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The COVID-19 Counterrevolution and the Social-Bonapartist Left

Plus: Revolutionary Programm for Kenya * Fusion of RSL (Kenya) and RCIT * UK: Labour Shifts to the Right

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.39, July 2019

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Picture on the cover: Spanish Army deploys to enforce lockdown in Alcañiz, Aragón (Source: Wikipedia, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/97/Cuarentena_Alca%C3%B1iz_Ej%C3%A9rcito_espa%C3%B1ol_2020.jpg)

Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in South Korea, Pakistan, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Russia, Nigeria, Kenya, Britain, Germany, and Austria.

The Global Popular Uprising against Racism and Police Violence

**This is a turning point ending the global counterrevolutionary situation.
But workers and oppressed need to prepare
for an ongoing reactionary offensive of the ruling class!**

Theses of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8 June 2020

1. Another wave of popular uprisings is shattering the capitalist world order. This process started in Lebanon and Iraq in late April, followed by Hong Kong in late May. In addition, there have been a number of food riots in Africa as well as in Latin America because of the dramatic poverty resulting from the reactionary Lockdown regime of the ruling class under the cover of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the decisive breakthrough has been the unprecedented mass protests in the U.S. – the heart of the imperialist beast – after the cold-blood murder of George Floyd by the police. Since the end of May, a pre-revolutionary situation has opened up in the most powerful capitalist state which is now politically paralyzed by the largest popular uprising this country has ever seen since the civil war in 1861-65 and, more recently, the black power mobilizations in the 1960s.¹ This has provoked an international wave of mass demonstrations against racism and police violence with hundreds of thousands people on the streets in several countries of Western Europe, Ukraine, Mexico, Brazil, Nigeria and Australia. Even in Occupied Palestine, Israeli Jews join Palestinians to hold small demonstrations protesting the execution-style killing of Eyad Hallaq, an unarmed and helpless Palestinian with severe autism, by Israeli soldiers. In addition, mass protests in Dakar and Touba – with youth fighting against the police and building barricades in poor neighborhoods – have forced the regime in Senegal to ease the coronavirus curfew.

2. While the concrete issues of protest differ, in most cases they share a general theme: the rage against racism and police violence, the exploitation and humiliation of the poor and oppressed by authoritarian regimes. In other words, the *democratic question* is in the forefront of the mass struggles. This confirms the RCIT's thesis of the central importance of the *revolutionary democratic struggle* in the current period as we outlined in our program adopted in 2016² and re-emphasized in our analysis of the current global counter-revolutionary offensive under the cover of the COVID-19 pandemic.³

3. The current global wave of mass protests is highly impressive not only because of the fast speed with which it is spreading throughout the world. It is also particularly remarkable because in most countries these mass struggles take place in *direct violation of the reactionary Lockdown rules* imposed by the capitalist governments all over the world. In many countries people are still not allowed to freely leave their houses and in those countries where they are allowed to do so, the governments have still banned all larger public gatherings. Hence, the masses are collectively marching on the streets *despite* these anti-democratic bans and *despite* the constant spreading of fear since months by the bourgeois regimes, their media as well as the reformist leaders. In short, the advanced sectors of the working class, the oppressed and the youth are actively tearing down the wall of the Lockdown regime. This is a tremendous step forward in the global class struggle! It

fully confirms the validity of the RCIT's thesis that given the dramatic shift of the ruling class towards repression and state bonapartism, the key slogan is the *transformation of the state of emergency into a popular uprising*.

4. In the RCIT Manifesto on the *COVID-19 Counter-revolution* (adopted on 21 March) we explained that the bourgeoisie had launched a major global counterrevolutionary offensive which ended the wave of popular uprisings which began in the second half of 2019. We stated that "*a global counter-revolutionary situation has opened up.*" However, we also elaborated the following prognosis: "*It is not possible to predict how long this situation will last. It might be a matter of only a few months. However, what is clear is that the counter-revolutionary offensive of the ruling classes will create explosive political contradictions. Sooner or later, it will be difficult for the state-bonapartist regimes to justify their massive attacks on democratic rights. It will become soon obvious that while they give billions of dollars to the big capitalists, many workers face unemployment and wage cuts. (...) Likewise, a massive increase of global tensions between the Great Powers is inevitable. In other words, the global counter-revolutionary offensive can only temporarily cover up the accelerating political and economic contradictions between the classes and the states. Sooner or later, this will result inevitable in new and massive political explosions, probably in the form of major domestic crisis, wars as well as revolutionary uprisings – in the Global South as well as in the imperialist states of the West and the East.*"⁴

5. Such a "*major domestic crisis*" is now taking place in the most powerful imperialist state and is spreading to other countries. For this reason we can state that the global counter-revolutionary situation which began in the first half of March has ended by early June. It has ended because the popular masses have re-entered the streets tearing down the reactionary Lockdown rules imposed by the ruling class. Most decisively, these mass protests have opened a pre-revolutionary situation in the U.S. which is inspiring many millions works, oppressed and youth around the world.⁵

6. How can this sudden shift in the world situation be explained? Trotsky once observed that "*the imperialist epoch (...) has been one of sharp turns, in which politics has acquired an extremely mobile character.*"⁶ This is particularly relevant in the current *historic revolutionary period* which opened up in 2008. Concretely, the events in the past two, three months have dramatically accelerated the contradiction between the classes and the states. The Lockdown policy imposed in numerous countries worsened the economic slump which already began in late 2019. Within a few weeks millions and millions of workers lost their jobs and large sectors of the world population suffered heavy losses in their incomes. This was combined with a dramatic expansion of the bonapartist state apparatus. With one stroke, the capitalist state machinery forced people to stay home, expanded the executive power of the repression apparatus and implemented vast surveillance tech-

nologies (Corona Apps, drones, AI, etc.). In addition, the ruling class in many countries proves to be incapable in handling the COVID-19 pandemic. These combined factors have resulted in a massive accumulation of popular hatred against the ruling class. This explains why events like the murder of an Afro-American man by the police – something which has happened numerous times before – provoked such an explosive popular outcry, not only among black but also among the white masses.

7. It is characteristic for the nature of the current historic period that we have seen three sharp turns in the last 12 months. In the second half of 2019, a pre-revolutionary world situation emerged characterized by a global wave of popular uprisings from Hong Kong to Chile, from Iraq to France and from India to Catalunya.⁷ This wave of class struggles ended with the opening of a global counterrevolutionary situation in the first half of March 2020. And currently we see the emergence of a new world situation provoked by the uprising of the workers, oppressed and youth in the U.S. as well as other countries. In other words, we have seen in the past 12 months *a rapid supersession of global situations characterized by diametrically opposed nature*. Given the deep crisis of world capitalism and the acceleration of contradictions between the classes and states, we can expect similar developments in the foreseeable future. In other words, we are in a period of highest volatility, full of revolutionary possibilities and reactionary dangers.

8. In addition, these last three episodes of the world situation have in common that they all share a *highly globalized characteristic*. The developments in all three situations were marked by a single common global feature which connected many countries and which influenced each other – the global wave of class struggles in the second half of 2019, the counterrevolutionary offensive under the cover of COVID-19, and now the world-wide protests against racism and police violence. This demonstrates the highly internationalized nature of world politics and the class struggle – something which underlines the significance of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution as well the Marxist conception of the revolutionary party as an international – and not as a national-centered – organization.

9. The current popular mobilizations all over the world consciously breaking the rules of the Lockdown regime are a powerful demonstration of the fact that the militant sectors of the masses are more advanced and have a higher consciousness than the opportunist Lockdown Left. Numerous reformist and centrist organizations (Stalinists, left populists, left social democrats, pseudo-Trotskyists, etc.) praise the lockdown as the supposedly only effective protection against the COVID-19 pandemic. It didn't bother them that the countries with the highest number of COVID-19 death per capita were all such which had imposed a lockdown. Likewise they ignored that various countries which did not impose a lockdown experienced either none or at least no dramatic excess mortality (e.g. Sweden, Japan).⁸ Irrespective of all this, the Lockdown Left called for the imposition of the Lockdown regime which by definition implies the banning of public assemblies and demonstrations. They did do so because by their very nature they opportunistically adapt to the liberal middle class and the reformist labor bureaucracy (which in turn adapts to sec-

tors of the monopoly bourgeoisie). These sectors of the ruling class were determined to impose the Lockdown policy because it has allowed to suppress democratic rights as well as to confuse people with fear and insecurity in times of collapse of the world economy. This Lockdown policy opened the road to expand the bonapartist state apparatus and, at the same time, it offers gigantic business opportunities for capitalist corporations in the drugs, biomedicine, IT, security etc. industries. Hence, these "leftist" organizations and parties adapted to state bonapartism under the cover of "socialist" phrases. Hence, the Lockdown Left are *social-bonapartists*.

10. As a result, the Lockdown Left called people to stay home in times when they suffered the worst economic and social attacks since nearly a century! However, while the social-bonapartist left supported the Lockdown regime and called the people to stay home, the militant sectors of the masses proved to be much more advanced than these opportunist "leftists". The masses broke the lockdown rules and the banning of demonstrations on the streets and started a fight back against the state bonapartism. In short, when the Lockdown Left urged the masses to "*Stay at Home*", the advanced sectors of the masses did exactly the opposite – they decided to "*March on the Streets*"! This is a powerful lesson which confounds the idea that the so-called left resembles the most progressive sector of the society or that it is a milieu towards which revolutionaries should orient themselves. Quite the opposite, the treacherous support for the Lockdown regime shows once more that authentic revolutionary policy is only possible by a sharp demarcation from the opportunist left and by systematically fighting against all trends of social-bonapartism and social-imperialism within the workers and popular movement.

11. The end of the global counterrevolutionary situation does not mean an end of the reactionary offensive of the ruling class. Such an idea would be a dangerous illusion. The Xi regime in China is determined to bloodily crush the democratic mass movement in Hong Kong. In the U.S. and many other countries governments have deployed the police and army against mass protests. All over the world, the ruling class has started imposing gigantic surveillance technologies. Add to this the wave of chauvinism and militarism which the governments – and most of all the rulers of the two largest imperialist powers U.S. and China – are instigating. It is nearly unavoidable that the ruling class all over the world will at one point in the near future declare a second wave of the COVID-19 (or any other) pandemic. They will again try to confuse the consciousness of the masses and provoke fear and insecurity as a cover for imposing additional surveillance technologies and other anti-democratic attacks.

12. For these reasons authentic revolutionaries must intervene in the current struggles with a program which emphasizes the defense of democratic rights and combines this with an emergency program against the economic and the health crisis. This means consistent opposition against all lockdown measures, against the expansion of the police and surveillance state, for nationalization of the core sectors of industry, service and finance under workers control, for expansion of the public health care sector under workers and popular control, free mass testing, etc.). Revolutionaries have to agitate for the formation of workers

and popular committees in workplaces, neighborhoods and villages as well as of self-defense guards. This must be combined with a socialist perspective fighting for workers and popular governments all over the world. Most importantly, Marxists need to explain that such a program "does not fall from heaven" but has to be systematically fought for by a revolutionary party. The RCIT calls all authentic revolutionaries to unite on the basis of such a program so that we jointly build a *Revolutionary World Party!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

Footnotes

1 See all RCIT documents on the popular uprising in the U.S. on a sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/north-america/articles-on-uprising-after-murder-of-george-floyd/>

2 "The struggle for democratic rights has become one of the most important issues in this age of capitalism in decay. In this context, the ruling classes inevitably violate and trample on democratic rights and strive to replace even limited bourgeois democracy by capitalist Bonapartism and dictatorship." (RCIT: Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation (2016), p. 12, <https://www.thecomunists.net/rcit-program-2016/>)

3 "The fundamental anti-democratic character of the current global counter-revolutionary offensive and the consequential importance of the struggle against the chauvinist state bonapartism point to the centrality of the democratic question in the new era which has opened up. While the latest developments have definitely given additional weight to the democratic question this does not come out of the blue. In fact, the current chauvinist state bonapartism represents a qualitative higher stage of an anti-democratic development which has already taken place since a number of years." (Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How

to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, RCIT Books, April 2020, p. 69, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/>)

4 COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/>

5 It is highly telling that in the current situation even such an arch-conservative newspaper like the *Washington Post* asks the question "Are we on the brink of revolution?". In this article the author demonstrates the parallels between France before 1789 and the U.S. today. (See Christine Adams: Are we on the brink of revolution? Washington Post, June 4, 2020, www.washingtonpost.com%2foutlook%2f2020%2f06%2f04%2fare-we-brink-revolution%2f)

6 Leon Trotsky: The German Catastrophe: The Responsibility of the Leadership (May 1933), in: Leon Trotsky: The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany, Pathfinder Press, New York 1971, p. 391, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/germany/1933/330528.htm>

7 See on this e.g. RCIT: World Perspectives 2020: A Pre-Revolutionary Global Situation. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 8 February 2020, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2020/>

8 For more details on this see chapter „*The Lockdown was not directed against the pandemic*“ in the essay by Michael Pröbsting: The Police and Surveillance State in the Post-Lockdown Phase. A global review of the ruling class's plans of expanding the bonapartist state machinery amidst the COVID-19 crisis, 21 May 2020, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/global/police-and-surveillance-state-in-post-lockdown-phase/>

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution

What It Is and How to Fight It

A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle

In *The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution* Michael Pröbsting analyses the dramatic events in spring 2020 which have opened a new historic era. A triple crisis has shocked the world. The Third Depression has begun, characterized by a devastating economic slump of the capitalist world economy which is certainly no less dramatic than the crisis which started in 1929.

In addition, there is a wave of anti-democratic attacks of a scale which has not been seen in the imperialist countries since 1945. This has triggered a global turn towards Chauvinist State Bonapartism and the creation of a monstrous Leviathan-like state machinery.

And finally, the world faces COVID-19 – a pandemic which endangers many lives and which is exploited by the ruling classes in order to spread fear, to deflect attention from the capitalist causes of the economic crisis and to justify the turn towards chauvinist state bonapartism.

The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution also shows that large sectors of the reformist workers movement and the

so-called left fail to understand the meaning of this triple crisis. Similar to the situation in 1914 after the beginning of World War I we can observe a gigantic wave of opportunist capitulation by many self-proclaimed socialists as they support or at least do not denounce the global lockdown and the suppression of democratic rights which the ruling classes are imposing in the name of combat against the pandemic. *The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution* offers a Marxist analysis of this historic crisis and elaborates a revolutionary perspective for the struggles ahead.

The book contains an introduction and 6 chapters plus an appendix (176 pages) and includes 5 figures and a diagram.

The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution

What It Is and How to Fight It



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

Fighting for Socialist Revolution in Kenya and Globally!

Joint Statement on Fusion between the Revolutionary Socialist League (Kenya) and the RCIT, 19 June 2020

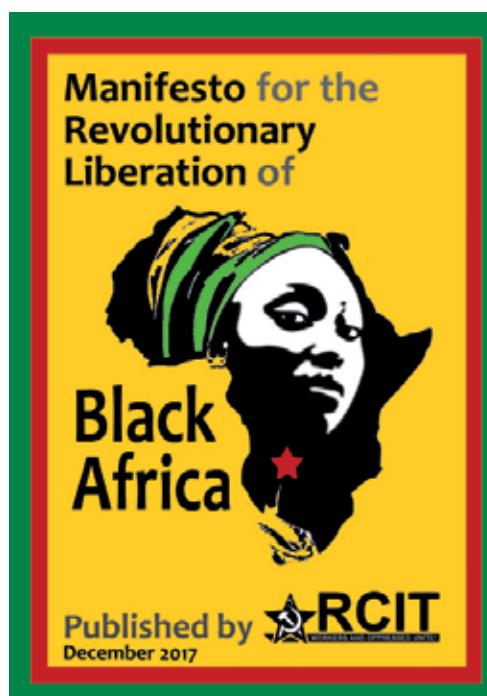
1. After nearly a year of systematic discussion and collaboration the *Revolutionary Socialist League (Kenya)* and the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* have agreed to fuse. As a result, the RSL will become the sympathizing section of the RCIT in Kenya with representation on the RCIT's international leadership body.

2. The fusion reflects a serious process of rapprochement due to programmatic discussions as well as practical collaboration. In particular we have been able to establish a regular and intensive joint work during the period of the counter-revolutionary Lockdown policy of the ruling class. In this phase, we were able to elaborate a joint approach in the struggle against this reactionary offensive (See: *Joint Statement: Kenya: Condemnation of the State Repression in Mombasa*, 29 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/kenya-condemnation-of-the-state-repression-in-mombasa/>; *Joint Statement: For a people-based approach to the COVID-19 Crisis! Down with State Repression!* April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/for-a-people-based-approach-to-the-covid-19-crisis-down-with-state-repression/>; *RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counter-revolutionary Offensive*, 21 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/>). Equally important, we could also collaborate closely in launching joint campaigning initiatives. (See *Joint Platform: YES to Jobs, Food and Health! NO to Lockdown, State Repression and Poverty!* June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-platform-yes-to-jobs-food-and-health-no-to-lockdown-state-repression-and-poverty/> and *Report of the African Revolutionary and Progressive Organisations Meeting held on 9th May 2020, via Zoom*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/report-of-african-progressive-organisations-meeting-9-5-2020/>) Fur-

thermore, the RSL has been able to organize – in conjunction with the *Mathare Social Justice Centre* – an important demonstration against police violence which was widely reported in Kenyan as well as world media. (See the report: *Kenya: The Oppressed Masses demand "Stop Killing Us!"*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/demonstration-against-police-brutality-in-nairobi-8-6-2020/>)

3. Our fusion is based on a broad range of programmatic agreements. This is reflected in various joint programmatic documents (See: *Action Program: Forward to a Free and Socialist Kenya!* September 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/action-program-forward-to-a-free-and-socialist-kenya/>; *Joint Statement: Down with French Neo-Colonialism in West Africa!* 12 February 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-down-with-french-neo-colonialism-in-west-africa/>; *Joint Statement: Revolutionary Socialists and Bolivarianism*, 9 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/revolutionary-socialists-and-bolivarianism/>; *Joint Statement: For Revolutionary Unity in a World Full of Explosive Tensions!* August 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/for-revolutionary-unity-in-a-world-full-of-explosive-tensions/>). In addition, the RSL expressed agreement with the RCIT's fundamental programmatic documents (*Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/manifesto-for-the-revolutionary-liberation-of-black-africa/>; *Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-program-2016/>)

4. We call upon revolutionaries in Kenya and Africa to join us in our struggle to rebuild a Revolutionary World Party – an international party determined to fight for socialist revolution in Africa and around the world!



RCIT AFRICA PROGRAM

Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

Adopted at the 2nd World Congress of the RCIT in November 2017

Introduction * Foreign Exploiters – Out of Africa! * The Wealth to Those Who Create It! Economic Freedom Now! * Down with the Capitalist Dictatorships and Corrupt Pseudo-Democracies! * Organize the Workers and Oppressed for the Mass Struggle! * For a Government of Workers and Poor Peasants! For a Socialist Revolution! * For Pan-African Unity! For the United Socialist States of Africa! * For a United Front of Struggle! Overcome the Crisis of Leadership – Build a Revolutionary Party Nationally and Internationally! * Appendix

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

Action Program: Forward to a Free and Socialist Kenya!

Economic Freedom and Political Power for the Workers and Oppressed through Socialist Revolution!

Issued by the Revolutionary Socialist League (Kenya) and the RCIT, September 2019

Preface (September 2019)

It cannot be denied that decades of sham independence in Kenya have seen an entrenchment of the system of exploitation of the majority by the minority. The bulk of the resources of the country remain in the hands of greedy and corrupt personalities, as the rest of the population languishes in poverty.

The Kenyatta regime, in conjunction with the nonexistent opposition, led by Raila Odinga, works tirelessly to maintain itself at the top of Kenya's ruling elite, that occurring by means of dividing the Kenyan population on the basis of ethnic identity. All the while, unemployment and inequality have soared to unimaginable heights. The fight against ignorance, poverty and disease seems all but lost. Corruption among public officials is the order of the day. Our people are, on a daily basis, getting more and more oppressed, suppressed, repressed and depressed.

There can be no doubt that, in order for Kenyans to chart a practical way forward, they must reject the Kenyatta-Odinga ruling alliance, together with their companions, and usher in a new era of revolutionary change.

All power to the people!

* * * * *

The working people of Kenya suffer a similar fate as all other oppressed people – in Africa and around the world. They face the brutal consequences of capitalist super-exploitation and imperialist oppression. This is why our fate is closely connected with global developments and why our liberation struggle is inextricably linked with the international struggle of the workers and oppressed.

While our country has formally achieved independence in 1963, only foreign corporations and a small minority of black capitalists and big land owners have benefited from this. While this elite grows richer and richer, the vast majority of the working people still suffer from poverty and misery. According to official numbers of the World Bank, at least 46% of the population live below the poverty line. The real figure is certainly higher. More than 39% of the population of working age is unemployed with an even higher number among the youth (53%)! Nearly two thirds of urban residents have no access to improved sanitation.

The workers, poor peasant and urban poor of Kenya are exploited by foreign corporation and the small domestic black capitalist class. More than 40% of Nairobi Stock Market and a similar share of the banking sector are in foreign hands. Land is mostly concentrated in a few hands. Three powerful political families are estimated to own more than 1 million acres of rural land, while at least 4 million rural Kenyan citizens are entirely landless and at least 11 million own less than 1 hectare.

Our country is a semi-colony – it is formally independent but in reality a pawn in the hands of the imperialist Great Powers, mainly the U.S., Europe and China. The Great Powers have a long history of exploitation and robbery of

the human and natural resources of our continent. This robbery continues until today albeit in different form. Half of Kenya's rising public debt is owed to external creditors. As a result 30%-50% of the annual export income has to be used for debt service.

African migrants, if they manage to get to imperialist Europe – despite all war ships and border fences – face racist discrimination and economic super-exploitation as cheap migrant labour.

Kenya's participation in the occupation of Somalia – a war of aggression against the Somali people – reflects the role of the government as a reactionary minion in the service of the Great Powers.

Despite the delusively fairy story of the capitalist ideologists about the advantages of the market economy, poverty and exploitation are the grim reality of capitalism today – in Kenya, in Africa and around the world.

It can not be otherwise, as capitalism is a global system where a small minority of capitalists owns the economy and enriches itself by the labour of the vast majority. Their system is not superior but rather decaying. This is why the world economy experiences repeatedly severe crisis and stagnation.

The liberation of our people is not possible via small reforms and change of government. One can change the head of the government but the system dominated by small elite of foreign and domestic capitalists remains the same. The Kenyan working class and the oppressed masses can only liberate themselves if they overthrow the ruling class and expropriate the corporations and big landowners.

The workers and oppressed must take their fate in their own hands instead of putting their hopes in this or that politician. This is why we fight for an authentic workers and poor peasant government, based on popular councils and militias, which can open the road to a socialist future. Only a free and socialist Kenya – as part of the *United Socialist States of Africa* – can guarantee our people a future of welfare and peace!

Such a government will not come to power via parliamentary elections, backroom deals or a military coup d'état. The workers and poor will rather take power via a mass popular uprising resulting in a socialist revolution.

More than five million wage labourers represent the core sector of the liberation forces. While they constitute the majority of the urban labourers there is also a significant minority of workers among the rural labourers.

While the working class represents the central class in the liberation struggle, its most important allies are the poor peasants and the urban poor. About 75% of the working people are employed in agriculture. Subsistence production accounts for almost half of the total agricultural production. In Nairobi nearly 2.6 million people – two third of the city's population – live in informal settlements. The working class can only open the road to socialism if it makes the demands of the poor peasants and the urban poor part of its program.

Our liberation struggle is international by its nature. Since our enemies operate internationally, we must also join forces with our brothers and sisters in other countries inside and outside of Africa. Only as an international class are we able to fight back. Fighting for the liberation of all workers and oppressed will be the surest road of liberation of us!

Liberation will not happen automatically. We can only achieve it if we fight with a strong revolutionary party which unites the politically most advanced workers and youth. Such a party must be part of a *Revolutionary World Party*. The crucial task today is the construction of such a party – in Kenya and internationally.

This *Action Program for Kenya* is based on the analysis and strategy outlined in the RCIT's "*Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa*". We call all activists who share our programmatic outlook and who are prepared to dedicate their lives for the liberation struggle of the workers and oppressed to join us. Let us build together the *Revolutionary Socialist League* and the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*!

Free Kenya and the whole of Africa from capitalist super-exploitation and imperialist oppression!

We say: Kenya as well as the whole of Africa can not be free as long as our people are held hostage by imperialist Great Powers, multinational corporations, foreign settlers and the small domestic capitalist class. The working class and the oppressed must fight them so that they can finally expropriate them.

The *Revolutionary Socialist League* and the RCIT fight for:

- * *Expel all the Great Powers (US, China, EU, etc.)! Shut down the US and UK military bases in Kenya!*

- * *Expropriate all the imperialist banks and corporations without compensation! For the nationalisation and centralization of all banks and the creation of one state bank operating on the basis of socialist guidelines!*

- * *Cancel all debts! Down with the economic terrorist regime of the IMF and World Bank! No to all "free trade" treaties with the imperialist powers!*

- * *Defeat the military intervention of the Great Powers and their local stooges!*

- * *Force the old and new colonial powers to pay compensation for centuries of slavery, exploitation and oppression!*

- * *Abolish all privileges for the settlers!*

- * *Reject imperialist border controls! Open the borders! Raise the wages for migrants to the levels of domestic workers! Full equality of migrants! Stop the racial oppression of Black people in Europe, Latin America, US and other parts of the world! Stop the Islamophobic discrimination of Muslim migrants in Europe; No to all religious-based persecution of minorities!*

Jobs and Education for all! Nationalise the economy under the control of the workers and poor peasants!

We support every struggle, as limited as it might be, for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers and poor peasants. However, we are aware that no sustainable rising of our living standard is possible as long as industry and banks remain in the hands of foreign and domestic corporations and the land in the hands of a few big landowners.

This is why the *Revolutionary Socialist League* and the RCIT fight for:

- * *Jobs for all and higher wages! For safe and secure job! For a public employment programs to expand infrastructure, housing, education, health care, etc., financed by massive taxing of the rich!*

- * *Nationalization of all big corporations, mines and banks under control of the workers!*

- * *Nationalization of large estates so that the poor peasants can decide how to best utilize the land!*

- * *Raising women's wages to the level of their class brothers! For a popular campaign to stop violence against women!*

- * *Jobs and education for all youth! Equal wages! Abolish child labour!*

- * *Free health system for all, financed by a massive taxing of the rich!*

- * *The right to decent food, housing and social protection for all!*

No to the war of aggression against the Somali people! Immediate withdrawal of Kenya's troops!

The Kenyatta regime has led our country to join the imperialist occupation of Somalia – the so-called "*African Union Mission to Somalia*" (AMISOM) with more than 20,000 troops. We denounce this aggression as an act of national oppression against the Somali people in the service of the imperialist Great Powers. While we don't give political support to the petty-bourgeois Islamist *Al-Shabaab* militia, we support the struggle of the Somali people against this reactionary foreign occupation. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all Kenyan troops from Somalia!

- * *Immediate withdrawal of Kenyan troops from Somalia!*

- * *Support the resistance against the imperialist occupiers and their local henchmen!*

Defend Democratic Rights! Down With the Ruling Elite!

We strongly denounce the ruling elite in Kenya, who have been in control of the instruments of governing the state, and who have had a long record of collaboration with the imperialist powers. The ruling elite are completely in bed with the Western imperialist powers as well as the Chinese. They are mere stooges of the global exploitative system, and serve as agents of international monopoly capital. It is clear that the interests of the ruling elite in Kenya

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are completely antagonistic to the interests of the people. Their interests are aligned to those of the ruling classes of the North, whom they serve.

The central task of our people, therefore, remains to build an independent Workers' Party based on a revolutionary action program.

The *Revolutionary Socialist League* and the RCIT fight for:

- * For the freedom of speech and assembly!
- * Defend the right to strike and demonstrate!
- * For the freedom of political and union organization, as well as the freedom to make use of all communication and information media!
- * No discrimination of ethnic or religious minorities!
- * For the right to elect and recall all public officeholders!
- * Access to human rights, including political rights for prisoners!
- * All state officials and their actions – especially police, army, intelligence, administration, legal, enterprise directors, etc. – must be monitored by workers' and popular councils!
- * For a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly!
- * Down with the Kenyatta regime!
- * For a Government of Workers and Poor Peasants! For a Socialist Revolution!
- * Long live a free and socialist Kenya!
- * Long live the United Socialist States of Africa!

Organize the Workers and Oppressed for the Mass Struggle!

We know from our history, that the workers and oppressed can not trust the promises of corrupt politicians. They must fight for their rights by themselves. The methods of fighting are mass mobilisations on the streets, in workplaces and in schools and universities. We fight for our rights by using all forms of mass struggle dictated

by concrete circumstances. In the current situation such methods will primarily be *mass demonstrations, strikes and general strikes, occupations, etc.*

As revolutionaries we call in all struggles for the formation of *action committees* of workers, youth and the popular masses in workplaces, neighbourhoods, villages, schools and universities. Furthermore, revolutionaries call for the formation of *self-defence units* in order to defend strikers, demonstrators, migrants and refugees against the violence perpetrated by police and fascists.

We do not ignore existing mass organizations like trade unions, student unions or peasants' organizations. But we are aware that they are often dominated by corrupt bureaucrats and careerists. We therefore advocate the formation of revolutionary factions and rank and file opposition movements inside these mass organizations in order to advance the struggle for democratisation of these organizations.

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

Long Live the Revolution! Aluta Continua!

For the RCIT's analysis and strategy for the African liberation struggle, we refer readers to our documents which can be accessed on our website at: <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. In particular we refer to our programmatic document:

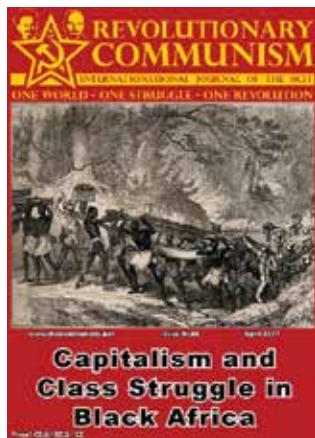
Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa Economic Freedom and Political Power for the Workers and Oppressed through Socialist Revolution!
<https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/manifesto-for-the-revolutionary-liberation-of-black-africa/>

PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

Theses on Capitalism and Class Struggle in Black Africa

An Analysis of Imperialist Exploitation and Oppression and the Perspectives of the Liberation Struggle

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format



Introduction * Some Background Notes on Black Africa's Modern History: How Colonial Plunder and Oppression Blocked Independent Development * Popular Struggles against Colonialism Led to Formal Independence * Formal Independence as Disguised Imperialist Dependency * The Reactionary Role of White Settlers * Is Capitalist Black Africa Rising? * Africa in the Grip of Imperialism * China as a new Imperialist Great Power Challenging the Western Domination * The Working Class and the Oppressed * Rising Class Struggle * Key Lessons for a Revolutionary Strategy in Black Africa * Imperialist Domination and Authoritarian Regimes Remain in Place despite Formal Changes * Breaking the Capitalist Chain – The Program of Permanent Revolution * The Revolutionary Struggle against Imperialism * Imperialist Chauvinism and the Anti-Imperialist Patriotism of the Oppressed * The Independence of the Working Class and the Struggle against the Popular Front * The Struggle for Pan-African Unity * The Revolutionary World Party and its African Sections * Footnotes

Britain: Keir Starmer, a loyal Servant of the British Capitalist State

A Review of Starmer's History from Director of Prosecutions to Labour Leader

Article by Joseph Adams, RCIT Britian, 1 June 2020

Keir Starmer has forced a U-turn from Boris Johnson over the government's original plan to charge foreign migrant doctors or nurses working in the NHS to pay exorbitant fees for working in Britain. The Bourgeois media has been praising Starmer to the hilt recognising his cutting edge at Prime Ministers questions pointing out that Starmer is much more superior to Johnson. Their praise of the right-wing Blairite was unsurprisingly never shown to Jeremy Corbyn. Instead Corbyn was assailed on all sides by witch-hunt lies and outright hostility by the capitalist press. Not so Starmer, who has become adored by the capitalist press.

"Overseas health and care staff will be exempted from the fee levied on migrants to pay for the NHS in a U-turn from Boris Johnson which came after mounting pressure from senior Tories."

Downing Street said the Prime Minister has asked officials at the Home Office and the Department for Health and Social Care to remove health and care workers from the surcharge "as soon as possible".

Full details will be announced in the coming days, a Number 10 spokesman said. The U-turn comes a day after Labour leader Sir Keir Starmer criticized Mr. Johnson's previous policy during Prime Minister's Questions. "Many of them are risking their lives for us," Sir Keir said. "Does the PM think it is right?" [1].

Starmer in his Role as Director of Public Prosecutions
Keir Starmer only became active in Politics in 2015 after he joined the Labour party and became the MP for Holborn and St Pancras. Eight years ago Starmer was already a faithful servant of the state. He was Director of Public Prosecutions well known for prosecuting workers involved in disputes and democratic challenges to the state. He prosecuted socialists and anybody who challenged the state and oversaw most of the state misconducts during that period. His so called propagation of socialism and Labour party activity did not exist.

"Scotland Yard has opened a criminal investigation into secret MI6 rendition operations that resulted in leading Libyan dissidents being abducted and flown to Tripoli where they were subsequently tortured in Muammar Gaddafi's prisons. The announcement The CPS decided more than a year ago that that officer – identified only as

Witness B – should not face charges, but Operation Hinton continued while detectives pursued what Starmer described as a "wider investigation into other potential criminal conduct". This involved attempting to trace responsibility for Witness B's actions up MI5's chain of command and beyond. Came as police and the director of public prosecutions, Keir Starmer, said there was insufficient evidence to prosecute any individual MI5 or MI6 officers following lengthy investigations into allegations of British complicity in the torture of terrorism suspects in Pakistan and Afghanistan." [2].

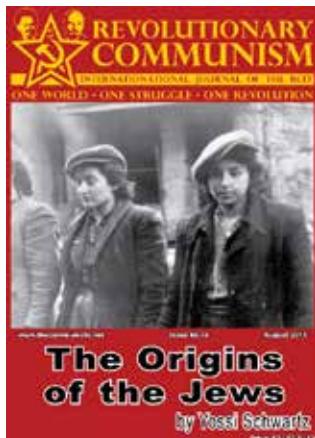
This is clear evidence that Starmer colluded with the British Intelligence Agencies in aiding the American security services to move suspects around the world, committing rendition through torture and other crimes against suspected terrorists. State officials like Starmer who failed to uphold their human rights enshrined in law are a crucial part of the "success" of the imperialist forces and are understandably trusted by the bourgeoisie as their best agents.

Further Evidence of Starmer's Collusion with Intelligence Agents

"More information is emerging about Labour's new leader Keir Starmer. Before entering politics he was the director of public prosecutions (DPP). During his tenure as DPP he made several controversial rulings. Now new evidence has emerged linking him with an intelligence chief. And there was a shared interest between the pair in surveillance technology. Firstly, thanks to research conducted by investigative journalist Matt Kennard we now know that Starmer met up with MI5 chief Jonathan Evans in 2013 for 'drinks' in his time as DPP.

In his twitter thread, Kennard suggests that a topic of that meeting may have been about the prosecution of MI5, which was accused of playing a part in a torture case. That case concerned Binyamin Mohamed, who was kidnapped, renditioned, and tortured by the CIA with alleged complicity in his interrogation by an MI5 officer, known simply as 'Witness B'.

In February 2010, Evans criticised the media's account of what happened with Mohamed. Later that year Starmer



Publications of the RCIT

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

decided not to prosecute MI5". [3]

Starmer was indeed intimately involved with the torture deprivation of known suspects in breach of their clear human rights. He connived with MI5 chief Evans to cover it up or simply ignore it. Yet Starmer is now Leader of the Labour Party. Considering past practice it is more than doubtful that Starmer will consider the members who have been suspended, victimised and expelled from the Labour party through their Kangaroo courts. No wonder he is praised by the Blairites. The leaked document on a climate of fear pervades those on the Labour left because they have recognised that Starmer will use might and main to remove any principled socialist and any honest Corbyn supporter from the Labour Party.

Starmer's Role in the 2019 General Election

During the 2019 general election Starmer who was the Shadow Brexit Secretary opposed Corbyn at every stage. In 2016 he had been involved in the conspiracy to remove Corbyn as leader and maligned and sought to denigrate his views on Europe and Brexit. It was a deliberate policy to ensure Corbyn's defeat at the General election and in that manner he was successful, having forced the General secretary of the Party Jennie Formby, a Corbyn appointee, to resign. It is clear that the right, pro-imperialist wing of the party is now in control and will set out to purge anyone who does not subscribe to their views. It is also clear that Starmer is treating the most incompetent Prime Minister Boris Johnson with kid gloves since the Covid-19 crisis. His policy is that we are all in it together which "forgets" that austerity, unemployment and poverty are rampant in Britain. Combines with the crisis of capitalism compounded by the divisions of the great powers into two great camps it is clear Starmer is not only on the side of the Bourgeoisie but even more a golden child of the ruling class. In his former function as the DPP, he refused to prosecute the police over Jean de Menzie's murder and that of the unlawful killing of Ian Tomlinson at the G7 Protests. Starmer has been trained well by both Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, two of Labour's far-right and pro-imperialist politicians.

"In February 2009, Starmer approved a decision not to

prosecute any police over the controversial shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes.

In July 2010, Starmer announced the decision not to prosecute the police officer Simon Harwood in relation to the death of Ian Tomlinson this led to accusations by Tomlinson's family of a police cover-up. After a subsequent inquest found that Tomlinson had been unlawfully killed, Starmer announced that Harwood would be prosecuted for manslaughter. The officer was acquitted in July 2012, but dismissed from the police that September." [4].

The Lockdown Left in the COVID-19 Pandemic Crisis

The RCIT has been one of the few revolutionary organizations who have fought against the Lockdown here in Britain and throughout the world. We have identified the denial of democratic rights and the move towards Bonapartist attacks which did go hand in hand with the lockdown measures. While it is obvious that mass tests, quarantine of proven cases and immediate health treatment are highly effective in fighting the pandemic, it is also clear that none of these measures limit democratic rights contrary to forced general lockdowns. In addition to opening the road for the expansion of Bonapartist attacks, general lockdowns are neither necessary nor medically effective on the long run. However, a broad support for Lockdowns has come from the trade union bureaucracy, the Labour party and a number of centrist organizations in Britain. As we have said previously this Lockdown left falls into a deeply reactionary rut that leads into supporting the loss of democratic rights like the right to assemble. We warned at the very beginning that the lockdown enforced by the Bourgeoisie had nothing to do with combatting this pandemic effectively but exactly the opposite. It had everything to do with smashing the gains of the masses and the working class, de-facto worsening the living situation of the poor and the ill (who not gain but suffer from the isolation in their homes) and to enable Bonapartism to save their rotten crisis ridden system. Keir Starmer has sought to work with Boris Johnson rather than provide opposition to his reactionary plans. In many ways Starmer advocates the slogan 'we are all in it together' and this reactionary Blairite will if he and his allies see it as necessary form a national government with Johnson.

"While we do not, and cannot, know the exact course of

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*Written by Michael Pröbsting
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events it is pretty clear what is the objective, historical, meaning of the current situation – irrespective of the intentions of this or that government leaders. What is currently taking place is a global counterrevolutionary offensive – a pre-emptive counterrevolution. The ruling classes launch gigantic economic and anti-democratic attacks which will worsen dramatically the conditions of the working class to fight. This is why the lockdowns and the suppression of the right to demonstrate are so dangerous.

COVID-19 is the perfect excuse to suppress these rights. This is why the ruling class is spreading fear and panic. This is why they will use it not only now but for months and years! And if the COVID-19 pandemic is temporarily over, the ruling class will surely warn about a return of it. Or there will be another pandemic by another virus. We repeat our warning: the bourgeoisie will use the danger of such pandemics for years in order to confuse and paralyze the working class and popular masses.

This is why accepting the logic of lockdowns and suppression of the right to demonstrate “because of the pandemic” is so dangerous. They want to bind our hands for years of slump and authoritarian rule. This is why the RCIT sharply condemns all those leftists who support lockdowns and suppression of the right to demonstrate. These forces objectively serve the counterrevolution. They are a modern version of social-chauvinism in WWI.

We have no doubt that we are marching towards great events. At the moment everything seems to be superimposed by the COVID-19 crisis. However, the fundamental contradictions of capitalism have not and can not disappear. The ruling classes have launched their counter-revolutionary offensive not because they are strong but rather because of desperation given the devastating crisis of their system. The harder the bourgeoisie strikes now, the stronger will be the reaction and the greater the response from

the workers and popular masses.”. [5].

The RCIT in BRITAIN puts forward the following policies and the task ahead in these fraught times in the middle of the COVID-19 Pandemic which gives the revolutionary movement immense possibilities.

- * Expansion of the Health system in Britain under the control of workers and the popular masses

- * No to mass lockdowns! Defend the democratic right to assemble and demonstrate! Nobody should take away our right to fight and rally against injustice and oppression!

- * For an international team of medical experts to develop a cure and preventive vaccination as soon as possible! They must be under the control of workers, local branches of the trade unions and other organs of the masses!

- * Nationalise the pharmaceutical companies under workers control to develop drugs against widespread illnesses like COVID-19, Influenza, HIV/Aids and many more!

- * Support our brothers and sisters in the global south! Cancel all public and household debts!

- * No sackings, no wage cuts. Nationalisation under workers control of large enterprises, which sack workers respectively which shut down production!

- * Fight for the building of a New Workers Party!

Footnotes

(1) <https://www.itv.com/news/2020-05-21/johnson-performs-u-turn-on-fee-for-foreign-health-and-care-workers/>

(2) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/12/libya-rendition-torture-abduction-mi6>

(3) <https://www.thecanary.co.uk/analysis/2020/04/19/keir-starmer-links-with-an-intelligence-chief-add-to-his-controversies-as-dpp/>

(4) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keir_Starmer

(5) <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/concluding-words/>

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today

The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today.

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

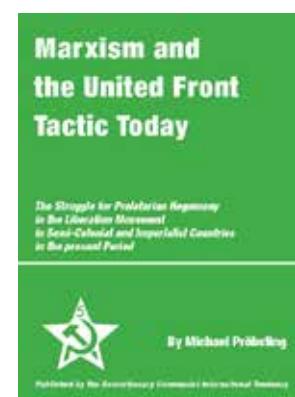
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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

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

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

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



Brazil: Social-Bonapartism of the Lockdown Left in Practice

How the leaderships of the trade unions, PT, PCdoB, the pseudo-Trotskyist PSTU and PSOL sabotage the struggle against the Bolsonaro government

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 10 June 2020

All over the world millions of workers and youth are marching on the streets against racism and police brutality. As the RCIT has elaborated in various documents, this is a historic turning point, a moment of liberation. After months of counterrevolutionary lockdown rules imposed by the ruling class under the cover of the COVID-19 pandemic, the masses are breaking down the bans of public assemblies.¹

These mass protests are based on spontaneous popular mobilizations. Since months, most parties of the opportunist left – social democrats, Stalinists, left populists, pseudo-Trotskyists, etc. – support the Lockdown imposed by the ruling class around the globe. This Lockdown Left has refused to call for mobilizations on the streets despite the fact that the workers and oppressed face the worst attacks since World War II (economic slump, explosive rise of unemployment, vast expansion of police and surveillance state, etc.).²

Instead of calling the people to struggle, the Lockdown Left joined the chorus of many capitalist governments and told the masses to “Stay at Home!” They pathetically excused such betrayal by referring to the COVID-19 pandemic. Underlying this argument is the reactionary idea that the oppressed should stop fighting in times of pandemics and that the ruling class with its expanding bonapartist state apparatus would be best suited to fight such a pandemic.³

In contrast, the RCIT has denounced such capitulation of the reformist and centrist left from the beginning. We explained that COVID-19 is neither the first nor the last pandemic in the past decades. Humanity has experienced such pandemics several times which have claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people every year (severe Influenza epidemics, HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, not to speak about the millions of people who die every year because of heart disease, nicotine or alcohol). Such pandemics must be fought with a health program (expansion of public health sector under workers and popular control, free mass testing etc.) and, ultimately, the overthrow of capitalism as the system responsible for many of these diseases. We also explained that the ruling class is using the COVID-19 pandemic as a cover for deflecting the masses’ attention from the economic slump and, at the same, to legitimize the expansion of the bonapartist state apparatus.⁴ Under no circumstances must a progressive organization support bourgeois state repression and draconic lockdown measures – even if they are supposedly health measures – directed against the people.⁵

Finally, and most importantly, it is criminal to call the masses to stay at home when, at the same time, the bosses throw millions of workers on the streets, when the masses starve because of the lockdown, when the ruling classes vastly expand the police and surveillance state! A pandemic can not justify in any way a voluntarily disarmament and capitulation by the left in face of such massive economic and anti-democratic attacks! This is why the

RCIT called from the very first moment that the workers and popular organizations must fight against these attacks instead of supporting the reactionary Lockdown.⁶

Cowardly “Left”

Today we see a particularly striking example of such a betrayal in Brazil. Like in many other countries, the workers and oppressed have spontaneously started to fight against reactionary offensive. Initiated by anti-fascist football fans and grassroots organizations in late May, the protests against the extreme right-wing Bolsonaro governments have spread since then. This demonstrates the willingness of the masses to fight against the reactionary attacks. It also underlines that the masses – like in many countries all over the world – don’t accept the reactionary bans of mass assemblies and demonstrations which the ruling class has imposed under the cover of the COVID-19 crisis.⁷

However, most parties of the Brazilian reformist and centrist left refuse to support these mobilizations! The trade union federations CUT and CTB, as well as the parties that control them – the social democratic PT and the Stalinist PCdoB – voted not to participate in any street activities. They claim that such demonstrations might provoke the Bolsonaro government to take dictatorial measures. This shows once more the policy of cowardice and capitulation of the reformist leaderships which refuse to fight against the reactionary offensive.

The position of these reformist parties is particularly cynical given the fact that for the majority of the proletariat staying home and working via “home office” is no option. They have to go to factories, transport service etc. It is particularly noteworthy that in states where the PT and the PCdoB are in government – like in Maranhão, Ceará, Bahia, or Rio Grande do Norte – shops, malls etc. are allowed to open. So while the workers have to continue doing their jobs, they should not – according to these parties – enter the streets in order to protest.

But such betrayal is not limited to the reformist leaderships. Like in many other countries around the world, the self-proclaimed Trotskyist left in Brazil opportunistically adapts to the reformist leadership. At a meeting of the leadership of CONLUTAS – the trade union centre of the radical left – on 5 June, the vast majority refused to call for mass mobilizations. A resolution proposed by the *Movimiento Revolucionario Socialista* (MRS) which called for support of such mobilizations was defeated by 22 votes to 2. The only other leader who voted for this resolution, in addition to the MRS, was the delegate of the *Corrente Socialista dos Trabalhadores* (the Brazil section of the UIT-CI which works as a minority current within the PSOL). The PSTU – which dominates the leadership of CONLUTAS and which is also the mother section of the international current LIT-CI – as well as all other currents of the PSOL opposed a call for mobilizations.⁸

So when the masses entered the streets nevertheless, de-

spite the failure of the reformist and centrist left to mobilize, the PSTU leaders tried to jump the bandwagon by sending some members to attend demonstrations with flags.

This sad example of cowardice demonstrates once more the reactionary character of the Lockdown Left. Despite all the pompous phrases of "socialism", "Marxism" and even "Trotskyism", they capitulate to the bourgeoisie and the reformist bureaucracy and refrain from calling for mass struggles. Covering behind supposedly health reasons, these leftists in fact support the reactionary bonapartist lockdown measures which ban the people from marching on the streets. As a result, the cowardly left stays home while, at the same time, the extreme right-wing supporters of Bolsonaro calling for a military coup demonstrate on the streets!⁹

We repeat that such a counter-revolutionary stance of large sectors of the so-called left underlines once more the urgent need to build an authentic revolutionary party – nationally and internationally. The RCIT calls revolutionary activists in Brazil and globally to unite on the basis of a program of struggle against the current reactionary offensive of the bourgeoisie. Such a program implies a clear and intransigent demarcation of forms of social-bonapartism. Marxism and Lockdown Left are diametrically opposed!¹⁰

Footnotes

1 See on this e.g. RCIT: The Global Popular Uprising against Racism and Police Violence. This is a turning point ending the global counterrevolutionary situation. But workers and oppressed need to prepare for an ongoing reactionary offensive of the ruling class!, 8 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/the-global-popular-uprising-against-racism-and-police-violence/>; for the documents of the RCIT on the popular uprising in the U.S. see the special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/north-america/articles-on-uprising-after-murder-of-george-floyd/>

2 See on this e.g. chapter I and II of the new book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, RCIT Books, April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/>.

3 The RCIT has analyzed the COVID-19 crisis extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February we have published nearly four dozen documents which are all collected at a special sub-page in our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>. In particular we refer readers to the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/>. See also the above mentioned new book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It.

4 On the latest developments in the expansion of state bonapartism see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: The Police and Surveillance State in the Post-Lockdown Phase. A global review of the ruling class's plans of expanding the bonapartist state machinery amidst the COVID-19 crisis, 21 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/police-and-surveillance-state-in-post-lockdown-phase/>

5 See on this e.g. RCIT: A Revolutionary Action Program

to fight COVID-19! Workers and Oppressed: Don't trust the State of the Rich and Powerful! Trust only Yourselves! April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/health-program-covid19>; see also Almedina Gurić: No, most likely it is not COVID-19 that is going to kill you. A manageable epidemic became public enemy number one distracting from the real killers, 16 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/no-most-likely-it-is-not-covid-19-that-is-going-to-kill-you/>;

6 See the documents on the special sub-page in our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>. For some examples of the RCIT's participation in the current struggles see e.g. RSV: Nigeria: RALLY IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE #JusticeForUwa CAMPAIGN, A Report (with Pictures), 3rd June, 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/nigeria-rally-in-solidarity-with-the-justiceforuwa-campaign/>; RSL: Kenya: The Oppressed Masses demand "Stop Killing Us!" Report (with Pictures and Video) of the Demonstration of the People of Kenya against Police Brutality, 9 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/demonstration-against-police-brutality-in-nairobi-8-6-2020/>; ALS: Mexico: Stop Racism, Stop Impunity! Report on a day of demonstrations against police brutality in the U.S. and Mexico, 6 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/mexico-stop-racism-stop-impunity/>; USA: Black Lives Matter Demonstration in San Francisco, Report (with Video) by SRV, 7 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/north-america/blm-demonstration-in-san-francisco-7-6-2020/>

7 See on this e.g. CCR: Brazil: Football Fans Organize Anti-Fascist Demonstrations, May 31, 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-football-fans-organize-anti-fascist-demonstrations/>; CCR: GREAT POPULAR MANIFESTATIONS AGAINST THE BOLSONAR GOVERNMENT BREAKING LOCKDOWN IN VARIOUS CITIES IN BRAZIL, 7 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/great-popular-manifestations-against-the-bolsonar-government-breaking-lockdown-in-various-cities-in-brazil/>

8 See on this e.g. the report of the comrades of the Movimiento Revolucionario Socialista: ¡Las centrales sindicales y partidos de "izquierda" contra convocar actos de protesta! 8.6.2020, <https://mrsocialista.org/las-centrales-sindicales-y-partidos-de-izquierda-contra-convocar-actos-de-protesta/>

9 See on this e.g. CCR: Brazil: Militaries explicitly threaten with a new military Coup d'État, 25 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-militaries-explicitly-threaten-with-a-new-military-coup-d-etat/>

10 For a more detailed discussion of the failure of the Lockdown Left see e.g. chapter V in Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution; see also by the same author COVID-19 and the Lockdown Left: The Example of PODEMOS and Stalinism in Spain, 24 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-lockdown-left-podemos-and-stalinism-in-spain/>; Social-Bonapartism in Argentina. The Partido Obrero (Tendencia) of Jorge Altamira supports the State of Emergency, 29 April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/social-bonapartism-in-argentina/>; When Ultra-Leftism marries Social-Bonapartism and Gives Birth to "Post-Marxist" Obscurantism. A reply to the CWG/ILTT, 5 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-when-ultra-leftism-marries-social-bonapartism/>

When Ultra-Leftism marries Social-Bonapartism and Gives Birth to “Post-Marxist” Obscurantism

A reply to the CWG/ILTT

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 5 May 2020

As our tendency has repeatedly pointed out in the past weeks we are living in the midst of a historic moment – a triple crisis consisting of the Third Depression of the capitalist world economy, a global shift towards Chauvinist State Bonapartism and the COVID-19 pandemic.¹ In the RCIT Manifesto on the present crisis we warned: *“It is also likely that the new era will provoke further crisis and divisions within the self-proclaimed Marxist milieu (...) we can expect political capitulations and organizational splits and collapses.”*

Indeed, the past weeks have provided numerous examples confirming our prognosis. We see various self-proclaimed socialist and “Marxist” organizations capitulating to social-bonapartism, i.e. supporting the lockdown policy of the bourgeois state which atomizes the working class and suppresses fundamental democratic rights under the cover of the COVID-19 pandemic. For example, Stalinist and left-reformist parties support such a lockdown policy – or even execute it as part of a government coalition (e.g. in Spain).² In addition, a number of “Trotskyist” organizations have also joined the social-bonapartist bandwagon.³ In this article we want to deal with another example of such a political collapse of an ostensibly “Marxist” organization – the so-called “International Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency” (ILTT), based in the U.S. and New Zealand (where they call themselves “Communist Workers Group”). This grouplet recently published an article which can be dip-

lomatically characterized as ... extraordinary.⁴ The CWG/ILTT is an organization which, to its merit, has been able to recognize and to approach correctly some important world development in the past decade (e.g. the rise of Chinese and Russian imperialism, the significance of the Arab Revolution). However, it never managed to overcome a sterile, undialectical method which repeatedly led them into a combination of ultra-leftist and arch-opportunist debacles. Examples for these, among others, are their failure to defend bourgeois democracy against reactionary coup d'états (e.g. Egypt 2013, Thailand 2014, Brazil 2016) or their social-imperialist support for immigration control in rich countries (e.g. U.S., New Zealand).⁵

In the above mentioned statement on the COVID-19 crisis the CWG/ILTT raises various criticisms against the RCIT. Some of them are ... “original”. For example they attack us for publishing an *“Open Letter to the FIT-U”* in late March which included the proposal for an international virtual conference on the current COVID-19 crisis.⁶ FIT-U is an alliance of several Trotskyist organizations in Argentina which have gained some deputies in national resp. regional parliaments. The CWG/ILTT denounces us for approaching this alliance because it is supposedly *“acting as the left wing of the bourgeoisie in parliament”*. While we also have our criticism of the political orientation of the organizations involved in the FIT-U, it is simply hilarious to call them *“the left wing of the bourgeoisie”*.⁷ This is an ultra-left

Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: Palestine and Zionism

The History of Oppression of the Palestinian People. A Critical Account of the Myths of Zionism

In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz provides a critical analysis of numerous Zionist myths about the Jews as well as about the Palestinians. He demonstrates that the Zionist claim that Palestine is the historic homeland of the Jews lacks any serious basis.

Palestine and Zionism shows that the history of Zionism in the 20th century is a history of colonialism in the service of the Great Powers and directed against the native population – the Arabs. In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz deals with key events – the “Nakba” in 1948, the wars in 1956, 1967 and 1973, more recent events like the Lebanon War, etc. – which were decisive for the expulsion of most Palestinians from their homeland.

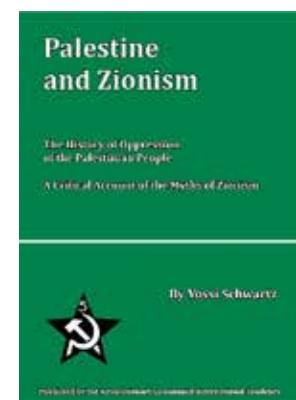
Yossi Schwartz also shows that the Palestinian people have heroically resisted against the occupation resulting in two Intifadas as well as the successful defense of Gaza against the Israeli aggression in three wars (2008/09, 2012, 2014). The author also analyzes the shameful betrayal by the PLO leadership by signing the Oslo Agreement in 1993.

In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz defends the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian people and

outlines a socialist perspective. He emphasizes that the only solution is the right of millions of Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and to replace the Zionist entity with one democratic state from the river to the sea – a *Free Red Palestine* with equal civil rights to the Arabs and the Israeli Jews.

The book contains an introduction and 7 chapters (112 pages) and includes 7 Tables and 3 Maps. The author of the book is Yossi Schwartz, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency and its section in Israel / Occupied Palestine..

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/palestine-and-zionism/>



caricature of ultra-leftism, an expression of political delirium in a parallel universe which does not serve anyone, and much less the reputation of the CWG/ILTT comrades!

A barely disguised support for the bourgeois lockdown policy

However, this article reveals once more the universal truth that ultra-leftism is the unacknowledged twin of opportunism. After lambasting the RCIT for raising proposals to Argentinean Trotskyists, the ILTT denounces our opposition against the lockdown policy of the bourgeois states.

"More damaging to the workers internationally is the conspiracy put up by some on the self-professed Trotskyist left. For example the RCIT attributes the measures adopted by imperialist and semi-colonial powers that 'lockdown' the working masses to a deliberate counter-revolutionary strategy to finally defeat and destroy the revolutionary potential of the international proletariat. It labels those who do not share their view as the 'lockdown left' for accepting lockdowns as necessary to fight the pandemic and therefore siding with the bourgeoisie in shutting down business with huge loss of jobs. We reject this type of un-Marxist conspiracy theory since there is a good Marxist explanation for the adoption of these 'lockdown' measures to deal with the pandemic."

The CWG/ILTT does not only denounce our explanation of the lockdown policy, it also rejects our very opposition to it. In fact, the CWG/ILTT supports the lockdown policy! *"In the current pandemic, health and safety principles demand the isolation of workers from conditions in the workplace and in public life that threaten their lives. At the same time it demands that workers resist measures in the name of 'public health' that leave them destitute in living conditions that exacerbate the pandemic. Therefore, Marxists do not reject public health 'lockdowns' on principle because of a loss of jobs and income."*

Consequently, following the lead of Stalinism and semi-Stalinism, the CWG/ILTT sympathises with the "Chinese" draconic response to the pandemic: *"The China model of combatting [sic!] the pandemic did not impose unusually draconian controls over workers compared to the ones that bourgeois democratic regimes have themselves used under war-time 'blitz' conditions. (...) It was the failure to impose the China solution when there was plenty of advance warning of a pandemic that left China's imperialist rivals resorting to panicked, confused and draconian blanket curfews, economic shutdowns, and punitive lockdowns of the working people. This was the result of the chaos of the market, not a capitalist conspiracy."*

In short, we see how close, in fact, how inseparable, ultra-left sectarianism is wedded to opportunism! In the current crisis, when the international working class experiences the worst attack on democratic rights in many countries since 1945, we see such ultra-leftists proudly stating that they *"do not reject lockdowns on principle"*, in other words, that they join the reformist caravan of social-bonapartist cheerleaders!

A "new class society" which would "render Marxism redundant"?

The CWG/ILTT's political capitulation is not limited to the opportunist support for state bonapartism. Its political demoralization also finds expression in theoretical speculations about an impending "historical defeat of the

working class" and "*a new society, no longer capitalist, but a Bonapartist dictatorship ruled by a new bureaucratic class.*" The emergence of such a new, post-capitalist, class society – according to the CWG/ILTT – would not only remove the perspective of socialist revolution away into the far distance, it would even *"render Marxism redundant and the proletariat no longer the historic agent of socialist revolution."*

"It is clear from the above that capitalism has failed to restore the conditions for profitability since the 1970's. (...) The explosion of the COVID-19 pandemic and the panic it has created is an opportunity for capitalism to break workers resistance with a counter-revolutionary offensive that can resolve the crisis for capitalism. But it also poses a threat to capital, a revolutionary coup de grace even. Yet for the revolution to defeat the counter-revolution, we must understand the enemy and not play into its hands. If the exit from the terminal crisis is an historic defeat for the proletariat, it would be of the same order that Trotsky foresaw regarding the outcome of World War 2, an historic defeat for humanity. It would signal the arrival of a new society, no longer capitalist, but a Bonapartist dictatorship ruled by a new bureaucratic class. This outcome would render Marxism redundant and the proletariat no longer the historic agent of socialist revolution."

Of course, associating Trotsky with such theoretical nonsense is bizarre to the extreme! In 1939, Trotsky explained his *refusal* of any theory of a "*new bureaucratic class*" by elaborating the theoretical consequences of such a wrong conception. Even more so he discussed this theory in relation to possible future developments of Stalinism, i.e. of a deformed workers state, not of monopoly capitalism.

In best case, we see a vulgar example of theoretical neglect. Until now Marxists have been of the opinion that capitalism in general – and imperialism in particular – represents the last and final stage of class society. Lenin and Trotsky were of the opinion that only socialism is capable of developing the productive forces to a higher level. Now, the geniuses of the CWG/ILTT tell us that the Marxist classics were wrong and that there might be another, historically progressive, class society after capitalism led by a new ruling class which could develop the productive forces to a higher level. Hence, we don't need a socialist revolution. The "*new bureaucratic class*" will save humanity!

The comrades of the CWG/ILTT might deny such conclusions. But for Marxists it is an axiom that, in the words of Leon Trotsky, *"the historical justification for every ruling class consisted in this – that the system of exploitation it headed raised the development of the productive forces to a new level."*⁸ So if a "*new bureaucratic class*" can replace the bourgeoisie, it has to be capable of developing the productive forces in a superior way, i.e. it has to be historically progressive. To put it in diplomatic words, such a prognosis seems to us being ... pretty premature!

True, there is no guarantee that the international working class will successfully overthrow the bourgeoisie and build a socialist society based on planned economy. But the alternative to socialism is not a new, historically progressive class society, but rather barbarism – a world characterized by mass slaughter and the historically regression of humanity as well as the destruction of the very living conditions on this planet.

And what are the programmatic consequences of such ideas? If a "*new bureaucratic class*" based on "*Bonapartist dictatorship*" can develop the productive forces better than

capitalism, one would have to support such forces and work towards their victory over capitalism. The CWG/ILTT comrades might not consciously have already drawn such conclusions but there is an inevitable logic in their position which will push them in such direction. In any case, such theoretical nonsense already serves as a cover for the CWG/ILTT's social-bonapartist support for the lockdown policy.

The political and moral collapse of ultra-leftism

In short, we see a striking example of political and moral collapse of ultra-leftism. After refusing to defend bourgeois democracy against bonapartism, after attacking Trotskyists like the RCIT for applying the united front tactic towards non-revolutionary forces, these ultra-leftists ... adapt to social-bonapartism ("we do not reject lockdowns on principle") and speculate about the end of class struggle and the irrelevance of Marxism. An extraordinary race towards the theoretical abyss – and this only a few weeks after the beginning of the global counterrevolutionary offensive! It shows that when ultra-leftism marries social-bonapartism it gives birth to "Post-Marxist" obscurantism!

We note in passing that the CWG/ILTT is not the only example for such political collapse of ultra-left sects. Another U.S. group – the "*League for the Revolutionary Party*" (LRP) – published a remarkable document a few weeks ago in which they renounced their long-standing opposition to voting for any party of the imperialist monopoly bourgeoisie, i.e. neither for the Republicans nor the Democrats. In the past decades, this group attacked our movement for lending critical electoral support to reformist workers parties, i.e. parties with roots in trade unions and other mass organizations of the working class. Today, the LRP has arrived at the conclusion that it will support Joe Biden, the Democrats' Presidential candidate at the elections in November!⁹ Another example of the pathetic combination of ultra-leftism and arch-opportunism!

In our recently published book about the COVID-19 Counterrevolution we pointed out that the current developments have no doubt a demoralizing effect on large sectors of reformism and centrism. Their failure to under-

stand the nature of this global counterrevolutionary offensive has resulted in political capitulations to social-bonapartism and vulgar belly-flops in the field of Marxist theory. We have no doubt that many more examples of similar political and moral collapses in the revisionist camp will follow.

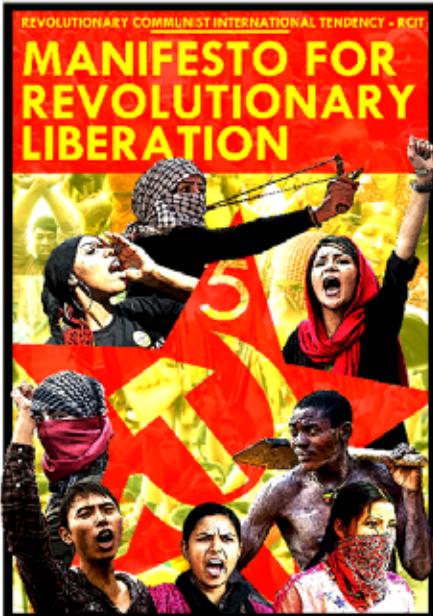
Lenin once observed during World War I: „*Like every crisis in the life of individuals or in the history of nations, war oppresses and breaks some, steels and enlightens others.*”¹⁰ This statement is no less relevant today! While the current triple crisis is not characterized by a major war between Great Powers (yet), it is of no less historic significance as a far-reaching event in world politics. It will result in profound changes within the international liberation movement of the workers and oppressed as it will strengthen the healthy elements and destroy the rotten.

Footnotes

1 For our analysis of the current crisis we refer to the new book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/>; see also the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/>. The RCIT has published several dozen documents on the COVID-19 crisis which are all collected at a special sub-page in our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>

2 See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19 and the Lockdown Left: The Example of PODEMOS and Stalinism in Spain, 24 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-lockdown-left-podemos-and-stalinism-in-spain/>

3 See on this various examples provided in chapter V of our above mentioned book "*The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It*". See also Michael Pröbsting: Social-Bonapartism in Argentina. The Partido Obrero (Tendencia) of Jorge Altamira supports the State of Emergency, 29 April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/coronavirus-and-social-bonapartism-in-argentina/>



PROGRAM OF THE RCIT

Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

Adopted at the 1st World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016

Introduction * I. Decaying Capitalism * II. Today's Worldwide Historic Revolutionary Period * III. The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class * IV. A Program for Socialist Revolution to Halt Humanity's Collapse into Barbarism * V. The Crisis of Leadership and the Construction of a Revolutionary World Party * VI. Work in Mass Organizations and the United Front Tactic * VII. The Semi-Colonial South * VIII. The Emerging Imperialist Great Powers of the East: China and Russia * IX. The Old Imperialist Great Powers: The EU, North America and Japan * X. Conclusion

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format

[ca/social-bonapartism-in-argentina/](#)

4 ILTT: Workers Unite! The historic task of workers is to overthrow rotten capitalism and fight for world socialism! 24.4.2020, <http://www.cwgusa.org/?p=2395>

5 See on this e.g. RCIT: It is Time to Break with a Wrong Method! Open Letter from the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) to the Members of the Liaison Committee of Communists, July 2015, <https://rcitarchive.wordpress.com/rcit/open-letter-to-lcc/>; see also Michael Pröbsting: Patriotic "Anti-Capitalism" for Fools. Yet Again on the CWG/LCC's Support for "Workers" Immigration Control and Protectionism in the US, 30.5.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/cwg-lcc-us-protectionism/>; Michael Pröbsting and Andrew Walton: The Slogan of "Workers" Immigration Control: A Concession to Social-Chauvinism, 27.3.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/workers-immigration-control/>; Michael Pröbsting and Andrew Walton: A Social-Chauvinist Defence of the Indefensible. Another Reply to the CWG/LCC's Support for "Workers" Immigration Control, 14.5.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/cwg-immigration-control/>

6 RCIT: For an International Conference on the Struggle against the Global Capitalist Crisis! Open Letter to the Frente de Izquierda y de los Trabajadores Unidad (FIT-U) in Argentina, 31 March 2020, <https://www.thecomunists.net/rcit/open-letter-to-fit-u-for-an-international-conference-on-the-struggle-against-the-global-capitalist-crisis/>

7 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Social-Bonapartism in Argentina; Michael Pröbsting: The Catastrophic Failure of the Theory of "Catastrophism". On the Marxist Theory of Capitalist Breakdown and its Misinterpretation by the Partido Obrero (Argentina) and its "Coordinating Committee for the Refoundation of the Fourth International", RCIT Pamphlet, May 2018, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/the-catastrophic-failure-of->

[the-theory-of-catastrophism/](#); The New Global Wave of Class Struggles and the Slogan of the Constituent Assembly. How to apply a crucial revolutionary democratic tactic (and how not) – a critique of the opportunist deviations of the Argentine-based PTS/FT and PO/CRFI, 26 November 2019, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/new-global-wave-of-class-struggles-and-slogan-of-constituent-assembly/>; Some Thoughts on the Split in the Argentinean "Partido Obrero", 10 July 2019, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/split-in-argentinean-partido-obrero/>; see also the chapters IX, X and XXV in the book by Michael Pröbsting: *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective*, RCIT Books, January 2019, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>.

8 Leon Trotsky: The USSR in War (1939), in: Leon Trotsky: In Defense of Marxism, Pathfinder Press, New York 1942 (1973), p. 6

9 See e.g.: "Most LRP members believe we should therefore advocate voting for Democratic candidates as a temporary defensive measure. That would include voting for Joe Biden if he turns out to be the Democratic presidential candidate." "And if Biden is the candidate, many LRP members support voting for him and for Democrats in general, in order to defeat the Trumpist threat to democratic rights that working-class and oppressed people need to effectively defend themselves against attacks supported by either party." (Rethinking Voting for Capitalist Parties. A Statement by the Central Committee of the League for the Revolutionary Party, March 13, 2020, <http://www.lrp-cofi.org/statements/elections-capitalist-parties.html>)

10 V.I. Lenin: Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov) (1916); in: LCW 23, p. 22

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

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <http://www.thecomunists.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

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 lead by the working class, for she is the only class that has nothing to lose but their chains.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In a war between imperialist states (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 lead by the working class. We fight for revolutionary movements of the oppressed (women, youth, migrants etc.) based on the working class. We oppose the leadership of petty-bourgeois forces (feminism, nationalism, Islamism etc.) and strive to replace them by a revolutionary communist leadership.

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

