



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

WAR

**GOOD
FOR
FEW**



**BAD
FOR
MOST**



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April 2018

Marxism and War

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Introduction by the RCIT
Position of MGKP (Russia)

* **The Latest Stock Market Panic**
* **Conflict between the Zionists and the
Right Wing Polish Government**

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The picture on the cover shows a cartoon by Carlos Latuff

Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Zambia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria. The RCIT has fraternal relations with the *Economic Liberation Association* (Zambia), the *Alkebulan School of Black Studies* (Kenya), the *Marxist Group 'Class Politics'* (Russia) and *Sınıf Savaşı* (Turkey).

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Marxism and War

By Yossi Schwartz, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 30.1.2018

1. Introductory Remarks

Since 2008 we live in a historic revolutionary period caused by the tendency of the rate of profit of capitalist production to fall. This tendency leads to capitalist governments serving the very rich to attack economic social and democratic rights of the workers and the poor.

The capitalists in some countries like Germany are in crisis, in other countries right wing tendencies are on the rise. This crisis is reflected in the US in the form of Trump. This is also a period that the mass movement of the oppressed is on the rise. The current latest cases are Palestine and Iran.

The crisis of humanity in this period is the lack of strong revolutionary International leading socialist revolutions. The tendency of the rate of profit to fall is leading to trade wars. Unless we will overthrow the world capitalist system, the conflicts between the old imperialist states the US, Western Europe and Japan and the new imperialist states China and Russia, will lead to a third world war.

US President Donald Trump is already pushing for a trade war with China. He acts to restrict imported goods made by China: *"The trade imbalance between America and China is one of Trump's signature moves, and a tariff is one way to address that kind of problem: It's a tax levied on imports from a particular country in order to make those imports more expen-*

sive. The U.S. trade deficit with China was a whopping \$342.6 billion in 2014 — not \$505 billion as Trump implied, which was America's trade deficit with the rest of the world combined. But that's still a problem. It means China sold \$342.6 billion more worth of goods and services to America than America sold to China." [1]

Wars between imperialist states, no matter how the capitalists and their servants portray themselves and what color they paint their faces with, are all about control over raw materials, markets and cheap labor. Right now, the competition between the new and the old imperialist states is intensifying.

WWI, which cost humanity about 20 million deaths, broke out because different imperialists wanted to re-divide the colonies. WWII, where the death toll almost tripled, broke out as the only way out of an economic crisis that began in 1929. Of course, the defeat of the revolutionary struggle of the working class contributed to humanity's inability to stop it on time. This was mainly due to the counter-revolutionary policies of the social democrats, the Stalinists and centrists such as the POUM in Spain.

Both world wars destroyed a large portion of the forces of productions in Europe, Asia and Africa. They claimed the lives of about 100 million people, most of whom were civilians. Thus we live in a world where a mentally ill serial killer will be put to death or imprisoned for life, while

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018 - A World Pregnant With Wars And Popular Uprisings

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – WORLD PERSPECTIVES 2018: A WORLD PREGNANT WITH WARS AND POPULAR UPRISINGS. The book's subtitle is: Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries.

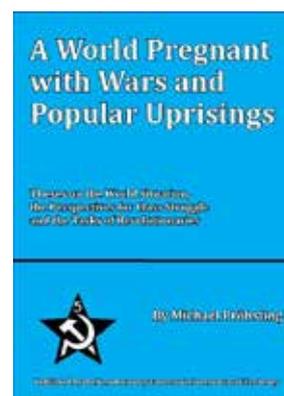
This book is a major contribution of our organization to keep the Marxists' analysis of the world situation and its accelerating contradictions updated. As we emphasize in the document, we consider it as crucial for revolutionaries to understand the nature and the inner dynamics of the current historic period. Without such an understanding it is impossible for socialists, indeed for all liberation fighters, to possess the necessary political compass on which they can base their program, strategy and tactics.

Since several years does the RCIT publish annual studies on the world situation in which it analysis its most important developments and changes. This book updates the Marxist analysis of the state of the world economy, of the relations between the Great Powers, of the struggle between the classes and the tactics of revolutionaries. We also deal in depth with new issues respectively extend our theoretical analysis on several questions. In particular we have deepened in this book,

among others, our understanding of the nature respectively the transitional character of the present world political phase, of the nature of different types of wars and the tactical conclusions arriving from this, of the complex nature of the conflicts in the Middle East, of the capitalist restoration in North Korea and, finally, we have elaborated a new proposal for an international platform for the unification of revolutionary forces in the present phase.

The book contains a preface, introduction and seven eight chapters plus an appendix (118 pages) and includes 23 figures , 9 tables and 2 maps. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>



those who are responsible for the deaths of millions will die of old age.

The very need of rebuilding the destroyed economy was behind the first-world prosperity after WWII. The capitalist world system does not present any way out of the vicious cycle of economic crisis except the destruction of large portions of the forces of production. A third world war will lead humanity back to the Stone Age and might even cause the total elimination of the human race. As Lenin put it: *"For humanity to live imperialism must die."*

This compels us to examine the question of wars and revolution. Marxists are not pacifists who oppose all wars. Marxists use the concept of the nineteenth century Prussian writer and soldier, Carl von Clausewitz, who wrote *"war is the continuation of politics by other means."*

Bourgeois peacetime politics is consisted of the exploitation of the working class, oppression of the working and non-capitalist women, exacerbation of racism and national chauvinism against immigrants (current scapegoats happen to be brown skinned or Muslim), destruction of the environment and, of course, preparing for a new global war. Lenin wrote that we have to look at *"the class character of war: what caused that war, what classes are waging it, and what historical-economic conditions gave rise to it."*

We revolutionary Marxists openly declare that our aim is to achieve a socialist society, which, by eliminating the division of mankind into classes, will inevitably eliminate the very possibility of war. However, on the road to a classless society we support wars waged by revolutionary classes, wars which are of direct and immediate revolutionary significance. Wars that advance the struggle of the working class and the oppressed against the imperialist enemy and its servants.

As Trotsky wrote: *"We do not and never have put all wars on the same plane. Marx and Engels supported the revolutionary struggle of the Irish against Great Britain, of the Poles against the tsar, even though in these two nationalist wars the leaders were, for the most part, members of the bourgeoisie and even at times of the feudal aristocracy ... at all events, Catholic reactionaries. When Abdel-Krim rose up against France, the democrats and Social Democrats spoke with hate of the struggle of a "savage tyrant" against the "democracy." The party of Leon Blum supported this point of view. But we, Marxists and Bolsheviks, considered the struggle of the Riffians against imperialist domination as a progressive war. Lenin wrote hundreds of pages demonstrating the primary necessity of distinguishing between imperialist nations and the colonial and semi-colonial nations which comprise the great majority of humanity. To speak of "revolutionary defeatism" in general, without distinguishing between exploiter and exploited countries, is to make a miserable caricature of Bolshevism and to put that caricature at the service of the imperialists."* [2]

Trotsky explained why Marxists defend the struggle of the oppressed people when they are led by non-revolutionary and even reactionary leadership: *"I will take the most simple and obvious example. In Brazil there now reigns a semi fascist 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 will place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the contrary 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!" [3]

2. The Different Types of Wars before and in the Age of Imperialism

The war of the American colonial settlers against British colonialism was progressive as it removed the fetters from the forces of production in North America. *"Previous restrictions on trade and industry ended. As a result, an American merchant marine and manufacturing industry developed, especially in munitions and consumer products. ... Large estates belonging to loyalist families were broken up into smaller plots. Primogeniture, the ancient British practice of passing on a family's entire estate to the eldest son, was ended. Both these policies provided increased opportunities for small, independent farmers."* [4]

At the same time, the war of the white colonists against the native nations was reactionary as its aim was to destroy and steal their land, not to help the them develop the forces of production.

"It is important to recognize that European and U.S. settler colonial projects unleashed massively destructive forces on Native peoples and communities. These include violence resulting directly from settler expansion, intertribal violence (frequently aggravated by colonial intrusions), enslavement, disease, alcohol, loss of land and resources, forced removals, and assaults on tribal religion, culture, and language. The configuration and impact of these forces varied considerably in different times and places according to the goals of particular colonial projects and the capacities of colonial societies and institutions to pursue them. The capacity of Native people and communities to directly resist, blunt, or evade colonial invasions proved equally important." [5]

In the American civil war Marx and Engels supported the North against the South because capitalism, at that time, was still progressive and victory for the North would abolish slavery. They saw the war as continuation of the revolutionary war for independence. Of course this was not a war that could lead to socialism but they believed that victory for the North would advance the cause of all workers, both white and black, by destroying chattel slavery.

At the same time the sympathy of many in the British upper class, especially those who dealt with cotton was with the South, despite the fact that Britain had abolished slavery within its territories in 1833. However, the mill workers of Manchester supported the North. Though they endured long hardship the workers of 'Cottonopolis' refused to spin cotton picked by American slaves and supported Lincoln's embargo. Lincoln acknowledged this sacrifice when he wrote to the workers of Manchester in 1863 saying that theirs was an act of *"sublime Christian heroism, which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country."* [6]

British capitalism was more advanced than American capitalism in the 1850-1890 period *"In this phase of development the growth process was led not by the textile industry but by the expansion of coal-mining, iron- and steel-making, railway construction, ship building, and other branches of mechanical engineering, such as the manufacture of steam-engines, textile machinery, and machine tools."* [7]

At the same period during the earliest phases of industrialization. *"American industry ... was ... characterized by ... local [miniature] monopolies protected from competition with each other by high transportation costs. By 1850, the average industrial plant in the US employed only seven workers. A year later, more than half of all British industrial enterprises had five or fewer employees."* At mid-century, the internal American market for manufactures was still smaller than that of the British. [8]

Marx and Engels did not support British colonialism even when it was more-advanced capitalism. They examine wars from the point of view of the international working class that understood that British imperialism was already a reactionary force against progress in the direction of democracy and socialism. England was already a bastion of reaction during the French revolution when it fought France in order to restore the old feudal regime and prevent democratic revolutions in other countries. It was motivated by the need of stability of profit flow.

Marx and Engels supported not only the Irish and the Polish struggles for independence but the struggle of the oppressed Indian people against British colonialism. *"Marx was almost the very first to grasp the true nature of the revolt. On June 30, 1857 he explained the fact that the Sepoy's revolt of 1857 were the first to rise by the pertinent observation that the Indian Army happened to be 'the first general center of resis-*

tance which the Indian people were ever possessed of'." On July 28, 1857, he quoted with approval Disraeli's remark on the previous day: *"the Indian disturbance is not a military mutiny, but a national revolt"*. On July 31 1857, Marx asserted that what John Bull considers to be a military mutiny *'is in truth a national revolt.'* [9]

"Britain had been trading in India since about 1600, but it did not begin to seize large sections of land until 1757, after the Battle of Plassey. This battle pitted 3,000 soldiers of the British East India Company against the 5,000-strong army of the young Nawab of Bengal, Siraj ud Daulah, and his French East India Company allies. Fighting began on the morning of June 23, 1757. Heavy rain spoiled the Nawab's cannon powder (the British covered theirs), leading to his defeat. The Nawab lost at least 500 troops, to Britain's 22. Britain took the modern equivalent of about US \$5 million from the Bengali treasury, which financed further expansion. The East India Company traded in cotton, silk, tea, and opium. Following the Battle of Plassey, it functioned as the military authority in growing sections of India, as well. By 1770, heavy Company taxation and other policies had left millions of Bengalis impoverished. While British soldiers and traders made their fortunes, the Indians starved. Between 1770 and 1773, about 10 million people died of famine in Bengal, one-third of the population." [10]

Wars in the Epoch of Imperialism

In this epoch of the decline of capitalism, war between two imperialist camps like WWI and WWII (except for the Stalinist Soviet Union that was a degenerated workers state and the semi-colonial nations fighting against imperialists like China vs. Japan) will destroy the forces of production and most importantly the lives of millions and

Books of the RCIT

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 Bolshevnik-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 Bolshevnik 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

millions of workers.

The International Monetary Fund writes: "By the end of World War II, much of Europe and Asia, and parts of Africa, lay in ruins. Combat and bombing had flattened cities and towns, destroyed bridges and railroads, and scorched the countryside. The war had also taken a staggering toll in both military and civilian lives. Shortages of food, fuel, and all kinds of consumer products persisted and in many cases worsened after peace was declared. War-ravaged Europe and Japan could not produce enough goods for their own people, much less for export. (...) By 1947, the United States had accumulated 70% of the world's gold reserves. The United Kingdom had gone from being the world's greatest creditor to the world's greatest debtor. Countries had sold off most of their gold and dollar reserves, as well as their foreign investments, to pay for the war. What few reserves remained were now quickly running out. Trade deficits meant there was little hope of replenishing them." [11]

Severe inflation plagued the weakened economies. By 1948, wholesale prices were 200% higher in Austria, 1,820% higher in France, and a massive 10,100% higher in Japan than they had been before the war. In 1948, the French government devalued the franc by 80%, making a 5,000 franc note practically worthless. In some countries like Germany, the monetary system collapsed. People resorted to barter, often using cigarettes as money. [12]

Thus the imperialist wars, no matter under what ideology or regime, are reactionary because they destroy the forces of production on a large scale for the profits of small number of families. The only correct position in such wars is revolutionary defeats to all the imperialist camps. [13]

Another type of war is a war between an imperialist state and colonies or semi-colonies, for example the US war against Iraq or Afghanistan or British imperialism against Argentina (the Malvinas war in 1982). In such a war the RCIT stands with the oppressed people of the semi-colonies regardless of what leadership they have and in this struggle. Building the revolutionary working class party must include using the tactic of the *Anti Imperialist United Front*. [14]

Trotsky wrote in *On the Sino-Japanese War*: "*In the Far East we have a classic example. China is a semi-colonial country which Japan is transforming, under our very eyes, into a colonial country. Japan's struggle is imperialist and reactionary. China's struggle is emancipatory and progressive. But Chiang Kai-shek? We need have no illusions about Chiang Kai-shek, his party, or the whole ruling class of China, just as Marx and Engels had no illusions about the ruling classes of Ireland and Poland. Chiang Kai-shek is the executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants. But today he is forced, despite himself, to struggle against Japan for the remainder of the independence of China. Tomorrow he may again betray. It is possible. It is probable. It is even inevitable. But today he is struggling. Only cowards, scoundrels, or complete imbeciles can refuse to participate in that struggle.*"

Another type of war is a war between two semi-colonies like the war between Iraq and Iran or Ethiopia and Eritrea. Another type is a war where imperialists use local armies of semi-colonies for example the African Union Mission to Somalia, AMISOM, a U.S.-controlled military operation financed by Washington that provided political, intelligence and diplomatic cover. Somalia is a source of oil and other strategic interests for imperialism. In such a war we

oppose the servants of imperialism and call to defend the country under attack.

3. Dialectical vs. Formal-Mechanical Logic

Logic is not only a tool of thinking but it reflects the actual motion in nature and society. There are two kinds of logic - mechanical logic and dialectical logic. The first one relates to the external motion of large bodies and the second one relates to both internal and external, i.e. actual motion. Non-revolutionary "Marxists" no matter what they say about themselves use only formal mechanical mode of logic whenever they are tasked with expressing revolutionary positions. Mechanical logic uses Newtonian laws of mechanics. The three basic laws describing the motion of material bodies under the action of forces applied to them:

First law: if no forces act on a material point (or if the forces applied to it are in equilibrium), then relative to an inertial reference system the material point is in a state of rest or uniform rectilinear motion.

Second law: If a force FF acts on a material point, then relative to an inertial reference system the point undergoes an acceleration such that its product with the mass mm of the point is equal to FF : $ma=F$.

Third law: Two material points act on each other with forces that are equal in absolute value but opposite in direction along the line joining the two points.

Newton's laws of mechanics are based on the notion that object A is always A and not B. However, even scientists who use Newton's laws have to admit that they cease to be valid for motions of objects of very small dimension (elementary particles). Since large bodies are made of elementary elements everything is in motion and not only because of an external force but because of internal motion caused by internal contradictions. For this reason A in the real world is in the process of becoming B.

To give an example: the Stalinist Soviet Union collapsed because of the external pressure of the armed race and because of the bureaucratic relations of production blocked any further development of the forces of production already in the 1970s.

It is possible in simple cases, when two very similar states fight each other to reach a correct revolutionary position by using formal logic. For example, WWI when the correct revolutionary position was a revolutionary defeat for all the imperialists and, hence, in each imperialist state the main enemy of the working class was the national capitalist class.

However, there are many wars where formal logic is not sufficient and without dialectical logic it is easy to fall into a wrong position. For example the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. Since both states are semi-colonies, using formal logic leads to the position of revolutionary defeat for both. However Between 1979 and June 1981, Iran had a sharp internal struggle. In January 1980 Abolhassan Banisadr became the president of Iran and he clashed with the theocratic Islamic Republic Party. The guerrilla group *People's Mujahedin of Iran* (MEK) also opposed the IRP.

On 28 June 1981, a bombing of the office of the IRP killed around 70 high-ranking officials, cabinet members and members of parliament, including Mohammad Beheshti, the secretary-general of the party and head of the Islamic

Republic's judicial system. The government responded with thousands of arrests and hundreds of executions. The uprising and armed struggle against the Khomeinists was crushed and the Ayatollas further consolidated their power. Thus, *until* then it was necessary to defend Iran but *after* the Ayatollas consolidated their power, it was time for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. [15]

Another example is the military clash between Fatah and Hamas in Gaza in 2006. Formal logic leads to the conclusion of opposing both reactionary sides. Some centrists even thought that since Hamas is Islamist and Fatah is secular it was necessary to support Fatah. In sharp contrast, using dialectical modes of thinking led to the position of revolutionary defense of Hamas. It was based on the fact that Israel was behind Fatah's attack on Hamas after losing the 2005 elections. Those centrists like Alan Woods' IMT who refused to defend Hamas because it is an Islamist organization reflected the Islamophobia of the imperialists.

Using the logic of dialectics, resulting from careful observation of motion and interaction of different forces of nature and society, began already in ancient Greece. Socrates already referred to the laws of dialectics:

"After being told that dialectic is a systematic way of discerning the essence of things, Glaucon asks for a fuller description of its nature, forms, and method" (Republic 532d-e). Heraclitus 500 years BC said "No man ever steps in the same river twice, for it's not the same river and he's not the same man."

As any Marxist knows, the laws of dialectics were already worked out in detail by Hegel. However, they appear in a mystified, idealist form in whose writings. Marx and Engels who were Hegel's students gave dialectics its materialist basis.

Trotsky in the *ABC of materialist dialectics* wrote: *"We call our dialectic materialist, since its roots are neither in heaven nor in the depths of our "free will", but in objective reality, in nature. Consciousness grew out of the unconscious, psychology out of physiology, the organic world out of the inorganic, the solar system out of the nebulae. Marx, who in distinction from Darwin was a conscious dialectician, discovered a basis for the scientific classification of human societies in the development of their productive forces and the structure of the relations of ownership which constitute the anatomy of society."*

Engels defines dialectics as *"the science of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought."* In *Anti-Dühring* and *The Dialectics of Nature*, En-

gels explained the laws of dialectics, beginning with the three most fundamental ones:

- 1) The law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa;
- 2) The law of the interpenetration of opposites, and
- 3) The law of the negation of the negation.

These three laws are not the only laws of dialectics, but only the most important ones. Lenin in summary of Dialectics recognized 16 laws of Dialectics. In this article we will explain the three fundamental laws of dialectics.

Quantity and Quality

This law manifested in nature. For example, water boiling in 100c can no longer be called water, but steam, and under 0c it would not be called water but ice. The motion includes at certain point of the developing contradictions sudden and explosive periods in which, accumulated changes (quantitative change) undergoes a rapid acceleration, in which quantity is transformed into quality.

This law manifests itself in society when we observe the way capitalist society replaced feudal society and slave society was transformed into a feudal society. It explains how the growing contradiction of Tsarist Russia exploded in the Russian revolution.

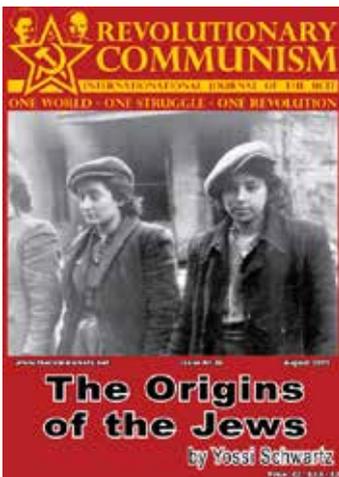
Trotsky in the *ABC of materialist dialectics* wrote:

"Every individual is a dialectician to some extent or other, in most cases, unconsciously. A housewife knows that a certain amount of salt flavors soup agreeably, but that added salt makes the soup unpalatable."

To use the dialectical method it is necessary to understand phase transitions when one phenomenon is changing to another. Using the example of water, the phase of transition is the period of the changes from solid to liquid or from liquid to gas. At a certain point, the growing contradictions of a phenomenon cause a qualitative leap.

This explains how inorganic matter changed into organic matter and how open revolutionary uprisings explode at certain points of long periods of struggle against exploitation and oppression. This critical point in the process of the revolution in Russia was reached already in September 1917, as Lenin understood, and if Lenin was not alive, the Russian revolution would have failed and been crushed.

While according to formal logic the whole is equal to the sum of its parts, in reality the whole is greater than the sums of its parts. An army is not simply the sum total of



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

individual soldiers. It is a massive force that transforms the individual soldier physically and psychologically. The same is true for a revolutionary party that transforms the individual members into a great force that at a certain point in the revolutionary process can lead the transformation of society.

The Unity of Opposites

People who use dialectical logic proceed from the standpoint that everything develops by means of a struggle of opposites; that the whole is made from contradicting parts; that capitalism develops in virtue of the contradiction between the social character of production and the private means of appropriation. The engine of social evolution is the struggle between the working class and the oppressed against the capitalist ruling class.

The negation of negation

If the law of the unity and struggle of opposites discloses the source of development, and the law of the transition of quantitative changes into qualitative changes reveals the mechanism of development, the law of the negation of the negation expresses the direction, form, and result of development.

The effect of the law of the negation of the negation is fully revealed only in an integral, relatively complete process of development through a chain of interconnected transitions, when it is possible to specify a more or less finished result of the process.

At each particular stage, the law of the negation of the negation is usually revealed only as a tendency. Every phenomenon is negated and the new phenomena that replace it will be negated and the former phenomenon will replace it, but on higher level. This law is the basis of our understanding that classless primitive communism was replaced by class society some 13,000 years ago, but modern communism will replace class society but on a higher level than primitive communism.

4. Examples of the Application of Dialectical Laws in Revolutionary Politics

To understand Trotsky's *Proletarian Military Policy for WWII* in the democratic imperialist states, it is necessary to use the logic of materialist dialectics. WWII was the continuation of WWI but not a repetition of it. It was different because of the Soviet Union that was not a capitalist state and because some imperialist states had a democratic form that had to be considered for tactical reasons, while in content, both imperialist camps were the main enemy.

The *Proletarian Military Policy's* aim was to turn the American working class's desire to fight fascism into a revolutionary perspective of overthrowing its "own" imperialist state. The essence of the proletarian military policy was a call for trade-union control of the compulsory military training being instituted by the state. Of course, the American ruling class would oppose such a policy, but it could appeal to the working class.

Unfortunately, after Trotsky was murdered by a Stalinist agent, the SWP tilted the policy in the direction of reformism when they explained during their trial that Nazi Germany is the enemy, forgetting that in each imperial state the main enemy is at home. This caused later groups like

the ICL to reject Trotsky's correct tactic altogether.

In the war of 1948 between Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab states, it was necessary to oppose the Zionist state and use the tactic of revolutionary defense for the Arab armies, even though the high officers of the Jordanian legion, for example, were British. The reason was that the essence of the war by Israel was to expel the Palestinian masses and the Arab states entered the war under the pressure of the Arab masses that felt solidarity with the Palestinians suffering from brutal massacres.

In May 1948 the organ of the Fourth International published the mistaken position of Trotskyists in Palestine led by Ygael Gluckstein, known later as Tony Cliff, who could not adopt a revolutionary position in support of the Palestinians.

The group *Revolutionary Communist League* wrote:

"The two camps today mobilize the masses under the mask of 'self-defense.' 'We have been attacked, let us defend ourselves!' – say the Zionists. 'Let us ward off the danger of a Jewish conquest!' – declares the Arab Higher Committee. Where does the truth lie?"

War is the continuation of politics by other means. The war led by the Arab feudalists is but the continuation of their reactionary war on the worker and the fellah who are striving to shake off oppression and exploitation. For the feudal effendis "Salvation of Palestine" means safeguarding their revenues at the expense of the fellahin, maintaining their autocratic rule in town and country, smashing the proletarian organizations and international class solidarity.

The war waged by the Zionists is the continuation of their expansionist policy based on discrimination between the two peoples: they defend kibbush avoda (ousting of Arab labor), kibbush adama (ousting of the fellah), boycott of Arab goods, "Hebrew rule." The military conflict is a direct result of the policy of the Zionist conquerors.

This war can on neither side be said to bear a progressive character. The war does not release progressive forces or do away with social and economic obstacles in the path of development of the two nations. Quite the opposite is true. It is apt to obscure the class antagonism and to open the gate for nationalist excesses. It weakens the proletariat and strengthens imperialism in both camps." [16]

This position has three main mistakes. First of all, the Arab semi-colonies were not feudal as feudalism did not exist in the Middle East. The mode of production under the Ottoman was the Asian mode of Production. In 1948 the Arab states were underdeveloped capitalist colonies or semi-colonies, super exploited by the imperialists.

Secondly, the essence of the 1948 war was the Zionists' ethnic cleansing of Palestine, not a war against British imperialism. A war similar to the American white colonialist settlers against the native nations.

Thirdly, a victory in a war of semi-colonies against settler colonialists in the epoch of imperialism would have been a victory against the main enemy of the working class - the imperialists and would encourage other workers and oppressed people to fight against imperialism. [17]

The British government supported the Zionists in the war. In April 1948, British forces, which had hitherto acted as a buffer between Jews and Arabs forces in Haifa, the largest port town, announced to the Jewish authorities there that they would be withdrawing. This sent a green light to proceed with the city's 'de-Arabisation', which involved ex-

PELLING its 75,000 Palestinian residents, and is described by the Israeli historian Ilan Pappé as “one of the most shameful chapters in the history of the British empire in the Middle East”.

The same fate befell the city of Jaffa, which was taken in May 1948 after a three-week long siege by Israeli forces, who succeeded in expelling the entire population of 50,000 with the ‘help’ of British mediation. In parts of Jerusalem, the British even disarmed the few Arab residents defending themselves against Jewish attacks on their neighborhoods. The British also aided Israel’s annexation of Palestine in other ways, such as handing over land ownership deeds for villages, which provided vital information to aid the depopulation process. [18]

The Jordanian legion, in spite of the fact that it was commanded by British officers, and in spite the secret deal of King Abdulla with the Zionists of dividing the lands that according to the partition plan was supposed to be an independent Palestinian state, fought against Israel because of the pressures of the Arab masses, including Arab officers of the legion, who felt solidarity with the Palestinians. For this reason the policy of revolutionary defense of the Arab armies was the only correct revolutionary position.

The victory of Israel in the war of 1948 set back the economy of the Arab states and strengthened the control of British and American imperialists in the region. It also set back the workers struggle in the Arab states.

On this the Trotskyist Gabriel Baer wrote in 1949:

“However, the creation of the State of Israel as a diversion for the Arab masses of the Middle East from the anti-imperialist struggle, was not the only gain for Anglo-American imperialism from the war and the new balance of power. An important by-product of last year’s events was the exhaustion of resources and reserves of almost all the Middle Eastern governments. Benefiting from

the war-time prosperity of World War II, the Arab bourgeoisie all over the Middle East and especially in Egypt gained strength and resources, considerably improving their bargaining position vis-a-vis British imperialism.

... It would be futile to deny that the period of the last year, from May 1948 to May 1949, has been a period of stagnation of the labor movement in the Arab East, except perhaps for some countries on the fringe of the Arab states like the Sudan (where strong trade unions came into being and took part in the political struggle of the Sudanese anti-imperialist movement.” [19]

Thus the Israeli victory in the war of 1948 set back the forces of production in the Arab states and the struggle of the working class and the oppressed. For this reason it was necessary to defend the armies of the semi-colonies regardless of the reactionary leadership of the Arabs, without giving them political support.

The right centrist of the CWI and the IMT take a similar wrong position to the Trotskyists in Palestine in 1948. They see the Israeli working class as the key for a socialist transformation of Palestine and they call for two “socialist states”. This position reflects their pro Zionist politics.

5. The Inability of Reformists and Centrists to Apply Dialectical Materialism

Reformists and some centrists (the British SWP for example or the American “Trotskyists”) avoid the use of dialectical materialism and their method of thinking is a form of western Pragmatism and formal logic. Other centrists, like Alan Woods of the IMT and Peter Taaffe of the CWI explain the dialectics method in general, but they are unable to apply it to revolutionary politics.

For example in the war of imperialist Britain and the

Books of the RCIT

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 Bolshevick-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 Bolshevick 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

semi-colony of Argentina in 1982 they did not take the side of Argentina. The same in the war between the US imperialism and the Afghan people led by the reactionary Taliban. They have refused to stand with the Syrian revolution because it has been led by Islamists. When Fatah backed by Israel attacked Hamas, Alan Woods refused to defend Hamas and stated that in a war between two factions in Palestine, the IMT does not choose sides.

To conclude, Marxists must take into account the consequences of the victory of each side in a war, the potential gains of the imperialists or the struggle of the working class and the oppressed masses against it, the advancement or destruction of the forces of production of the colonies and semi-colonies, the strengthening or weakening of the control of the imperialists and the super exploitation of the working class, etc. For revolutionary politics it is necessary to use materialist dialectics which is the philosophical basis of our scientific observation, thought and action.

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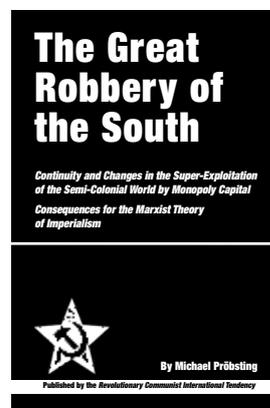
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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.

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The Latest Stock Market Panic

A Harbinger of the Future Crash of the Capitalist World Economy

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8.2.2018

The panic at the stock markets all around the world in the last days has demonstrated once more the fragile character of the so-called recovery of the capitalist world economy since the Great Recession in 2008/09. At this point we will limit ourselves to a few remarks as we plan to publish a book about the current world situation and its fundamental contradictions by next week. This document will include a more extensive chapter about the world economy.

Naturally, we are not in a position to predict if the stock market panic of the last days will continue directly into a crash or not. As we know from past events it is possible that there might be a superficial temporary recovery. But it is certainly the case that this panic reflects the highly fragile state of the world economy and its explosive inner contradictions as we have outlined in past works. (1) These contradictions are in turn an expression of the fundamental decay of capitalism as a mode of production. (2)

The IMF and other bourgeois think tanks have published in the past months several reports in which they presented a relatively optimistic picture. In its *January 2018 Update* the IMF states: “The cyclical upswing underway since mid-2016 has continued to strengthen. Some 120 economies, accounting for three quarters of world GDP, have seen a pickup in growth in year-on-year terms in 2017, the broadest synchronized global growth upsurge since 2010.” (3) The World GDP is supposed to grow (calculated by Market Exchange Rates) by 2.5% (2016), 3.2% (2017), 3.3% (2018) and 3.2% (2019).

However, the smarter bourgeois economists are fully aware that there is not much behind the official optimistic fanfares. The *World Economic Forum*, the organizer of the summit of the world’s elite in Davos in January, warns in its report: “However, this relatively upbeat picture masks numerous concerns. This has been the weakest post-recession recovery on record. Productivity growth remains puzzlingly weak. Investment growth has been subdued, and in developing economies it has slowed sharply since 2010. And in many countries the social and political fabric has been badly frayed by many years of stagnating real incomes.” (4)

The development of investment and profits continues to be weak or is even in decline. As the OECD demonstrated in its latest *Economic Outlook*, average growth of output since 2008 has been clearly below the average of the two business cycles before. (5) We see a similar picture for the development of investment and profit growth in the U.S. according to the latest World Bank statistic. (See Figure 1). This is also true when we look to the dynamic of investment in the other major economy – China. (See Figure 2)

Furthermore, as we have pointed out in past World Perspectives documents, we continue to see a stagnation of world trade in relation to production. As we have said, the era of globalization is about to come to an end. According to the *World Trade Organization* 791 new non-tariff barriers appeared annually on average in the years 2010-15 – that is, more than ever in history. (8) Another reflection of this development is the decline of cross-border capital flows

as a percentage of global GDP since the Great Recession in 2008/09. From a peak level of 20.7% in 2007 it fell to a record-low of 2.6% in 2015.

These stagnation tendencies of the business cycle reflect the failure of the monopoly bourgeoisie to overcome the fundamental inner contradictions of the capitalist world economy – its over-accumulation of capital and the fall of the rate of profit. Even the latest issue of the U.S. “*Economic Report of the President*”, annually produced by the White House and not known for a pessimistic outlook, is forced to draw attention to the decreasing rate of capital accumulation. It reproduces a figure showing the development of net investment as a share of the U.S. capital stock between 1945 and 2015. (See Figure 3) This figure reflects the declining dynamic of the expanded reproduction of capital: “In 2009, net investment as a share of the capital stock fell to its lowest level in the post-World War II era and the nominal capital stock even declined. Although net investment has rebounded somewhat in the recovery, its level as a share of the capital stock remains well below the historical average and it declined slightly in 2015.” (9)

While the capitalist class has been unable to overcome these fundamental contradictions of its mode of production, it has been able, until now, to delay the beginning of the next recession. What have been the reasons for this? There are several reasons but the most important seem to be a massive increase in debt reaching a level higher than before the last recession in 2007. Related to this there is a huge bubble in the financial sector which will sooner or later explode. All this has been made possible by the reckless policy of the imperialist central banks of printing money and keeping down the interest rates at nearly zero.

Let us look to these developments more in detail. In Table 1 we see the latest calculations of the *Institute of International Finance* on global debt. It shows that debt as a share of global output rose massively in the past 15 years. Significantly, while debt as a share of global GDP was 276% before the last recession, this has grown to 327% in 2017 – despite all the official promises to reduce debt as it was understood to be a major reason for the severity of the last recession!

In Table 2 we see the breakdown of this debt into the different sectors: Non-Financial Corporations, Government, Financial Sector, Household. It is of particular interest to see that – compared with the situation before the last recession – the two sectors where debt increased most rapidly have been the non-financial corporations and the government. While it is only logical that the capitalists are prepared to increase their debt in order to keep their business operations going in this period of declining profit rate, it is telling that government debt is increasing massively but not that of the financial sector. This is all the more interesting since it was the financial sector which was massively in debt before the recession in 2007 and which triggered it. The explanation lies in the fundamental character of the capitalist government – as Marx and Engels already stated

in the Communist Manifesto: *"The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie"* (12) Concretely, the capitalist state has taken over the debts of the banks and, by this, helped the financial speculators to start their risky business again. Meanwhile, the working class has to pay for the increased public debt with higher taxes and cuts in social service!

The growth of indebtedness is taking place in all imperialist economies. While the level of indebtedness was already high in the Western imperialist economies before the recession in 2008/09 but not so much in the so-called "emerging markets" (including China), this has changed now. In fact, debt has even increased faster in China than in the old imperialist economies! According to the latest OECD report, aggregate debt in China rose from less than 100% of GDP at the end of 2008 to 170% by early 2016. (14) According to another report, China's total debt is believed to be around 280% of GDP, with corporate debt rising quickly to 160% of GDP, the highest level among the major world economies. (15) In fact, debts in government and non-financial corporations sector increased in nearly all G20 countries. Marx observed in Volume III of *Capital* that the credit system helps the capitalists to accelerate production. However, he also warned that indebtedness is a double-edged sword. The more it accelerates production, the more it will later result in violent eruptions: *"Hence, the credit system accelerates the material development of the productive forces and the establishment of the world-market. It is the historical mission of the capitalist system of production to raise these material foundations of the new mode of production to a certain degree of perfection. At the same time credit accelerates the violent eruptions of this contradiction – crises – and thereby the elements of disintegration of the old mode of production."* (16)

There are many indications that the global economy is experiencing a similar bubble as it did in the last two decades. Global stock markets are hitting all-time high after all-time high. But in fact this is a bubble which should soon implode. The WEF alarmingly observes: *"US stocks have only twice in history been higher than they are at the moment: just prior to the crashes of 1929 and 2000."* (17) Another example for the bizarre bubble is the hype around the cryptocurrency Bitcoin, which increased in value by around 1200% in 2017! Likewise, the Global House Price Index has increased massively and has reached now the same level when the bubble was at its height in 2007! (See Figure 4) In short, assets are unsustainably overpriced and this bubble must implode rather sooner than later. Such an implosion most likely would trigger another Great Recession.

In fact, the next recession will most likely be worse than the last. This is the case for a number of reasons related to the deep stagnation of the capitalist world economy. But at this place we want to point out only three important fac-

tors. First, during the last recession in 2008/09, the dramatic effects on the world economy could be softened by the fact that the recession had its focus in the old imperialist countries. Hence, China which experienced still some significant growth, as well as other "emerging economies", could soften the consequences of the slump. This is no longer the case. As we have demonstrated, indebtedness in China and other "emerging economies" has significantly increased and, hence, their ability for counter-cyclical interventions is much more limited now.

Secondly, the dramatic effects on the world economy in 2008/09 could be softened by the massive state-capitalist intervention. The capitalist governments were prepared to bail out the banks, take over their debts and pump money since then into the economy (the so-called "*Quantitative Easing*", as we have explained in past documents on the world economy). However, again, this instrument is no longer available. The governments are now much higher indebted than they were last time and therefore their room for maneuver is much more limited.

Thirdly, the central banks were able in past recessions to lower the interest rates. This monetary instrument made it easier for banks and corporations to take new loans and to soften the effects of the recession. However, this instrument too is no longer available since the central banks already lowered the interest rates to nearly 0% in the past years! Former U.S. Treasury Secretary Larry Summers noted in a recent speech that the Fed typically has lowered interest rates by 5 percentage points over time to stimulate the economy in recessions. However, this is no longer possible as the Fed had lowered the federal funds rate close to zero and just recently raised it to 1.25-1.5%. Other Central Banks – like the European Central Bank, the Bank of Japan and the Bank of England – are in an even worse position since their interest rates are currently even lower than the Fed's.

There can be no doubt that the capitalist world economy is heading towards a new Great Recession which will be most likely more devastating than the last one. An increasing number of economists already get nervous. Jean-Claude Trichet, the former President of the European Central Bank from 2003 to 2011, warned in a recently published interview about the *"a very serious risk of a new crisis."* (19) We can not say if this will happen in 2018 or later. In fact, the massive state-capitalist interventions and the huge global indebtedness, which reminds one to a Ponzi scheme, make a precise prognosis difficult. However, whenever the next Great Recession will explode, it will tremendously shatter the bourgeois order and open a new phase of major attacks by the capitalists as well as of class struggles.

Table 2. Global Sectoral Indebtedness (All Sectors), as a Share of Global GDP, 1997-2017 (13)

	<i>Non-Financial Corporations</i>	<i>Government</i>	<i>Financial Sector</i>	<i>Household</i>
1997	64%	58%	53%	42%
2007	77%	58%	86%	57%
2017	92%	87%	80%	59%

Figure 1. US: Investment and Profit Growth 2000-2017 (6)

A. Investment and profit growth

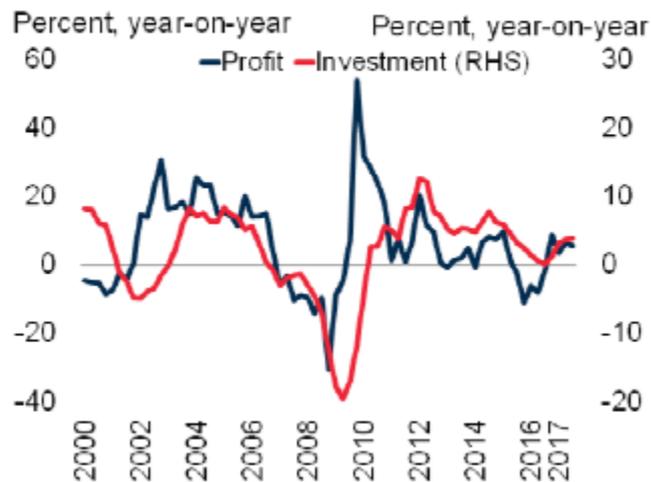


Figure 2. China: Investment Growth 2015-2017 (7)

B. Investment growth

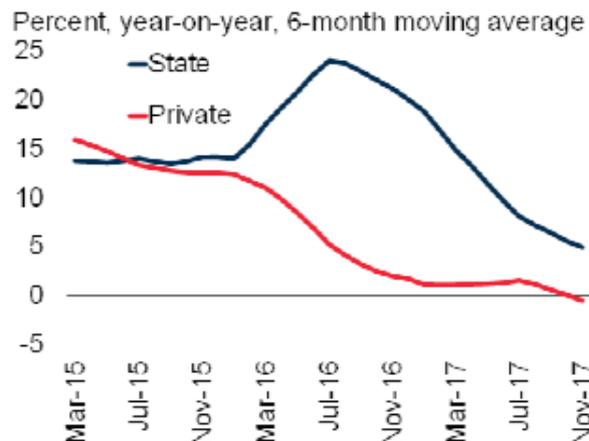


Figure 3. Net Investment as a Share of the Capital Stock, USA, 1945-2015 (10)

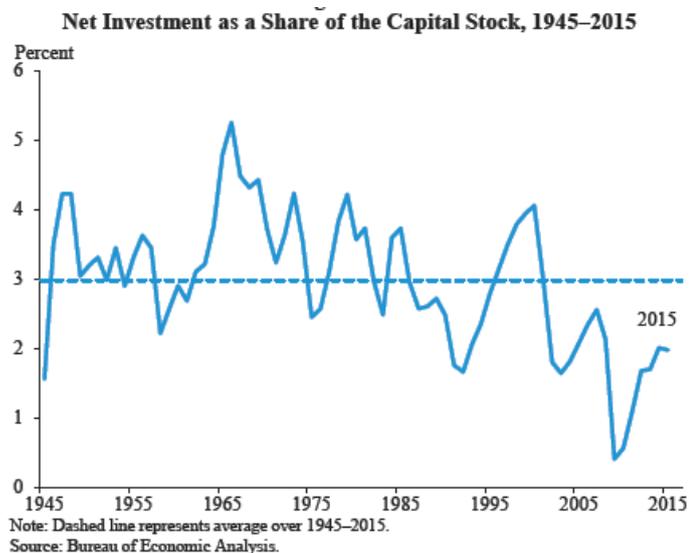


Figure 4. Global House Price Index Q1-2000 – Q2-2017 (18)



Table 1. Global Debt (All Sectors), 2002-2017 (11)

	<i>In Trillion US-Dollar</i>	<i>Global Debt as a Share of Global GDP</i>
2002	86	246%
2007	149	276%
2012	205	305%
2017	217	327%

Footnotes

(1) For the RCIT's analysis of the capitalist world economy since the Great Recession in 2008/09 see e.g. RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, Chapter I, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 59, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/>; RCIT: Advancing Counterrevolution and Acceleration of Class Contradictions Mark the Opening of a New Political Phase. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries (January 2016), Chapter II and III, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 46, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/>; RCIT: Perspectives for the Class Struggle in Light of the Deepening Crisis in the Imperialist World Economy and Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation and Perspectives Ahead (January 2015), in: Revolutionary Communism No. 32, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-january-2015/>; Michael Pröbsting: World economy – heading to a new upswing? in: Fifth International, Volume 3, No. 3, Autumn 2009, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-economy-crisis-2009/>; Michael Pröbsting: Imperialism, Globalization and the Decline of Capitalism (2008), in: Richard Brenner, Michael Pröbsting, Keith Spencer: The Credit Crunch - A Marxist Analysis, London 2008, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-and-globalization/>

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(10) Economic Report of the President, January 2017, p. 105

(11) Tyler Durden: Global Debt Hits Record \$233 Trillion, Up \$16Tn In 9 Months, 01/07/2018, <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2018-01-07/global-debt-hits-record-233-trillion-16-trillion-9-months>

(12) Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party (1848), in: MECW Vol. 6, p. 486

(13) Tyler Durden: Global Debt Hits Record \$233 Trillion, Up \$16Tn In 9 Months

(14) OECD Economic Outlook, Volume 2017 Issue 2, p. 58

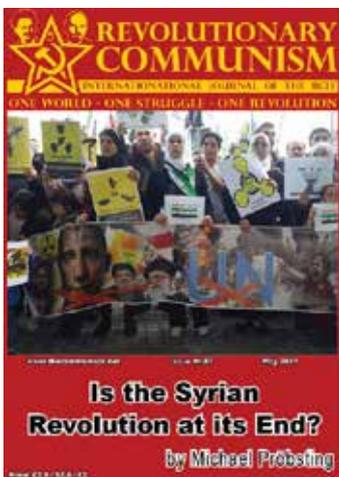
(15) PricewaterhouseCoopers: The Long View. How will the global economic order change by 2050? February 2017, p. 22

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By Michael Pröbsting, April 2017

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On the MGKP Statement on the Presidential Election in Russia

Introduction by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 16 March 2018

The statement below has been published by the *Marxist Group 'Class Politics'* (MGKP) in Russia. We reprint this statement not only we collaborate with these comrades since some time but also because we strongly agree with the general outlook and line of it.

The RCIT shares the position of the MGKP on the necessity of the revolutionary struggle for the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and for the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the assessment of the role of the parliament in capitalism, the Marxist approach to elections as a subordinated arena of class struggle and as a tribune for propaganda and agitation, etc.

We also agree with the comrades' refusal to give electoral support for any of the candidates. We fully share the comrades' denunciation of the Stalinist's candidates and their social-patriotic adaption to Russian imperialism. Likewise we agree with their critique of the opportunist tactics of the Russian section of the centrist IMT. Given the information we have about the very small basis for the ROT Front candidate, the Stalinist Natalia Lisitsyna, we agree with the MGKP's refusal to lend critical support to her.

We also agree with the general line of the MGKP statement concerning the Marxist approach towards electoral tactics. There is only one critical remark we wish to make: the statement suggests that small groups – unlike a revolutionary party – are not in a position to advocate critical support for reformist parties because of their small size. We do not agree with such an approach. If small groups can not advocate the tactic of critical electoral support because they are small and not a party, why is this not true for other tactics? With such an approach should we not

also say that small Marxist groups can not advocate the tactic to call for a strike, for the application of the united front tactic in defense of democratic rights and national self-determination, for electoral support of this or that candidate in trade union or student union elections, to call for the anti-imperialist united front tactic in Syria etc.?! We think that if the small size of a Marxist group would not allow it to advocate critical support for a reformist party, why would its small size not also be an obstacle to advocate other tactics?!

Furthermore, such an interpretation would also be in contradiction to the approach of Trotsky and his supporters in the 1930s. In Britain, for example, the Trotskyists only numbered a few dozen people until the later 1930s. Nevertheless they undertook the tactic of entryism into the Independent Labour Party and later into the Labour Party itself. Trotsky himself and his British followers advocated critical support for the Labour Party at the election in 1935 despite their small size. Were they wrong to do so because of their small size? We don't think so.

However, we hope to overcome this difference in joint discussion and collaboration with the comrades of the MGKP.

A final note on the English-language translation: we are fully aware of the limitations of the English translation in terms of grammar and style. However, given lack of time and resources we were not in a position to improve the translation. Nevertheless, we think it is preferable to publish the English translation as it is because it provides a revolutionary answer to crucial questions of the class struggle in Russia.

The position of MGKP on presidential elections in 2018

The political power of the bourgeoisie and its "democratic" form

Political power is an ability of one class to establish the dictatorship over other classes. The essential basis for this definition in 'normal' conditions that are in periods of relative stability of bourgeois society, dictatorship is hidden under the facade of 'freedom and democracy'. Ruling class, especially in the epoch of its decline, mystifies this statement using its ideological apparatus. In fact, working class and its vanguard can be convinced easily how far ruling ideas about 'democratic' power are far from the truth. The media, universities, bureaucrats, opportunists, and centrists - this is united ideological front of the bourgeois army, which advertise form as essence and pseudo-knowledge as knowledge. All of them are necessary assistance of the bourgeoisie for its domination over the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie, being a relatively small class of parasites is not able to rule directly as armed lords could do. On the contrary, to control masses, it needs colossal apparatus of violence and deception. One of these instruments of control is the spreading ideas about the current situation as

'eternal and natural', and about that, all changes inside superstructure are determined by 'people'. The mythology of elections legitimizes well the current situation, presenting it as formally free and shifting responsibility for the shortcomings of power to the masses.

Dictatorial powers of representatives of the bourgeoisie

To understand falsity of 'bourgeois democracy', it is sufficient to look at the legal basis for the power of the modern bourgeois state. The right of 'state of emergency', 'emergency powers of government', 'defense of national security' - all of it is written in constitutions of the most 'free' and 'democratic' countries. But what is it if not a possibility of direct violence and open dictatorship against oppressed? Defenders of constitution insist that the basis of it is the social contract. For them, it is an effort to legitimize the status of the bourgeoisie. But at the same time, the contradiction in the bourgeois ideology of the treaty is neglected. If the right is a contract between all members

of society then how it is possible that one part of it has extraordinary powers over others? Why 'equal contract' needs the initially unequal character of parties? Elections, therefore, look just like a farce which serves to hide this picture with beautiful words about the possibility of full influence on the fate of the national state.

The position of communists on the presidency

Unlike the parliament, the presidential post cannot be used for agitation and the development of class consciousness - for the awakening of the class hatred of proletariat to the ruling classes. The institution of the presidency, as part of the state system, is 'democratic' form of the rule of the bourgeoisie. Outwardly president appears to be representative of a "popular will" that stands outside the classes, but in essence, the presidency is a machine for oppression and subjugation in the hands of ruling capital. Moreover, the presidential form of power is a definite form of state order; therefore it cannot at all be the form of communist society, which knows neither classes nor class struggle nor any state power. Presidential power, one of the apparatuses of the bourgeois state machine, cannot as such in the long run be taken over, just as the proletariat cannot at all take over the proletarian state. The task of the proletariat consists in breaking up the bourgeois state machine, destroying it, and with it the institution of the presidency.

Consequently, communism denies presidential power as a form of the society of the future. It rejects it as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat. It denies the possibility of taking over presidential power in the long run; it sets itself the aim of destroying the institution of the presidency. Therefore there can only be a question of utilizing the presidential elections for the destruction of this institution.

The center of gravity of political life has been removed wholly and finally beyond the bounds of elections, and the historical task of the working class to wrest this apparatus from the hands of the ruling class, to smash it, to destroy it, and replace it with new proletarian organs of power.

The institution of the presidency cannot be a form of proletarian state administration in the period of transition from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the moment of sharpened class struggle, in the civil war, the proletariat must inevitably build up its state organization as a militant organization, into which the representatives of the previous ruling classes are not allowed. In this stage, any fiction of the "popular will" is directly harmful to the working class. The proletariat does not need any sharing of power, and it is detrimental to it. The form of the proletarian dictatorship is the Soviet republic.

The Communist movement must correctly estimate the character of the present epoch: highest stage of capitalism; imperialist self-negation and self-destruction, etc. Therefore at stake for communists is the political and technical preparations for the revolt of the proletariat, the destruction of bourgeois power and the establishment of the new proletarian power.

Every class struggle is a political struggle, in the final analysis, it is a struggle for power. Any strike at all that spreads over the whole country becomes a threat to the bourgeois state and thus takes on a political character. Ev-

ery attempt to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to destroy its state means carrying out a political fight. Creating a proletarian state apparatus for administration and for the oppression of the resisting bourgeoisie, of whatever type that apparatus will be, means conquering political power.

Consequently, the question of political power is not at all identical with the matter of the attitude towards the institution of the presidency. The former is the central question of the proletarian class struggle, which is characterized by the intensification of small and partial conflicts to the general fight for the overthrow of the capitalist order as a whole.

Methods of the struggle for power of the proletariat

The most important method of struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, i.e., against its state power, is above all mass action. Mass actions are organized and led by the revolutionary mass organizations (trades unions, parties, soviets) of the proletariat under the general leadership of a unified, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war, the proletariat must have its bold officer corps and its strong general staff, who direct all operations in all theatres of the struggle.

The mass struggle is a whole system of developing actions sharpening in their form and logically leading to the revolt against the capitalist state. In this mass struggle, which extends into civil war, the leading party of the proletariat must, as a rule, consolidate all its legal positions by making them into auxiliary bases of its revolutionary activity and subordinating these positions to the plan of the main campaign, the campaign of the mass struggle.

The rostrum of presidential elections is such an auxiliary base. The argument that presidential post is a bourgeois state institution cannot at all be used against participation in the presidential elections. The Communist Party goes to elections to help the masses from inside electoral campaign to break up the state machine through action.

This activity consists mainly in revolutionary agitation from the rostrum, given during elections in unmasking opponents, in the ideological unification of the masses who still, particularly in backward areas, are captivated by democratic ideas, look towards the electoral rostrum, etc., should be wholly and entirely subordinated to the aims and tasks of the mass struggle outside electoral campaign. Participation in election campaigns and revolutionary propaganda from the electoral rostrum is of particular importance for winning over those layers of the workers who previously stood far away from political life.

Election campaigns should not be carried out in the spirit of the hunt for the maximum number of votes but in the spirit of the revolutionary mobilization of the masses for the slogans of the proletarian revolution. It is necessary to utilize all mass actions (strikes, demonstrations, ferment among the soldiers, etc.) that are taking place at the time, and coming into close touch with them. Drawing all the proletarian mass organizations into active work is necessary.

In observing all these conditions, as well as those in a specific instruction, electoral activity is the direct opposite of that petty politicking done by the social democratic and Stalinist parties, who go into the presidential campaign to support this "democratic" presidential system or at best

to “take it over’. The Communist Party can only be exclusively in favor of the revolutionary utilization of presidential elections in the spirit of the Bolsheviks.

Boycotting on principle, in the sense of absolute and categorical rejection of participation in presidential elections, is, therefore, a naive, childish doctrine below any criticism, a doctrine which occasionally has a basis in healthy nausea at politicians, but which does not see at the same time the possibility of a revolutionary use of elections. Moreover, this doctrine is often linked with an utterly incorrect conception of the role of the party, which sees in the Communist Party not the centralized shock troops of the workers, but a decentralized system of loosely allied groups.

On the other hand, an absolute recognition of the necessity of actual elections under all circumstances by no means flows from the recognition in principle of electoral activity. That is dependent upon a whole series of specific conditions. Boycotting can be necessary given a specific combination of these conditions. According to circumstances, a boycott of the elections and the immediate violent removal of not only the whole bourgeois state apparatus but also the bourgeoisie as a class can be necessary.

In this way the Communist Party, which recognizes the necessity of participating in the elections as a general rule, must resolve this problem concretely, starting from the specific peculiarities of any given moment. A boycott of presidential elections is mainly permissible when the preconditions for the immediate transition to the armed struggle and the seizure of power are already present.

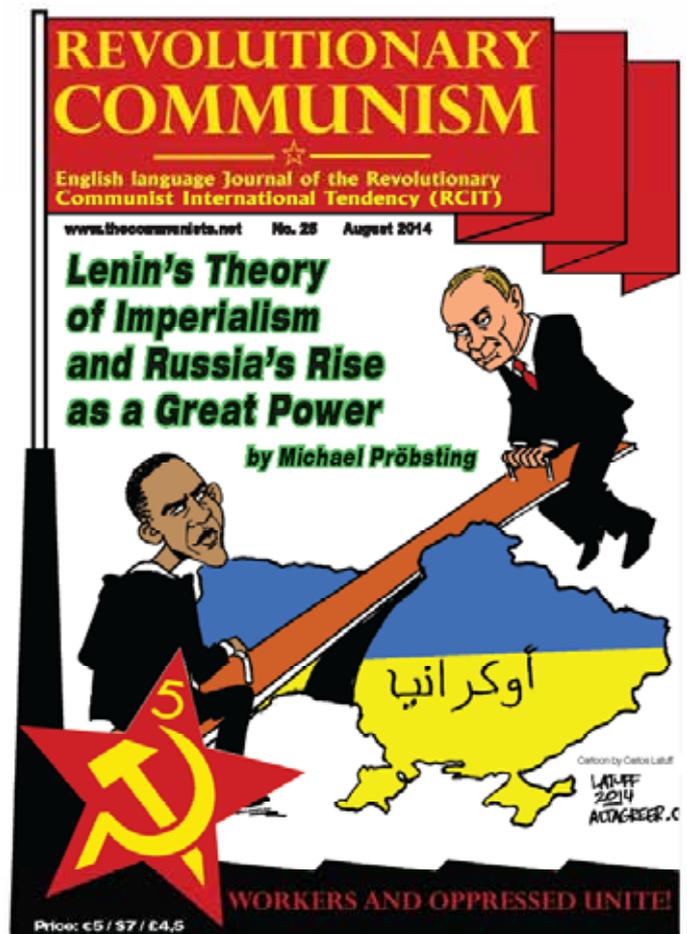
In the process, one should always bear in mind the relative unimportance of this question. Since the center of gravity lies in the struggle for state power carried out outside election process, it goes without saying that the question of the proletarian dictatorship and the mass struggle for it cannot be placed on the same level as the particular question of the utilization of presidential elections.

Revolutionary tactics of the Communist Party during presidential elections

The Communist Party as a whole and its Central Committee, already in the preparatory stage, that is to say before the presidential election, must take care of the high quality of the candidate for the presidency. The Central Committee of the Communist Party must be responsible for the whole work of candidate and must have the undeniable right to raise objections to any candidate if there is no guarantee that if he will pursue communist policies.

Candidate must subordinate all actions to the activity of their Party outside the election campaign. In the event of demonstrations by workers in the streets and other revolutionary actions, the candidate must place himself in the most conspicuous leading place at the head of the masses of workers. Candidate must use every means at his or her disposal (under the supervision of the Party) to create written and any other kind of links with the revolutionary workers and other toilers. Under no circumstances can they act like social democratic candidates, bribing voters with promises that must be fulfilled, thereby abandoning independent policies. The candidate is responsible, not to

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the scattered mass of voters, but to his Party, be it legal or illegal.

Candidate must speak during elections a language that can be understood by every simple worker so that the Party can publish the speeches and distribute them widely. She or he must always be at the disposal of the Party for any propaganda work. Candidate must use the electoral rostrum for the unmasking not only of the bourgeoisie and its hacks, but also of the social-patriots, and the reformists, of the fluctuations of the politicians of the “center” and of other opponents of communism, and for broad propaganda for the communist ideas. The candidate has to show a challenging attitude towards capitalism in his whole behavior. He or she must never forget that only he is worthy of the name of a communist who is an arch enemy of bourgeois society and its social democratic hacks not only in words but also in deeds.

Participation of Russian 'Communist Parties' in elections

Candidates of 'Communist Party of Russian Federation' and 'Communists of Russia' can be considered together since there are no significant differences between them under this consideration. Candidates of these parties do not set the goal of developing the class consciousness of the proletariat during the presidential campaign. They do not talk about preparing a proletarian revolution with the aim of destroying the bourgeois power and establishing a new power of the proletariat. They think that it is possible to win presidential power by the proletariat as a result of elections. These parties do not allow even the theoretical possibility of the boycott of elections, not to mention the boycott of concrete elections. And, of course, candidates of these parties do not use rostrum of elections for criticism of social-patriots and reformists as these parties are such parties.

Stalinist RKRK-KPSS ('Russian Communist Workers' Party of the Communist Party of Soviet Union') and OKP ('United Communist Party') and pseudo-Trotskyist RRP ('Revolutionary Workers' Party') were unable to nominate their candidates for the presidency with the program of their parties. This calls into question the fact that they are parties in essence, and not by name. It's hard to call as a party something that is unable to participate in politics. They look like preparty organizations and not parties.

At the same time the RRP 'party' could not even clearly formulate its position on elections in the statement of its Central Committee, where, among other things, they affirm that the fate of capitalism turns out to be decided in elections:

“How should we act? Undoubtedly, we are resolutely against Putin and capitalism, but we correctly understand that their fate will not be decided in the current election. Undoubtedly, ruling regime will use all opportunities for victory, so we leave the question of who to vote on the conscience of the voters themselves.” (<http://rwp.ru/2018/02/07/%d0%b7%d0%b0%d1%8f%d0%b2%d0%bb%d0%b5%d0%bd%d0%b8%d0%b5-%d1%86%d0%ba-%d1%80%d1%80%d0%bf-%d0%be-%d0%b2%d1%8b%d0%b1%d0%be%d1%80%d0%b0%d1%85/>)

RKRK-KPSS instead of fighting reformism in the labor movement, including during the presidential elections,

nominated a candidate from the reformist party, created by it - ROT Front. But even with the resources of the latter, they failed to pass the stage of collecting the number of signatures required by the election law. You cannot seriously take their complaints to the 'Russian Post' because it is the party that collects signatures and if it is unable to deliver them in time to the Central Electoral Committee of Russian Federation, it says a lot about it. Particularly that ROT Front is not a mass party at the moment.

Tactics of support of candidates of mass workers' parties during presidential elections

The favorite argument of opportunists, which serves to substantiate their policy, is Lenin's 'Left-Wing' Communism: an Infantile Disorder (<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/lwc/>). But they see there only one thing - that Lenin opposed refusal to support the workers' parties in the elections.

But as it happens often they lost essential details:

“It is true that the Hendersons, the Clyneses, the MacDonalds and the Snowdens are hopelessly reactionary. It is equally true that they want to assume power (though they would prefer a coalition with the bourgeoisie), that they want to “ærule” along the old bourgeois lines, and that when they are in power they will certainly behave like the Scheidemanns and Noskes. All that is true. But it does not at all follow that to support them means treachery to the revolution; what does follow is that, in the interests of the revolution, working-class revolutionaries should give these gentlemen a certain amount of parliamentary support.”

Henderson and MacDonald were leaders of UK Labour Party at the beginning of last century. Snowden was the leader of Independent Labour Party. Which interests of revolution Lenin mentions here?

Here is a description of the situation by Comrade Gal-lacher, who writes in the name of the Scottish Workers' Council in Glasgow:

“The rank and file of the I.L.P. in Scotland is becoming more and more disgusted with the thought of Parliament, and the Soviets [the Russian word transliterated into English is used] or Workers' Councils are being supported by almost every branch.”

Can you say the same about any more or less mass parties in modern Russia?

Lenin: “Incidentally, as can also be seen from Lloyd George's speech, both conditions for a successful proletarian revolution are clearly maturing in Great Britain.”

And here is the direct speech of the then Prime Minister Liberal Lloyd George:

“The fact that Liberals are fighting among themselves undoubtedly drives a very considerable number of Liberals in despair to the Labour Party, where you get a considerable body of Liberals, very able men, whose business it is to discredit the Government. The result is undoubtedly to bring a good accession of public sentiment to the Labour Party. It does not go to the Liberals who are outside, it goes to the Labour Party, the by-elections show that.”

Is it correct to say that we are witnessing a turn of public sentiment towards the ROT Front (this small reformist party)?

The words of “left” communist Sylvia Pankhurst from

this work:

"œWe must not dissipate our energy in adding to the strength of the Labour Party; its rise to power is inevitable. We must concentrate on making a communist movement that will vanquish it. The Labour Party will soon be forming a government, the revolutionary opposition must make ready to attack it. ..."

Is there any workers' party in modern Russia which could nominate a presidential candidate capable of making non-gaming competition to Putin?

The support of reformists in conditions when they are so weak that they are not even able to collect signatures for their candidate is not the situation that Lenin describes in his work. The support of ROT Front in this situation is the help to promote reformism in workers' movement against fighting it.

Lenin about conditions of support of reformists:

"If we are the party of the revolutionary class, and not merely a revolutionary group, and if we want the masses to follow us (and unless we achieve that, we stand the risk of remaining mere windbags), we must, first, help Henderson or Snowden to beat Lloyd George and Churchill (or, rather, compel the former to beat the latter, because the former are afraid of their victory!); second, we must help the majority of the working class to be convinced by their own experience that we are right, i.e., that the Hendersons and Snowdens are absolutely good for nothing, that they are petty-bourgeois and treacherous by nature, and that their bankruptcy is inevitable; third, we must bring nearer the moment when, on the basis of the disappointment of most of the workers in the Hendersons, it will be possible, with serious chances of success, to overthrow the government of the Hendersons at once"

Lenin writes here that support is possible by certain conditions - that there is a party of revolutionary class (that could lead and overthrow the bourgeois government) in a country and not many small groups that pretend to Marxist name. Small size defines that at the present moment such groups are incapable of capturing the masses.

In other words, Lenin in *Infantile disorder* write about tactics of the communist party and not about tactics of small groups.

International Centrist Tendency

Pseudo-Trotskyists from 'International Marxist Tendency' (IMT), and more properly to name it as International Centrist Tendency (ICT), once again have shown their capacity to take a class position as it already was before with their 'class' slogan "Down with authority of the rich". From one side they criticise elections, Stalinism, opportunism, sectarianism. On the other hand as soon as a kind of 'left' quasi-movement appears, they immediately try to take the most constrained position to avoid conflicts with the 'proletarian vanguard'.

This time they provided full support to the Stalinist reformist Lisitsyna, without giving any criticism of her parties RKRK-KPSS and ROT Front. ("Natalia Lisitsyna to the presidency!" (<http://1917.com/XML/1FBJUO02SGFMKX0H6wV-IwHTErQ.xml>)) Without mentioning, for example, how well the RKRK-KPSS possesses 'Marxism-Leninism' - on the one hand, they oppose the imperialism of the Russian Federation, and on the

other, are actively calling on it to fight 'fascism' all over the world. Of course, the center is inherent in adapting, like a chameleon, to any red shade of opportunism, even if it comes from social chauvinistic leftist-patriotic organizations.

All this, of course, is accompanied by assurances that the candidate must necessarily be a worker and preferably a female representative. There is no better example of vulgar sociology:

"it is principally important that such candidate is the employed worker."

"Finally, it is important, that candidate must be a genuine representative of the majority. <...> Women are an important part of the modern industrial working class, in its mass, the low-paid and discriminated part of it."

First, how does a person's belonging to a class make her automatically avant-garde? Concrete workers could be against the dictatorship of the proletariat, for bombings of Syria and love Putin by whole heart. History knows how often the proletarians took chauvinistic positions at the beginning of wars. Lisitsyna is not the exception here, in particular, she does not think that revolution is necessary:

"We do not have another way: only agitation and propaganda. Only people masses, only unionizing of workers. And bourgeoisie will flee, and there will be no one to fight with, and revolution is not necessary. Because they are afraid of workers very much." (From the interview for Federal news agency <https://riafan.ru/1019527-kandidat-v-prezidenty-rf-kranovshchica-natalya-lisicya-ya-rodilas-krasnoi-naskvoz-i-menya-uzhe-ne-perekrasit>)

Second, how a person's sex is related to her position? Women could be for ultra-conservative measures. Oppressed, to the knowledge of ICT, can be extremely religious and be adherents of the most obscure worldviews. Thus, the most religious in Russia, according to research, are pensioner women. For example, in the twentieth century, conservative parties gave rights to women also for this reason, as it was known that they would vote for religious figures who were supporters of conservative parties. All this suggests that centrists are not able to take a right political position and, in fact, behind their bright revolutionary rhetoric lies only the desire to occupy the most comfortable place in the movement.

Besides, the statement of the ICT supports illusions that the communists can come to power through elections:

"And, of course, such [presidential] powers could be in most proven and worthy hands. In whose - we choose, the citizens of Russia."

"So how are we - employees - we can choose a candidate for the President who would protect our interests?"

And there is also an example of a rather broad idea of Marxism in this 'Marxist' Tendency:

"the worker candidate must recognize: the basis for the existence of a capitalist society is its division into classes in relation to the means of production, that is, to be a Marxist."

At the same time, ICT believes that the socialists and reformists belong to Marxists, and therefore for the candidate it is not enough, in their opinion, to be Marxist, the Marxist must be a communist (ICT are wide 'Marxists', isn't it?):

"But this is not enough. Socialists and other reformists recognize such division, but they deny the antagonistic

nature of interclass contradictions. Therefore only the communists can express the fundamental interests of the working class."

'Trotskyists' of ICT recognize Stalinist, that supports imperialist politics of Russian Federation and promotes reformism in workers' movement, as Marxist. And not any word of criticisms against reformist ROT Front party and Stalinist RKRK-KPSS, whose member is Lisitsyna.

Tactic of boycott

The absence of minimum turnout in Russia makes the boycott of elections meaningless. Elections as an instrument of power of minority will never allow the illegitimacy of any government.

Nevertheless, we are least interested in what formally legitimizes the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is crucial for us that radicalized young people and the vanguard of working class are actively advocating this position. Of course, 'democratic rights and elections' is a fraud, but we consider that it is necessary to turn to the politicizing layers of the oppressed.

Indefinite All-Russian Political Strike

In conditions when there is neither a revolutionary party of the working class nor candidates from mass workers' parties, who seriously pretend to power, there is no other option than a boycott.

Supporting all those who disagree with the current situation in the struggle against authoritarianism, we also

call for self-organization beyond the Internet communities, namely: for the creation of associations at the place of study, work, residence. These associations are based on the unity of interests, unlike opposition network communities, people in them unite on specific problems and can act together (strike, for example).

As we can see from recent experience (2011-12 years), some rallies are not enough. In history, there are examples of successful removal of unpopular politicians from power as a result of strikes. For example, the president of France de Gaulle resigned not least due to the general strike, a significant role in the defeat of the Regime of the Colonels in Greece was played by the seizure by students of the Athens Polytechnic University. Strikes played a role in the recent removal of long stayed presidents Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak in Tunisia and Egypt.

We call for the creation of action committees whose task is not organization of one-day "strike of voters" at polling stations, but the organization of an indefinite all-Russian political strike at workplaces and at the place of study with the aim of resigning Putin and his government, as well as the dissolution of the State Duma and the Federal Council. But this is not our final goal. The ultimate goal for us is the dictatorship of the proletariat and the world revolution, step to it is updated transitional program since none of the transitional requirements (workers' control, expropriation, etc.) can be fully realized while preserving the bourgeois regime.

No to the bourgeois deception in the form of elections!
No to the reformism and opportunism!
For the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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When the Zionists and the Reactionary Right Wing Polish Government Fight, the Truth May Surface

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)*, 21.2.2018

Last November 11, during Poland's independence day celebration, around 60,000 right wingers marched in Warsaw with banners saying "Clear Blood," and "White Europe". By the end of the weekend, as AP reported, the official and unofficial events merged. The police arrested 45 counter-protesters.

Poland's Foreign Ministry said the next Monday that the day had been "a great celebration of Poles, differing in their views, but united around the common values of freedom and loyalty to an independent homeland." [1] Thus, in the eyes of the right wing Polish government racism and Islamophobia are part of the legitimate political spectrum.

An Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman called the march dangerous, but no Zionist politician called to end the diplomatic relations with Poland or any other diplomatic punitive measures.

This weekend, Mateusz Morawiecki, Poland's right wing prime minister, answering the question of Ronen Bergman, a Zionist reporter from Israel, who asked whether the new legislation amounted to the criminalization of discussion of Polish complicity in the crimes committed during the second world war, replied: "Of course not. It's not going to be punishable, it's not going to be seen as criminal to say that there were Polish perpetrators, as there were Jewish perpetrators, as there were Ukrainian; not only German perpetrators."

This reply coming from a close friend of the Israeli state led to him being accused by Zionist politicians as a Holocaust denier who equate the Jews with the Nazis.

Strictly speaking, the comments of Mateusz Morawiecki were not a denial of the Holocaust, or an equation of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust to the Nazis who perpetrated genocide.

The Polish government said in a statement on Saturday night: "The words (...) should be interpreted as a sincere call for open discussion of crimes committed against Jews during the Holocaust, regardless of the nationality of those involved in each crime." [2]

Polish and Zionist Collaborators

However, the last thing the Zionists want regarding the Holocaust is an open discussion. Such discussion, after all, would have to be inclusive of crimes committed against Jews during the Holocaust, regardless of the nationality of those involved in each crime. Much like the Polish right wing nationalists, the Zionists can handle only part of the truth. It is beyond doubt that there were Poles who collaborated in the mass killings of Jews and it is beyond a shadow of a doubt that there were Jewish policemen Kapos and many leading members of the Judenrat who helped the Nazi's extermination of the Jews.

It is not easy to find out how many Poles joined the Nazis for ideological reasons. The Zionists argue that the Poles who served the Nazi did it because of ideological reasons, while the Jews who served the Nazis, did it to save their

lives, their families and friends and they even say: "Who can blame them for trying to save their lives"?

It is very difficult to know how many Poles participated in the mass killing of Jews. In a 1970 article, pioneering Polish-Jewish historian Szymon Datner estimated that 200,000 Jews died at the hands of Poles during World War II. Attempting to flee the Germans' cattle cars and camps, they found their deaths after being handed over to the authorities, informed upon while in hiding, or through murder by their Polish neighbors. Some of them might also cling to the claim that they were forced to act in such a way, since hiding or aiding fleeing Jews carried a death sentence at the hands of Nazi occupation.

From 1942 to 1945, according to Datner's calculations, of the 250,000 Jews who attempted to escape the Germans in occupied Poland, only 10-16 percent survived. [3]

The Zionists would like to hide that there were Jews, mostly Zionists who collaborated with the Nazis. It is much easier to accuse only the pro Nazis Poles. Yair Lapid, head of Yesh Atid, a center right Israeli opposition party, demanded that Israel recalls its Polish ambassador. "The Jewish state will not allow the murdered to be blamed for their own murder," he said, according to the Associated Press. "A comparison between the activities of Poles and the activities of Jews during the Holocaust is unfounded," the Israeli government says.

The fact is that without the collaboration of Poles and Zionists with the Nazis it would be difficult for the Nazis to carry out the genocide of the Jews. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum wrote that while some Judenrat (Jewish council under the Nazis) refused to help the Nazis and were killed or committed suicide, other Jewish council officials advocated compliance, believing that cooperation would ensure the survival of at least a portion of the population. In Lodz, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, who tried in vain to persuade the Nazis to reduce the number of Jewish deportees, urged ghetto residents to report for deportation as ordered. Rumkowski also adopted a policy of "rescue through labor," believing that if the Germans could exploit Jewish labor, deportation might be averted.

Jewish council members held varied views on resistance. In Sosnowiec, Moshe Merin denounced the underground, believing that armed resistance would doom the entire ghetto. In Vilna, Jewish council chairman Jacob Gens decided to hand over underground leader Yitzhak Wittenberg, claiming that if the council did not turn Wittenberg in the Nazis would liquidate the ghetto. Jewish council opposition to resistance often prompted resentment within the underground, which sometimes accused the Jewish councils of collaboration with the Nazis (in Warsaw, the underground attacked the Jewish police). [4]

Jewish policemen in the ghetto

The Jewish Organization for the Maintenance of Public Order (German: *Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst*; Polish: *Żydowska Służba*

Porządkowa), was established under Nazi occupation in most East European ghettos. The establishment of a police force usually was connected with the creation of the ghettos, which excluded the Jewish population from general police jurisdiction and thus created a need for an alternative system of ensuring that the Jewish population complied with German occupiers' orders.

The absence of a general German order regarding the establishment of the Jewish police indicates that in all probability, it was the various local occupying forces—and not the Central Reich Government—that took the initiative to set up this force. Indeed, the composition of the Jewish police in different ghettos, their jurisdictional powers, and their status within the Jewish community varied from ghetto to ghetto, according to local conditions.

A small ghetto could muster only a handful of individuals to join its police force, whereas the Warsaw ghetto police comprised more than 2,000 members. Some Jewish police units in some ghettos became independent of the *Judenräte*. The primary task of the Jewish police was to maintain public order and to enforce German orders transmitted by the *Judenräte* to the Jewish population. Jews joined it for social motives and out of a desire to help maintain order in the ghettos and assist Jewish autonomy.

They were part of the battle against those who disobeyed German orders, although the scope of their jurisdiction varied from place to place. Prisons were erected in the larger ghettos and detention rooms in the smaller ones; rarely were inmates transferred to the Germans. In most cases, ghetto police themselves carried out the punishment that ghetto courts imposed on the accused. Sometimes they even assisted in executing German-ordered death sentences.

Police were supposed to be paid by the *Judenräte*, but often their salary was insufficient and irregular. Thus, they were open to bribes, a situation that adversely affected moral standards. Understanding that the Jewish police served to enforce German policy, many left it; their places were taken mainly by people with no obligation to the Jewish population and by other doubtful elements.

After Jewish police began taking part in sending Jews to labor camps in 1940, Ghetto police personnel were generally exempt from labor service and were even empowered to release others from their labor obligations (in exchange for bribes). Guarding the ghetto walls also corrupted the police and placed them in confrontations with the local public. Often Jewish policemen worked with local police and even with German soldiers to control smuggling. Their close ties with the German and local authorities and the opportunity for kickbacks led many Jewish communities to identify them with the occupying forces.

The onset of deportations to killing centers in 1942 led to a new phase in the history of the Jewish police. The Germans generally ordered ghetto police forces to assist in deporting Jews and sometimes even in selection. In return, the Nazis assured them that they and their families would not be deported. Police officers who refused to obey the orders joined the deportees or were killed on the spot. In most instances, the police complied with German demands.

During this period, the status of the ghetto police hit an all-time low in Jewish eyes. At the end of the war, the role of Jewish police and their actions became a highly controversial issue among Holocaust survivors. Dozens of police

officers were tried in Jewish honor courts for improper conduct. Some were expelled from the Jewish community while others were merely barred from holding public office. [5]

The British Library has a similar account: *"The Jewish policemen in the ghettos were controversial figures. They were often given extra privileges such as uniforms, bicycles, food rations and contraband from smuggling operations. Many faced moral dilemmas when forced by Nazi officers to perform violent acts on fellow Jews. There is evidence that some Jewish policemen were killed on the way to the camps by their fellow Jews, as recompense for treachery.*

Selected tasks of Jewish policemen: to guard the ghetto gates together with Nazi guards and their collaborators; to direct traffic in ghetto streets; to guard post offices, kitchens and community administration; to deter and suppress smugglers; to curb beggars in the ghetto; to assist in liquidations of the ghettos." [6]

An unpleasant truth

As Tony Greenstein wrote: Everywhere the Nazis conquered, *"the most important concentration measure prior to the formation of the ghettos was the establishment of Jewish councils (Judenräte)."*[7] As Eichmann commented, *"The assimilated Jew was, of course, very unhappy about being moved to a ghetto. But the orthodox were pleased with the arrangement, as were the Zionists."* [8] Some two-thirds of the *Judenräte* consisted of Zionist supporters. [9]

Thus the all truth is very unpleasant for the Polish nationalists and for the Zionists. For the Zionists who claim that they represent the Jews hiding the full truth is necessary in order to justify the oppression of the Palestinians. For the Polish right wing nationalist it is important to hide the full truth in order to attack the immigrants, the Muslims and the Jews who live in Poland while swearing loyalty to Israel.

We call upon all freedom loving, working class and oppressed people of the world to unite under slogans such as: *Anti Semite, Islamophobe, racist and fascist scum out! Refugees and immigrants - welcome!*

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- [9] I. Trunk, *Judenrat: the Jewish councils in eastern Europe under Nazi occupation*, New York 1972

See on this subject also: Yossi Schwartz: *The Origins of the Jews*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/origins-of-jews/>

What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We work inside the trade unions and advocate class struggle, socialism and workers' democracy. But trade unions and social democracy are controlled by a bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is a layer which is connected with the state and capital via jobs and privileges. It is far from the interests and

living circumstances of the members. This bureaucracy's basis rests mainly on the top, privileged layers of the working class - the workers' aristocracy. The struggle for the liberation of the working class must be based on the broad mass of the proletariat rather than their upper strata.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For new, revolutionary workers' parties in all countries! For a 5th Workers International on a revolutionary program! Join the RCIT!

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

