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* Open Letter for Revolutionary Unity

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* Why Marxists Oppose Daesh

* Terror and Militarization in the EU

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* China's "Socialist" Billionaires

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Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Britain, Germany, USA, and Austria.

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Greetings for New Year 2016 from the RCIT

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 31.12.2015

Dear comrades, brother and sisters!

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) sends greetings to all fighters for the liberation of the working class and the oppressed! We welcome the courageous struggle of our brothers and sisters fighting against the ruling classes all over the world:

* The Syrian liberation fighters struggling against Assad, the Great Powers and *Daesh*;

* The young students in Egypt resisting against the bloody military dictatorship of General al-Sisi;

* The workers and poor in Yemen defending their country against the arch-reactionary Saudi-led forces;

* The Palestinian youth who cannot be stopped in their resistance, despite the murderous efforts of the Zionist regime;

* The workers and youth in Argentina and Brazil fighting against the right-wing counterrevolution;

* The Greek workers and youth who are continuing the struggle against the *Third Memorandum* imposed by the EU-Troika, despite the betrayal of SYRIZA;

* The migrants and progressive European workers and youth who support the refugees arriving in Europe, despite the increasing repression of the imperialist state and the rising wave racism of semi-fascist forces;

* The Indian workers who launched the largest general strike in the history of humanity on 2 September 2015 with 150 million participating, and the poor women of India who are fighting against the reactionary culture of rape and violence;

* The Chinese workers who doubled the reported number of strikes and protests every year since 2011;

* And the courageous black workers and youth fighting against racism and state violence in the US.

The past year has seen a number of heroic class battles against the imperialist Great Powers and their puppet regimes in the South, as well as against the big capitalists and their lackeys in the state apparatus. The year that is coming to a close has witnessed the opening of a new political phase of counterrevolutionary offensives by the bourgeoisie. This has been particularly visible in Latin America with the advance of the reactionary right-wing forces in Argentina, Venezuela and Brazil, the increasing militarization and state of emergency regimes in the EU, and the conspiracy of the Great Powers against the Syrian Revolution.

As this new phase has begun in the broader context of the historic revolutionary period of capitalist decay which opened in 2008, we will unavoidably see the acceleration of the contradictions between the capitalists and the working class, between the imperialist Great Powers (the US, EU, Japan, China and Russia), and between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples of the world. In short, in the coming year, the accelerating contradictions of capitalism will provoke massive class battles, revolutions, counterrevolutions and wars.

Unfortunately, the working class and the oppressed are inadequately prepared for these challenges as they are led by treacherous reformist and populist forces. However, this is no reason for despair but rather additional motivation to assist the working class in the formation of an authentic revolutionary leadership, i.e., new revolutionary parties nationally and internationally.

The RCIT has therefore released an *Open Letter* to all revolutionary organizations and activists. ("*At the Outset of a New Political Phase: For the Unity of Revolutionaries in the Struggle against Advancing Counterrevolution!*", <http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/open-letter-revolutionary-unity/>)

This *Open Letter* summarizes the RCIT's analysis of the present world situation, the position of revolutionaries in the most important class struggles today, and the crucial lessons for the upcoming battles.

We urge all comrades, brothers and sisters to study this document and to contact the RCIT so that we can jointly discuss steps towards closer collaboration in our mutual effort to build the most important instrument of the working class in its struggle for liberation: a new *World Party of Socialist Revolution!* Let us march forward!

Workers and Oppressed, Unite!

Forward in the founding of a new World Party of Socialist Revolution!

Forward in building the RCIT!

Revolutionary Greetings,

International Secretariat of the RCIT ■



Open Letter to All Revolutionary Organizations and Activists

At the Outset of a New Political Phase: For the Unity of Revolutionaries in the Struggle against Advancing Counterrevolution!

Issued by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 29.12.2015

As the crisis of capitalism deepens and brings in its wake more wars and misery, the working class and the oppressed are politically disoriented by their reformist and populist leaderships. The resulting political paralysis constitutes a huge danger for the popular masses that face a new political phase of counterrevolutionary offensives by the bourgeoisie. In such a situation it is of utmost urgency for revolutionaries to advance the struggle for a *new World Party of Socialist Revolution* and hence, as a first step, to strive for *unity based on agreement on the crucial programmatic and organizational tasks of the class struggle today*.

The present world situation cannot be understood outside of the context of the global historic period which opened with the Great Recession in 2008. This long-term period is characterized by the fall of the rate of profit and capitalist decay. Against this backdrop, the bourgeoisie all over the world has less room to maneuver and make any concessions to the working class.

As a result the capitalists are forced to accelerate their attacks on the working class and the popular masses as exemplified by the numerous austerity and privatization programs in Greece, Portugal, Spain, Brazil, South Africa, etc., as well as in the attacks on workers' rights as we are witnessing in China, South Korea, Cambodia or Vietnam.

For the very same reason the imperialist monopolies are increasing the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial countries (the so-called "Third World") resulting in the barbaric IMF programs, programs of debt repayment, land grabbing and increasing poverty that we are witnessing throughout Africa and Latin America, as well as in many countries like India and Pakistan, to name only the largest and most prominent. Furthermore the Great Powers and their lackeys are increasingly deploying ground troops, warships and air forces to expand their influence in the South (e.g., NATO in Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq; Russian intervention in Syria; French intervention in Mali and CAR; Chinese troops in South Sudan; the *African Union Mission in Somalia*; etc.).

Likewise, the decay of the capitalist system is intensifying the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers (the US, EU, Japan, China and Russia). Hence we see an increasing number of conflicts between the Great Powers over spheres of influence (e.g., in the Ukraine, in Syria or in East Asia). Other manifestations of this rivalry are various projects of US imperialism (e.g., the TTP and TTIP trade agreements) as well as of the new Eastern imperialists (China and Russia) which increasingly are challenging the hegemony of the old Western imperialists (e.g., China's Nicaragua Canal Development Project; the *New Development Bank* operated by the BRICS states as an alternative to the existing American and European-dominated World Bank and International Monetary Fund; the spread of trade conducted in Yuan and Ruble, etc.).

The result of these accelerating contradictions in the world capitalist system is a rising number of class struggles, popular uprisings, reactionary counteroffensives, coup d'états and wars. The *Arab Revolution* which started in December 2010 is a prime example of this: the working class and poor swept away brutal dictators like Ben Ali, Gaddafi, Mubarak and Saleh. But since the liberal and Islamist leaderships could not offer a vision leading forward, they also suffered terrible defeats like the crushing of the democratic protests in Bahrain, the coup d'état of General Sisi in Egypt, and the return of the old guard of Ben Ali in Tunisia. In Libya the Great Powers support the reactionary forces around General Haftar and try to force the bourgeois-Islamist government in Tripoli to capitulate. In Yemen, the Saudi forces with their puppet Hadi have invaded the country in order to destroy the Yemeni Revolution.

In Syria the revolutionary liberation struggle is continuing but is facing huge threats. The murderous dictatorship of Bashar al-Assad – with the wholesale support of Russian imperialism as well as that of Iran – is continuing its war of destruction against its own people. At the same time the Syrian Revolution is threatened by the rise of the counterrevolutionary *Daesh* (the so-called "Islamic State"). Last but not least, all the Great Powers are united in their determination to liquidate the Syrian Revolution since they fear both a destabilization of the imperialist order throughout the entire region as well as growing waves of refugees coming to Europe.

The wave of popular struggles in Latin America during the past decade formed the backdrop for the election of a number of bourgeois populist and popular front governments (e.g., Lula da Silva / Rousseff in Brazil, Chavez / Maduro in Venezuela, Morales in Bolivia, Correa in Ecuador, and Kirchner in Argentina). These governments – dominated by a sector of the bourgeoisie and ruling in their interests, but also based on the support of workers' and popular organizations – could offer some concessions to the popular masses since these countries experienced a certain economic upswing based on their intensifying trade with China as well as massive foreign loans and investments made there by the new Eastern imperialist power. However, with the slowdown of China's economy and the intensifying efforts of US imperialism to regain the hegemony in its "backyard," the bourgeois-reformist model of Castro-Chavismo is exhausted and has disillusioned the masses.

Greece, a modern day semi-colony in the South of Europe, is the most prominent example of the brutal strangulation which the poorer European countries are suffering at the hands of the EU and the imperialist monopolies. However, Greece has also been in the forefront of the European class struggle during the past few years with up to 40 general strikes having taken place in that country. As a result, the

left-reformist SYRIZA was elected into government in January 2015. However, true to its nature as a bourgeois workers' party, it openly betrayed the working class by forming a popular front with the right-wing racist ANEL party and by capitulating to the austerity programs imposed by the EU despite the tremendous victory for OXI ("No") in the referendum on 5 July.

The accelerating contradictions of capitalism are provoking the class struggle as well as the bourgeoisie's attacks in all parts of the world. In China – a capitalist country which has become home to the greatest number of billionaires worldwide as well as of the second largest number of multi-national corporations – the workers and rural poor are gaining confidence in expressing their disgust with the capitalists, managers and bureaucrats. According to the Hong-Kong based *China Labour Bulletin*, the reported number of strikes and protests in the country has doubled every year since 2011. Similarly, on 2 September 2015 India witnessed one of the biggest general strikes in its history with 150 million people participating. In Pakistan, too, workers are continuing to resist the bosses and the governmental privatization plans as exemplified by the actions of the power workers. In Thailand, the workers and poor peasants are still suffering from the serious defeat in May 2014 when the military launched a reactionary coup d'état to overthrow the bourgeois-populists government of Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra.

In South Africa the working class and youth have continued to fight against the popular front ANC government of Jacob Zuma despite the outrageous massacre at Marikana in August 2012. The split in the trade union federation COSATU with the breaking away of its single biggest union, NUMSA, was a correct step forward, as were the attempts of the latter to form a new political movement. Despite its reformist deficiencies, this project will hopefully lead to the formation of a new workers' party. Likewise, the mass protests of the workers and poor in Burundi against its long-term dictator Pierre Nkurunziza demonstrated that the African masses are not willing to succumb to their reactionary dictators, lackeys of imperialism.

However, despite their heroic struggles, the working class and the oppressed have not been able to stop the bourgeoisie's austerity programs, anti-democratic offensive and imperialist war drive. Worse, in a number of countries the ruling class has launched counterrevolutionary offensives.

In the Middle East and North Africa, the Great Powers and their local flunkies continue to try and strangle the Arab Revolution by supporting old and new dictatorships as well as by means of foreign military interventions.

In Latin America, important sectors of the bourgeoisie have launched a counterrevolutionary offensive in order to depose the populist and popular-frontist governments. They have already pushed out the Kirchnerist government in Argentina, substantially weakened the Maduro government in Venezuela and are unrelenting in their attempts to impeach Dilma Rousseff in Brazil.

In Europe, the ruling class is whipping up chauvinism against migrants – particularly of Muslim origin – and has begun a systematic process of militarization and domestic repression. French President Hollande declared a three months state of emergency (with the support of the ex-

Stalinist PCF and the *Front de Gauche!*), vastly extending the legal power of the repressive state apparatus and accelerating the imperialist military intervention in Syria. Britain and Germany swiftly followed apace. The ruling classes of the imperialist EU fear the mass of refugees coming to Europe (around one million in 2015) and try to make people forget that they are only facing the consequences of the bourgeoisie's barbaric world order!

All these developments mark the onset of a new political phase: an *interim phase characterized by the global counterrevolutionary offensive of the ruling class which leads to more austerity programs, domestic repression and imperialist wars and which will provoke mass resistance of the working class and the oppressed.*

Unfortunately, the working class and the oppressed suffer from a lack of revolutionary leadership. Instead, their resistance is impeded by the reformist, populist, and bureaucratic nature of their current leaders. The official heads of the trade unions and popular organizations, of the reformist and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois populist parties (e.g., the Castro-Chavistas, Kirchnerists and Rousseff's and Lula's PT in Latin America, SYRIZA in Greece and other social democrats in Europe, the Stalinists in India and the Maoists in Nepal) as well as of the various strands of Islamism (e.g., the Muslim Brotherhood, various rebel groups in Syria or the Houthis in Yemen) – they have all failed to offer the workers and popular masses a road out of capitalist misery and humiliation. Their political nature – irrespective of their official "radical" proclamations – is to remain or to become part of the state apparatus of the ruling capitalist class. It is therefore hardly surprising that they often have been, or aspire to become, an ally of one or several imperialist Great Powers.

The centrists of various hues – "revolutionaries" in words, but opportunists in deeds – are part of the problem, not the solution. As a general rule they opportunistically adapt directly to the bureaucratic apparatus of the mass organizations and thus, indirectly, to this or that imperialist Great Power. We specifically name, among many others: the CWI led by Peter Taffee, Alan Woods' IMT, the Lambertists as well as the Mandelist NPA in France who consistently fail to support the resistance against the imperialist occupation in those countries which are victim to the imperialist powers (e.g., Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, etc.); the Morenoite LIT which hailed the reactionary Euro-Maidan movement in the Ukraine as well as the coup d'état in Egypt (as did as the IMT); French centrists like the LO who support the suppression of female Muslim's right to wear the *hijab* in schools; British centrists who supported the chauvinist "*British Jobs for British Workers*" strike in 2009, denounced the August Uprising in 2011 and who oppose "*Open Border for Migrants*" (like the CWI and the IMT); various centrists who refuse to defend the Syrian Revolution but prefer to take a neutral stand (CWI, IMT, PTS/FT); the Cliffites (SWP in Britain) who opportunistically have found a place of peaceful coexistence in the parliamentary faction of the left-reformist and pro-Zionist LINKE in Germany, and who have managed the political absurdity of first supporting the candidacy of Morsi and Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood in 2012, only to then refuse to defend the Muslim Brotherhood from the massacres of General Sisi in the summer of 2013, and finally to opening collaborate with coup supporters in

the so-called *Road of the Revolution Front*; or those centrists which have many times opportunistically adapted to the Castro-Chavistas (e.g., the Lambertists in Brazil) and/or who have more recently scandalously supported the right-wing, pro-US opposition against Chavez (e.g., Chirino/UIT in Venezuela in 2013) or against the Brazilian PT government (e.g., support of the Morenoite LIT and UIT for the pro-impeachment demonstrations).

We *must* choose a different path. As long as the working class and the oppressed do not possess a revolutionary combat party – nationally as well as world-wide – they *cannot succeed* in their liberation struggle. Therefore the most urgent task in the present period is the timely founding of *revolutionary parties* and a new *World Party of Socialist Revolution*. Such new revolutionary parties are forged in the class struggle as well as in that against the official leaderships – the treacherous labor bureaucrats, Social Democracy, Stalinists, petit-bourgeois Nationalists and Islamists – who consciously or unconsciously mislead the workers and oppressed.

To make significant progress in this task, the unity of revolutionaries all over the world is vital. Such a unity can succeed in building a strong international Bolshevik organization which shares a common program as well as common understanding of the methods of party building and thus serves as a pre-party formation for the new *World Party of Socialist Revolution* (which in our opinion will be the Fifth International).

Faced with advancing counterrevolution at the beginning of this new political phase, the RCIT calls upon all sincere revolutionary organizations and activists around the world to unite in the struggle for an authentically Marxist – meaning Bolshevik, applied to the conditions of the 21st century – international organization. Such an international organization needs theoretical and practical clarity. It must be based on a joint understanding of the application of the revolutionary program to the main question of today's international class struggle. They must not only proclaim the road to liberation, but must also name and fight against all obstacles. In other words, it must take up the struggle against the numerous left-reformist and centrist forces which disorient and mislead the working class under the banner of "Marxism" – which is a "Marxism" devoid of its revolutionary spearhead, a "Marxism" conveniently and opportunistically adapted to all possible non-working class leaderships (reformists, populists, Islamists, etc.), or a "Marxism" which vegetates in sectarian retirement from the class struggle.

For a Revolutionary Approach to the Burning Issues of World Class Struggle

Programmatic clarity and unity has to be examined on the basis of the most important issues of world class struggle such as the following.

** Defend the Arab Revolution against its foreign and domestic enemies!* Down with the reactionary dictatorships in Syria, Egypt as well as the Gulf monarchies! No to the return of the Ben Ali clique in Tunisia! Against General Haftar's gang in Libya! For workers and peasant republics!

** International solidarity with the ongoing Syrian Revolution!* Continue the struggle until the whole Baathist state apparatus is smashed! Down with the military intervention

of Russian as well as French, US, British and German imperialism! No to any negotiated settlement by the Great Powers! For the Kurdish people's right to national self-determination! Down with the reactionary *Daesh*!

** Smash the imperialist Apartheid State of Israel!* For a Democratic, Palestinian, Multinational and Socialist Workers and Fallahin Republic from the River to the Sea ("For a Free, Red Palestine!")! No to any Two-State Solution! Victory to the Palestinian Resistance! For international workers and popular solidarity like the boycott campaign!

** Down with imperialist aggressions and wars!* In Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Mali, Somalia, and North Korea: Defeat the imperialist NATO and Russian forces and their local allies! We are on the side of those resisting the imperialist invaders without giving any *political* support for nationalist, Islamist or Stalinist forces!

** Stop the counterrevolutionary offensive in Latin America!* No to the impeachment of the Rousseff government in Brazil! No to the right-wing Macri government in Argentina! For a mass united front of workers and popular organizations which should include those under the influence of the reformists and populists (like the Kirchnerists, Castro-Chavistas, etc.)! But no *political* support for any bourgeois-populist or popular-front government! Expropriate the multinational corporations from US, EU and China! Defend Argentina against British imperialism and kick Britain out of the Malvinas!

** Defend democratic rights against dictatorships and semi-dictatorships!* For mass united fronts of workers and popular organizations – including those led by reformist, populist and Islamist forces – against the reactionary Bonapartist regimes (e.g. Egypt, Thailand, Burundi, etc.)

** Support the struggle of all oppressed nations for self-determination!* Freedom for Azawad (Mali), Chechnya, East-Turkmenistan (China), Balochistan, Kashmir, Northern Ireland, the Basque Country, Catalonia, and all other oppressed nations! Support the struggle of the Afro-American minority in the USA (like the *Black Lives Matters* movement) as well as of the native/indigenous people in Northern and Southern America for liberation!

** Equal rights for migrants!* No immigration control in imperialist countries! Equal wages and full citizenship rights! Equality for migrants and national minorities' languages in the education sector and the public administration! For a revolutionary migrants movement!

** Fight against Chauvinism and Militarization in Europe!* Lift the state of emergency in France! No deployment of the army on European streets! All European troops out of Northern Africa and the Middle East! Defend Muslim migrants against Islamophobic racism! Equal rights for Muslims! No to mass arrests against Islamists! Open the borders to refugees!

** General strikes against the austerity offensive!* Stop attacks on wages and workers' rights! No more privatizations! Cancel public debt! Nationalize all enterprises which sack workers or declare bankruptcy and place them under workers' control! Expropriate the banks and corporations!

** Support the struggle of the Greek workers and poor against the EU-Troika!* For an indefinite general strike against the Third Memorandum! Exit the EU and fight for a workers' government! Smash the imperialist EU with a Socialist Revolution! For the United Socialist States of Europe!

* *Down with all imperialist Great Powers – US, EU, Japan, China and Russia!* In any political, economic or military conflict between these Great Powers, the workers movement must not give any support to one of them but must follow the Leninist program of *revolutionary defeatism* and declare: *The Main Enemy is at Home!*

* *For Women's Liberation through socialist revolution!* Support the struggle of Dalit and other women in India against systematic oppression! For self-defense units of the workers and poor to defend women against violence! Equal wages for women! For the socialization of housework! For a revolutionary working class women's movement!

* *For the liberation of the youth!* Down with state repression against young people! Avenge the murder of 43 students from Ayotzinapa in Mexico! Solidarity with the migrant youth in France and Britain fighting against oppression! Support the protests of the South African students! For a revolutionary youth movement!

Contrary to the reformists bureaucrats like the Castro-Chavistas, the *Party of the European Left* or the Indian CP's, revolutionaries reject the illusion that such immediate demands, to say nothing of the entire program, can be realized within the capitalist system. Even the temporary implementation of such demands cannot be achieved via the reformist methods with a focus on elections, parliamentary work and reforms. Capitalism in decay is incapable of offering any meaningful enduring reforms.

Instead, revolutionaries insist that the liberation struggle has to be conducted by the means of uncompromising class struggle and by advancing the self-organization of the workers and oppressed. This is why revolutionaries support all forms of mass struggle dictated by concrete circumstances – beginning with *mass demonstrations, strikes and general strikes, occupations up to armed insurrections and civil wars*. Likewise, revolutionaries call in all struggles for the formation of *action committees* of the workers, youth and popular masses in the workplaces, neighborhoods, villages, schools and universities. Furthermore, revolutionaries call for the formation of *self-defense units* in order to defend strikes and demonstrations as well as migrants or refugees against the police and fascists. In situations of acute class struggles, such bodies can be expanded so that action committees can become *councils* (like the soviets in Russia in 1917) backing *armed workers' and popular militias*.

We reject any form of sectarianism towards the mass organizations of the working class. The application of the united front tactic towards trade unions and other workers' and popular mass organizations is a fundamental element in achieving the strategic goal of breaking the working class away from the treacherous labor bureaucracy. Such tactics must be focused on practical activities and have to include mobilizing and organizing ordinary members, placing demands on leaders, warning the workers against having any illusions in the bureaucratic leadership as well as independent agitation and propaganda. Hence, the united front tactic must go hand in hand with sharp denunciations of the bureaucracy and the refusal of any strategic bloc with any "left" faction of the bureaucracy.

Working *within* the unions and other mass organizations in order to revolutionize them remains crucial. Communists should organize in factions and help build

a broad rank-and-file movement to fight against the privileged bureaucracy and to ultimately oust it. However, revolutionaries are also aware that the unions usually organize only a small minority of the working class. Likewise, the unions are often dominated by the labor aristocracy or by the better-off sectors of the proletariat. Hence, it is crucial to use all opportunities to build factory committees and similar bodies in struggles in order to broaden the base of organized workers. Furthermore, revolutionaries must strive to organize the lower strata of the working class and the oppressed layers in the unions and to bring representatives of these layers into leadership positions so that the dominance of the aristocratic layer can be eliminated.

Revolutionaries must combine their participation in the class struggle with a program for working class power. This means the total renunciation of the European left parties, Stalinists and various centrists (e.g., CWI, IMT) pipedream of a peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism. *It means fighting for the building of action councils of the workers, peasant and poor, of armed popular militias, for the expropriation of the capitalist class and for a workers' government allied with the peasants and urban poor and based on local councils and militias. It means preparing the working class for the armed insurrection, the civil war and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means by which the proletariat can advance in the struggle for liberation.*

An International Revolutionary Organization as the Essential Tool to Fight for the Program

These are some of the most important questions of the world class struggle today. Programmatic clarity on what to do and what not to do, are basic for a sustainable revolutionary unity. However, it is not sufficient to agree on a program. One must know *how* to fight for the program. In short, what is necessary is congruence on the kind of combat organization which is the tool to implement the program in reality via the class struggle.

Revolutionaries reject all concepts which praise so-called "*broad, pluralist, left parties*" as the way forward. Surely, we are for greatest organizational and tactical flexibility towards political formations which represent layers of radicalizing workers and oppressed (including tactics like entering such parties as a revolutionary faction or calling for new Workers' Parties). But we categorically reject the concept of "*pluralist, left parties*" as a way forward because it usually means unity of bureaucrats and workers, of supporters and opponents of imperialist wars, of supporters of the peaceful, parliamentarian road as well as of the revolutionary road. In short, such "Left Unity" is one that will only paralyze revolutionary activity, hence it is a useless unity. What the working class needs is a *revolutionary combat party* and this has to be openly proclaimed.

The struggle for an authentic revolutionary world party in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky is the most important challenge for communists today. Surely, at this moment we are too small in numbers and not sufficiently rooted in the working class. But big accomplishments in the history of humanity are never gifts from heaven but are achieved by hard and systematic work. Forming an organized international unit of determined revolutionary

workers and oppressed, based on a common program and a joint understanding of their practical and organizational methods is the most important prerequisite to build such a new, revolutionary International. It will be instrumental in the winning over of additional, broader sectors of the workers' vanguard at a later date.

There is no *national* road to build a world party but only an *international* road. Hence, a true revolutionary party as well as pre-party organization must exist as an *international formation from the beginning*. Without an international organization, national centeredness and finally nationalist deviations are unavoidable – as there is no consciousness without matter and no spirit without a body.

Likewise, a revolutionary party as well as pre-party organization must be based on the organizational methods of Bolshevism (*Democratic Centralism, cadre organization, etc.*). It should orient towards winning the best militants among the working class and the oppressed – particularly those from its lower and middle strata. Hence, we reject the orientation of the majority of the centrist organizations toward the middle class intelligentsia as well as the labor bureaucracy and aristocracy. Such work cannot be conducted by the means of propaganda alone but has to be combined with exemplary work among the masses.

Comrades, we are living in such a complex, stormy period, which is so replete in changes and turns – it is time to overcome routine and make bold steps forward! The RCIT calls upon all fighters for the liberation of the

working class and the oppressed people around the world to join forces in the struggle to build a new revolutionary world party. Given different traditions and positions, it might be necessary to first form a Bloc or a Liaison Committee between several organizations before we can achieve revolutionary unity. Whatever the interim stages will be, the goal must be the same: *revolutionary unity to build a new World Party of Socialist Revolution!*

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

We encourage organizations and activists who share the general outlook of this *Open Letter* to contact us and to send us their ideas and criticisms so that we can discuss concrete steps towards joint discussion and collaboration: rcit@thecommunists.net

The RCIT has sections and activists in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Britain, Germany, USA, and Austria.

For a more extensive overview of the RCIT's viewpoints we refer those who are interested to our website and in particular to the program of the RCIT: *The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto*, www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto ■

New Book!

Michael Pröbsting: Greece: A Modern Semi-Colony

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

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

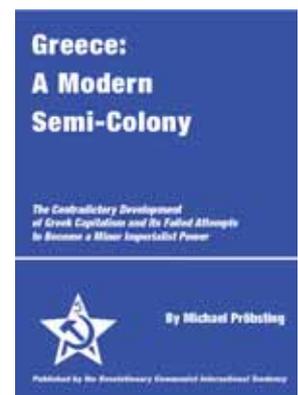
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which gives an overview of its content.

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

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

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

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



Argentina: Prepare for Workers' and Popular Mass Resistance against the New Macri Administration!

For a United Front of all Workers and Popular Organizations against the New Austerity Offensive and the Macri Administration! For a Break with the Policy of Class Collaboration of Kirchnerism! For an Independent Mass Workers' Party!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 19.12.2015

1. The recent electoral victory of Mauricio Macri of the right-wing *Cambiamos* alliance in the presidential elections reflects both the bankruptcy of the class-collaborationist "progressive" model of *Kirchnerism* as well as the determination of the capitalists to launch fierce attacks against the working class and the poor. The key tasks for revolutionaries now are to: (a) arm the workers' vanguard with the necessary lessons of the failure of Peronist populism, apolitical syndicalism, and centrist opportunism; (b) mobilize for a broad united front against Macri's looming austerity offensive; and (c) organize the workers' vanguard for the struggle for an independent mass workers' party based on a revolutionary program.

2. The victory of Macri – a right-wing, neo-liberal and pro-US politician – is part of a general turn in Latin America. During the past decade, the continent has been dominated by bourgeois "progressive" and populist government like Rouseff in Brazil, Chavez / Maduro in Venezuela, Morales in Bolivia, Correa in Ecuador, and Kirchner in Argentina. Against the backdrop of popular mass mobilizations, an economic upswing caused by rising commodity prices for raw materials exports, as well as the rise of China as a new great power rivaling US imperialism – which traditionally dominated Latin America – these governments were able to make some concessions to the working class and poor and came into limited conflicts with US imperialism and the IMF. However, the collapse of the prices of raw materials, the economic downturn in imperialist China, and the accelerating crisis of the capitalist world economy have reduced the room for maneuvering for these "progressive" bourgeois governments and they have begun launching austerity attacks against the popular masses. In short, Kirchnerism, Bolivarism and Castro-Chavism have become exhausted models of bour-

geois rule. The ruling class is now turning to political forces which can ensure massive attacks on the working class and popular masses thereby securing the rate of profit in times of economic downturn. In addition, the offensive of such right-wing forces also expresses the desire of US imperialism to regain its hegemony over the continent.

3. Macri's victory was relatively close. Coming only in second place in the first round with 34.15%, he received 51.34% of the votes in the second round as opposed to 48.66% for Daniel Scioli, the official candidate of Kirchner's "*Frente para la Victoria*" ("Front for Victory" – the "left-wing" faction of the Peronist *Partido Justicialista*). Sergio Massa, a candidate from another Peronist faction came in third with 21.39% of the votes in the first round. The candidates of the left-wing *Frente de Izquierda y de los Trabajadores* (FIT, Workers' Left Front) received 3.23% of the votes. However Macri's presidency will stand on shaky grounds since Kirchner's FpV holds the majority of seats both in the Congress as well as the Senate.

4. In the first days of his government, Macri has already shown his true face. He devalued the peso, causing massive inflation which is hitting hardest the workers and poor (prices are expected to rise by 5% both in December and January). He is seeking closer collaboration with US imperialism and wants to exclude Venezuela from MERCOSUR. He refuses to convoke the parliament and is ruling via decree examples of which are: his appointment of new judges to the Supreme Court; his giving of exemptions to agrarian capitalists from paying taxes; and his placing of loyal lackeys at the head of regulatory bodies for the media and telecommunications. In short, Macri has already proven in the first days of his regime that he is a right-wing and anti-democratic ruler – an arch-enemy of the working class.

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5. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) contends that revolutionaries in Argentina should have given critical support to the FIT in the first round of the presidential elections. FIT is an electoral alliance basically consisting basically of the *Partido Obrero* (internationally: CRFI), *Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas* (FT-CI), and the *Izquierda Socialista* (UIT-CI). Despite the limited, centrist character of its program and policy, the FIT represents important sectors of the workers' vanguard fighting for class independence and a militant struggle against the bourgeois offensive. In the second round of the elections, revolutionaries should have cast a blank vote, refusing to give support to either Macri or Scioli, since both candidates represented different factions of the ruling class.

6. Various supporters of left-reformist Castro-Chavism are shedding tears following the end of 12 consecutive years of Kirchner governments (Cristina Fernández de Kirchner was president of Argentina from 2007 to 2015, while her husband Néstor ruled for four years before). However, these mourners fail to recognize that it was Kirchner herself who started implementing an austerity policy, and she herself supported the center-right candidate Scioli. More importantly, by its very nature Peronist populism is a popular-front which neutralizes the working class's independent struggle against all factions of the bourgeoisie and hence is incapable of waging a consistent fight for the interests of workers and popular rights. The strategic task – in Argentina as well as in many other countries – is to break the working class and its mass organizations away from the control of such "progressive" bourgeois populist forces and to rally them behind an authentic workers' party fighting for a program of socialist revolution.

7. In the current situation Kirchnerism is divided. Some sectors suggest collaboration with the new Macri administration. However, other important sectors of the Kirchnerist bureaucracy put up some limited resistance by organizing mass demonstrations, several of which have been held in the past few days. These latter sectors are doing so because they want to reach a deal with Macri

and "wait it out" for the next elections in four years. They offer to stop the protests and to ensure the "governability of the country" in exchange for legal impunity for the Kirchnerist leaders. However, this bureaucratic motivation of the Kirchnerist leadership must not confuse revolutionaries into ignoring the objective, important class conflict which is behind the current confrontation between the Kirchnerists and the Macri administration: the latter represents the anti-democratic and aggressive austerity offensive of the bourgeoisie, while the former represent a bourgeois-populist sector which strongly rests on workers and popular mass support. In such a conflict revolutionaries must form a united front bloc with those Kirchnerist sectors which are prepared to resist in the streets and the workplaces. Such a bloc must be focused on practical actions and must not be allowed to limit the independent propaganda and agitation of revolutionaries.

8. The struggle for working class independence is particularly crucial in Argentina given the traditional dominance of Peronism and its different respective factions in the trade unions and other popular organizations. Hence, the struggle for political working class independence includes the organization of the rank and file workers against the Peronist union bureaucracy led by figures like Moyano, Caló, and Barrionuevo, who regularly run their union federations with extreme authoritarianism and corruption, and thereby liberate the unions from this parasitic caste. The application of the united front tactic towards trade unions and other workers' and popular mass organizations – mobilizing and organizing ordinary members; placing demands on leaders; warning the workers against having any illusions in the bureaucratic leadership – is a fundamental element in achieving the strategic goal of breaking the working class away from Peronism. Likewise, the united front tactic is crucial in winning the broad masses of poor sectors of the working class over to the unions and other mass organizations in order to weaken and finally break the aristocratic and bureaucratic hegemony in them. Naturally, in the present situation it is important to also apply the united front tactic (as the comrades of the TPR rightly argue) to the workers and popular

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mass organizations led by Kirchnerist and Chavist forces.

9. Revolutionaries should sharply denounce bureaucrats like Moyano and Barrionuevo who opportunistically supported Macri in the elections. However, the support of other union leaders from the official CGT or sectors of the CTA for the Kirchnerist candidate was no better. It reflects the central problem of Peronism and syndicalism respectively – not very different from the political collaboration of the British labour movement with the Liberals during the late 19th century – which reduces the defense of workers exclusively to the economic level and openly abandons the political sphere to the whims of bourgeois forces. Naturally, bureaucrats' support for the bourgeois establishment goes hand in hand with their ravenous desire to get access to posts in the state apparatus, public subsidies, and social security funds.

10. One of the strategic tasks for revolutionaries in Argentina – as has been the case in many other countries during the history of the proletarian class struggle – is to break the workers' movement's amalgamation with sectors of the bourgeoisie. This task includes calling for an end to all forms of collaboration between the unions and other mass organizations of the workers and oppressed on one side with the bourgeois state and the capitalists on the other. It also includes calling the unions and other mass organizations to break with the Peronist and other bourgeois parties and to build an independent Workers' Party. Marxists should fight for a revolutionary program of action as the basis for such a new Workers' Party without making its adoption a pre-condition for their membership. This is a necessary application of the united front tactic. In our opinion socialists inside the FIT should fight for such a reorientation.

11. Thus we are of the opinion that left-wing groups who believe it is *sufficient* to call workers to support a small electoral alliance like FIT are wrong. Their error has been proven by their very failure to increase their number of the votes despite the defeat of the Kirchnerists. In the legislative elections of 2013, FIT garnered one million votes, while in the recent presidential elections they received only 812,000 votes. In short, presenting a left-wing electoral alternative – leaving aside the programmatic deficiencies of the FIT program (like a reformist version of the workers' government slogan) – is insufficient to drive a wedge between the workers and Kirchnerism. Rather, it is vital that the FIT apply the united front tactic to workers' and popular mass organizations still under the Peronist bureaucracy's control (or that of the CTA), as well as deliver instructive warnings about the treacherous role of these leaderships.

12. We also believe that those sectors of FIT who consider the electoral victory of Macri as a "*process of popular opposition to the government*" are completely wrong. Leaving aside the fact that most class-conscious workers voted *against* Macri, it is dangerous to underestimate the reactionary consequences of his victory. The task now is not to lull oneself into "*fatalistic optimism*" (Trotsky) that the popular vote for Macri represents an "*objective*" step forward in the process of breaking the working class away from Peronism. Such idiocy is not only analytically wrong, but is also liable to lead to dangerous sectarian and opportunistic tactical conclusions.

13. At the same time we reject the claims of those sec-

tors of Kirchnerism who have now retreated into a pessimistic and defeatist stand. There is no doubt that the austerity offensive of the new Macri administration will provoke mass class struggles which may even lead to the pre-revolutionary situations.

14. We repeat that the urgent task now for revolutionaries in Argentina is to prepare the workers' vanguard – both inside and outside the FIT – for the massive class battles ahead. They should call upon all organizations of the workers and popular movement to form a *mass united front of struggle* against the new Macri administration and its looming austerity offensive. Revolutionaries should call for a program of building *action committees in the workplaces, schools and neighborhoods* in order to unite the broad masses of poor sectors of the working class together with workers organized in the unions. Revolutionaries should also call for a *national congress of delegates* of such action committees and the unions and other workers' and popular mass organizations. It is also crucial that they found *self-defense units* to defend workers' and popular actions against the police and right-wing thugs. The goal should be to organize mass demonstrations and strikes, culminating with a political general strike. Revolutionaries should combine such a perspective with the struggle for an *authentic workers' and popular government based on mass action councils and militias*.

15. Most importantly revolutionaries in Argentina should unite on the basis of agreement on the central strategic and tactical tasks of the class struggle in the country (in particular in the present situation which demands the necessary struggle against the Macri administration) as well as an international program which includes the struggle against both Western and Eastern imperialism, against all forms of popular-frontism (like *Kirchnerism*, *Castro-Chavism*, etc.), for solidarity with the Arab Revolution, the struggle for permanent revolution, and for working class power. The RCIT calls upon revolutionaries around the world to join us in the struggle for a new world party of socialist revolution!

International Secretariat of the RCIT ■



Brazil: No to Impeachment! No to the Call for New Elections!

All workers and oppressed: Out into the streets of Brazil to fight against the threat of a coup! The anti-coup struggle should be in conjunction with the class struggle against the austerity attacks of the government!

Statement of the Corrente Comunista Revolucionária-CCR (Section of RCIT in Brazil), December 2015

All that we from the CCR-RCIT have been denouncing in our articles since mid-2014, i.e., that a process of coup-de-etat was in progress, has been confirmed. This process, which started even *before* the presidential elections of October 2014, was yet further verified after the recent narrow victory of the Popular Front (PT-PMD).

Eduardo Cunha (PMDB), President of the Chamber of Deputies, the Brazilian Congress' lower house, announced on November 2 that he had authorized the start of the impeachment proceedings against President Dilma Rousseff. This was after Cunha had concurred with the writ of impeachment which had been formulated by the jurists Helio Bicudo – a renegade founder of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT – the Workers' Party) – and Miguel Reale Junior, which Cunha received on October 21 of this year and which stipulates, among other charges, that Rousseff's government had been involved in so-called "tax pedaling" during 2015. "Tax pedaling" is the fiscal maneuver in which the Treasury delays bank transfers on public obligations to boost its ledger balances so that they comply with interim budget forecast goals, and has been deemed illegal by Brazil's Court of Auditors of the Union (CAU). However, and critically, it should be noted that this same practice had already been used by previous federal governments, including that of the former right-wing president Fernando Henrique Cardoso from the PSDB, whose presidency was just prior to that of Lula da Silva, and is still even practiced by some state and municipal governors.

The writ of impeachment also contends that the Chief Executive, Dilma Rousseff, had violated the Fiscal Responsibility Act by having issued decrees releasing extraordinary credit during 2015 without the approval of Congress. Eduardo Cunha also pointed out that "*Dilma acted to release the money, as the financial situation of the country was in surplus (more income than spending), and then sent a proposal to the congress to reduce the fiscal target.*"

President Rouseff has denied that her government has committed any wrongdoing and stated: "*Today I received with indignation the decision of the President of the Chamber of Deputies [Cunha] to move forward with the writ of impeachment against the mandate democratically given to me by the Brazilian people... The alleged illegalities appearing in the writ are inconsistent and unfounded. There were no wrongful acts committed by me, nor any suspected misuse of public monies.*"

To ratify the process of impeachment, it must first be supported by at least two-thirds of the 513 deputies (342 votes). If approved, President Dilma will be forced to step down for 180 days, and the process will then proceed to the Senate for a trial.

Resistance to the Coup by the Leaderships of Mass Movements

The heads of the Federation Union of Oil Workers (FUP), along with the leadership of the Central Workers Union (CUT) and activists from the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) have begun conducting joint negotiations with social movements throughout the country in defense of the mandate of President Rousseff.

"*We are against the impeachment request accepted by the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Eduardo Cunha,*" declared Francisco José de Oliveira, Communication Director of FUP, sounding almost like a sloganeer from a pro-Dilma campaign. "*We are not standing still! No! Let's rise up. We call upon everyone, social movements and students, to participate!*" He has stated this over and over again in numerous meetings held against the acceptance of the writ for impeachment.

Recently, another joint meeting was held at the headquarters of the Central Workers Union (CUT) in Rio de Janeiro to prepare a series of activities for the coming days to be undertaken by the Federation of Trade Unions and activists. The first demonstration was set for Tuesday, December 8, for which the CUT made available a fleet of 60 buses to transport demonstrators. The strategy is to call for the participation of protesters in the states of Bahia, Minas Gerais and neighboring states.

The landless and students have also stated their support for Dilma and will join demonstrations in her favor. The leader of the Movement of Landless Workers (MST), Joao Pedro Stedile, pledged to mobilize popular movements to take to the streets in defense of the mandate of the president, saying: "*Certainly, the popular movements will draw up their plans in the coming days, and we intend to mobilize our members to join demonstrations in the streets, to prevent any attempt to harm our nascent democracy.*"

The Partido de Causa Operária (PCO –Workers' Cause Party) states on its website that "*We must take the struggle to the masses of working people, to the majority of the country that cannot win its rights by means of voting in the National Congress, but which can, mobilized and organized, prevent the coup in the streets, by resisting there the coup offensive.*"

The Position of Former President Lula da Silva

Stating his indignation, former President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva has said that the opening of impeachment proceedings against President Dilma Rousseff was a gesture of "insanity" by the President of the Chamber of Deputies [Cunha] and accused him of putting personal interests ahead of those of the country.

PSTU's Opportunism – Favoring the Coup but Adding: “Throw Them All Out!”

In recent days the official website of the *Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores Unificado* (PSTU – Unified Socialist Workers' Party; a self-proclaimed “Trotskyist” organization) has published: “*The PSTU has been advocating for some time the need for workers to organize and move out into the streets to put an end to the Dilma government, but also to throw out Eduardo Cunha, Aécio Neves (the candidate for president of the right who lost to Rousseff), Michel Temer (the vice-president-PMDB), and all deputies of this Congress.*” PSTU's website also adds that “*Dilma lied during the elections, saying she would not attack the workers.*” PSTU also proposes to call for new general elections in the country for the president, senators, congressmen, and state governors.

Our Position on the Popular Front Governments of Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff

The PT and its typical Popular Front governments have consistently attacked workers in the form of wage squeezes, privatizations of airports and highways, balancing government budgets to pay off international creditor vultures, subsidizing the landowners destroying the Amazon basin, and by giving subsidies to powerful organs of the press, diverting huge sums of money in alliances with sectors of the bourgeoisie, etc. In order to come to and retain power, since Lula da Silva's accession in 2002 the PT not only practised corruption but thoroughly corrupted itself, paving the way to a predictable tragedy.

Irregardless, from the point of view of Western imperialism (US-EU-Japan), the financial bourgeoisie, and Brazil's big landowners, the PT, despite its collusion with anti-worker forces, is irreparably flawed due to its social origins rooted in the mass movements and the role its leadership played in the struggle against the military dictatorship in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Even though the PT leadership has sold out to the system and introduced many attacks on workers, especially public workers, like Lula da Silva's Pension Reform of 2003, such roots are unforgivable in the eyes of Brazilian and international capital, and it is for the reason that the coup is considered by them to be a necessity.

We in the CCR, the Brazilian national section of the RCIT, clarifies that we have not ever nor do we intend to give any political support to PT governments (Lula and Dilma). But we do defend them against rightist coups, just as revolutionaries did when they defended the elected government in Spain during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) against the fascist forces of Francisco Franco, without, however, being committed politically to that same government.

The Role of the Russian and Chinese Imperialists

The most important reason why Western imperialism wants the removal of Rousseff and the PT from power is that governments like those of Lula and Rousseff have consistently strengthened ties with Russia and China, the new imperialist powers seriously rivaling traditional Western imperialism both militarily and economically. Recent events in the Ukraine and Syria are two prominent examples.

Also, the PT plays an important part in the alliance of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) which aims to make visible its growing economic power and to project greater geopolitical influence worldwide, something which also worries Western imperialism.

Furthermore, the social origins of the PT forced the party to make concessions to the poor in the form of policies attacking economic misery, providing family-packages and other subsidies, and in particular dealing with the extreme poverty characteristic of the outskirt regions in the North and Northeast of the country, and in order to prevent the recurrence of mass migrations to the rich regions that were common until the 1990s.

And a point of greatest importance: The PT has not fully privatized the basins of the Pre-salt layers which are worth billions of dollars, nor has it privatized Petrobras or the state owned Bank of Brazil and Caixa Economica Federal (another state bank). PT is also under intense pressure from its rank-and-file of millions of workers affiliated with its trade union confederation CUT, not to support the proposed project to totally outsource all Brazilian workers. Western imperialism and their Russian-Chinese rivals would just love to invest in a country where, through outsourcing, workers will have become semi-slaves, with no minimum labor rights.

All the above explains the rationale for the ongoing coup process which is determined to lead to the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff's government and at the same time the demoralize the PT and the undermine the otherwise likely strong candidacy of Lula da Silva in 2018.

The notion that the coup and the impeachment process should be defended due to “rampant corruption” can only be explained by two factors: (1) Political invention designed and disseminated by the bourgeois-owned media; (2) Deeply rooted political opportunism of groups extending from the right of the political map to the petty-bourgeois pseudo-left. As described above, things are not so simple. Rather, the coup and impeachment are all interests of Western imperialism, led by US imperialism.

In response, social movements and workers should take to the streets with two tasks: (1) To combat all attacks on workers by Dilma Rousseff's Popular Front government and its economic ministers – such as increasing interest rates, instituting pension reforms, degrading unemployment insurance, criminalizing social movements with the new laws against terrorism, decreasing wages, etc.; (2) To fight against the coup orchestrated by the most conservative and reactionary sectors that have resurfaced in recent years since the end of military dictatorship in 1985.

It is vital that revolutionaries work to build organizations independent of the government of the Popular Front, and that they found a new workers' party whose strategy is to fight for a government allying the poor rural and urban workers based on councils and popular militias.

We from the CCR national section of the RCIT declare:

** No to impeachment! No to the call for new elections!*

** All workers and oppressed into the streets to combat the threat of a coup! For a united class struggle against the government's austerity attacks!*

** For the creation of militant committees in the factories, neighborhoods, slums and in the outlying areas of the country, as well as within the trade unions in urgent defense of our rights and against any coup movement! ■*

Great Powers Aim to Liquidate the Syrian Revolution!

Mobilize for International Solidarity with the Syrian Liberation Struggle against the Assad Dictatorship! Stop the US, Russian and French Air Strikes! No to Daesh/IS-Terrorism!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 18.11.2015

1. The Syrian Revolution currently faces a major threat. The Great Powers – in particular the US, Russia and France – are colluding to liquidate the Syrian Revolution. Obama, Putin and Hollande want to achieve this with the help of the barbarous state apparatus built during decades of dictatorship by the Assad clan, as well as by the integration of some corrupt elements among the Syrian opposition. This is the goal of the negotiations which are currently taking place in Vienna and at the G-20 summit, and will also be the key agenda during Hollande's upcoming visit to Moscow. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) warns that if the Great Powers succeed in their plans, this will be a major blow to the Arab Revolution in general and the Syrian Revolution in particular.

2. While no definite results of the negotiations between the Great Powers are known, there are a number of indications that the rulers are seriously advancing towards agreement on a concrete plan to pacify the Syrian Revolution. They have agreed to intervene more resolutely militarily in Syria and coordinate their attacks. They have similarly agree on a "transition period" lasting for a number of months (the exact length is under discussion and varies between 6 and 18) until parliamentary elections will be held. There are still unresolved differences about the personal future of the dictator Bashar al-Assad himself who has been a lackey of Russia in recent years – after decades of collaboration by him and his father with US imperialism (the 1991 Gulf War, CIA torture programs, etc.) Nonetheless, there is agreement between the Great Powers to retain the bulk of the Baathist state apparatus – a caste of army, secret service and administrative officers trained during decades of brutal dictatorship. There are "constructive discussions" between the Great Powers about a federalization of Syria along religious and ethnic lines which could lead to further mass expulsions and killings of persons living in the "wrong" districts (as it happened in India and Pakistan 1948). Finally, Russian and the US have drawn up lists of "terrorist groups" in Syria which – according to news agency reports – "largely coincide." This means that the Great Powers agree that while some "moderate opposition groups" could be drawn into the "political transition process," the vast bulk of the Syrian rebels will be excluded and hunted down as "terrorists."

3. What is the backdrop of these new developments? First, the past few months have seen a further weakening of the Assad regime which nearly brought about its collapse. Russia's current robust military intervention together with the presence of more Iranian troops is an attempt to reverse this decline. Second, the Western Great Powers – who had hoped in the past that they would be able to place a lackey at the top of the Baathist state apparatus

who primarily would serve Western interests instead of those of Russia – have failed in these ambitions and are therefore now willing to collaborate with Putin in his efforts. In examining the balance sheet of their past tactics in the Syrian civil war, the West sees that these have not brought them a solid force of supporters either among the ranks of the rebels or within the regime. Perhaps their only success was enlisting Kurdish forces – including the petty-bourgeois nationalist of the YDG/PKK – as ground troops in the war against Daesh/IS. Third, the waves of refugees coming to Europe have impelled the EU governments to pacify the Syrian civil war by collaborating with the Assad regime. We note that the EU completely ignored the refugee "crisis" as long as the Syrian refugees settled in Lebanon, Turkey and other neighboring countries!

4. Finally, the Great Powers' desire to collaborate in liquidating the Syrian Revolution has certainly been reinforced by the two successful terrorist strikes recently executed by the reactionary Salafist-Takfiri Daesh/IS – against a Russian civilian airliner in Egypt as well the 13 November attack in Paris. Both were directed against ordinary civilians and thus serve the ruling class well as a welcome pretext to justify their imperialist wars, while at the same time reaffirming the reactionary character of and role played by the Daesh/IS organization. In contrast, we note that 49 Syrian rebel organizations – including Jaish al-Islam and Ahrar al-Sham – have denounced the Paris attack.

5. The danger for the future of the Syrian Revolution is compounded by the fact that the revolution itself faces a dreadful crisis of leadership. The rebels are split, a number of leaders have been corrupted, and the strongest forces are Islamists, including sectarian and Salafist groups. This is the result of the working class's inability to develop their own leadership during the decades of dictatorship by the Assad clan, as well as the shameful collaboration of the two *Syrian "Communist" Parties* with the regime. To this must be added the betrayal of the Syrian Revolution by the strongest elements of the so-called international "left": the bourgeois state-capitalist Bolivarian governments in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador; the *Party of the European Left*; the Indian Communist Parties etc. – they all either openly side with the bloody Assad regime and hail the imperialist aggression of Russia or take a neutral stance. Finally, for years the "left-wing" Kurdish YPG/PKK also failed to support the Revolution. It rightfully defends the Kurdish people against Daesh/IS, but at the same time it is also treacherously collaborating with US imperialism. It is hardly surprising that the Islamists, the only significant forces supporting the revolution, have succeeded in gaining mass support!

6. The RCIT views the apparent convergence of the Great Powers as a major danger not only for the Syrian

Revolution but for the Arab Revolution as a whole. This is particularly true if we consider the recent setbacks of the Yemeni Revolution against the Saudi-led invasion and the continued repression of the Egyptian people by the bloody military dictatorship of General al-Sisi. However, the defeat of the Arab Revolution is far from certain. There are a number of countervailing tendencies: (i) the strength of the Syrian rebels and their opposition to any settlement which would include the Assadist state apparatus; (ii) the semi-Intifada of the heroic Palestinian people; and (iii) the steadfast continuing mass struggle of the Yemeni and Egyptian people against the forces of reaction.

7. Recent developments have also demonstrated again how laughable is the thesis of various pro-Stalinists leftists that Russia is *not* a Great Imperialist Power. Currently Russia is the state which has undertaken the most serious military intervention in Syria. While Russia mostly executes air strikes, it does so while using the Syrian regime forces and Iranian units as their ground troops. The US and the EU – despite their rivalry with Moscow – have accepted the fact that they will be forced to accept Putin as a partner in liquidating the Syrian Revolution. After stopping Obama from launching a military strike in Syria in September 2013, then annexing the Crimea and the Donbass region in 2014, Russian imperialism has again demonstrated its vigor by its current massive military intervention in Syria and its forcing the Western great powers to collaborate with it. Those who fail to recognize the imperialist nature of Russia (and China) are hopelessly lost in confusion in a world which is increasingly characterized by the rivalry of different Great Powers – mainly the US, EU, Russia, China, and Japan. The blind inevitably end up on the sidelines or even on the wrong side of the barricades in major questions of the international class struggle.

8. Similarly, recent developments have also shown how ridiculous have been those leftists who fantasized about the “anti-imperialist” nature of the Assad regime and the supposed “insurmountable contradictions” between it and the Western imperialists. In fact, these “contradictions” always have been only tactical differences, which were increased recently by Assad’s choice of imperialist Russia, the rival of the West. However, since Russia, the West and the Assad regime agree in full in their mutual hostility towards popular revolution, there is, and

in fact always has been, enough common ground for compromise.

9. In today’s dire situation for the Syrian Revolution, what are the major tasks of socialists? The RCIT considers it urgent that the workers and peasants organize themselves *independently* of all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces, including the secular FSA as well as the Islamist factions. Socialists and democrats must support all efforts to build workers’ and peasant councils as well as popular militias. Socialists both in Syria and internationally should rally in their support of the Syrian Revolution and the struggle of the rebels against Assad, as well as against the reactionary Salafist-Takfiri Daesh. The RCIT supports the rebels’ resistance against *all* imperialists, Russians as well as the US and the French. At the same time socialists must fight against the political agenda of the rebels’ leadership and take steps to build an authentic revolutionary workers’ party.

10. Furthermore it is crucial to increase international solidarity with the Syrian Revolution which includes an unconditional struggle against the collusion of the Great Powers as well as against the reformist, Stalinist and Bolivarian supporters of the Assad regime. We also strongly condemn those leftists who limit their support for the Syrian Revolution to some small circles of petty-bourgeois democratic intellectuals (mostly living abroad) who fit the “progressive” schema of the Western left. Yes, it is unfortunate that the Syrian Revolution is currently led by petty-bourgeois Islamist forces. However this has often been the case – we just remind such leftists of the heroic uprising of the Rif tribes led by the Islamist Abd el-Krim in the 1920s. We likewise remind them that the Algerian independence struggle, led by the FLN, carried out a number of massacres against French settlers and Algerian civilians. (Not to mention these leftists’ defense of the Soviet Union, despite the fact that the Stalinist dictatorship slaughtered millions of workers!) Also, the Spanish Revolution in 1936-39 was led by reformists and Stalinists who defended the capitalists’ private property and killed revolutionary workers and peasants wholesale. No, the RCIT will not cease its support for the justified struggle of the hundreds of thousands of Syrian rebels against the Assad regime and against the imperialist powers, simply because of their Islamist leadership. Only spineless petty-bourgeois cowards who look towards “public opinion” in the West and Russia

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desert the revolutionary struggle (or a strike) because of the wrong leadership!

11. The RCIT once again calls upon socialists to combine internationalist solidarity with the Syrian revolution with ongoing support for the Palestinian liberation struggle against the Zionist state, the popular resistance against the Egyptian dictatorship, and the Yemeni war of liberation against the foreign invasion by the Al-Saud gang. At the same time socialists in Europe should participate in the pro-refugee solidarity movement and fight for a working class and internationalist perspective.

12. Most importantly revolutionaries have to unite on the basis of a international program which includes solidarity with the Arab Revolution, the struggle for permanent revolution and for working class power, and against both Western and Eastern imperialism. The RCIT calls revolutionaries around the world to join us in the struggle for a new world party of socialist revolution!

13. The RCIT calls upon authentic socialists, on all workers, the poor and the oppressed to fight with us together for:

** Victory in the Syrian Revolution! Down with the Assad Dictatorship!*

** No to the collusion of the Great Powers against the Syrian Revolution!*

** For the military defeat of the intervention by Russia, the US, and France!*

** No military intervention of Britain in Syria! Force the Labour Party to oppose any such intervention and mobilize for protests*

on the streets!

** No to reactionary sectarianism! Down with the Salafi-Takfiri Daash!*

** For Workers' and Fallahin councils and militias! For a Workers' Government allied with the Fallahin based on local councils and militias!*

** For international solidarity with the Syrian rebels and popular movements! For a mass campaign by organizations of the working class and the oppressed to assist military aid for the rebel movement!*

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

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

** Defend Yemen against the al-Saud Gang of Aggressors!*

** Revitalize and spread the Arab Revolution which began at the end of 2010! For a socialist federation of the Middle East!*

** Solidarity with the refugees coming to Europe! Open the borders! For mass mobilizations against the growing racism towards Muslim migrants and refugees!*

** No to the increasing state repression in Europe! Lift the state of emergency in France! No restrictions to democratic rights!*

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

International Secretariat of the RCIT ■

New Book!

Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

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

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

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

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

25 years.

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

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

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

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

Imperialist Counterrevolution Threatens the Syrian Revolution!

Down with the Great Powers' Wars! Solidarity with the Syrian Revolution against the Assad Dictatorship! For Socialist Federation in Maghreb & Mashreq!

*Joint Statement of the Agrupación de Lucha Socialista (ALS)
and the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 07.12.2015*

1. Since December 2010 the workers and peasants masses in the Maghreb (North Africa) and Mashreq (Middle East) have been rising up for bread and democracy. Beginning five years ago, we have witnessed a wave of revolutions, one after the other, in which the masses overthrew dictatorships which had ruled for decades – like Ben Ali in Tunisia, Mubarak in Egypt, Gaddafi in Libya (who was brought to working class justice) and Saleh in Yemen. All the revolutions were against bloodthirsty dictatorships, demanding bread which had been denied, demanding the fall of the most representative figures of the exploiters and oppressors of the peoples of the Maghreb and Mashreq.

2. In Syria the masses rose up starting in the spring of 2011 and confronted the murderous regime of Bashar al-Assad. Since then up to 400,000 Syrians have been killed and approximately 10 million persons have been forced to flee their homes. The uprising has drawn into the arena intervention from all sides. Russia, Iran and Hezbollah have provided massive support for Assad from the very first day and have sent thousands of tons of weapons and soldiers to help the dictatorship slaughter the Syrian workers and peasants. The US and the EU also favored keeping the Baathist state apparatus in place although for quite some time they preferred personally replacing Assad with someone else. In addition, the Syrian Revolution has had to confront Daesh (the so-called Islamic State), a reactionary terrorist organization and murderous enemy.

3. However, today all counterrevolutionary forces are aligning themselves and are busy coordinating their plans at the negotiation table in Vienna with one purpose in mind: to crush the Syrian Revolution and all other popular uprisings in the Middle East. Naturally, among the various external forces who have intervened in the conflict – the US, France, Britain, Russia, China and other parties – there are a number of conflicting interests. But these differing interests are not manifestations of a conflict between oppressors and oppressed, but only expressions of the rivalry among various powers. Thus we see that, irrespective of such differing interests, when it is a question of crushing the revolting masses, there are no differences between these ruling classes, and they can all find common ground and unite against the popular revolutions to be quelled.

4. The ALS and the RCIT unequivocally denounce the treacherous Stalinist and Bolivarian left which, whether openly or clandestinely, supports the Assad regime. We totally reject their claims that reactionary bourgeois dictators like Assad or Gaddafi have ever been in any way, shape or form “anti-imperialist.” In fact, these brutal dictators were and have always been oppressors of their own peoples, colluding as they have for decades with the Great Powers to maintain the imperialist world order (e.g., Assad the father’s joining Bush senior in waging the First Gulf War against Iraq in 1991; Gaddafi’s continuous assistance to the EU in preventing migrants from crossing the Mediterranean Sea

to Europe; and the collaboration of both regimes with the world-wide CIA torture program). Similarly, we utterly reject the idiotic claim that Russia has or is serving some sort of “anti-imperialist” role via its aggression in Syria. Finally, we denounce as total lies all pro-Assadist claims to the effect that the Syrian rebels are “agents of NATO and imperialism.” In truth, *all* of the Great Powers, Russia and the US, France and the UK, *all* of them are far less concerned with militarily attacking Daesh. Rather, their principal targets are the various Syrian rebel militias which are in fact the only forces really fighting against Daesh, against Bashar the Butcher, and against the Great Powers! The pro-Assad reformist leftists fail to understand that all the Great Powers and their local lackeys are working together for a common goal: to totally extinguish the flame of revolution still burning in the Middle East. Whether consciously or unconsciously, these “leftists” are objectively supporting these counter-revolutionary efforts!

Who is Responsible for the Terror in Paris?

5. The coordinated terrorist attacks in Paris on 13 November are serving as a pretext for the US, Russia, Israel, France and others to intensify their imperialist wars. They collectively shed tears about the innocent victims of the terrorist attacks while never mentioning the hundreds of thousands of victims of state-sponsored terror conducted by the US, France, Britain, Germany and others in Afghanistan, Iraq, Central Africa, or that of Russia in Chechnya. The imperialist governments are also utilizing the Paris attacks as a pretext to domestically undermine democratic rights and intensify repression, while ratcheting up their war drive in Maghreb and Mashreq. Currently France is playing the role of the vanguard of this reactionary offensive. The “Socialist” government of President Hollande, with the wall-to-wall consent and support of all parties in parliament (including that of the so-called French “Communist” Party), has imposed a three-month long state of emergency which dramatically limits democratic rights. That this is an obvious Bonapartist measure of the ruling class to suppress popular protests became immediately apparent during the COP 21 summit held in Paris at the end of November. As a result of the ongoing state of emergency, all public demonstrations against the summit were banned. In this context, a demonstration for climate justice “illegally” conducted by 5,000 participants on 29 November was brutally attacked by the police and 200 protestors were arrested. At least 24 climate activists were put under house arrest by the French police before the planned protest. The state also closed three mosques.

6. The ALS and the RCIT denounce the reformist bureaucracy in France which has completely capitulated to “their” imperialist bourgeoisie. The *Front de Gauche* (FdG) and the “Communist” Party (PCF) as well as the trade union leaderships have treacherously signed onto en masse the

"Union Nationale" – just like they did after the attack on the offices of Charlie Hebdo in January of this year. Without exception, all PCF deputies voted for the three month extension of the state of emergency! Similarly, the Party of the European Left – the international association of the ex-Stalinist parties in Europe which includes, beside the FdG and the PCF, SYRIZA, the German LINKE, B.E. in Portugal, and others – repeated their social-imperialist capitulation in January by entirely failing to condemn either the state of emergency or France's military aggression. Once again, these reformists have proved to be loyal lackeys of imperialism.

7. True, the centrist left in France has not joined the "Union Nationale" and activists of the NPA, *Alternative Libertainaire* and *Ensemble*, among them the NPA spokespersons Christine Poupin and Olivier Besancenot, participated in the demonstration against the COP 21 summit on 29 November. However, the centrist left is organically incapable to consistently break with the institutions of French imperialism and to become a tribune of workers and the oppressed people. None of the three big French centrist groups (Mandelist NPA, Lambertist PT/CCI, LO) has dared to call for the defeat of the French troops and for solidarity with the resistance against the occupiers in France's colonial wars in the past one and a half decades (Afghanistan, Mali, etc.). None of them joined the migrant youth in their uprising in the *banlieues* in 2005/06. They also all expressed their sympathy for the racist magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in January 2015 after the attack. The LO has a shameful record of supporting the ban of the veil for young Muslim women from schools. The Lambertist PT/CCI has been inextricably linked with the corrupted trade union bureaucracy, particularly of the FO, which all hail Hollande's state of emergency.

8. The ALS and the RCIT emphasize that the terrible attacks of Paris, Beirut etc. are a direct result of imperialist intervention. It is the misery and the wars caused by imperialism which drives people to join terrorist organizations. And who has forgotten that it was the Western imperialists themselves which supported anti-communist jihadists in Afghanistan fighting against the Soviet army in the 1980s?!

9. Under the pretext of fighting *Daesh*, all the Great Powers want to crush the revolution in the Middle East so that they can quietly plunder the region. They are not really fighting *Daesh*, but when it is convenient they buy oil of them or use them as a weapon of counterrevolution.

10. The current counterrevolutionary offensive also serves to strengthen Israel's efforts to crush the Palestinian uprising. The Great Powers fear that another upswing of the popular struggles could lead to a revival of the Arab Revolution and provoke new uprisings in the Middle East. They are right to fear such a possibility given the massive turmoil in Europe and the Middle East: the popular resistance in Yemen against the Al-Saud aggression is continuing, the Palestine resistance is standing on the brink of a third Intifada, millions of refugees are coming to Europe, the Greek working class has re-started their mass protests with another general strike.

**Stop the Imperialist War
and Smash the Counterrevolution!**

11. The ALS and the RCIT state unambiguously that in these conflicts, the exploited and oppressed of the world

can only stand on one side: with the Arab masses in their struggles against imperialist military interventions and against counter-revolutionary dictatorships. The working class in Europe, and particularly in France, must not provide any support to their own governments. They must denounce the chauvinistic hysteria and hypocrisy organized the Hollande government as a pretext for the imperialist bombing against the Syrian people. Likewise the workers and oppressed must also fight against militarization and the permanent state of emergency within the imperialist countries, as well as against their austerity attacks of the bourgeois governments.

12. The Islamic State is a weapon of the counter-revolution. It will not be defeated by imperialism and their bombs. Imperialism and *Daesh* can only be defeated by the armed and insurgent masses of the Middle East with all the support and solidarity of the working class of the world. Hence, the ALS and the RCIT call the parties, trade unions and organizations of the working class and oppressed to organize actions of active internationalist solidarity with the Revolution in Syria and the Middle East. They must provide material support for the resistance with all possible means.

13. Finally, the ALS and the RCIT emphasize that the most important task in the coming period is the construction of revolutionary parties in all countries as well as a new World Party of Socialist Revolution!

** Defeat Imperialism – Solidarity with the Resistance! US, Russia, France and any other Great Power: Hands off Syria! Troops out of Afghanistan and Mali! Solidarity with the resistance struggle against the occupiers!*

** Solidarity with the Arab Revolution! Support the ongoing Syrian Revolution! Down with the dictatorship of Bashar al-Assad! Down with the reactionary Daesh/IS! Solidarity with popular resistance against the Egypt dictatorship of General al-Sisi! Support the Yemeni resistance against the Al-Saud aggression! Long live the Third Intifada in Occupied Palestine!*

** Defend democratic rights! Down with the State of Emergency in France! Down with all repressive laws!*

** Stop the harassment of Muslim migrants! Mobilize against racist and Islamophobic campaigns! For self-defense units, organized by organizations of the workers movement and the migrant communities, to protect refugees' hostels and mosques against racist attacks!*

** For a program of revolutionary equality for migrants! For the abolition of the state language and for equal status of the migrants' native languages in education and public administration! For equal wage and for equal access to housing! Full citizenship rights for migrants! Down with the imperialist border controls - Open the borders for migrants and refugees!*

** Stop the austerity policy! For mass demonstrations, strikes up to an indefinite general strike! Build action committees in the work places, schools and neighborhoods in order to organize the struggle! Build a rank and file movement in the trade unions in order to advance the struggle against the bureaucracy and to finally drive them out of the workers movement!*

** Down with the Imperialist EU! For the United Socialist States of Europe!*

** For Workers and Peasant Republics in Maghreb and Mashreq! For a Socialist Federation!*

Note: While the RCIT considers Russia as an imperialist power, the ALS is still in a discussion process on this issue. ■

Why Revolutionary Marxists Oppose Daesh/ISIL

By Yossi Schwarz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)*, 15.12.2015

On the night of November 13, 2015, ISIL staged a series of coordinated attacks in Paris, killing more than 130 persons and wounding more than 400, most of them innocent civilians.

Following these reactionary terrorist attacks, in Paris and other Western capitals the imperialists and their servants have cynically been trying to drum up working class support for more murderous military attacks in Syria and other countries in the Middle East and Africa.

King Abdullah II of Jordan wrote an article published in the *Telegraph* on December 1st:

"Events taking place in the Middle East today will shape the security and stability of Europe and the world for decades to come. This is why I call the war on terrorism a Third World War, by other means. It is also why it is imperative for all of us to be united in this existential war. This is not a war that should divide us, but a war that should unite us in shared interests, common principles and fundamental human values". (1)

And US President Obama stated: *"We're going to continue to push hard and the good news is, coming out of Paris, we're seeing countries like Germany and Great Britain that had been hesitant about getting too actively involved in Syria, realizing that they have to be part of the solution here."* (2)

The imperialists' war in Syria has the same character as the two US wars launched in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003, respectively, and the French war in Mali. These are all wars for imperialist domination, where the Western powers have bombed tortured and killed civilian population.

"According to its own data analysis, the British-based monitoring group estimates that U.S.-led warplanes have killed at least 680 civilians, and as many as 975, since its campaign against ISIS began in August 2014. American allies in the fight have included France, Canada and 11 other countries". (3)

The RCIT has stated numerous times that it is always in the interest of the working class to oppose imperialist wars and occupations of other countries, in this case of Syria.

Furthermore, in Syria, it is the role of the working class and the poor peasants to overthrow the Assad regime and drive out the imperialist interlopers by means of a socialist revolution. For this to take place the working class must, among other tasks, defeat Daesh/ISIL.

Imperialist "War against Terror"

As usual, the Imperialists claim that they are fighting a war for democracy and against terror. Two questions come to mind. First, what *exactly* do the imperialists mean by democracy? Well, in Iraq, where the US claimed that it installed democracy what did they really do during their lengthy occupation of that country?

"Over the past several months The Nation has interviewed fifty combat veterans of the Iraq War from around the United States in an effort to investigate the effects of the four-year-old occupation on average Iraqi civilians. These combat veterans, some of whom bear deep emotional and physical scars, and many of whom have come to oppose the occupation, gave vivid, on-the-

record accounts. They described a brutal side of the war rarely seen on television screens or chronicled in newspaper accounts. Their stories, recorded and typed into thousands of pages of transcripts, reveal disturbing patterns of behavior by American troops in Iraq. Dozens of those interviewed witnessed Iraqi civilians, including children, dying from American firepower. Some participated in such killings; others treated or investigated civilian casualties after the fact. Many also heard such stories, in detail, from members of their unit. The soldiers, sailors and marines emphasized that not all troops took part in indiscriminate killings. Many said that these acts were perpetrated by a minority. But they nevertheless described such acts as common and said they often go unreported -- and almost always go unpunished". (4)

The second question is what is terror? The Webster Miriam dictionary defines terror as *"violent or destructive acts (as bombing) committed by groups in order to intimidate a population or government into granting their demands."*

This definition is entirely one-sided as it attributes terror to "groups" and entirely ignores terror perpetrated by states. There is no such a thing as terror in the abstract just as there is no such a thing as an apple in the abstract. There are different types of apples: Red Delicious, Golden Delicious, Granny Smith, McIntosh, Rome Beauty, Fuji, Jonathan, York, Gala, Idared, and Yellow Newton. Similarly, rather than abstract terror, there are only different kinds of terror: left-wing and right-wing terror; white and red terror; individual and state terror.

Left Wing Terror

Examples of left-wing terror were the assassination of the Emperor of Russia, Alexander II, by the Russian *Narodnaya Volya* ("People's Will") movement in March 1881; that of US President William Mackinley, who led the United States in its first military ventures as an imperialist power in the Spanish American War of 1898, and was shot and fatally wounded by a self-avowed anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, on September 6, 1901 and died eight days later from gangrene caused by the bullet wounds; Ernst vom Rath, a Nazi German diplomat was shot to death by Herschel Grynszpan, a seventeen-year-old Polish Jew in Paris in 1938.

These three cases were all morally justified acts of terror against oppressors. However, these acts were not working class revolutionary methods, as they only serve to strengthen the oppressors who exploit them, allegedly in revenge, to terrorize the exploited classes and the oppressed nationalities. In the *A History of the Soviet Union* (1985), Geoffrey Hosking wrote that, ultimately, the efforts of the "People's Will" ended in failure: *"In 1881 it actually succeeded in assassinating the Emperor Alexander II. But setting up a different regime, or even putting effective pressure on Alexander's successor – that proved beyond their capacities. Their victory was a pyrrhic one: all it produced was more determined repression."* (5)

Following the assassination of US President Mackinley

“state and federal legislation began to target anarchists, with bills being introduced almost immediately to expel avowed anarchists from the country and to prohibit their entry into the United States from other countries.” (6)

Following the assassination of Ernst vom Rath, the Nazi regime organized the huge *Kristallnacht* pogrom against German Jews.

As Trotsky wrote as early as 1911: *“If we oppose terrorist acts, it is only because individual revenge does not satisfy us. The account we have to settle with the capitalist system is too great to be presented to some functionary called a minister. To learn to see all the crimes against humanity, all the indignities to which the human body and spirit are subjected, as the twisted outgrowths and expressions of the existing social system, in order to direct all our energies into a collective struggle against this system — that is the direction in which the burning desire for revenge can find its highest moral satisfaction.” (7)*

Right Wing Terror

As there is left-wing terror, there is also right-wing terror. For example, the Nazis used right-wing terror to achieve state power by intimidating working class organizations and smashing meetings of the Social Democrats. In the US, right-wing organizations use terror against blacks and abortion clinics. *“In recent years, the U.S. government’s counterterrorism policy has largely focused on Islamist radicals. This is largely a reaction to the 9/11 attacks. Meanwhile, attacks from right-wing radicals have largely been overlooked by officials. This is despite the fact that attacks from rightwing radicals have led to more deaths than “homegrown jihadists” since 9/11, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). In fact, since the twin towers were hit, self-proclaimed jihadists have killed 26 people in the U.S. whereas rightwing radicals have killed 48, so says statistics provided by the New America Foundation.” (8)*

The assassination of Israel’s Prime Minister Rabin is another example of individual right-wing terror. Yigal Amir’s act reflected the teachings of the right-wing rabbis who called for the assassination of Rabin because they opposed the Oslo agreement with the PLO. There have been many acts of right-wing Zionist terror against the Palestinians but the State of Israel usually ignores them.

White and Red Terror in the French Revolution

During the French Revolution, monarchists organized the “white terror” which began in 1791 in the Vendée in the west of France. The monarchist leaders of the white terror were supported by the British and French royalist immigrants in Britain, and on June 27 the British landed an army of 4,500 French royalists at Quiberon north of Vendée on the Atlantic coast of Brittany. This was a counter-revolutionary offensive that lasted from March to September 1793 during which more than 100,000 persons were killed.

In response to the monarchist counter-revolution, on April 6th, 1793 the Convention created the *Comité de salut public* (Committee for Public Safety) led by the Jacobins which used harsh measures to stop the Vendée insurrection. *“According to some estimations 40,000 supporters and suspected supporters of the royalists were executed.” (9)*

White and Red Terror in the Russian Revolution

Similar events took place during the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution, counter-revolutionary forces initiated the civil war and during which they utilized “white terror.” Those that joined the whites included the party of Cadets who wanted to continue the armed struggle against the pro-imperialist war Mensheviks and the right Social revolutionaries. Others who joined the “white terror” included the exploitative classes: landowners who had lost the estates, factory owners who had lost their plants, devout members of the Russian Orthodox Church, all the royalists who wanted to restore the monarchy and continue exploiting the workers and the peasants. They were supported by imperialist troops from Britain, France, Japan and the United States who were sent into Russia. By December, 1918, there were 200,000 foreign soldiers supporting the counter-revolutionary forces.

Alexander Kolchack became the supreme leader of the counter-revolutionary government based in Omsk. Kolchak suppressed the trade unions, disbanded the soviets, and gave the factories and land back to their previous owners. He utilized “white terror” and murdered at least 25,000 people in Ekaterinburg. The Bolsheviks responded with “red terror” against the monarchists and their supporters. All in all *“around 800,000 soldiers were killed during the three year Civil War. It has estimated that another 8 million died as from starvation and disease as result of the war.” (10)*

US State Terrorism

The US has a long history of supporting right-wing terror and of using state terror. The director of the *National Security Agency* under Ronald Reagan – Lt. General William Odom – stated:

“The second perverse policy is the so called ‘Global War on Terrorism.’ As many critics have pointed out, terrorism is not an enemy. It is a tactic. Because the United States itself has a long record of supporting terrorists and using terrorist tactics, the slogans of today’s war on terrorism merely makes the United States look hypocritical to the rest of the world.” (11)

The head and special agent in charge of the FBI’s Los Angeles office stated that most terror attacks are committed by the US’s CIA and FBI. (12)

Israel’s war against Gaza in 2014 killed over 2,000 Gazan civilians and more than 10,000 were wounded (including 3,374 children, of whom over 1,000 were left permanently disabled). This is a specific example for state terrorism.

Marxism and Islamism

The fact that ISIL’s declared aim is to establish the Caliphate, a reactionary aim – as it is impossible to turn back the pages of history – would not in itself be a sufficient reason not to side with it in a military confrontation if it were fighting an imperialist invasion. The problem is that ISIL kills civilians rather than imperialist soldiers.

Right-wing centrists like Allan Woods of the IMT loves to remind us that on June 5, 1920 Lenin presented his theses on the national and colonial question to the Second Congress of The Communist International. In this important document we read the following:

“With regard to the more backward states and nations, in which feudal or patriarchal and patriarchal-peasant relations predominate, it is particularly important to bear in mind:

first, that all Communist parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries, and that the duty of rendering the most active assistance rests primarily with the workers of the country the backward nation is colonially or financially dependent on;

second, the need for a struggle against the clergy and other influential reactionary and medieval elements in backward countries

third, the need to combat Pan-Islamism and similar trends, which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the positions of the khans, landowners, mullahs.” (13)

What he forgets to tell us is that Bolshevik politics polarized and split the Islamic movement into right and left factions. Most Muslim leaders were convinced that they have a better chance of religious freedom under Soviet power. The Bolsheviks were able to form alliances with the Kazakh pan-Islamic group the Ush-Zhuz (which joined the Communist Party in 1920), the Persian pan-Islamist guerrillas in the Jengelis, and the Vaisites, a Sufi brotherhood. In Dagestan, Soviet power was established largely by the partisans of the Muslim leader Ali-Hadji Akushinskii. In Chechnya, the Bolsheviks won over Ali Mataev, the head of a powerful Sufi order, who led the Chechen Revolutionary Committee. (14)

As a result of the Bolsheviks experience the Communist International stated in its *Theses on the Eastern Question* at its Fourth Congress in 1922:

“In Moslem countries the national movement at first finds its ideology in the religio-political watchwords of pan-Islam. (...) But to the extent that the national liberation movements grow and expand, the religio-political watchwords of pan-Islam are increasingly replaced by concrete political demands.” (15)

Thus Lenin understood the need for an anti-imperialist united front with Islamist organizations as long as they opposed the imperialists. Muslims became communists because of this policy. Arguing like Woods and relying on

part of the truth leads to Islamophobia.

There have been Islamic regimes which revolutionary Marxists have defended against imperialism without giving them any political support, while the reformists supported the imperialist side. The reformist Eduard Bernstein in January 5, 1898 wrote an article in which he defended colonial rule over Morocco:

“There is a great deal of sound evidence to support the view that, in the present state of public opinion in Europe, the subjection of natives to the authority of European administration does not always entail a worsening of their condition, but often means the opposite. Even before the arrival of Europeans in Africa, brutal wars, robbery, and slavery were not unknown. Indeed, they were the regular order of the day. What was unknown was the degree of peace and legal protection made possible by European institutions and the consequent sharp rise in food resources.” (16)

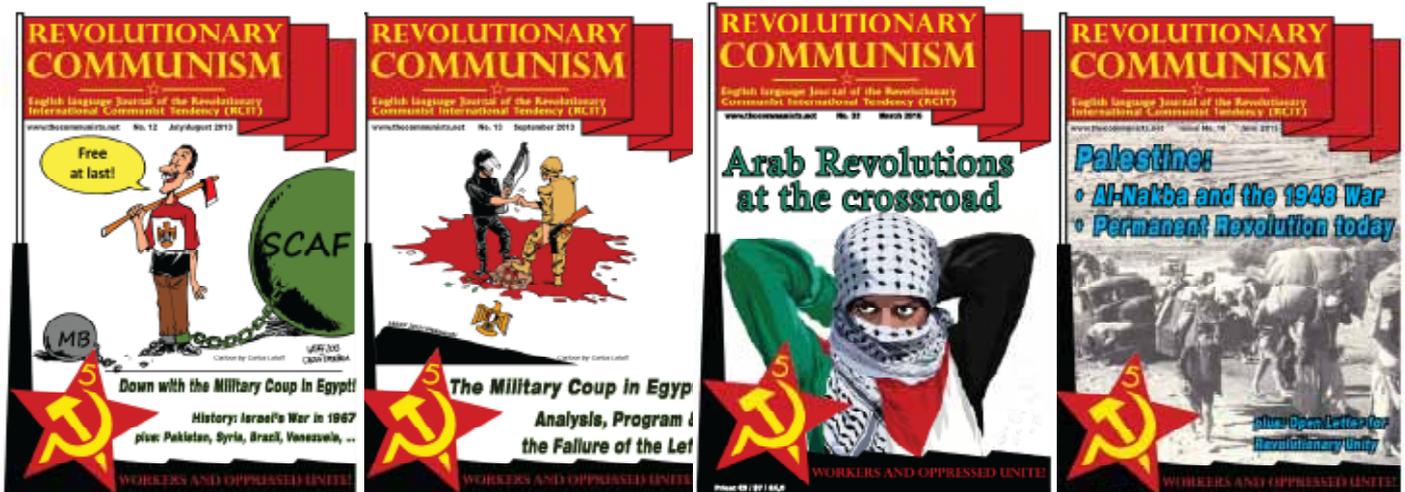
The Communist International was on the side of the Islamic Republic of the Rif against French and Spanish imperialism in the 1920s. (17) The RCIT stood on the side of the Tuareg tribesmen of the *National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad* (MNLA) against French imperialism, and we consistently oppose Israel in its wars in Gaza and Lebanon. (18)

Moslems can be revolutionaries. One of the best-known cases is Malcolm X, who was murdered when he started becoming a Marxist.

“The 1992 CBS documentary, ‘The Real Malcolm X, An Intimate Portrait of the man’, narrated by Dan Rather. Spike Lee’s documentary movie, Malcolm X, had left out the most of the events in the last year of Malcolm’s life, starting with March 12, 1964 Press Statement By Malcolm X. When Denzel Washington, acting as Malcolm X, is shown addressing this press conference, right after Malcolm’s statement: “There can be no black-white unity until there is first some’ black unity,” Denzel Washington did not state what Malcolm X said next, which was “There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity,” The statement about ‘workers solidarity’ showed some of Malcolm’s thinking and outlook at that time — he was becoming anti-capitalist in his political thinking.” (19)

Another important case is the PKI in Indonesia where a

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significant part of the *Sarekat Islam* were won to communism following Russian revolution of 1917 and the work of the small *Indonesian Social Democratic Association* (ISDV), led by Sneevliet, inside the Islamic organization. (20)

On the other hand Islamic organizations can be used by the imperialists to smash working class and poor peasant organizations as happened in Indonesia after Suharto Military coup supported by the CIA in 1965.

Taliban and Al-Qaeda

Daesh/ISIL was formed following a split from al-Qaeda. Thus, we should deal with another question: what is al-Qaeda? Imperialist propaganda has presented the attack of 9/11 as a terrorist attack coming out of the blue, the result of the terroristic nature of al-Qaeda and the Taliban which harbored it. Of course, many in the West are aware of the fact that the US supported the predecessors of al-Qaeda and the Taliban at least from 1979 onwards when the US decided to fund troops to fight against the Soviet Union. These Mujahedeen, including the later al-Qaeda and the Taliban, were armed by the US, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia.

Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a leader of the Mujahedeen and today an important collaborator of the Taliban, was once among America's most valued allies. In the 1980s, the CIA funneled hundreds of millions of dollars in weapons and ammunition to help him to fight the Soviet Army during its occupation of Afghanistan. Hekmatyar, then widely considered by Washington to be a reliable anti-Soviet rebel, was even flown to the United States by the CIA in 1985. So the real question is: Why is there a conflict between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda and the US? After all, these organizations used "terror" with the blessing and support of the US.

When the Taliban came to power they were not ready to act in the service of the US. A week after the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001, a former Pakistani diplomat told the BBC that the US had been planning military action against Osama Bin Laden and the Taliban even before the al-Qaeda's attack.

"Niaz Naik, a former Pakistani Foreign Secretary, was told by senior American officials in mid-July that military action against Afghanistan would go ahead by the middle of October. Mr Naik said US officials told him of the plan at a UN-sponsored international contact group on Afghanistan which took place in Berlin. Mr Naik told the BBC that at the meeting the US representatives told him that unless Bin Laden was handed over swiftly America would take military action to kill or capture both Bin Laden and the Taleban leader, Mullah Omar. The wider objective, according to Mr Naik, would be to topple the Taleban regime and install a transitional government of moderate Afghans in its place - possibly under the leadership of the former Afghan King Zahir Shah." (21)

Another source confirms this:

"When the Bush administration came to power, however, it decided to give the Taliban one last chance. This last chance occurred at a four-day meeting in Berlin in July 2001... According to the Pakistani representative at this meeting, Niaz Naik, US representatives, trying to convince the Taliban to share power with US-friendly factions, said: "Either you accept our offer of a carpet of gold, or we bury you under a carpet of bombs." Naik said that he was told by Americans that "military action against

Afghanistan would go ahead...before the snows started falling in Afghanistan, by the middle of October at the latest." (22)

Likewise, Bob Woodward, one of the two journalists who exposed the Watergate scandal, wrote in the *Washington Post* on November 18, 2001

"For the last 18 months, the CIA has been working with tribes and warlords in southern Afghanistan, and the division's units have helped create a significant new network in the region of the Taliban's greatest strength." (23)

Thus the US war against the Taliban and al-Qaeda has nothing to do with the fact they were terrorists, but with the fact the Americans were not in total control of these organizations after the end of the war against the Stalinist government in Kabul.

Daesh/ISIL

ISIL has its origins in the Iraq War of 2003–11. Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), ISIL's immediate predecessor, fought in the Sunni insurgency against the Iraqi government and foreign imperialists occupying forces. After Zarqawi's death in 2006, the group combined with smaller groups and took the name the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). In 2010, the leader of the group became Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (his real name is Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri al-Samarrai) who had been released from a five-year detention in a US-run prison in southern Iraq.

The sectarian policies of the pro-imperialist Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki imposed by the US in Iraq helped the AQI/ISI to grow from 2011, as is attested to be one former prisoner:

"I now want to explain to people what is occurring in the prisons that [Prime Minister Nouri al-] Maliki and his gangs are running," Heba added. "I was raped over and over again, I was kicked and beaten and insulted and spit upon." Heba's story, horrific as it is, unfortunately is but one example of what a recent report from Amnesty International refers to as "a grim cycle of human rights abuses" in Iraq today. The report, "Iraq: Still paying a high price after a decade of abuses," exposes a long chronology of torture and other ill-treatment of detainees committed by Iraqi security forces, as well as by foreign troops, in the wake of the US-led 2003 invasion." (24)

Daesh/ISIL entered Syria in 2012. In April 2013, Baghdadi announced that he combined his forces in Iraq and Syria with the *al-Nusrah Front* under the name *Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant* (ISIL). The unification was rejected by the *al-Nusrah Front* and resulted in open fighting between these two organizations.

Thus the true question is not whether ISIL is an organization of extreme Islamists, but rather which class do the actions of ISIL serve? The answer to this is provided by information which sheds light on the US's intention that ISIL establish an Islamic state in eastern Syria:

"A revealing light on how we got here has now been shown by a recently declassified secret US intelligence report, written in August 2012, which uncannily predicts – and effectively welcomes – the prospect of a "Salafist principality" in eastern Syria and an al-Qaida-controlled Islamic state in Syria and Iraq. In stark contrast to western claims at the time, the Defense Intelligence Agency document identifies al-Qaida in Iraq (which became Isis) and fellow Salafists as the "major forces driving the insurgency in Syria" – and states that "western countries, the Gulf states and Turkey" were supporting the opposition's efforts

to take control of eastern Syria. Raising the “possibility of establishing a declared or undeclared Salafist principality,” the Pentagon report goes on, “this is exactly what the supporting powers to the opposition want, in order to isolate the Syrian regime, which is considered the strategic depth of the Shia expansion (Iraq and Iran).” (25)

In the last few days it has been revealed that IISL is selling oil to Israel.

“Kurdish and Turkish smugglers are transporting oil from ISIS controlled territory in Syria and Iraq and selling it to Israel, according to several reports in the Arab and Russian media. An estimated 20,000-40,000 barrels of oil are produced daily in ISIS controlled territory generating \$1-1.5 million daily profit for the terrorist organization. Crude currently sell for \$41 and \$45 per barrel to the Israeli mediator, a man in his 50s with dual Greek-Israeli citizenship known as Dr. Farid. He transports the oil via several Turkish ports and then onto other ports, with Israel among the main destinations.” (26)

Why Daesh/ISIL Attracts New Supporters?

The reformist left, including the scores of national communist parties on the one hand stand with the Syrian regime, and on the other with the imperialists. Following the terrorist attacks in Paris, the leader of the PCF said: “We salute the work of law enforcement.... Even as a state of emergency has now been declared by the government, reinforcement of the police and of the justice system’s resources is an imperative. Less than a year after the attacks in January, the Republic has been struck at its heart... France is affected by the war and the destabilization that is plaguing the Middle-East. The fight against terrorism calls for increased engagement and international solutions.” (27)

This position puts the PCF squarely in the camp of those who support the imperialist “war of terrorism” against the Syrian people.

Unfortunately, the centrists are not much better. Adam Booth of the IMT (led by Alan Woods) has written: “The driving force behind this latest military intervention is not to destroy the reactionary forces of jihadi fundamentalism, but to restore the pride of the British ruling class and to prove that British imperialism is still an important player in world relations”..... Indeed, even the so-called ‘moderates’ that Western imperialism has backed thus far, in the fight against Assad, are in fact just Islamist extremists of one variety or another.” (28)

For the IMT there is no legitimate opposition to Assad; rather they all are Islamists jihadi fundamentalists and the only problem with the British imperialist war drive is that it is not serious enough. According to this position, “socialists” have no part in this war. Were the imperialists seriously fighting the jihadi fundamentalism, then we could, according to IMT, side with the imperialists.

No wonder that, with this kind of politics claiming to be revolutionary, thousands of young people are joining the Islamist rebels and not the so-called radical left because they want to fight the imperialists. If there were a revolutionary working class International, these young people would have joined it.

Some centrist tendencies like the Spartacists opening support ISIL, having replaced their loyalty to Stalinism with loyalty to murdering, anti-working class terrorists. In their newspaper *Workers Vanguard* of April 3rd 2015, the Spartacists wrote:

It is the duty of class-conscious workers everywhere, particularly in the U.S., to oppose all wars and occupations carried out by the imperialists. When the U.S. began air strikes against ISIS last year, we explained that “any force, however unsavory, that attacks, repels or otherwise impedes U.S. forces strikes a blow in the interests of the exploited and the oppressed” (“U.S. Out of Iraq! No Intervention in Syria!” WV No. 1051, 5 September 2014). We take a military side with ISIS when it targets the imperialists and forces acting as their proxies, including the Baghdad government and the Shi’ite militias as well as the Kurdish peshmerga forces in Northern Iraq and the Syrian Kurdish nationalists. This does not mean we give the slightest political support to the reactionary ISIS butchers.” (29)

In abstract, this is a revolutionary position, but abstractions hide the concrete truth. What they ignore of course is that ISIL actually kills innocent civilians of our class and that the Kurds are an oppressed nationality whose right of self-determination true Marxists must support, just as ISIL opposes it.

Conclusion

The RCIT opposes ISIL not only because it is a radical Islamist organization, but because it attacks the rebel forces who are currently leading the ongoing Syrian Revolution and kills innocent civilians in Syria, Iraq, and Europe. In its criminal actions, it is an imminent danger for the revolutionary process. Furthermore it only fosters imperialist state terror and the extreme right in Europe.

ISIL is *not* a freedom fighting outfit with a reactionary ideology. It is an authentic obstacle to the Syrian revolution. It is an organization that must be isolated and defeated by the opposition forces in Syria and Iraq as a dangerous enemy of the Syrian revolution, of both Shias and Sunnis, and above all of the working class.

At the same time we oppose any support for the imperialists’ so called “war against terrorism” aimed at controlling Syria and the Middle East. It is the task of the working class at the head of the masses to defeat the imperialists, Assad’s regime, and ISIL.

In any military clash against the imperialists, the RCIT continues to stand with ISIL against the imperialists, without giving them any political support whatsoever, as the imperialists are the worse enemy. But, when it comes to the Kurds or the Syrian rebels, we stand with them against ISIL.

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Increasing Instability and Militarization in the European Union

On the Tasks of Revolutionaries in the New Political Phase which has Opened in Europe after the Terrorist Attack in Paris

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 08.12.2015

1. The last few months have inaugurated a new political phase in Europe of increasing disequilibrium, one characterized by accelerating political and social polarization between the classes around the issues of: (i) refugees and racism, (ii) imperialist wars and terrorism, and (iii) the neo-liberal governmental policy of austerity.

This political phase is marked by an anti-democratic impetus in the direction of increasing chauvinism and militarism by certain sectors of the ruling class which manifests itself both in domestic repression and foreign policy. However, within the bourgeoisie there is both mass resistance against this trend as well as divisions on specific issues. Hence, we characterize this new phase as an “*interim phase*.”

Background

2. The background for the accelerating political and social class polarization inside the EU are a number of crucial developments which have intensified the political crisis of capitalism in 2015:

i) The continuation of economic stagnation and the approach of yet another great recession in the near future;

ii) The intensification of the political crisis of the ruling class as reflected in the strengthening of forces outside of the bourgeois mainstream – both of right-wing racist forces (Le Pen in France, *Lega Nord* in Italy, Strache in Austria, *AfD* in Germany, *PiS* in Poland) as well as left-reformist and left-populist formations (Jeremy Corbyn in Britain, *Bloco de Esquerda* and *PCP* in Portugal, *SYRIZA* in Greece, *Podemos* in Spain);

iii) The arrival in Europe of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Syria and other places, fleeing war and hunger, has brought the consequences of the misery caused by the imperialist world (dis)order back home to the perpetrators;

iv) The destabilizing effects of the Syrian civil war as well those of other wars on dictatorships (Yemen, Egypt, Libya, Afghanistan, etc.) throughout the entire region of the Maghreb and Mashreq (North Africa and Middle East) has increasingly been undermining the conditions necessary for the profitable exploitation of these regions by imperialist monopoly capital;

v) The accelerating rivalry between the Great Powers reflected in the intensified military intervention of Russian as well as French and British imperialism in Syria;

vi) The terrorist attack of *Daesh* in Paris on 13 November – a barbarous act against workers and youth which socialists unequivocally condemn – has demonstrated that Europe cannot escape the consequences of the civil wars in the Middle East;

vii) The ever-deepening alienation of significant sectors of Europe’s population – in particular migrants and progressive sectors of the working class – from the ruling class’

political system. This has been reflected in broad-based opposition to the bourgeoisie’s austerity policy (Portugal’s election, OXI in Greece, mass support for Corbyn in UK), the spontaneous mass solidarity with the refugees as well as the rejection of Islamophobia by broad sectors of the popular masses. The mass pro-refugee movement is of particular importance, since it emerged completely spontaneously and independent of any bourgeois party.

3. These contradictory developments culminated in the autumn of 2015 with the Paris attacks which symbolically ushered in a new political phase for Europe. These developments have provoked splits and divisions among the ruling classes in Europe. As we indicated above, the characteristic element of the present phase is a drive of the European bourgeoisie towards increasing repression and expansion of the repressive state apparatus and towards more military interventions in the Maghreb and Mashreq. However, at the same time the ruling class is not at all certain, and certainly not united about the future course to be taken. It is even more divided on the question of how to deal with the refugees reaching Europe.

4. These developments and the confusion of the ruling bourgeoisie classes about how to deal with them goes hand in hand with a process of polarization, politization and mobilization of substantial sectors of the popular masses. While some are rallying behind racist parties, others are becoming more politically conscious, adopting anti-racist and anti-imperialist convictions. Consequently, the political phase which was opened in autumn 2015 will be characterized by political instability and sharp political confrontations. This being the case, it is incumbent upon Socialists to mobilize the workers’ movement and all organizations of the oppressed and rally them against the intensifying attacks on democratic rights. Most importantly, this is both vital *and* possible because the current leaderships of the working movement and migrant organizations – mostly reformists or petty-bourgeois nationalists and Islamists – are undermining the struggle or openly betraying it. Therefore, the Bolshevik-Communists of the RCIT declare that the crucial task before us remains to advance the formation of a revolutionary leadership, i.e., the founding of new revolutionary parties on the respective national levels as well as the establishment of a new Workers’ International.

Divisions in the Ruling Class

5. The accelerating political and social disequilibrium in the current new phase provokes growing divisions inside the bourgeoisie. First, the ruling classes are divided on how to react to the approximately 800,000 refugees who have arrived in Europe since the beginning of 2015. There is a sector of monopoly capital which considers these – mostly younger and male – refugees as a welcome source

of cheap labor which will enable the capitalists to increase their depressed rate of profit. The pressure of this sector is reflected in various recently published studies like one by the OECD which proclaims positive effects for Europe economic growth if the new refugees will be given access to the labor market. Some Western European governments have already started integrating refugees as low-wage workers in the labor market.

6. However, another sector of the ruling class wants to seriously reduce the flow of refugees or even entirely stop it. This sector fears the politically destabilizing effects of the refugees as their numbers will by necessity augment the lower strata of the working class which is ideologically unbound to the ruling class via bourgeois nationalistic patriotism. At the same time, it is clear that sectors of the middle class and the labor aristocracy could easily be rallied by right-wing racist forces against the migrants. It is likely that this conflict between sectors of the ruling class will continue for some time.

7. Second, Europe's ruling classes are divided on whether they should advance a nationalist or an EU-wide response to the arrival of the migrants. Ultimately, this boils down to a division over whether they should scrap the border-eradicating Schengen agreement and advocate the construction of new fences along their old national borders or rather focus on a harsher regime along the EU borders on the Mediterranean Sea and in the Balkans. Similarly, the ruling classes are divided as to whether there should be an EU-wide compact of mandatory resettlement quotas for refugees or rather every national state should decide on its own how many refugees it is prepared to take in. Unsurprisingly the advocates of nationalist solutions are particularly strong among the Eastern European governments and Britain (but also among the right-wing opposition parties in Germany and France).

8. The advocates of EU-administered solutions are the German, French and Benelux governments and their supporters. They are pushing for solutions like an agreement with Turkey on the management of refugees' influx and for EU-wide mandatory resettlement quotas for refugees etc. Another example is the proposal of the Belgian Prime Minister Michel to create a Europe-wide secret service, i.e., a kind of EU-CIA.

9. Third, a significant sector of the ruling class in the EU is attempting to exploit the 13 November terrorist attack in Paris to go on the offensive against democratic rights, intensify repression and to accelerate European imperialist war drives in the Maghreb and Mashreq. The "Socialist" government of France, with the supporting votes of all parliamentary parties (including the so-called "Communist" Party), has imposed a three month long state of emergency which dramatically limits democratic rights. Some members of the conservative opposition led by ex-president Nicolas Sarkozy call for even a longer state of emergency extending for a minimum of six months. This is an obvious Bonapartist measure of the ruling class designed to suppress popular protests, as became immediately apparent during the COP 21 summit which was held in Paris in late November. As a result of the state of emergency, all public demonstrations against the summit were banned. A demonstration for climate justice on 29 November in which 5,000 participants took part was brutally attacked by the police and 200 demonstrators were

arrested. At least 24 climate activists were even put under house arrest by the French police before the planned protests, while the state also closed three mosques.

10. The French government has also deployed 1,500 soldiers in the streets of that country, marking the unprecedented EU-wide tendency to openly deploy the army for domestic security tasks. The Belgian as well as the Italian governments have also deployed 150 and 1,000 soldiers respectively inside their countries. However, it is not all clear whether the entire ruling class in Europe is prepared to go down this dangerous road, since doing so would obviously undermine the traditional bourgeois-parliamentary system which has characterized most of Western Europe since the end of World War II.

Explosive Potential

11. The explosive potential of the present phase lies in the confluence of the numerous factors which characterize the current objective situation – economic crisis, accelerating rivalry between the great powers, war, terror and the "refugee crisis," increased political alienation of sectors of the working class as well as the middle class, etc. – all these are pushing the ruling class towards Bonapartist solutions. Naturally this means a substantial reduction of democratic rights, intensified chauvinism, domestic repression, more wars abroad, expansion of the repression apparatus, etc. While until now the mainstream parties of the bourgeoisie have been confused about the future course to be taken, the right-wing parties and several Eastern European governments are openly urging on steps towards Bonapartist and nationalistic solutions, which by definition would substantially undermine the EU as an international proto-state institution.

12. However these initiatives clash with the shift to the left among the working class and the lower middle strata which has become evident on the electoral level (Portugal, Greece, Corbyn as new Labour Leader in Britain) as well as in the impetus being given to spontaneous mass movements (the pro-refugee movement, anti-austerity strikes and demonstrations, etc.). Furthermore, there are also sectors of the liberal middle class and even the bourgeoisie who dislike the right-wing push against democracy, since this clearly undermines one of the central ideological cornerstones of European imperialism – democracy, tolerance and human rights. Naturally, this liberal opposition against Bonapartism is and can only be feeble and cowardly. In France, this liberal wing has already capitulated to the militarists, while in other countries this process is currently much slower. However, in the short term, it can nevertheless create obstacles for the drive towards Bonapartism.

13. As we have stated repeatedly *Daesh/IS* is a product of years and years of imperialist aggression. The failure of various petty-bourgeois nationalist and Islamist leaderships has resulted in the creation of such a vile, reactionary organization. While we emphasize that we defend all Islamist organizations against the aggression of the biggest terrorist of all – the imperialist great powers – we are also clear in our position that *Daesh's* terrorism and imperialist terrorism nurture one another. While the working class and the popular masses must defend themselves against all attacks of *Daesh*, the fundamental task is to eradicate the

occupation and exploitation of the Maghreb and Mashreq by all imperialist powers. This task can only be achieved by *permanent revolution*, i.e., the working class's successful toppling of capitalist rule and the creation of workers' and peasants' republics throughout the entire region.

A Crisis of Leadership

14. Since 13 November, France is the focus of the present political crisis in Europe. Here, the ruling class with the help of its "socialist" government lackeys has taken important steps towards militarization of its policy both domestically and abroad. At the same time the progressive sectors of the working class and the oppressed have been virtually paralyzed due to the massive chauvinistic hysteria drummed up by the government and the media, as well as the betrayal of the reformist bureaucrats (FdG, PCF, CGT, CFDT etc.) and the cowardice of most centrists who are adapting to the reformists.

15. The developments in France since the Paris attacks of 13 November demonstrate more than anything the bankruptcy of the official leadership of the workers' movement. The FdG and the PCF as well as the trade union leaderships fully joined the "*Union Nationale*" – as they had previously done after the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* in January this year. All PCF deputies voted for the three month extension of the state of emergency! Likewise, the *Party of the European Left* – the international association of the ex-Stalinist parties in Europe which includes, beside the FdG and the PCF, SYRIZA, the German LINKE, B.E. in Portugal, and others – failed to condemn either the state of emergency or France's drive to war. This is a larger-scale repetition of their social-imperialist capitulation in January after the *Charlie Hebdo* attack. These reformists have proved once more that they are loyal lackeys of imperialism. It is hardly surprising that most radicalized Muslim migrant youth don't join the not-so-radical left but rather Islamist formations. At least 1,000 of them have gone to Syria to fight against the Assad dictatorship.

16. Likewise, the official representatives of the Muslims and migrants in France continue to play the role of modern-day Quislings, i.e., agents of the state against the interest of the mass of migrants. They are funded by the state which they serve loyally. This reiterates the absolute necessity of separating state and religious institutions. As long as the latter are funded by the imperialist state, remaining dependent on it, they act as an instrument to uphold the oppression of the Muslim migrants.

17. True, the centrist left in France has not joined the "*Union Nationale*," and activists of the NPA, *Alternative Libertaire* and *Ensemble*, among them the NPA spokespersons, Christine Poupin and Olivier Besancenot, participated in the demonstration against the COP 21 summit on 29 November. However, the centrist left is organically incapable of consistently breaking with the institutions of French imperialism; of becoming a tribune of workers and the oppressed people. None of the three main French centrist groups (Mandelist NPA, Lambertist PT/CCI, LO) has dared to call for the defeat of the French troops and for solidarity with the resistance against the occupiers in France's colonial wars (Afghanistan, Mali, etc.) during the past one and a half decades. None of them joined the migrant youth in their uprising in the *banlieues* in 2005/06.

Also, they all expressed their sympathy for the racist magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in January 2015 after the attack on the publication's offices. The LO has a shameful record of supporting the ban on the veil for young Muslim women attending school. The Lambertist PT/CCI has been inextricably linked with the corrupt trade union bureaucracy, particularly of the FO, which all hail Hollande's state of emergency.

18. However, opportunism and capitulation are not unique to French centrism, but rather apply to centrism in general. In Britain, significant sectors of the left opportunistically adapt to the new Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn. Hardly any of the British centrists dared to openly call for the victory of the military resistance against British imperialism. Groups like the SPEW/CWI have a shameful record of opposing "open borders" for migrants and refugees and even led a chauvinistic strike under the slogan of "*British Jobs for British workers*" in 2009. The same happened in Greece where, for a long period of time, sectors of the left failed to openly oppose the popular front government led by SYRIZA's Tsipras. In Germany, the Cliffite *Marx21* (associated with the British SWP) is inextricably linked with the pro-Zionist LINKE party bureaucracy and holds several regional and federal parliamentary seats. Those centrists who radically oppose such left-reformist parties usually fail to deploy tactics which would enable them to build links with their rank and file supporters. This yet again illustrates that centrism is incapable of combining revolutionary intransigence in propaganda with flexible united front tactics in practice.

The Tasks of Revolutionaries

19. The RCIT emphasizes that the working class and the oppressed face, in addition to the dangers, enormous opportunities in the new interim political phase which has been inaugurated in Europe. The ruling class, irrespective of its temporarily internal divisions, is striving towards attacking democratic rights by intensifying chauvinism, militarism and Bonapartism. This anti-democratic offensive poses a tremendous threat to the working class and the oppressed. It undermines the right of workers to assemble in public, to demonstrate, or to strike and severely inhibits the right of Muslims to organize. In short, it is an attack on the class struggle as such.

20. Granted, the current divisions inside the bourgeois camp do, to a certain extent, open a window of opportunity for the working class to prepare its counter-offensive. However, it would be foolishly naïve to ignore the fact that the imperialist ruling class will sooner or later decisively advance their attacks on the democratic and social rights of the workers and oppressed. And only complete fools or centrist idiots can imagine that the current attacks against the Islamists will not be repeated against the socialists. In fact, it should be clear that the imperialist logic of repression is: Today the Islamists, tomorrow the communists.

21. All these recent developments demonstrate once again the validity of the Bolshevik-Communist thesis about the central importance of democratic issues in imperialist countries. As the RCIT has outlined elsewhere, in the present period of its historic decay, imperialism is forced to attack democracy even in its own heartlands. The

working class and the oppressed can only defend their interests as a whole if they will come to the defense of each democratic right, opposing all wars and chauvinistic attacks initiated by the bourgeoisie. A revolutionary party can only win the leadership of the workers and oppressed if it acts as a “*tribune of the people*” – as Lenin explained in *What Is to Be Done?* – in advancing the democratic struggle and combining it with the strategic tasks of the socialist revolution.

22. Bolshevik-Communists are aware that the new political phase in Europe offers important opportunities. The so-called “refugee crisis” provoked a wave of spontaneous mass solidarity throughout the continent and advanced a political, democratic, internationalist class consciousness among many workers and youth. Likewise, despite the massive propaganda and hysteria of the imperialist media, significant sectors of the population continue to oppose their government’s policy of militarization. If the French police continue with actions like putting 24 climate activists under house arrest, they will guarantee that sooner or later the workers’ movement will better understand the reactionary character of the imperialist state apparatus. If the Great Powers suffer setbacks in Afghanistan, Syria, and Mali the popular anti-war opposition will increase dramatically.

23. In order to fight against the sabotage of the left-reformists and the cowardice of the centrists, it is vital that authentic socialists make progress in founding new revolutionary parties on the national levels as well as a new workers’ international. Hence, the RCIT calls upon all revolutionaries to join us in our joint struggle to build such parties; to establish such an international! Such a project demands that revolutionaries work among the popular masses and call upon the organizations of the workers’ movement and the oppressed to undertake protest actions against the accelerating domestic repression and the imperialist war drive of European governments. They must state clearly that the main enemy is *not* the reactionary jihadists, but the Great Powers and their local lackeys.

24. Socialists have to explain to the working class and the oppressed that there is an indivisible unity between the issues of the anti-austerity struggle, the defense of democratic rights, solidarity with refugees and opposition to imperialist wars. All these attacks are directed against the working class and oppressed; and the counter-attack must be a consolidated one against our main enemy – the imperialist bourgeoisie and its local lackeys. All such struggles by the workers and oppressed serve to weaken the economic and political power of imperialist monopoly capital at home and abroad and to strengthen the power of our own forces.

25. The RCIT calls upon all revolutionaries to jointly advocate a strategy of resistance against austerity and for solidarity with the refugees. This strategy should call for the formation of *action committees* in the workplaces, the schools, and the neighborhoods with the purpose of organizing the struggle from below. Furthermore, it should call upon the trade unions and other popular organizations of the workers and oppressed to organize *mass demonstrations and strikes* against the austerity policy. Of particular importance is the slogan for an *indefinite general strike*. The strategy should involve the integration of refugees and migrants in the workers’ movement; the fight against all

forms of chauvinism inside the workers’ movement; and ideally to win the mass organizations over to a program of revolutionary equality (i.e., abolition of the state language, equal status of the migrants’ native languages in education and public administration, equal wage, equal access to housing, open borders, etc.).

26. Likewise, socialists should work to win the workers’ movement over to a resolute campaign in solidarity with the liberation struggles of the Middle East. This must include solidarity with the ongoing Syrian Revolution against the dictatorship of Bashar al-Assad as well as against the reactionary Daesh/IS. In conflicts between great powers (or their proxies) over who is to get a larger sphere of influence in Syria, revolutionaries must support neither side; for example, revolutionaries give no support to either Russia or Turkey in their recent clash following the shooting down a Russian Sukhoi Su-24M bomber by Turkey.

27. Similarly, socialists should call for solidarity with the popular resistance against the Egypt dictatorship of General al-Sisi, the struggle against the pro-imperialist reactionaries aligned with General Haftar in Libya as well as the Yemeni resistance against the Al-Saud aggression. In addition, the solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle – suppressed by the Hollande government during the Gaza war in the summer of 2014 – and the campaign for a workers’ and popular boycott against the Zionist State of Israel remain an essential task for the European workers’ movement. The Bolshevik-Communists state unequivocally that the struggle for democracy, for the improvement of the working class’s conditions, and for its own liberation will be immeasurably enhanced if its greatest enemy – the imperialist bourgeoisie of the Great Powers – suffers defeats in their colonial wars. Similarly, the working class and the oppressed in Europe will only gain if the popular masses in the South succeed in overthrowing reactionary, lackey dictatorships, usually the most reliable and loyal partners of the imperialist Great Powers.

28. Bolshevik-Communists fight against the devastating influence of the Stalinists, proto-Stalinists and centrists who directly or indirectly hail Russian imperialism and reactionary dictatorships like that of Bashar al-Assad. They should explain to the vanguard of the working class and the oppressed that they should oppose the reactionary interference of *all* Great Powers – be it the US, UK, France, Germany, Russia, China or any other imperialist country.

29. Revolutionaries must also oppose all forms of adaptation to imperialist chauvinism. Hence they must fight against those left-reformists and centrists who oppose the opening of borders for migrants and refugees (e.g., left social democrats, Stalinists, CWI). Similarly, they must denounce those who support the discrimination of Muslim migrants (e.g. Stalinists, LO in France).

30. In addition, revolutionaries must fight against the trade union bureaucrats and the left-reformists and centrists who attempt to cleanse their sins. The bureaucrats have repeatedly sabotaged the struggle against the austerity policy of recent years. At best, they call for limited one-day strikes. Such actions only serve to release working class anger but are useless in stopping the bosses’ offensives. Greece, which has experienced more than 30 general strikes in the past five years, is a model for the bankruptcy of such a strategy of limited actions. The left-reformists

and centrists are either silent about this betrayal or consider them “isolated mistakes” which could be corrected with some serious discussions with the bureaucrats.

31. Naturally, authentic revolutionaries, who constitute such a small minority in the workers vanguard, must not limit themselves to pure denunciations of the left-reformists and centrists. They must combine such criticism with a systematic campaign for united fronts, i.e., proposals for joint practical struggles with the reformists and centrists against the attacks of the bourgeoisie. Since the bureaucrats will usually ignore such calls, revolutionaries must utilize all opportunities by joining mass struggles, and fighting side by side with reformist and centrist rank and file workers and youth, and demonstrate the superiority of the revolutionary method in practice by exemplary mass work.

32. Revolutionaries must not be sectarian and stand aside struggles in which most participants have reformist illusions and follow some left-wing bureaucrats (e.g., the *Momentum* campaign of left-wing supporters of Corbyn in the Labour Party, or the Left Platform inside SYRIZA before the split in August 2015). They must give critical support to the left-wing bureaucrats in situations in which the latter actually act against the right-wing bureaucrats. However such support must be combined with critical warnings about the reformist or centrist character of such forces as well as adopting practical steps towards organizing the rank and file independently of such bureaucrats in order to break them away from the latter.

33. Most importantly, the RCIT stresses the necessity of building new revolutionary parties in all countries and world-wide. Only such parties can provide revolutionary leadership as the only alternative to both reactionary Islamists as well as reformists. Without such parties being united in a single, new revolutionary International, the working class and the oppressed peoples cannot hope to succeed in fighting effectively against their enemies. Only such parties – as part of the *Fifth Workers International* – can fight for a consistent program against austerity, for equality for migrants and for the defeat of imperialism in the Middle East. Only a revolutionary world party can suc-

ceed in the international struggle for socialist revolution. We call upon all revolutionaries to join the RCIT and to fight together with us for the formation of such a revolutionary party.

** Defend democratic rights! Down with the State of Emergency in France! Down with all repressive laws!*

** Stop the harassment of Muslim migrants! Mobilize against racist and Islamophobic campaigns! For self-defense units, organized by organizations of the workers' movement and the migrant communities, to protect refugees' hostels and mosques against racist attacks!*

** For a program of revolutionary equality for migrants! For the abolition of the state language and for equal status of the migrants' native languages in education and public administration! For equal wage and for equal access to housing! Full citizenship rights for migrants! Down with the imperialist border controls - Open the borders for migrants and refugees!*

** Defeat Imperialism – Solidarity with the Resistance! US, Russia, France and any other Great Power: Hands off Syria! Troops out of Afghanistan and Mali! Solidarity with the resistance struggle against the occupiers!*

** Solidarity with the Arab Revolution! Support the ongoing Syrian Revolution! Down with the dictatorship of Bashar al-Assad! Down with the reactionary Daesh/IS! Solidarity with popular resistance against the Egypt dictatorship of General al-Sisi! Support the Yemeni resistance against the Al-Saud aggression! Long live the Third Intifada in Occupied Palestine!*

** Stop the austerity policy! For mass demonstrations and strikes up to an indefinite general strike! Build action committees in the workplaces, schools and neighborhoods in order to organize the struggle! Build a rank and file movement in the trade unions in order to advance the struggle against the bureaucracy and to finally drive them out of the workers movement!*

** Down with the Imperialist EU! For the United Socialist States of Europe!*

** For Workers' and Peasant Republics in Maghreb and Mashreq! For a Socialist Federation!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT ■

**NEW! Website of the
RCIT Germany**

<http://www.diekommunisten.net/>

Terror in Paris is the Result of Imperialist Terror in the Middle East!

Stop France's and other Imperialist Powers' Warmongering! No Mobilization of the Army inside France! Defend the Muslim Peoples against Chauvinist Hatemongering and State Repression!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 14.11.2015

1. On Friday evening, 13 November, terrorists – most likely members of *Daesh* (the so-called *Islamic State*) – committed six coordinated attacks in Paris which killed 128 people and injured about 200 others. Most of the victims died in the Bataclan concert venue in the French capital during a metal rock band concert after special police stormed the hall where terrorists had taken members of the audience hostage. In addition, attacks were also carried out on three restaurants and a shopping centre. France's President Francois Hollande declared a state of emergency and deployed 1,500 additional soldiers in Paris. Public transportation has been halted and people have been instructed to stay at home.

2. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) condemns this attack as utterly reactionary. It was not directed against a military target, not even a symbolic target like the racist journal *Charlie Hebdo*. It was directly against ordinary youth and working-class people. We send our sincerest condolences to the friends and families of the murdered. The attack demonstrates once more the particularly reactionary character of the salafi-takfiri organizations like *Daesh/IS*, which sets them apart from other reactionary Islamists (because they are mainly fighting against the oppressed and our working class, and not against imperialism or reactionary regimes).

3. The attack is also thoroughly reactionary because it will serve the ruling class to justify and intensify its reactionary offensive against the oppressed people in the Middle East, as well as domestically against the working-class in general and Muslim migrants in particular. President Hollande, the imperialist war-monger in social-democratic disguise, will use this attack as a pretext to send even more warplanes and warships to the Middle East to bomb the Syrian and Iraqi people. The ruling class, led on by the right-wing media, will whip up chauvinist hatred against the sizeable Muslim migrant minority in France, and justify an intensification of the already massive state repression.

4. The truth is that attacks such as these most recent ones in Paris are the direct result of the increasing terror of the Great Imperialist Powers and their local lackeys in the Middle East, combined with the intensifying oppression of migrants in Europe. The Great Powers – including France – have already been occupying and terrorizing the Afghan people for nearly one and a half decades. Then, after having first starved-out the Iraqi people with a cruel war of sanctions that lasted more than a decade after 1991, the imperialists summarily destroyed their country during the war of 2003 and the ensuing occupation. Currently, the Western powers and imperialist Russia are working hand in hand to bomb into submission the resistance in Syria and assist the regime of the serial killer Assad. French imperialism has been particularly vicious in its military offensive. It not only participates in the imperialist offen-

sive in Syria and Iraq, but has also invaded Mali and sent troops to suppress the Muslim minority in the Central African Republic. In addition, imperialist Israel is intensifying the starvation and expulsion of the Palestinian people in Gaza and the West Bank. While in Yemen, the reactionary Al-Saud gang and their local allies – supported by the Great Western Powers – is waging a vicious war of aggression against the people of Yemen. In addition, France and Western Imperialism had no problem with Russia during its mass-slaughter of up to 200,000 persons of the heroic Chechnya people.

5. The combination of unrelenting imperialist state terror and the ongoing rule of arch-reactionary dictatorships allied with one or more of the Great Powers have resulted in an unprecedented wave of terror against the popular masses in the Middle East. The Assad regime – a key ally of imperialist Russia and a long-time collaborator of Western imperialism – alone is responsible for at least 300,000 dead in Syria. At least 450,000 Iraqis have died as a consequence of the US war and its subsequent occupation of that country. The majority of the Palestinian people are forced to live as refugees and/or under the terror of the Zionist war machinery. The imperialists have created a regime of state-sponsored terror throughout the Middle East, and the terror blowing back in the faces of the imperialists is a direct result of the far more violent state terror. Therefore, it will be no surprise if similar terrorist attacks like the most recent one in Paris will take place in other imperialist countries as well.

6. *Daesh/IS* is a product of years and years of imperialist aggression. The failure of various petty-bourgeois nationalist and Islamist leaderships has resulted in the creation of such a vile, reactionary organization. However, we repeat, it is not the task of imperialism to fight *Daesh*. However, we repeat that it is *not* the task of imperialism to fight *Daesh*, not only because it will only strengthen them, but because the masses of the Sunni people in the Middle East have had to learn in recent years that, in practice, imperialist rule means open terror against them. The US, France and Russia are cynically using this war against *Daesh* as a pretext to extend their influence and their business interests in the Middle East. No, fighting *Daesh/IS* is the task of the workers and peasants themselves organized in popular militias, and only the forces of progress can be victorious and achieve the interest of our class.

7. The RCIT emphasizes, yet again, that the current task of socialists is to oppose the pro-imperialist mobilizations – both domestically and abroad – of France as well as other Great Powers. Socialists must not participate in the patriotic, pro-imperialist mobilizations which the Hollande government will certainly now be organizing. Instead they should organize independent rallies which condemn the terrorist attack alongside the racist and militarist policy of the Hollande government.

8. Socialists must defend Muslim migrants and mobilize against the imperialist war drive of the Hollande government as well as those of the US, UK, Israel, and Russia. Socialists must state clearly that the main enemy is *not* the reactionary jihadists, but the Hollande government and the Great Powers. They are responsible for the killing of far more people, and bear on their backs many more evil crimes. It is urgent that socialists make a serious effort to win the workers' movement over to a resolute campaign in solidarity with the liberation struggles in the Middle East, as well as with the refugees, and in against the imperialist war-drive. Obviously, such a campaign has to include a sharp denunciation of all those reformist and centrist forces which fail to take a consistent anti-imperialist and internationalist position.

9. Finally, we stress the necessity of building new revolutionary parties – in France and world-wide. Only

such parties can provide revolutionary leadership as the only alternative to both reactionary Islamists as well as reformists. Without such parties being united in a single, new revolutionary International, the working class in France and the oppressed peoples of the Middle East cannot hope to succeed in fighting effectively against their enemies. Only such parties – as part of the Fifth Workers International – can fight for a consistent program of equality for migrants and for the defeat of imperialism in the Middle East. Only a revolutionary world party can succeed in the international struggle for socialist revolution.

Death to imperialism! Down with Daesh/IS! Avenge the murdered by fighting against imperialism and all forms of oppression!

International Secretariat of the RCIT ■

Stop Cameron's War Drive against the Syrian People!

Against US, Russia's and France's Military Intervention! Down with the Assad Dictatorship! Solidarity with the Syrian Revolution! Expel All Pro-War Labour MP's from the Party!

Statement by Supporters of the RCIT Britain, 2 December 2015

1. The British Parliament will vote on 3rd December 2015 for Britain's participation in the bombing of Syria. Cameron's government is pushing for British imperialism to participate in the great powers aggression in the Middle East. The RCIT Britain calls on the workers movement and all organizations of the oppressed to mobilize against Cameron's war drive.

2. Our opposition to Britain's war drive is not motivated by any sympathy for the bloodthirsty dictatorship of Bashar al-Assad. His regime is mainly responsible for at least 250-300.000 dead in the ongoing civil war and about 11 million Syrians who have become refugees.

3. While the Stalinist *CPB/Morning Star*, and various Labour "Left" bureaucrats and the "Stop The War" leadership support Assad and Putin's bloody war drive in Syria, the RCIT Britain continues to fully support the ongoing Syrian Revolution. While we politically oppose the petty-bourgeois Islamist and secular leaderships of the Syrian rebels, we recognize that they represent the popular revolutionary uprising against the Assad clan and his barbarous Baathist state apparatus which has oppressed the Syrian people for many decades.

4. The workers movement must oppose any military intervention by the Great Powers. The imperialist powers – in particular the US, Russia, France and now Britain too – are colluding to liquidate the Syrian Revolution. Obama, Putin, Hollande and Cameron want to achieve this with the help of Assad's state apparatus (with or without Assad himself), as well as by the integration of some corrupt elements among the Syrian opposition. This is the goal of the negotiations which are currently taking place in Vienna.

5. Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, a left-reformist bureaucrat who opposes Cameron's war drive, has given his MP's a free vote on that matter. This is nothing but a capitulation to the Blairite section in the party's bureaucracy. This proves once more that the Labour Party contains a huge sector of bureaucrats who are openly in favour of imperialist wars as well as neoliberal austerity policies and have already started to purge and expel critical left-wing party members.

6. Socialists inside the Labour Party should argue that *Momentum* and other progressive forces must campaign for a split with the right-wing Blairite bureaucracy. While we have no illusions in Corbyn and his reformist perspectives, socialists should call on the supporters of the new Labour leader to work jointly against the Blairite wing. We reject any idea that Labour should remain a broad, united party of Blairite as well as Corbyn supporters. There must be no political truce between supporters and opponents of imperialist wars or between supporters and opponents of austerity policy!

7. The RCIT Britain calls on socialists to unite around a revolutionary program and to fight for the following demands:

* *Stop Cameron's War Drive against Syria! Vote against any military intervention of Britain!*

* *US, Russia, France and any other Great Power: Hands off Syria!*

* *Down with the Assad Dictatorship! Solidarity with the Syrian Revolution!*

* *Expel all pro-war Labour MP's from the Party! ■*

Portugal: For a Workers' Offensive against Austerity!

By Johannes Wiener, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 17.12.2015

The recently held elections in Portugal mark a distinct shift to the left in the balance of class-forces. The bourgeois PSD and CDS lost around 12% compared with the previous elections. On the other hand, the left-wing *Bloco de Esquerda* (BE) (a coalition of right-centrist forces) doubled its electoral strength to more than 10% of the votes cast and is now the third largest party in Parliament. The electoral front *Coligação Democrática Unitária* – a coalition of the Stalinist, left-reformist *Partido Comunista Português* (PCP) and the Green Party (*Partido Ecologista "os Verdes"*, PEV) – also slightly increased its votes, gaining 8.25% of the ballots. The social-democratic party (*Partido Socialista*, PS), which verbally ran on an anti-austerity platform, also increased its strength and garnered 32% of the parliamentary vote.

This means that, together, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois workers' parties now constitute a majority in the Parliament of Portugal. The reason for this is very simple: the popular masses oppose the austerity-policies of the neo-liberal bourgeois parties.

Reactionary Attempts to Install a Right-Wing Bourgeois Government

Going into the elections, the bloc of the two openly neo-liberal bourgeois parties was arithmetically the relatively strongest parliamentary force. This led to their impudent attempt to continue the hated austerity government of Passos Coelho, despite the majority of the population voted against this. A particular reactionary role was also played by Portugal's president, Aníbal Cavaco Silva, who called upon Coelho to form a government, dubbing as "*an attack on democracy*" the electorate's daring to oppose the austerity policy dictated by Brussels as well as opposing the will of the imperialist-terrorist NATO alliance. Silva said: "*In 40 years of democracy, no government in Portugal has ever depended on the support of anti-European forces, (...) (which) in addition (want) the dissolution of NATO.*"

The Creation of the "Left" Government

Pressure from below, from the workers and popular masses, as well as the provocative pro-austerity policy of the reactionary bourgeois parties led the majority of the members of Parliament (belonging to the PS, BE, and the CDU) to vote against the governmental program of Coelho, preventing him from taking power.

Instead, the social-democratic PS formed a government which promised to oppose the austerity attacks and to defend social gains of the Portuguese masses. This resulting government of Antonio Costa has the parliamentary support of the *Bloco de Esquerda* and the *Coligação Democrática Unitária* which did not join the government's coalition.

A Bourgeois Workers' Government

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) maintains that the fall of the right-wing bourgeois govern-

ment reflected the growing radicalization of workers and youth in southern Europe. This radicalization is the basis for the European working class' finding a way out of austerity and the nationalist nightmare, growing militarism and the erosion of democratic rights.

Naturally, the new government of Antonio Costa is neither a socialist or authentically left government. It is a capitalist government, albeit one which rests on bourgeois and petty bourgeois workers' parties, which was elected as a result of massive popular sentiment against the austerity policy. This government is what the Communist International (before it degenerated under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy) called a "*bourgeois workers' government.*"

Which Way Forward?

Revolutionaries in Portugal should defend this government against any attack instigated by the reactionary-bourgeois parties, the bureaucracy in Brussels, the President, or the state apparatus.

However, the strategic goal of revolutionaries must be help the workers and poor to overcome their illusions in these left-reformist parties and to break them away from such leaderships. This is the only way to fight for a true proletarian government based on workers' and popular councils and militias.

In the present situation it is crucial that revolutionaries organize the masses independently from the reformist or left reformist leaders and place pressure on the government via independent workers' and popular mobilizations. It is clearly obvious that the masses of the workers and poor still harbor illusions regarding the leadership of the social democrats and left reformists of *Bloco de Esquerda* and in the PCP.

On the one hand, revolutionaries must instructively explain to the advanced workers why they will sooner or later be betrayed by the reformist bureaucrats who have promised to end austerity, to say nothing about building a socialist society. On the other hand, we have to place demands before the leaders of the reformist parties in order to put them to the test in the eyes of the working class and to help the latter overcome their illusions by means of their own practical experience. If the government attempts to capitulate to the EU and its policy of austerity, revolutionaries must mobilize to stop them by calling for militant strikes, leading up to a general strike. Another very important task is to fight for the full equality of migrants and to oppose every form of racism and discrimination against them! This is particularly important for Portugal which for centuries exploited and brutally subjugated its colonies.

The RCIT suggests that revolutionaries in Portugal call on the "left" government to undertake the following:

- * *Abrogate all austerity-measures of the previous government!*
- * *Immediately create a public works program, under the control of the trade unions, to provide jobs for all unemployed. This should be financed entirely by taxation on the super-rich!*
- * *Nationalize the ports and big industries under workers' control!*

** Nationalize all banks and amalgamate them into a single central bank under workers' control!*

** Immediately withdraw from NATO! No people should be guilty of participating in this brutal terrorist organization!*

In addition, we maintain that Portugal, as a semi-colonial country, should leave the EU. However, this tactic should be combined with the struggle for a real workers' government. Such a government would not play footsy with the EU and NATO, but rather should declare class war on them! An authentic workers' government would base itself on workers' and popular councils (soviets), like those rudimentarily established in 1974/75, as well as on militias of our class. A real workers' government would immediately try to internationalize the struggle to other European and North African countries.

There is no solution to austerity but the struggle for a European revolution against the EU and for the creation of revolutionary workers' governments through socialist revolution. To fight for revolutionary workers' governments in Europe and around the world we need new revolutionary workers parties! The RCIT is dedicated to building such parties as part of the future 5th International and to collaborating with revolutionaries in Portugal to build such a revolutionary workers' party there and in every other country around the world.

** For a revolutionary workers' government!*

** Down with the imperialist EU! For the United Socialist States of Europe!*

** For a revolutionary workers' party in Portugal as part of a new workers' International! ■*

Britain: Statement on the Public Controversy about the STOP THE WAR Coalition Against Imperialist Hypocrisy as well as Against Stalinist Support for the Assad Dictatorship!

Statement by Supporters of the RCIT Britain, 15 December 2015

1. In recent days, the Cameron government, the Blairites as well as the bourgeois media have launched a hysterical campaign against the STOP THE WAR Coalition (StW). The background for this is that the StW has organized a number of protests against the government's decision to launch war in Syria.

2. The RCIT Britain condemns this witch-hunting campaign. StW has been absolutely correct to launch protest actions against Britain's war drive. Cameron and the Blairites want to justify their imperialist wars in the Middle East. Given the fact that at least 450,000 Iraqis have died as a consequence of the US/UK war and its subsequent occupation of that country, given the numerous deaths in Afghanistan and in other places, it is obvious that the British government – together with its imperialist allies – is the biggest terrorist! Their accusations against StW are like Al Capone attacking a little thief as "immoral"!

3. At the same time, the RCIT Britain equally condemns the StW leadership for its implicit reactionary support for the Assad regime and the military intervention of imperialist Russia in Syria. It is a telling fact that the StW leadership – dominated by the Stalinist CPB, left reformist trade union bureaucrats and the centrist Counterfire group (Lindsey German and John Rees) – do not allow Syrians to speak at their rallies and meetings. We fully share the disgust and condemnation of the StW-leadership by the Syrian solidarity groups as well as the Muslim migrant community in general. It is no accident that the Muslim mass organizations are withdrawing their support from the StW coalition.

4. The RCIT Britain restates that all socialists and democrats must oppose any military intervention by the Great Powers – be it Britain, the US, France or Russia. The mass organizations of the working class and the oppressed must denounce the imperialist powers which are colluding – with the help of Assad's state apparatus – to liquidate the Syrian Revolution. At the same time we call on all organizations claiming to represent the workers and oppressed to engage in an energetic solidarity campaign with the ongoing Syrian Revolution. While we politically oppose the petty-bourgeois Islamist and secular leaderships of the Syrian rebels, we recognize that they represent the popular revolutionary uprising against the Assad clan and his barbarous Baathist state apparatus which has oppressed the Syrian people for many decades. In short, while the imperialists attack StW leadership from the right, we defend them against the imperialists and attack them from the left and from the viewpoint of consistent anti-imperialism and revolutionary democratism.

5. Socialists and democrats should pressurize the StW coalition to call an emergency congress in order to openly debate:

- a) How to respond to the imperialist witch-hunt campaign and to plan the next steps of the anti-war movement;
- b) The StW policy towards the Assad regime and Russian imperialism. Socialists and democrats must do everything in power in order to break the coalition from their reactionary pro-Russian and pro-Assad position. ■

China's "Socialist" Billionaires

Following the Latest Report about the Global Super-Rich

By Michael Pröbsting, *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)*, 16.11.2015

A few weeks ago, the annual report about the richest people in the world was published – the co-called *Hurun Global Rich List* (see <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/china-dethrones-us-has-maximum-number-billionaires-1524295> and <http://www.hurun.net/en/ArticleShow.aspx?nid=14678>). It contained a number of interesting facts. Most importantly it reports that China has overtaken the US as the home country to the largest number of billionaires throughout the world.

According to this report, out of 1,877 dollar billionaires worldwide, 596 have their homes in China. 537 dollar billionaires live in the US – which was until now the leading country for the super-rich. Noteworthy is that the figure for China does not include billionaires residing in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, the first two of which formally belong to the Chinese state. (Together, these three entities are home to another 119 billionaires.)

This means that even without the Chinese billionaires residing in Hong Kong and Macao, 31.8% of the super-rich layer of the global monopoly capitalists are Chinese. Of course, if we compare the figure of billionaires with the total population per individual country, the Western imperialist countries and Japan are still way ahead of China. Nevertheless, it is an undisputable and crucial fact that nearly a third of the top layer of global monopoly capitalists has its home in the Chinese state and is closely networked with the ruling state apparatus.

There are persons who claim that China is still a "deformed workers state." Do they want to tell us that these 596 super-super-rich are "socialist" billionaires?! Do others, who belittle China as a "semi-colonial" country which supposedly serves US imperialism as an extended workbench, still deny that this Asian country is home of a potent monopoly capitalist class – one of the global "big players"?! No, the simple truth is that China became capitalist long ago (in the early 1990s) and through two and half decades

of hyper-accumulation of capital, a significant big bourgeoisie has emerged there. As we have elaborated in a number of works, China has become an emerging imperialist power.

For our analysis of China as an emerging imperialist country we refer readers to various works of Michael Pröbsting:

The Great Robbery of the South (Chapter 10), <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/great-robbery-of-south-online/download-chapters-1/chapter10/>;

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

No to chauvinist war-mongering by Japanese and Chinese imperialism! Chinese and Japanese workers: Your main enemy is at home! Stop the conflict on the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands in the East China Sea! 23.9.2012, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 6, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-between-china-and-japan/>;

Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Summary of the RCIT's Analysis, 28 March 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 22, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-china-and-russia/>;

More on Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Reply to Chris Slee (Socialist Alliance, Australia) and Walter Daum (LRP, USA), 11 April 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 22, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-slee-on-russia-china/>;

The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism. Again on China as an imperialist Power. Reply to a Polemic from CSR (Venezuela) and PCO (Argentina), December 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 32, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/> ■

China's transformation into an imperialist power

A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power

By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

Price: €3 / \$3,5 / £2 (plus delivery charges)

Order the pamphlet via our contact addresses: rcit@thecommunists.net

What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

This revolution must be carried out and led by the working class, for only this class has the collective power to bring down the ruling class and build a socialist society.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

