle for liberation of all oppressed peoples must be based primarily in the cities, in the workplaces and neighborhoods, and *not* in the mountains, far away from the masses of the oppressed. If we want to liberate our class and the oppressed we need to build a new society ruled by democratically-elected workers' and popular councils in the workplaces, neighborhoods and villages. No party can be a substitute for the working class and its councils. We can achieve liberation only if our class, as a class, foments revolution and takes power.

Such a revolution cannot be isolated to Turkey, but must sooner or later spread to other countries and ultimately throughout the world. Socialism is a system based on the abundance of goods, not on shortages. The economy is only able to produce in abundance on a global scale; therefore trying to build a liberated society in a small part of the world, without energetically spreading it to other parts of the world is a dangerous illusion. We need to have a united struggle for liberation and take up the struggle against injustices committed against other oppressed peoples. National egoism is not revolutionary.

In addition, the leadership of PKK / PYD / PJAK is open to flirtations with imperialism. Not only have they not fired a single shot against the American invaders in Iraq, they have also offered to serve as tools for US-imperialism by destabilizing Iran. Today the PYD and YPG (*Yekîneyên Parastina Gel*® – People's Protection Units) are receiving strong support from US, EU, and Russian imperialism to fight against their various Islamist opponents in Syrian and Iraq. The PYD and YPG are also prepared to provide airfields to the Russian and US armies. With a strategy like this, they are not only incapable of winning any support among the Arab masses; they more and more transform themselves into the foot soldiers of imperialism. Revolutionaries must fight for liberation independent from all imperialist camps; which doesn't mean that

revolutionaries should not take weapons from the imperialists if there are no political conditions attached.

However, despite their shortcomings, revolutionaries must defend the PKK / PYD / PJAK against all reactionary attacks. It matters not if such attacks come from state police, the army, fascists or Islamists. We place demands on the leadership of the PKK, while at the same time advocating the formation of an authentic revolutionary party in Kurdistan. But revolutionaries will nonetheless fight in the streets and on the barricades alongside fighters of the PKK and will try to form united fronts with them, especially in the workplaces and neighborhoods.

### Individual Terrorism

We oppose individual terrorism as an impotent and counterproductive tactic in the liberation struggle. Not only do we oppose this tactic, but unequivocally condemn it if it is directed against innocent civilians and not against the repression apparatus (army, police, high officials, etc.). Individual terrorism as exercised by the nationalist TAK or the Stalinists DHKP-C isolates revolutionaries from the masses of the people. We need to fight against the state and their oppression, but this has to be done with means that are understood by at least the vanguard of the workers and oppressed. We have to make sure that our actions (not our political positions) don't serve to isolate us from our class.

### Stalinism

Stalinism is a special form of reformism historically tied to the fate of the existing (degenerated) workers' states. In the 1917 October Revolution, the workers and peasants in Russia took power into their own hands and fomented the first successful socialist revolution in world history. But because the revolution stayed isolated to Russia and was only able to conquer the workers-fortress in an economically-backward country, a workers' democracy was not able to prevail. A privileged bureaucracy with its basis in the state and party apparatus eventually came to power, the highest personification of which was Stalin. Stalin erected a dictatorship over the workers and peasants and changed the revolutionary principles of communism in a way that was more compatible with the policy of the bureaucracy. One defeat for the working class after another paved the way for the perversion of the communist policy. The Bolshevik strategy for world revolution was replaced by the Stalin's doctrine of "socialism in one country," the strategy for the power of the workers and peasants in poor countries was replaced with the strategy of the national-democratic stage of the revolution, and workers' democracy was transformed to Stalinist one-party-rule. Tens of thousands of the best revolutionaries were murdered by Stalinists who strove to wipe out any revolutionary opposition to them.

Revolutionary Communists oppose the various shadings of Stalinism. All and any of them are in the end unable to overthrow capitalism and establish the rule of the working class. "At best," they were able to abolish capitalism under extraordinary circumstances (huge pressure from the left by the masses; assistance by a degenerated workers' state; massive threats from imperialism), but combined this

accomplishment with a bureaucratic police state. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratic re-establishment of capitalism in China, it is precluded that any Stalinist party will be able to stand up against the ruling class and imperialism and found a workers' state (to say nothing about a revolutionary-democratic workers' state).

Only the principles of Revolutionary Communism which are linked to the legacy of Lenin and Trotsky are able to generate a consistently revolutionary party. Such a party will try to build a council-based democracy in which the workers and poor can exercise their power. While Stalinists are open to forming "popular fronts" with a sector of the capitalist class, the experience of popular fronts, wherever they were built and for whatever reasons, has demonstrated that they are only an excuse to hold back the revolutionary workers. Fighting for socialism is not possible if we subordinate the working class time to the bourgeoisie or a faction of this class.

Like Lenin and Trotsky, we as revolutionary communists do not fight for a "democratic," "new democratic," or "national democratic" stage of the revolution. Our class can only consistently solve the revolution's various democratic and national tasks if the working class is allied with the poor peasants and the urban poor in the taking of power. Fighting for a stage of the revolution which preserves capitalism and allows the capitalists to stay in power is just buying time for them, and is not merely a betrayal of the socialism but also of the national and democratic aspects of the revolution. From the example of South Africa, we see that all capitalism can give the workers if they limit themselves to overthrowing a government without taking power with their councils is a sheet of paper claiming their rights. "Democratic" capitalism was not able to change the social inequality resulting from Apartheid; it was not able to stop the plundering of the mines by multinational companies; it was unwilling to perform a radical land reform; and it could not give the masses far reaching democratic rights. Only the rule of the working class can assure this. This is the logic behind the concept of Permanent Revolution. We will begin by conquering state power, ensuring that democratic issues and national liberation are consistently addressed, while at the same time establishing a socialist economy.

### Centrism

By "centrist" we refer to all forces who vacillate between reformism and revolution. Only the building of a consistent revolutionary party can achieve the liberation of our class. History has shown that centrism tends – if it pressured by the masses – to the left, but its inability to take a consistent revolutionary stand is a deception of the masses. The task of revolutionary communists is to show the rank and file of centrist organizations, both in theory and practice, how we are different and why they should fight among our ranks.

## IV. A Program for Revolutionary Action

In our program, we lay out our proposals for revolutionary change in Turkey. This program attempts to provide concrete answers to those fighters who want to transform our society in the interest of the workers and oppressed. We start from the problems that we are facing today as workers in our society as well those we are facing as a people and even as a part of humanity in general. From these perspectives we point the road to a socialist future. A revolutionary action program is just a compass which should show the way to socialism; it is not a dogma, and has to be applied in a flexible but principled way.

### 1. Defend democratic rights

The central aspect of the political struggle of the workers and oppressed in Turkey today is the struggle for the defense of democratic rights and against the establishment of a dictatorial police state or a military dictatorship. Revolutionaries defend *every* democratic right which is in the interest of the masses of the people, no matter how small. We struggle for far-reaching democratic rights, while at the same time knowing that we can have real democracy – the democracy of the workers and oppressed – only if capitalism with its strong antidemocratic character is abolished. From this principled defense of all democratic rights we derive the following demands:

- For full basic democratic rights – free speech, freedom of protest and assembly and no state interference in what can or cannot be published!
- No to the state of emergency! End all laws that are aimed to fight “terrorism” and end all surveillance of the Turkish citizenry!
- Release all political prisoners!
- Disband the secret service and all special military and police units! For a popular committee under control of the workers’ and Kurdish movements to purge the military and the police of all officers (up to and including generals) who are willing to conspire against their own people. as well as all who have committed crimes against the popular masses (especially in the Kurdish areas)!
- Abolish the undemocratic office of the “President of the Republic”!
- For the election of judges and the transformation of the Turkish judiciary to one based on juries whose members are selected from among the working people!
- Give no democratic platform to the fascist-front MHP! For the establishment of popular self-defense groups directed against the fascist threat aimed at us; and for their defeat in the streets with broad antifascist mobilizations of workers’ organizations and the oppressed!
- Reverse the lifting of immunity of HDP deputies! End the undemocratic 10% parliamentary electoral threshold; a political party should be able to enter the parliament as soon as it garners enough votes to have one representative in the Grand National Assembly (i.e., all valid votes divided by 550)!
- For a revolutionary constituent assembly, based on popular committees and militias. Such a constituent assembly should adapt a constitution in the interest of the masses of the workers and poor!

### 2. For the Rights of the Workers!

As revolutionary workers, we fight for better living conditions for all workers and for strengthening the economic and political status of our class! Only if we have enough time to study and organize ourselves outside of work, will we be able to build a better future. As every product and all the wealth in our society is made by us, so we should also be able to decide how that wealth is used!

- For a living wage! For a minimum wage of 2,500 TL! For a 40 hour work week and 20 days annual paid vacation for all workers! For maximum rights in the workplace, especially workplace safety!
- For public health care, education and pension programs with maximal benefits for the poor and working people, financed by the rich and the foreign capitalists!
- For a public program to end unemployment, financed by the rich! Let’s build schools, public housing and roads and transfer workers to employment in social programs!
- Workers’ control over the central industries (the harbors, public transport, factories, mines, etc.)! Any workplace shut down by its bosses should continue to operate and be run by the workers! Cancel all debts!
- Nationalize all multinational companies under workers’ control! Land that is owned by such companies should be distributed among the poor peasants!
- Combine all banks into a central national bank, under the control of the employees!
- Expropriate the wealth of all those who hide their money in tax havens! Expropriate the super-rich, this means all those who have more than 20 Million TL!
- Cancel all debts! We will not continue to pay millions to the financial sharks!

### 3. For Militant, Democratic Trade Unions!

The trade unions are one of the central tools by means of which workers can fight for a better future. But the trade unions are fragmented and bureaucratically organized. The trade union leaders have lost contact with ordinary workers; they are more interested in having a good relationship with the state than improving the living conditions of their rank and file. Revolutionaries fight for the unification of all trade unions into a central trade union and forming a revolutionary faction within this unified trade union. We want trade unions that fight for every small economic and political demand of the workers, but at the same time organize and train them for a socialist future. Unions should not casually play with the slogan calling for a general strike, as the leadership of DİSK does. We openly advocate the necessity of a general strike whenever this is the case. But concretely agitating for a general strike on a specific date makes sense only if sectors of the working class are prepared to follow it. If this is not the case, and the masses of the working class will not follow our call, threatening a general strike which will not materialized does not change the class balance in our favor, but rather weakens the explosive character of the tactic of a general strike.

- Every trade union official should have a salary not higher than that of an ordinary worker!
- For an initiative to organize workers in small workplaces, as well as young, female and Kurdish workers!

- For rank and file committees of the trade union in every workplace who meet regularly and can elect representatives!
- For trade unions which are independent of the state and the bosses! Change the existing bureaucratic leadership to ordinary workers who have the trust of their colleagues and who have proved their skills in the day to day class struggle!

#### 4. Freedom for all Peoples!

A central issue in Turkey's political situation is the ongoing rebellion of the Kurdish workers and peasants against the oppression of the Turkish state, fascist forces and capitalists. Revolutionaries in Kurdistan and in Turkey stand without any reservations for the liberation of the Kurdish people. But the way to achieve this liberation can only be within the context of an international struggle of all oppressed in this region, and not by Kurdish nationalism's flirting with imperialism. In addition, we stand for the liberation of all other oppressed national and religious minorities! Full national and democratic rights for Laz, Circassians, Arabs, Roma, Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Crimean Tartars! Equal religious rights for Alevites, Shias, Sufis, Christians and Jews! No to the "secular" discrimination of Muslims (the ban of the hijab in universities, schools and state offices)! Socialism and the practice of religion are in no way contradictory. When the working class takes power we will give full freedom of religion!

As revolutionaries we do not just recognize the genocide of the Armenian people in 1915. In fact revolutionaries at that time fought against it. As revolutionaries, we fight against all sectarian and nationalist violence! But oppose the exploitation of the Armenian genocide by the various Western imperialisms for their respective agendas. German imperialism a century ago was strongly complicit in this mass murder. Now the German parliament has recognized the Armenian genocide (to put pressure on Turkey), but keeps their mouth shut about the genocide of the Herero and Namaqua people by German imperialism. We and the German revolutionaries fight against such hypocrisy!

- Stop state terrorism against our Kurdish brothers and sisters! The Turkish army, police and secret service must leave the Kurdish areas immediately!
- For local self-governing and regional autonomy for all national minorities!
- Defend our Kurdish brothers and sisters against attacks and repression!
- All languages that are spoken in a region should be languages of instruction in schools and universities. For bi-lingual education in areas with national minorities!
- Full national rights for all peoples! No limitations on national celebrations and traditions as long as they don't limit the freedom of other nationalities!
- Full freedom for all religions! No limitations to a specific religion to practice their faith! However, for the complete separation of state and religion, and no spending of public funds for a particular religion!
- For a referendum in the Kurdish areas! This referendum should ask the people if they want their own state, to remain inside Turkey, or if they want national autonomy. We demand such a freely held referendum to stop the bloodshed.
- For a free and united Kurdistan in which power is in the hands of the workers and peasants!

- Solidarity with all peoples in Turkey and throughout the entire region! For a voluntary federation of socialist republics of the Middle East! Only by such a federation we can overcome the oppression of the different peoples!

#### 5. Equal rights for women and young people!

Both women and young people are super-exploited sectors of our class! Women suffer from systematic oppression which is nearly as old as mankind. As such, they play an important role in the liberation struggle! Revolutionaries must ensure that justice is served in particular to women as women! But we also have to fight against the persecution of homosexuals and sexual minorities! There is no place for gender-based discrimination in the ranks of the revolution!

- Equal wages for equal work!
- For a revolutionary education reform! Free education for all children! For a campaign to open the university to the children of the working class!
- Build public, non-religious kindergartens and daycare centers to make it possible for women with children to work and study if they want.
- No to violence against women! For publicly funded women's shelter, run by the women themselves!
- For free birth-control, available at hospitals, doctors' offices and drugstores for all citizens!
- Abortion is the choice of the woman! End all limitations (e.g., consent of the father, the women's parents or the need to justify such a procedure) to the possibility of have an abortion. For safe public abortions!
- Equal rights for homosexuals, no to violence and discrimination against them!

#### 6. For the rights of the poor peasants and all poor people!

The working class fights for all oppressed and poor! The poor peasants, urban poor and the owners of small shops are the allies of the working class which will benefit from the revolution! It is our task – while building a revolutionary party based on the working class – to rally all poor and oppressed layers of the people around our program!

- For the construction of public housing for the homeless and those who live in poor conditions!
- For cheap loans offered by the state to peasants and small shop owners!



Cover of the Action Program in Turkish Language

- For the distribution of the land of big landowners among poor peasants; for a radical land reform organized by peasant committees!

- For the allocation of water for agriculture in a just and democratic manner, under the supervision of peasant committees!

### 7. For international solidarity, down with imperialism!

Our class, the working class is an international class; it is not divided by borders. All workers have the same interest to defeat imperialism and capitalism worldwide! International solidarity is for us not just a catchphrase, but the essential principle of our political work. The arch enemies of the oppressed masses throughout the world are the ruling classes of the imperialist countries and their servants in the semi-colonial nations. The struggle to defeat imperialism and the struggle for the rule of the workers and oppressed cannot be divided. Each one is necessary for the success of the other. A victory against an imperialist power in one country is a victory for the oppressed in every country!

In the last decade we have witnessed the rise of Russia and China as great imperialist powers. The reason for this is the relative decline of US imperialism. We stand for the revolutionary principle that the working class must not give any support to any imperialist power; no imperialist power or bloc is in any way less reactionary than the others. The task for the working class and all oppressed is to make our struggle independent of any imperialist power, whether in the West or the East!

- No to militarism! Turkey, get out of NATO! Kick out all foreign troops! Close all military bases which are used by US and EU imperialism!

- No to collaboration or support for any imperialist attack! For the immediate end of political, economic or military relationships with the apartheid State of Israel!

- No to joining the imperialist European Union!

- No to imperialist wars! Stop the intervention of US / EU / Russia in Syria and Iraq!

- Defend Rojava against Daesh, the Turkish army and imperialism!

- For a free Chechnya of the workers and poor!

- Solidarity with the Arab Revolution! Defend the Syrian Revolution against Assad and imperialism, but no support for the bourgeois or Islamist leadership! Victory to the Intifada in Palestine, smash the Zionist apartheid regime, but solidarity with Antizionist Jews! Defend Yemen against the Saudi aggression! Against General Sisi's military regime in Egypt; overthrow the kings and dictators in the Arab world! Down with sectarianism, the popular masses have to defeat Daesh!

- Victory to the workers and migrants in Europe! Let's stand shoulder to shoulder with the struggle of the Greek workers and poor against austerity! Down with racism against Muslim migrants and anti-Turkish chauvinism in Europe!

- Solidarity with the refugees fleeing hunger and war! Open the borders! Full equality for Turkish migrants in Europe! We will decide where we want to live and work – not the capitalist states!

### 8. The way to the revolution!

The only way to create a future worth living is to overthrow capitalism by means of a socialist revolution. A socialist revolution will grant all oppressed and poor layers of

society their rights; it will sweep away nationalist hatred and create real solidarity and freedom. Socialism will be based on maximum democratic rights and participation for the masses of the people and will not look like the conservative-dictatorial Stalinist states. But to achieve this we have to fight for it. The great powers, the ruling class, the military and the police will not stand by and watch while the masses transform society and crush their privileges. They will fight by all means available and therefore the extent of violence will depend on the organization, the arms and the determination of the oppressed, not on the mercy of the oppressors!

- For the forming of militias of the workers and oppressed! People serving in a militia will be elected to it by their neighbors; if they misbehave they will be recalled.

- No to individual terrorism or guerrillaism! A socialist revolution is an armed mass-uprising combined with a general strike and not isolated acts! There is no parliamentary road to socialism!

- For a workers' government based on councils (soviets) of the workers, the peasants, the urban poor and young people. Such councils will be built in the workplaces, villages and neighborhoods; they will be based on democratic mass meetings in which the oppressed regularly elect their representatives. No representative of the future workers' state will have any privileges above those of an ordinary worker! All representatives of the workers' state can be recalled at any time if they misrepresent their constituents or abuse their power.

- For a socialist federation of workers' and peasant republics in the Middle East and in Europe! Long live the world revolution!

### 9. Build a genuine revolutionary party!

Revolutions come and go, but successful revolutions are made! Not by a small circle of conspirators but by the politically conscious masses themselves. But the masses have to be educated and led; we need to build a force that is able to counter the lies of the capitalist press and the power of the guns of the army and the police. This force is the revolutionary world party!

We of *Sınıf Savaşı*, the section of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* in Turkey are dedicated to build such a party at home and around the world. This will not be done by discussion alone but by means of a united struggle with the masses of the oppressed and other revolutionaries. We will have to build our party during the struggle! We call upon all serious revolutionaries to study the lessons of the class struggle in recent years and to form their own conclusions! We need to struggle united for a genuine revolutionary line which rejects both opportunism and sectarianism!

A genuine revolutionary party is not a broad heterogeneous alliance like the HDP or SYRIZA but a force based on a clear and organic program. A revolutionary party will base itself on the broad masses of the working class and especially on their poorest and most oppressed sectors! Within it will have broad democratic discussions; towards the outside, it will demonstrate the iron discipline of its members.

Let's build a revolutionary world party! For the formation of a new revolutionary 5<sup>th</sup> International!

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

## South Africa: We condemn the use of the SANDF against #feesmustfall protestors!

*Statement of the Workers International Vanguard Party, 14.10.2016*

**W**e can confirm that a SANDF helicopter has been deployed at UFS since Wed 12th Oct. This has been acknowledged by the official spokesperson for UFS, Lasha Loader, who claimed that the police had called on them to assist. The presence of the SANDF helicopter has been independently confirmed by staff as well as students.

We condemn the deployment of the SANDF as an abuse of power by the political rulers of the country.

We cannot recall the SANDF being deployed against Anglo American and other monopolies who are known to have plundered most of the wealth from SA and the rest of Africa, without paying the required tax. UNCTAD reported in July this year that \$113bn of the gold (ie almost

all of it) since 2000, left the country unreported and thus untaxed. Here are the funds for free education for all as well as all other basic needs. Yet the arm of the state protects this. Even further, SANDF is deployed in DRC and other places across the continent at a rate of R50 000 per month per soldier, to protect business assets and plundering by these same monopolies and the ruling political class.

We call for the immediate removal of the SANDF from UFS and any other university where the head of armed forces may wish to deploy them. We call on off duty soldiers to march with the students and workers against the Chamber of Mines as well as to join up with the feesmustfall protests at the organs of political power.

### Interview with Michael Pröbsting on the Arab TV Station Al-Karamh

**B**elow is the link to an interview with Michael Pröbsting which was aired on the Arab TV station *Al-Karamh*. It was recorded during the conference against the imperialist occupation of Iraq in Beirut on 24/25 September 2016 (see our report as well as the speech of comrade Pröbsting at the conference here:

<http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/video-iraq-syria-palestine-solidarity/>)

The interview was conducted in German language and translated into Arabic. You can view the whole interview here: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J48j-ygK\\_EM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J48j-ygK_EM)

## New Book of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today.

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – MARXISM AND THE UNITED FRONT TACTIC TODAY. The book's subtitle is: The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today. On the Application of the Marxist United Front Tactic in Semi-Colonial and Imperialist Countries in the Present Period. It contains eight chapters plus an appendix (172 pages) and includes 9 tables and 5 figures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

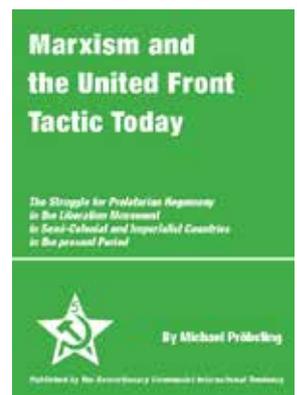
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

The united front tactic is a crucial instrument for revolutionaries under today's circumstances in which the mass organizations of the working class and the oppressed are dominated by social democratic, Stalinist and petty-bourgeois-populist forces.

The purpose of this document is both to summarize the main ideas of the Marxist united front tactic while at the same time explaining its development and modification which have become necessary due to political changes which have transpired in the

working class liberation movement since the tactic's original formulation.

In this book we initially summarize the main characteristics of the united front tactic and elaborate the approach of the Marxist classics to this issue. We then outline important social developments in the working class and the popular masses as well as in their political formations in recent decades. From there we will discuss how the united front tactic should be applied in light of a number of new developments (the rise of petty-bourgeois populist parties, the decline of the classic reformist parties, the role of national minorities and migrants in imperialist countries, etc.). The eight chapters of the book are accompanied by nine tables and five figures.



## Aotearoa / New Zealand: Maori Workers, their Past and immediate Future

*By Richard Stone, RCIT Aotearoa / New Zealand, 07.10.2016*

Since 2008, workers have had to endure the slow grinding gears of the capitalist machine churn them into grease for those very wheels of capital determined to keep captive the greatest organised power capable of building a new society and a new people free from the chains of imperialism.

While this war continues, the ruling classes are getting fatter and greedier from the blood and sweat of the worlds workers and peasants. Here in Aotearoa / New Zealand, Maori workers in particular are literally dying under the jackboot of the capitalist state. This brutal reality is rooted back to the 4th labour Government of the 1980's as it hand in hand with international capital opened Aotearoa / New Zealand up to the world economy. The Welfare state was declared an enemy once and for all. Protectionism was ripped away over night and workers were told by the government and trade union bureaucrats to pull their socks up and get "competitive".

Primary industries of which a large proportion of it's labour force were Maori were decimated. The generations of people who worked in forestry, in fisheries and farming, on the wharfs and in warehouses were chucked on the unemployment line as the bosses went about restructuring. Those once proud workers of Forest Products who eagerly read the status of the company shares in the New Zealand Herald, were now at home counting the coins to determine if they pay the rent or feed their kids.

### **Class Polarisation between the Maori**

In the 1990s Maori workers were spun the myth that Treaty/crown Settlements would enhance their lives. That their spiritual and material lives would be enhanced as the crown finally acknowledged the wrongs of the past. This clearly was nothing but a modern mythology. Large layers

of the Maori elites joined hands with the ruling classes and went about creating a "brown table". They held meetings (hui) around the country begging Maori workers to be patient. That a Maori business model needed to be created. And then to expect a trickle down and too finally enjoy some material advantages. Fast forward to 2016.

Workers haven't recovered to anywhere near where they were prior to the 1980s. Maori workers in particular still have knives in their backs and are falling further and further behind Pakeha (Maori word for non-Maori people) brothers and sister. Parents who once counted coins to either pay the rent or feed the kids, those kids have grown up and are now living with their families in cars because they don't have the choice of even choosing between rent or food.

Thankfully working class Maori are finally seeing what these Crown settlements really meant – the creation of a Maori bourgeoisie. For example, the Ngati Whatua ki Orakei – which settled with the government just four years ago for \$18 million - now has an asset base in excess of \$767 million, after earlier having \$500 million in land assets. Waikato - Tainui did a deal for \$170 million with the crown in 1995, now they have an asset base of \$1.1 billion. They can even boast ownership of New Zealand's largest shopping centre.

The Maori economy is doing well! Thank you very much. All estimates say it has a shared wealth of \$40 billion, with ironically its biggest investments in fishing, forestry and farming industries.

But what political leadership for Maori? The Maori party / National party coalition offered nothing for workers. The Maori fat cats continue to feast while more and more Maori workers have no choice but to live in the backseats of cars in garages or on the streets. The trickle down argument hasn't worked for them.

## New Zealand's Shame is International

*By Richard Stone, RCIT Aotearoa / New Zealand, 12.10.2016*

300,000 New Zealand kids are living below the poverty line according to a recent UN report. And what is the current Government doing about? Nothing! The Prime Minister John Key says the Government does not have one single measure to determine poverty. According to his logic, a working class family living in a car are not in a poverty situation because some on the other hand live on the streets. Never mind the fact there has been a rise of 45,000 this year.

Working class parents are in despair. They see the lives of their children crumble daily; the struggle to rise and meet the day on our young is putting this generation of New Zealand workers at a crisis point.

Workers are realistic now; this government won't meet the needs of their kids. Workers are coming to the stark truth that this rotten system owes them nothing. Workers are seeing their class enemies benefiting beyond measure.

There is a solution to this problem and many others. The collective power of the workers and oppressed can make a real change today. They can take up the banner of socialism and fight tooth and nail today for a better world now. Don't believe what the Labour Party tells you. This rotten system is past its use by date. This system cannot be fixed. Only a revolution can bring the peace and prosperity workers have a right to.

Join us. Fight for socialism.

The Labour Party lost support in its traditional areas to the extent that it polled only at 24% at the last general election. Maori workers knew Labour offered them nothing. Labour too had knifed the working class many times in the back. They hadn't forgotten this. This is why in droves they turned to Mana since the Mana Party was talking about class politics for a change and produced a set of demands workers could rally around.

The Mana Party consistent to a social democracy model broke away to rattle the chains around workers in general and Maori workers in particular. They highlighted the immediate concerns of working people to a level the Maori Party never had the guts to do. Despite these urgent issues the Mana Party proved incapable of continuing to grow.

### New Period

This is precisely why the RCIT has attracted some militants. Militants who recognise we are in a "new historical period" of the capitalist system. A period where militants must hone their skills and fight for the leadership of the working class. Militants who can correctly apply the Marxist method and come to grips of the reality facing workers. This is a period that demands great courage - why?

Because those class conscience workers who are engaged in struggle could fall for the safe single campaigns run by the Dunedin based International Socialist Organisation and the Auckland based Socialist Aotearoa. These two groups are impotent in the class struggle. Their legacies

are ones of failures and ultimately they want to tie the workers to a reformist mentally while praying for a spontaneous uprising. Capitalism cannot be reformed! Capitalism needs to be overthrown.

Like the scurrying of little rats running up a drain pipe, a class conscious worker might here the rattle of keyboards as a pitiful group of activists conduct campaigns for blog sites waiting for a vanguard of workers to fall from the sky so they can lead them. To be revolutionary you must do more than advocate Revolution as a great idea. The RCIT knows that a revolution corresponded to the essential needs of the working class. There is no guaranteed right to work with a living wage under capitalism - as many workers are finally realising. There is no guarantee that workers will have the right to housing or to health care. Consistent Marxist revolutionaries link these basic essentials to the need for a revolution through our program. This unfortunately both the ISO and Socialist Aotearoa do not have.

These activists/blogists as we have highlighted complain that the workers and oppressed today are not revolutionary. The problem here is these individuals and groups have not linked their organisations to their revolutionary desire to the basic needs that face the workers and people in struggle. And equally appalling, they have not put forward a revolutionary program.

The RCIT has the courage to arm workers with a program. We have the continuity of a revolutionary history that is tired and tested in the furnace of the international class struggle.

Join us! For socialism!

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: Greece - A Modern Semi-Colony

**The Contradictory Development of Greek Capitalism, Its Failed Attempts to Become a Minor Imperialist Power, and Its Present Situation as an Advanced Semi-Colonial Country with Specific Features**

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – *GREECE: A MODERN SEMI-COLONY*. The book's subtitle is: *The Contradictory Development of Greek Capitalism, Its Failed Attempts to Become a Minor Imperialist Power, and Its Present Situation as an Advanced Semi-Colonial Country with Some Specific Features*. It contains six chapters (144 pages) and includes 12 tables, 35 figures and 4 maps. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

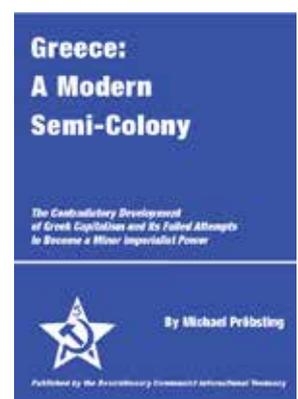
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which gives an overview of its content.

Greece is at the forefront both of the capitalist crisis in Europe as well as of the class struggle. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that what the Arab Revolution has been for the world in the past few years, Greece has been for Europe.

Subsequently, the question of the class character of Greece is of crucial importance both for the domestic as well as for the international workers movement: Is it an imperialist

state, a semi-colonial country or something else, and what are its specific features?

In Chapter I we outline a summary of the Marxists' theoretical conception of imperialist respectively semi-colonial states. In Chapter II we give a brief historical overview of the development of Greek capitalism. In Chapter III we deal with Greece's failed attempt to become a minor imperialist power. In Chapter IV we outline the historic crisis of Greek capitalism from 2008 until today. In Chapter V we elaborate the most important programmatic conclusions and in the last Chapter we present a summary in the form of these. The book contains 12 Tables, 35 Figures and 4 Maps. ■



# Brazil: From the Defense of Our Rights to a Socialist Future!

*Platform of the Corrente Comunista Revolucionária, March 2016*

1. Down with the coup! No to impeachment and to “corruption-investigations” which are just a tool for the right-wing opposition and the state apparatus to destroy our democratic rights.
2. Defeat the coup-plotters in the streets by independent mass mobilizations by the working class and the oppressed! Force CUT and all mass organizations to struggle consistently for our rights! For mass demonstrations, occupation of squares, and general strikes against the coup plotters! For the formation of anti-coup action committees in all workplaces, neighborhoods, schools, etc.
3. Dismissal of all pro-coup judges as well as pro-coup army and police officers! For the formation of self-defense units to defend the people against the pro-coup army! Call the ordinary soldiers and police men to refuse the coup activities!
4. The private media support the coup. For nationalization of the mass media under workers control! For the occupation of the media by anti-coup action committees!
5. Defend the PT, Lula and Dilma against the right-wing attacks! But no political support for the popular-front government! Fight against their anti-workers austerity measures!
6. Higher wages, lower prices! End unemployment by a public works program – financed by the rich and the multinational corporations! The land to our landless brothers

- and sisters and to the small camponês – expropriate the big land owners and the multinational corporations!
  7. Equal rights for women as well as for our black-, indigenous- and migrant brothers and sisters. Only if the oppressed are united we can defend ourselves consistently!
  8. Nationalize the property of the multinational corporations under the control of the workers. No cooperation with any imperialist great powers like the USA, EU, China, Japan and Russia!
  9. For the formation of a government of the working class in alliance with the urban poor and the landless peasants in Brazil and everywhere! We can only secure our future and our rights if we overthrow capitalism which creates this misery!
  10. The CCR – *Corrente Comunista Revolucionária* - is dedicated to build a really revolutionary party in all of Brazil and Latin America. This is the only way in which we can fight consistently for our rights!
  11. We support the positions of our international organization CCRI/RCIT on international issues (Solidarity with the Anti-Marci movement in Argentina! For a Free and Red Palestine! Defend the Syrian Revolution against Assad and the Great Powers! For the rights of refugees in Europe and against the anti-Migrant and anti-Muslim racists! Liberate Africa from imperialism! Etc.).
- One world – one struggle – one revolution!***

## New Book!

### Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book called *BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE*. The book's subtitle is: *Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*. The book is in English-language. It contains four chapters on 148 pages and includes 42 pictures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

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

A few months ago, our movement commemorated its 25th anniversary. In the summer of 1989 our predecessor organization, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) was founded as a democratic-centralist international tendency based on an elaborated program. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) continues the revolutionary tradition of the LRCI. Below we give an overview of our history, an evaluation of its achievements as well as mistakes, and a summary of the lessons for the struggles ahead. This book summarizes our theoretical and practical experience of the past

25 years.

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

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

**Building the  
Revolutionary Party  
in Theory  
and Practice**

*Looking Back and Ahead after  
25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

## Sigmar Polke Exhibition

by Laurence Humphries, February 3, 2015

**S**igmar Polke was a Revolutionary artist who lived most of his life in Cologne in Germany. He was able to use and develop many different materials ranging from cloths Lattice work and even luminous materials used for Photocopying machines , he also used Dots which were scraped across a photograph like the image of Harvey Oswald.

His series of images referred in the first room of the Tate Exhibition was called Capitalist restoration. Polke was sceptical about Autarky and ideas of looking especially portrayal of authority and the Nazi Ideology of the past. The artist he worked closely with was Gerard Richter. "They showed their work together using the term Capitalism Realism to distinguish their approach from Pop and socialist Realism. in the drawing of lee Harvey Oswald Polke began to experiment with replicating half toned printed images by reproducing dots with a pencil eraser".[1]. As you can see the dots are different from the dots used by Georges Seurat the post impressionist and the Benday dots used by Roy Lichtenstein the Pop artist.

In the 1960's Polke painted different images for instance his Flying saucers 1966 and girlfriends 1965/6. He tended to parody Modern art by portraying Modern Abstract art by using stripe Painting and some of his work can be compared to Mondrian's Abstract pictures.

His Moderne Kunst Untitled was an attempt to parody many Conceptual artists by portraying Objects works and numbers , particularly Mathematics and Absurd solutions "Polke looked closely at pictures in Newspapers and magazines printed as Raster images made up of a row of dots".[2]. "But the dots remain relatively messy when seen close up>He welcomed occasional spills of paint or a mistake in a field of dots".[3].

"Polke seems to suggest that modernist abstraction-whether constructivist biomorphic expressionist or geometric was no longer available as a serious option for young artists but only fit for parody".[4].

In the 1970's he experimented with Hallucinogenic drugs and became associated with the Radical left he was also influenced by Joseph Beuys and travelled to Pakistan and Afghanistan To experience different cultures. He painted a picture of Mao-Tse-Tung, the Chinese Leader and Stalinist. Mao painted in 1972 6.was painted on fabric and mounted on felt with a wooden dowell. This showed Polke attempting constantly to look for new materials and new ways to display his art. He wanted to break from his bourgeois past and started using pasted images collages and montages. "Polke experimented with photography during these years and Polke also explored transparency in his film work doubly and multiply exposing his reels".[5].

In the 1980's Polke would use new materials adding colour and scale using purple and bronze pigments that would show visual changes."Polke used pigments that would change from purple to bronze when burnished"[6].

His Pagannini 1981-3 showed how the soul had been claimed by the Devil , using dispersion paint ,aluminium paint and pencil on fabric Polke created revolutionary images for the 21st century. "Testing out different pigments ,liquids and colours and researching pre-industrial techniques the studio became a site of material investigation".[7].

from 1984-6 Polke started constructing and painting images of watchtowers , these were ambiguous structures

which reflected Germany's past particularly Nazi concentration camps and the Berlin Wall. For these images Polke used material and chromatic chemical solutions and transitional bubble wrap to create the right effect. "Polke created a large stencil of the watchtower, sometimes coupling his with images of hands gripping prison bars or holding out an identity pass".[8].

In The Room labelled Spirits soot and snow there are materials used By Polke with mystical creation and white paint. "The stumato works were created by passing an antique oil lamp underneath glass panes so that swirls of soot formed abstract patterns".[9]. A truly innovative and revolutionary use of material by Polke which shows how he stands out from the other artists of his generation.

Polke used Salamander stone with enamel on polyester adding photocopier prints. He mixed polyester with resin. polke was determined to see perception as always fallible to the eye. "In seeing things as they are he painted this phrase taken from a Newspaper headline To perceive the World as it truly is".[10].

It could be argued that in a sense that Polke encapsulated the Realist Tradition.

By the 1990's Polke was using computer generated images like Brittas Pig and Seasons Hottest trend, he was developing canvasses digitally printed with a Photocopier .He was using modern technology to achieve his objective. Towards the end of his Life Polke wanted to use Matter and Illusion. In the final rooms of the Tate Exhibition you are able to see how Polke uses 3d lenses and Holograms adding Gel to rake over and create ridges in the image . He is philosophically questioning Materiality and immateriality by asking is there a materialist truth or an Idealist truth. I feel that this exhibition has been well curated by the Tate and by using 14 rooms the Whole and range of Polke's work can be displayed. I would recommend this Exhibition and if you haven't seen it yet there is time before the Exhibition closes on the 8th February 2015.

### NOTES

- 1) TATE BOOKLET ROOM 1
- 2) DITTO ROOM 2
- 3) DITTO ROOM 3
- 4) DITTO ROOM 4
- 5) DITTO ROOM 4
- 6) DITTO ROOM 6
- 7) DITTO ROOM 6
- 8) DITTO ROOM 7
- 9) DITTO ROOM 8
- 10) DITTO ROOMS 9, 10, 11,12,13 AND14



# From our Archives: The Afghanistan War in 2001

## The Position of the LRCI on the imperialist war against Afghanistan - Questions & Answers

**Note by the Editor:** *The following article has been published by the predecessor organization of the RCIT (the League for a Revolutionary Communist International; later renamed into League for the Fifth International) in 2001 shortly before the beginning of the imperialist attack on Afghanistan. We are republishing this article on the 15th anniversary of this war. The founding cadres of the RCIT have been expelled from the LFI in 2011 when they protested against the centrist degeneration of this organization.*

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### WHAT IS THE POSITION OF THE LRCI ON THE US/BRITISH ATTACK ON AFGHANISTAN?

The position of the LRCI on the imperialist attack on Afghanistan is that we are for the defeat of Britain/USA and its allies and for the victory of all the Afghan forces that resist them.

Our policy is therefore one of revolutionary defeatism with regard to the imperialist states and revolutionary defencism with regard to Afghanistan, which is a semi-colony; i.e. a country which despite formal state independence is fully dependent on the world market dominated by the imperialist powers and their monopolies.

### DOES THIS MEAN SUPPORTING THE TALIBAN?

The LRCI stands clearly for the military victory of all Afghan forces that resist the US/UK offensive. That includes Taliban forces if they resist the imperialist offensive.

This in no way implies any political support for the deeply reactionary Taliban regime or for the terrorist policies pursued by Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaeda organisation.

The LRCI condemned the indiscriminate mass terrorism of the attack on the World Trade Centre and the killing of the passengers of civilian airliners. This is not the way to struggle against imperialism. But we stress that imperialism is the biggest terrorist, having killed many, many times more innocent civilians over the past ten years than bin Laden or the Taliban.

### BUT AREN'T THE TALIBAN JUST AS BAD AS IMPERIALISM?

Afghanistan is a poor, devastated country - held in backwardness by decades of imperialist-sponsored civil war and economic dependency. US imperialism and its allies are the great powers responsible for poverty, wars and ecological disaster all over the globe.

Certainly the Taliban are a deeply reactionary force, which has banned all opposition, suppresses other religions and minorities, and has driven women from work and education.

But this war is not a war between democracy and reactionary Islamism. It is a war for US and imperialist control of a semi-colony. It is from this fundamental point of view that we defend semi-colonial countries - the regime in power at the time of the war is a secondary question.

We have to analyse this war not from just a short-term snapshot of the current situation but from the socio-economic fundamentals. The key starting point for Marxists is the relationship of the contending states to the world capitalist order and the interests of the class struggle against global capitalism.

### SO WHAT IS THIS WAR ABOUT?

The war is not about terrorism or Islamism. It is about imperialism's determination to crush any opposition around the globe. Imperialism wants to have the right to dictate to any country in the world what type of government it should have. The USA wants the right to intervene within other states at any time on the pretext of a 'war on terrorism'. The USA also wants control of the central Asian region and to secure territory for its oil supplies. From the Afghan side this war is about the defence of the country's sovereignty against the imperialists' grip.

Revolutionary communists are not champions of nation states - we want to see a world free from borders and nationalism. But national independence must not be abolished by the dictat of powerful nations over weak ones. It can only be overcome through the free and voluntary association of nations in an international socialist society, in which inequality and exploitation have been abolished.

### BUT HOW CAN YOU SIDE WITH A FORCE IN A WAR WITHOUT SUPPORTING ITS POLITICS? SURELY THIS IS A COMPLETE CONTRADICTION?

Not in the least. In the class struggle it is often the case that revolutionaries have to take sides in a conflict with forces to whose leadership and policies we are completely politically opposed. This does not and must not mean that we endorse or prettify their politics in any way.

The reason we are obliged to take sides is because of the real, practical, objective situation and what it means in terms of the worldwide conflict of forces. The impending war is not fundamentally a choice between US democracy and Taliban theocratic despotism. It is between the right of the USA and Britain to dominate and plunder the natural resources of central Asia and the right of semi-colonial countries to resist imperialist aggression.

There are countless situations in the class struggle in which revolutionaries have been obliged to support military forces which are at war with imperialism despite their counter-revolutionary politics. This was the case in the Falklands/Malvinas War in 1982 and the Gulf War in 1991. In the former's case Workers Power (Britain) and the Irish Workers Group called for victory to Argentina. In the

latter case the LRCI called for victory to Iraq.

We did this without for a single moment supporting the dictatorships of General Galtieri whose Junta had murdered thousands of workers and leftists when it came to power. Likewise we did not express any political support for a second Saddam Hussein the butcher of the Kurds or the Shiite population of southern Iraq.

"It is in the direct interests of the Iraqi and Kurdish people to defend Iraq against imperialism without for a minute abandoning their just struggles for national freedom, democracy and class emancipation. In the war they should propose a military united front against the attacking imperialist forces. In practice this would require that the regime cease all repression against the progressive forces.

But whatever the regime's actions against progressive forces, imperialism remains the main enemy whilst the armed conflict continues. It is from within the war effort that forces must be rallied to overthrow the Ba'athist regime and create a workers' and peasants' government. Proceeding towards an armed insurrection to achieve that goal during the course of the war with imperialism will have to be considered in the light of the need to secure a military victory against the main enemy - imperialist forces in the Gulf."

('Victory to Iraq', LRCI Resolution in Trotskyist International, No. 6, April 1991)

#### **DOES THIS APPROACH HAVE ANY HISTORY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT?**

Yes - Trotsky supported Chinese government forces against Japanese imperialist invasion in the 1930s. At the head these forces stood Chiang Kai-shek, who had massacred 250,000 Chinese communists in the late 1920s. Trotsky explained this position very clearly with regard to Brazil in 1938 and - as with a great deal of the revolutionary ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky - this method is directly relevant to the situation today and can be applied.

He wrote:

"In Brazil there now reigns a semifascist regime that every revolutionary can only view with hatred. Let us assume, however, that on the morrow England enters into a military conflict with Brazil. I ask you on whose side of the conflict will the working class be? I will answer for myself personally - in this case I will be on the side of "fascist" Brazil against "democratic" Great Britain. Why? Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the other hand should

be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship. The defeat of England will at the same time deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the revolutionary movement of the British proletariat. Truly, one must have an empty head to reduce world antagonisms and military conflicts to the struggle between fascism and democracy. Under all masks one must know how to distinguish exploiters, slave-owners, and robbers!"

('Anti-imperialist struggle is key to liberation', September 1938, in Writings, 1938-39, p.34).

#### **HOW DOES THIS APPLY TODAY?**

There is a fundamental difference between the USA and Afghanistan - a far deeper one than the contrast between their internal democratic and dictatorial regimes.

The USA is the greatest danger to the working class and poor peasantry of the world. It is the new imperialist monopole - the sole superpower. Its military might is driving globalisation and seeking to establish a new world order based on the unrestricted advance of capital across the globe. Afghanistan on the other hand is an extremely weak semi-colonial country which has been racked with imperialist sponsored war for decades.

Even the triumph and reactionary policies of the Taliban are in large measure the result of US policy since 1970. The Taliban were created out of the efforts of imperialism to defeat the Soviet-backed PDPA government in the Afghan civil war and to resist the USSR's invasion. Afghanistan's development is blocked primarily by imperialism. The greatest enemy of the workers and peasants of the region is imperialism.

#### **CAN'T WE SAY WE ARE FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE IMPERIALISTS WITHOUT BEING FOR THE VICTORY OF TALIBAN FORCES?**

This would be a complete evasion. If we are for the defeat of the imperialists, it means we want the forces that are fighting them to win. Anything else would reduce our anti-imperialism to a mere phrase.

#### **DOES THIS MEAN THAT WORKERS AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN AFGHANISTAN SHOULD BE IN A UNITED FRONT WITH THE TALIBAN?**

The Taliban won't allow this. They are still imposing a brutal dictatorship over all other forces in the country. This

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would make a united front practically impossible because of their absolute intolerance of any opposition and their refusal to collaborate with non-Islamic forces (which is a very broad category according to their world view!). They would seek to prevent any independent organisation or arming of the peasants or workers.

This, together with their venomous hostility to women's rights and the rights of the non-Pashtun nationalities, are massive obstacles to a large-scale mobilisation of the masses to defeat imperialism. If they persist in these policies this will enormously contribute to imperialism's triumph or the imposition by Pakistan and others of a compliant pro-imperialist regime in Kabul.

What is more, it would be unprincipled to enter a formal 'united front' or alliance in which the revolutionary communists were obliged to drop or hide their politics. The LRCI's programme *The Trotskyist Manifesto* explains that the anti-imperialist united front involves:

"striking tactical agreements with non-proletarian forces at both leadership and rank and file level. Such agreements might involve striking formal alliances or committees. Where this is the case the fundamental pre-conditions for entering such blocs are: that the bourgeois or petit-bourgeois forces are actually waging a struggle against imperialism, or its agents, that no limitations are placed on the political independence of the revolutionary organisation within this bloc and that there are no bureaucratic exclusions of significant forces struggling against imperialism."

But revolutionaries and working class forces should fight for an anti-imperialist united front.

Without giving an iota of support to the arch-reactionary Taliban government in Afghanistan or the movement of Osama bin Laden, we call for and support the united action of all Afghan forces - including Islamist forces - to repel the imperialist assault.

#### **HOW COULD AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT EVER BE POSSIBLE IF THE TALIBAN REFUSED IT AND ALLOWED NO SPACE FOR INDEPENDENT FORCES TO ORGANISE?**

Inside Afghanistan, the slogan of the anti-imperialist united front would be both:

- a rallying call on the people to fight the imperialist invasion and
- an attempt to mobilise those who are fighting under the leadership of the Taliban to force the Taliban leaders to abandon their dictatorship and broaden the basis of resistance to imperialism.

In this way we fight to arm the people and break the Taliban's dictatorship over them. It is a political fight for a mass independent resistance to imperialism. At the same time as focusing the armed struggle on the imperialist invasion as the main enemy, it involves an ongoing political struggle to mobilise the forces which can overthrow the Taliban and destroy their dictatorship. It poses the need for democratic rights, class independence, rights for secular forces, the arming of the masses, an end to persecution of women and national minorities - but it does so unambiguously from the perspective of fighting imperialism as long as the latter is attacking. It is not a suspension of struggle against the Taliban but the best

form of it in the circumstances of imperialist attack

This distinguishes us from the bourgeois and pro-imperialist opposition by stressing that our criticism is not that the Taliban are fighting imperialism, but that because of their oppression of women, their reactionary Islamist agenda, dictatorial hatred of the democratic rights of the people etc, they are not capable of a consistent or effective fight against imperialism.

#### **DOES THIS MEAN WE SHOULD SUSPEND THE STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW TYRANNIES LIKE THE TALIBAN OR SADDAM DURING THE COURSE OF THE WAR AGAINST IMPERIALISM?**

No, it means that the struggle to overthrow them proceeds along a new path - the path of mobilising forces from within the struggle against imperialism. When preparing and planning the insurrection, we would take into account the imperialist onslaught. Otherwise, we would be saying we were indifferent to the outcome of the war.

The Spanish Civil War gave an example of how revolutionaries could even support an insurrection against a regime that it was fighting WITH against fascism, if that regime tried to weaken or disarm the workers organisations. In this case the workers in Barcelona in May 1937 rose up in arms against the capitalist 'popular front' regime without stopping fighting at the front against the fascists and without stopping producing arms for the war. This is far from being excluded in countries like Afghanistan. But if we said in the process that we didn't care about the war with the imperialists, and if our tactics didn't ensure that the anti-imperialist struggle were not set back, then we would be cutting our own throats - or rather, ensuring that the imperialists cut our throats if they won the war.

#### **BUT THE TALIBAN ARE NOT ACTUALLY FIGHTING AGAINST IMPERIALISM - THEY ARE NOT PROGRESSIVE ENEMIES OF USA BUT REACTIONARY ONES. SO HOW CAN AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT BE RIGHT?**

There is only one sense in which Taliban or bin Laden actions are anti-imperialist - and it is only in that sense that we would support their action.

- Is it terrorist actions against US workers? No - we condemn them.
- Is it rejecting modern society and banning TV and modern dress? No - we fight it.
- Is it the barbaric oppression of women? No - we expose it and arouse the struggle of the people against it.
- Is it resistance to the US/UK military attack on Afghanistan? Yes. This and only this is progressive. And it is this and only this that we support.

#### **SO DOES THIS MEAN THAT WE RAISE THE SLOGAN 'VICTORY TO THE TALIBAN'?**

Absolutely not. That would be a gross accommodation to the arch-reactionary politics of the Taliban. We never said victory to Saddam Hussein, victory to Galtieri and the Argentine Junta, victory to Stalin or victory to any reactionary governments. We are for the victory of the Afghan forces against imperialism - not for confirming

their political leaderships in power.

### **BUT WOULD A VICTORY FOR THE TALIBAN NOT LEAD TO GREATER REACTION IN AFGHANISTAN?**

Temporarily, perhaps. Certainly, if they were the only force that stood up to imperialism. If all the anti-Taliban forces back the US invasion, or if progressives fail to oppose it, the Taliban would be in an even stronger position still. If they won the war they could claim sole credit and there would be no opposition with any anti-imperialist authority. And if they were beaten after mounting the only resistance, their brand of Islamism would gain enormous prestige in the Middle East and central Asia. Anyone who stood back or colluded with the imperialists would be utterly compromised in the eyes of the masses as the full consequences of an imperialist victory became clear.

The way to defeat imperialism and minimise the reactionary advantage that the Taliban would seek to seize is to fight for the independent mobilisation of the masses against the US/ British attack. This requires the bold use of the revolutionary tactic of the anti-imperialist united front.

### **HOW CAN WE EXPLAIN THIS TO WORKERS WHO RIGHTLY HATE THE TALIBAN?**

Directly, and without equivocation. Many workers in imperialist countries will object to our position on chauvinist lines - others will take a pacifist line that opposes the war without supporting resistance to imperialism. But we are revolutionaries and we must state what is the truth,

not adapt our position to the present consciousness of the majority. We need to use clear, patient language but not give in to the wave of chauvinism or imitate the pacifism that almost inevitably accompanies the onset of war in an imperialist country.

Anyway - we don't draw our line from the existing consciousness of the workers in this or that country but from the interests of the international working class.

As Trotsky explained:

"The mentality of the class of the proletariat is backward but the mentality is not such a substance as the factories, the mines, the railroads, but is more mobile and under the blows of the objective crisis, the millions of unemployed, it can change rapidly."

(‘Discussions with Trotsky’, in *The Transitional Programme*, Pathfinder edition, p127)

It will change rapidly if there is a prolonged war - and we must have clear revolutionary arguments to win new forces and build a powerful anti-imperialist movement.

We have the utmost confidence that the national sections of the LRCI and the REVOLUTION youth groups will do this imaginatively and clearly, taking account the psychology and mood of the working class and anticapitalist youth.

We appeal to all organisations that support our view to work with us to defeat the US/Allied imperialist war drive and build a new revolutionary international to unite revolutionary communist forces around the world.

*International Secretariat of the League for a Revolutionary Communist international, October 2001*

## Books of the RCIT

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

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

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

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

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

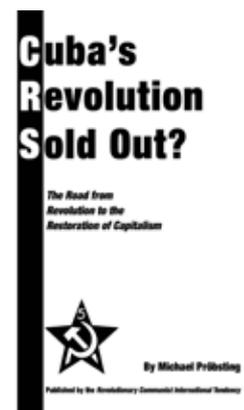
*Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* describes in detail how a number of relatively recent political, economic, and social measures were

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

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

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

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# From our Archives: Defend Afghanistan! Defeat Imperialism!

## Stop Bush and Blair's Bloody War

**Note by the Editor:** *The following article has been published by the predecessor organization of the RCIT (the League for a Revolutionary Communist International; later renamed into League for the Fifth International) in 2001 shortly before the beginning of the imperialist attack on Afghanistan. We are republishing this article on the 15th anniversary of this war. The founding cadres of the RCIT have been expelled from the LFI in 2011 when they protested against the centrist degeneration of this organization.*

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1. The USA and Britain have launched a barbaric assault on Afghanistan. Under the pretext of a war on terrorism in revenge for the World Trade Centre attacks, these imperialist powers are slaughtering [tens of thousands] of people, creating hundreds of thousands of refugees and bombarding one of the poorest countries in the world into submission.

2. The real purpose of the imperialist military action is to assert the USA's right to assume a global military, policing and intelligence role equal to its world political and economic domination. They are issuing a direct threat to every regime, every nation and every people in the world that if they step out of line they will be crushed. They want to secure western imperialist interests in the oil rich region of central Asia and strengthen their stranglehold over the Gulf and Middle East, blocking still further the national revolt of the oppressed Palestinian people and cementing the power of their regional gendarme Israel. They want to seize the opportunity cynically to use the crisis to reduce still further democratic rights and civil liberties in the USA and Europe. And they want to put behind them the so-called 'Vietnam syndrome', so that US public opinion can be carefully prepared to accept heavy losses of US service men's lives in military conflict.

3. We, the undersigned revolutionary organisations, unequivocally condemn the US and UK imperialist attacks. We declare that the USA is the greatest terrorist threat to the world. We call for:

- *the immediate and unconditional cessation of the attacks*
- *the defence of Afghanistan against imperialist attack*
- *the defeat of the US/UK/Coalition forces*
- *solidarity with the Afghan people resisting imperialist aggression*
- *defence of the victims of racist and anti-Islamic bigotry in the West*
- *an end to US and EU repressive laws and attacks on civil liberties and democratic freedoms.*

4. Without giving an iota of support to the arch-reactionary Taliban government in Afghanistan or the movement of Osama bin Laden, we call for and support the united action of all Afghan forces – including Islamist forces - to repel the imperialist assault.

5. We commit ourselves to help to build the biggest possible global united front against imperialist aggression, uniting trade unions, anti-capitalist campaigners, youth, poor

peasants, Socialists, Communists, anarchists, women's initiatives and oppressed people all over the world in common action to stop the war.

6. The imperialist offensive is a further intensification of globalisation and US world domination. It is the continuation of globalisation in the military sphere.

7. The first and overriding aim of US foreign policy in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks has been to assemble a Grand Coalition of states which will grant them the unrestricted right to pursue their objectives by any means, including military action against any forces, anywhere in the world, within any state.

8. Just as US and imperialist capital and multinational corporations have the right under World Trade Organisation rules to do whatever they want and go wherever they wish, so the USA is claiming similar powers to take military action anywhere in the globe.

9. Hot on the heels of the 11 September terrorist attacks, stock markets dived around the world. Billions of dollars were wiped off share prices. Airline bosses rushed to bring forward plans for mass sackings; the value of insurance companies, tourist and hotel industries and other financial and service organisations fell sharply. This was not solely caused by the New York and Washington events – they merely provided an impetus for a long-developing crisis. The US and European economies are entering a recession – one which is already raging in the semi-colonial countries of south-east Asia, Africa and Latin America. This runs the real risk of developing quickly into a synchronised economic slump – the first truly global economic crisis of the era of globalisation.

10. This enormous heightening of military, political and economic tensions in the world proves decisively that the new world order of global capitalism and US domination has not ushered in a epoch of peace, prosperity and an end to conflict between nation states. On the contrary, US imperialist domination has brought in its wake a dramatic increase in global instability, inequality, class conflict and war.

11. The USA is using the shocked reaction of millions to the terrorist attacks to achieve:

- *legal rights to take such military action in "self-defence" under the UN Charter and under the mutual defence provisions of Article Five of NATO's founding treaty*
- *the re-definition of NATO as an anti-terrorist alliance (which European powers blocked last year but now cannot resist)*
- *closer co-ordination of world intelligence and security agencies*
- *stricter controls on refugees*
- *stricter controls on travel between states*
- *further reductions of civil liberties and democratic freedoms in the capitalist democracies*
- *the right to undertake unrestricted surveillance of private individuals*
- *the right to examine bank accounts and financial information*
- *the right to declare its enemies as terrorists, including anti-capitalist protestors.*

12. The USA and its slavish allies in the EU are conscious

that their imperialist actions run the risk of uniting Islamic, Middle Eastern, Central Asian and semi-colonial regimes against themselves.

13. For these self-interested reasons, and because of the USA's broader global objectives, US propaganda has so far played down anti-Islamic demagoguery. Bush has made a public statement condemning racist attacks against presumed Muslims in the USA. Diplomatic efforts have been focused on giving the appearance of restraining the Israeli butcher Sharon from pressing ahead with his reoccupation of the West Bank and on winning support from the Pakistani military dictatorship for attacks on Afghanistan. This is bearing fruit: the imperialists have won limited statements of support for Bush and Blair from Gaddafi in Libya, the Iranian theocratic regime, Arafat and beyond.

14. But Italian prime minister Berlusconi and his fascist deputy Fini have been the first of the imperialist leaders to step out of line, issuing and then half-heartedly retracting a wholesale condemnation of Islam and declaring the 'superiority' of Western and Christian civilisation. They say openly what many hawks in the State Department, the Pentagon and the Israeli state believe but choose for diplomatic reasons to keep to themselves. With breathtaking hypocrisy, Berlusconi praised Western culture for its democratic values – whilst at the same time demanding the right to treat anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation protestors in the same way as terrorists (as he did in July when he unleashed barbaric terror against the anti-G8 marches).

15. Despite their diplomatic objectives, the imperialists' war drive has the direct effect of whipping up Anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism. In the USA an ignorant racist killer murdered a Sikh who he thought was a Muslim. We have many reasons to fear that more such outrages will follow. The working class movement and anti-war movement must champion the struggle against racism and for defence of Arabs and Muslim people. We will promote a mass campaign against racism and for organised self-defence of Arab and Muslim communities.

16. Despite imperialist diplomacy, there is a serious

possibility that the USA is destabilising one of its key gendarmes in the region - Pakistan. Military dictator Musharraf is acutely aware that there is huge support for the Taliban regime in northern towns like Peshawar bordering Afghanistan – especially those with a large Pashtun population (the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan). Radical Islamists have called for a jihad against Musharraf if the US uses Pakistani support to launch its attacks. A general strike has been called by Islamic clerics against the government. The prospect of a civil war bringing about the world's first nuclear-equipped Islamist regime must be causing deep anxiety to the USA.

17. To support Musharraf, the USA and Britain have moved to end the sanctions imposed against his regime for testing atomic weapons. They are using the central role of Pakistan's security and intelligence forces in the creation of the Taliban to put pressure on the Afghan government to yield.

18. The imperialists are making other compromises in order to win new adherents to the US-led alliance. Of greatest significance has been a new reactionary *rapprochement* between the USA and Russia. Putin has declared support for Bush's war on terrorism and has granted permission for Russian airbases to be used in any assault, with the barely concealed precondition of Western backing for a new chauvinist offensive against Chechnya. German Chancellor Schroeder has issued a call for greater 'understanding' of Russia's 'problem with Islamic terrorists'.

19. The talk coming out of the White House and the Pentagon is of a long, difficult campaign that may have no clear beginning and no clear end. This will not be World War Three – but nor need it be a short, sharp war like the 1991 Gulf War.

20. The USA's most likely military aim will be to take out bin Laden's mainly Arab military bases and training camps, encourage the opposition Northern Alliance forces in the North and probably to drive the Taliban from power, replacing them with the former King or a coalition including the faction-ridden and warring forces deposed by the Taliban in 1995.

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21. The heightening that this will mean of the misery already being suffered by the Afghan people can barely be imagined. Afghanistan has suffered over 20 years of war. It is experiencing the worst drought for a decade. Its women already live under the daily torment of the most extreme Islamist regime in the world. There are 2.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, another 1m in Iran and 300,000 in Tajikistan; its infrastructure is almost non-existent. A further round of imperialist bombing, raids and incursions will cause another mass exodus – NGOs estimate around another 1 million people.

22. The undersigned organisations, as revolutionaries and anti-imperialists, call for the defeat of the imperialist forces. We support all resistance that weakens the enemy in the war. We call on all the working class organisations and anti-war activists to organise direct action, strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations for as long as the military action continues. We call on soldiers to organise resistance in the armed forces, to demand democratic rights, to oppose the attacks on Afghanistan and to rebel against the imperialists and their mass-murdering Generals. We call on workers in the munitions factories to boycott and sabotage imperialist war production. We demand that the parliamentary representatives of social-democratic, Labour, Socialist and Communist parties break with the Blairs, Jospins and Schroeders and vote against all political, military and financial support for the US War.

23. A victory of imperialism will lead to the imposition of slavish subordinated regimes on all countries in the region. It will demoralise the Palestinian people and encourage the racist Israeli state. It will be a blow to the growing anti-capitalist movement and encourage the pro-imperialist forces. On the other hand, a defeat for the imperialist forces would weaken its rule in the Middle East, encourage the workers and anti-capitalist movement and all people oppressed by imperialism around the globe to fight back against imperialism and global capital.

24. In the face of a bloody massacre by the US and its supporters, many hundreds of thousands are rallying to a new mass antiwar movement. This is the key to undermining the war drive and stopping imperialism seizing the initiative. The streets of the cities of the USA, South America, Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Australasia and Africa must resonate to the cry: No US War!

25. In the antiwar movement many people, appalled by the bloodshed, will rally to pacifist ideas – the complete rejection of conflict and the call for peace on all sides. Where this mood arises among the people it is enormously positive. But revolutionaries do not share the illusion that global capitalism and imperialism can be persuaded to abandon war and embrace peace. Never in history has war been stopped by people on their knees and with outstretched hands. The First World War, Hitler's genocidal wars, Nixon's war in Vietnam – every such evil in history has had to be stopped by force. Far from spreading pacifist illusions, we declare that the warmongers will have to be resisted and overthrown by force – in the words of the German anti-war fighter and communist Karl Liebknecht, we declare War on War.

26. The imperialist powers are the main enemy. But revolutionary communists must reject vulgar anti-Americanism – which confuses ordinary US working class people with the US ruling class and its imperialist policy.

This anti-Americanism is reactionary because it confuses the justified hatred of US imperialism with chauvinism against all US-Americans. It often serves the interests of ruling classes which are, or aspire to become, competing imperialist powers. Anti-Americanism must be fought – it is of utmost importance to break the US working class from its rulers and to win them to the struggle against imperialism and global capitalism. This is no impossible task – we will never forget that it was the US-working class and youth that in its heroic protest in Seattle in 1999 launched a new and growing global anti-capitalist movement.

27. We reject the reactionary demonising of all Muslim believers. At the same time we say clearly that political Islamist fundamentalism is a reactionary movement through and through. It represses women, workers and democratic rights. It is a movement expressing the reactionary resistance of petit-bourgeois and de-classed layers against the forces of global capitalism and the modern working movement. The workers' movement, women and youth – all must oppose the fundamentalist forces.

28. The working class and peasant masses in Afghanistan, central Asia and the Middle East need to organise independently, to build their own mass organisations and militias to defend themselves both against imperialism and the Islamist fundamentalists. Mass mobilisations and organisations of the workers and peasants could help to get rid of the reactionary Mullahs as soon as possible. If the cycle of vicious reactionary regimes is to be broken, the workers and peasants will need to take the power themselves and establish a socialist republic of Afghanistan and a voluntary Socialist Federation of Central Asia.

29. On the world scale, global capitalism is preparing another bloody spiral into recession, repression and war. Unless it is stopped, the twenty-first century will repeat the history of the twentieth, but on a new, more technologically advanced, more savage and more destructive level – one which threatens the survival of human civilisation itself.

30. It **can** be stopped. Globalisation is creating the gravedigger of global capitalism – a world wide movement against debt, poverty, corporate greed and – now – against imperialism and war. This movement can assume real social power only if it is fused with the mightiest power on earth – the international working class. The world working class can come to the head of this movement and direct it towards the forcible, revolutionary, overthrow of capitalism on one condition – that it organises its most militant section into a new world party of social revolution. The capitalists have their internationals – the IMF, NATO and WTO. Now we need ours, a New Revolutionary International dedicated to the destruction of capitalism and a new world without private property, nation states, racism, inequality and bloody military conflict.

31. The impending war is an enormous chance to link the struggle against global exploitation with the struggle against imperialist militarism. We call for all anti-capitalist mobilisations in the months ahead to take up the fight against the imperialist war drive. Make the Anti-WTO day of action on 9<sup>th</sup> November a day of action against global capital and imperialist war! Make the mass demonstration against the EU-summit on 14<sup>th</sup> December an expression of mass anger against the EU's participation in Bush and

Blair's mass murder and aggression!

32. For massive protests outside US embassies/consulates, in busy City Centre locations, at colleges, and seats of government. Build **anti-war committees** in every town, every college, every workplace. These should bring together representatives of the anticapitalist movement, peace campaigns, trade unions, Communist and Socialist parties, oppressed minorities, youth and women's groups.

33. We say:

- *Hands off Afghanistan*
- *USA is the biggest terrorist*
- *Defend Afghanistan - Defeat US and imperialist attacks*
- *Open the borders to refugees*
- *Oppose witch-hunts and racist attacks against Muslims and Arab people.*
- *Fight all attacks on civil liberties*
- *Abolish NATO, instrument of global warfare*
- *No to state surveillance and repression, no databases of activists, no new anti-immigrant laws, no new police powers*
- *For trade union action to boycott troops, weapons and supplies heading for the imperialists armies, navies and air forces*
- *Reject individual terrorism as a method of struggle against imperialism*
- *For massive food and medical aid to Afghanistan without strings or conditions*

- *Abolish the Third World debt to Western banks and financial institutions*
- *The Afghan people themselves must settle accounts with the Taliban: not US/UK imperialist armies. No restoration of the monarchy or the Northern Alliance warlords. For a workers' and peasants' government based on shoras - democratic councils of delegates*
- *Down with Musharraf - for a socialist republic of Pakistan and socialist federations of central Asia and the Indian sub-continent*
- *Nationalise all companies - airlines, insurance companies - declaring redundancies after the September 11 attacks under workers' control without compensation to the capitalist owners*
- *No to suspension of the class struggle in the imperialist democracies. Break the pro-war policy of the social-democratic, official 'Communist' and trade union leaders.*
- *Victory to the Intifada! End sanctions against Iraq!*
- *Turn the anticapitalist movement against imperialism*
- *For an international revolutionary youth movement*
- *For a new revolutionary international - world party of social revolution*
- *For a revolution against global capitalism and a world socialist commonwealth without poverty, inequality, oppression and war.*

## Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South

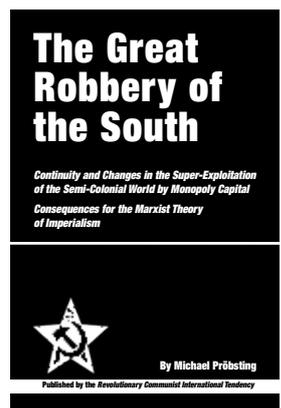
### Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and the huge majority of mankind living in the semi-colonial world forms one of the most important elements of the imperialist world system we are living in. The Great Robbery of the South shows that the past decades have been a complete confirmation of the validity of Lenin's theory of imperialism and its programmatic conclusions. *The Great Robbery of the South* demonstrates the important changes in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Using comprehensive material (including 139 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that never before

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

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting argues that a correct understanding of the nature of imperialism as well as of the program of permanent revolution which includes the tactics of consistent anti-imperialism is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future. Order your copy NOW! \$20 / £13 / €15 plus p+p (21\$ for US and international, £9 for UK, €10 for Europe)



The Author: Michael Pröbsting is a revolutionary activist since 35 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). In addition to *The Great Robbery of the South* and *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* he also published in 2014 the book *Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism*. He is the International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency.

## From our Archives: The History of Afghanistan

Afghanistan is not simply a poor country. It is one of the most economically and socially backward, war ravaged, famine stricken and desperate places on earth. Yet the USA, the world's biggest imperialist power, has launched a prolonged military onslaught on it. This can only add to the devastation which Soviet intervention, CIA sponsored civil war and the reactionary medievalists of the Taliban have so far achieved.

Afghanistan proper came into being in 1747, following a nine day council meeting – a Loya Jirga – of the warlords and tribal leaders (khans) of the dominant ethnic group, the Pashtuns. They elected an Emir, Ahmed Shah Durrani, and his dynasty ruled Afghanistan until 1973. Yet this unbroken royal lineage did not mean that national unity and a modern nation state had emerged. Far from it. The king mainly served as an arbiter between the clans, tribes and disparate nationalities who inhabited the region.

The factors militating against modernisation were numerous. Afghanistan's geography was a major factor. A vast and inhospitable desert in the west, highlands in the centre, and enormous mountains in the east and north (the Hindu Kush), meant that the country was carved into distinct chunks by nature itself. Herat, an oasis town in the west, was a world apart from Kabul in the foothills of the Hindu Kush. Different influences and different cultures grew and became entrenched in this fragmented landscape.

Only a small portion of the land (around 20 per cent) was fertile. Large sections of the population were nomads. Others relied on an ancient tribal system, dominated by large landowners, in order to survive. Loyalty to the clan meant being able to work a small plot of land. Being able to eat – and enjoying the protection of the clan from rivals out to steal your produce – reproduced and reinforced an essentially feudal system.

As late as 1979 the cities and major towns of Afghanistan – Herat, Kandahar, Jalalabad, Mazar – E – Sharif and the capital, Kabul – were inhabited by only around five per cent of the population. Years of war have slightly swelled the urban population with refugees. But the modern urban classes of Afghanistan remained too weak in numbers and too divided in politics to lead the transformation of the country. In particular the core of the working class (industrial and service waged worker) to this day numbers hundreds of thousands, rather than millions. The majority of the 20 million population live in tiny rural villages, the mountains and the deserts. The establishment of a monarchy was only possible with the consent of the khans. The interference of that monarchy in the affairs of the tribes that the khans ruled was excluded from the outset. Any attempt at interference was met with violent resistance. When King Ammanullah attempted systematic modernisation in the 1920s (with help from Soviet Russia) he was driven from the throne and replaced by the more pliable and traditional Pashtun monarch King Zahir, who ruled from 1934 to 1973 and is now being talked of as the new ruler of Afghanistan.

In such circumstances the emergence of a genuinely Afghan national consciousness was thwarted. The population remained divided between several distinct nationalities, deeply hostile to each other. The main group, the Pashtuns, have dominated and oppressed the others – Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras plus many smaller groups – for centuries. Unity has only ever come about episodically, usually during conflicts with the big powers (Britain in the 19th and early 20th century; Russia in the 1980s).

Ethnic conflict has been compounded by religious antagonism. The Hazaras account for around 20 per cent of the

country and are Shi'ite Muslims. The majority of people in Afghanistan are Sunni Muslims. Such was the persecution of the Shi'ites by the Taliban in the late 1990s that Shi'ite Iran was on the verge of invading to defend its religious co-thinkers.

Despite all of these disadvantages Afghanistan has always been an important country for the imperial powers, the regional powers and, of course, for the former Soviet Union. It is, by virtue of its location, a vital crossroads in the trade routes between the Indian sub-continent, the far east, the Middle East and Europe. Its cities grew as great trading centres during the heyday of the spice trade. The quickest land route to India lay through the valleys and across the mountain passes of Afghanistan. The Khyber pass, to this day is a major trading thoroughfare. Even if you know next to nothing about Afghanistan you will probably have heard of this famous pass.

In addition Afghanistan has always acted as a kind of natural buffer zone between the great powers. In the nineteenth century it was the setting for the "Great Game" between Britain and Tzarist Russia. It quite literally stood between a Russia that was expanding into Central Asia and a Britain determined to rule eternally over the lucrative sub-continent.

Three times British expeditionary forces crossed into Afghanistan – 1838, 1878 and 1919 – in a bid to place it under direct colonial rule. Three times they were beaten back. In 1878 Britain did secure control of the country's foreign policy, a major prize given the conflict with Russia. But the attempt to maintain this in 1919 saw the mighty British empire humbled by the ill equipped but utterly determined Afghan tribesmen.

In the later twentieth century it was a vital barrier between the USSR and Iran (a threat when the pro-US Shah ruled and when the Islamic fundamentalist Khomeini replaced him) and pro-imperialist Pakistan. It was in order to maintain its ability to play that role that the USSR launched its fateful invasion of the country in Christmas 1979.

But by 1988, after killing over one million people and blasting mountains and cities alike, Russia began to withdraw its troops and by 1989 had conceded defeat.

Today Afghanistan's geopolitical importance is supplemented by the need for a safe pipeline across the country to carry the plentiful natural gas and oil of Central Asia to an energy-craving west.

The USA was still busy trying to secure the contract for this pipeline for Unocal, a US oil multinational, when the current crisis broke. Selecting Afghanistan as a target for attack in the aftermath of September 11 is therefore not just to do with "terrorism". It is also prompted by the prospect of getting that pipeline after all, and with it access to the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia.

As a result of all of these factors – internal and external – Afghanistan has never made the leap into modernity that each of its neighbours undertook.

It has been preserved not simply as a semi-colony, but as a profoundly backward, feudal dominated and nationally divided semi-colony. Its remarkable and successful repulsion of invaders – British and Russian – has not given rise to a modern nation state. Rather, the victories have strengthened the feudal warlords and landowners and their antiquated system of tribal rule. This society was perfect for the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Backward, divided, war weary but still at war with itself – enter the Taliban, "god's invincible soldiers." But their mission was not to create a modern nation – it was rather to take it back.

# What the RCIT Stands for

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) is a revolutionary combat organisation fighting for the liberation of the working class and all oppressed. It has national sections in a number of countries. The working class is composed of all those (and their families) who are forced to sell their labor 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, and exploitation are all part of everyday life under capitalism as are the imperialistic oppression of nations, the national oppression of migrants, 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 led by the working class, for only this class has the collective power to bring down the ruling class and build a socialist society.

The revolution cannot proceed peacefully because a ruling class never has nor ever will voluntarily surrender its power. By necessity, therefore, the road to liberation includes armed rebellion and civil war against the capitalists.

The RCIT is fighting for the establishment of workers' and peasants' republics, where the oppressed organize themselves in councils democratically elected in rank-and-file meetings in factories, neighbourhoods, and schools. These councils, in turn, elect and control the government and all other state authorities, and always retain the right to recall them.

Authentic socialism and communism have nothing to do with the so-called "socialism" that ruled in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and which continues to do so in China and Cuba, for example. In these countries, the proletariat was and is dominated and oppressed by a privileged party bureaucracy.

Under capitalism, the RCIT supports all efforts to improve the living conditions of the workers and oppressed, while simultaneously striving to overthrow this system based on economic exploitation of the masses.

Towards these ends, we work from within the trade unions where we advocate class struggle, socialism, and workers' democracy. But trade unions and social democracy are controlled by a bureaucracy perniciously connected with the state and capital via status, high-paying jobs, and other privileges. Thus, the trade union bureaucracy is far from the interests and living conditions of

its members, based as it is on the top, privileged layers of the working class – a labor aristocracy which has no real interest in replacing capitalism. Therefore, the true struggle for the liberation of the working class, the toppling of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, must be based on the broad mass of the proletariat rather than their "representative" from the upper trade union strata.

We also 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. Towards this goal we struggle 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.

While the RCIT strives for unity of action with other organizations, we are acutely aware that the policies of social democrats and pseudo-revolutionary groups are dangerous, and ultimately represent an obstacle to the emancipation of the working class, peasants, and the otherwise oppressed.

In wars between imperialist states we take a revolutionary defeatist position: we do not support either side, but rather advocate the transformation of the war into a civil war against the ruling class in each of the warring states. In wars between imperialist powers (or their stooges) and a semi-colonial countries we stand for the defeat of the former and the victory of the oppressed countries.

As communists, we maintain that the struggle against national oppression and all types of social oppression (women, youth, sexual minorities etc.) *must* be led by the working class, because only the latter is capable of fomenting a revolutionary change in society. Therefore, we consistently support working class-based revolutionary movements of the socially oppressed, while opposing the leadership of petty-bourgeois forces (feminism, nationalism, Islamism, etc.), who ultimately dance to the tune of the capitalists, and strive to replace them with revolutionary communist leadership.

Only with a revolutionary party fighting as its leadership can the working class be victorious in its struggle for liberation. The establishment of such a party and the execution of a successful revolution, as it was demonstrated by the Bolsheviks in Russia under Lenin and Trotsky remain the models for revolutionary parties and revolutions in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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

*No future without socialism!*

*No socialism without revolution!*

*No revolution without a revolutionary party!*

