



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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ONE WORLD - ONE STRUGGLE - ONE REVOLUTION



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## International Struggle for Women's Liberation!

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

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## Sisters, Let Us Make the Imperialists Afraid Again!

### International Women's Day – After One Century: Turn 8 March into a Day of General Strike Actions!

*Statement by the International Women's Secretariat of the RCIT, 08.03.2017*

The most important event in the history of the workers and oppressed was the first successful proletarian revolution in 1917. The Great Russian Revolution would not have been possible without the bold initiative of the women workers who – in the best sense of the word „impatiently“ – started the February Revolution, which was the prologue to Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. The great heroines of the February Revolution turned *International Women's Day* into a day of general strike, inflaming the country with the spirit of the revolution. On the eve of the *International Women's Day* in 1917, this revolutionary spirit also spread to their class brothers. The vanguard role of women in revolutions had already been demonstrated long before during the French Revolution of 1789-94. Since the *Women's March to Versailles* in 1789 (also known as *The October March*) we have repeatedly seen that, in the history of the oppressed, we as women, are the warrant for revolution.

In this, the ninth year since the beginning of the historic period of capitalist decay in 2008, the inner-imperialist rivalries are accelerating while the workers and oppressed have risen up in numerous countries against the ruling class (in particular in the Arab world), but have also faced a number of counterrevolutionary defeats.

A vivid symbol for this contradictory development is rise to power of the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, Donald

Trump. The new US administration led by Trump constitutes a severe threat of massive attacks not only against the working class and the oppressed in Northern America but throughout the entire world. We can see that this danger has already turned into a reality, for example, by the so-called *Muslim Ban*, a disgusting racist attack against migrants from several Muslim countries initiated by Trump. But we can also see the danger in the ongoing racist attacks against the Mexican people and the attempt, already started, to build a strong wall along the Mexican border as well as in the massively increased number of deportations. Yet another example is the renewed attacks against the heroic fighters on the ground at Standing Rock, North Dakota, ever since the Trump administration re-opened the road to massive destruction of the living conditions of Native Americans in this area by ruthless petroleum companies building a pipeline through this area.

However, all these attacks, and many others, are being undertaken by a government that is abhorred by billions of people in the world. Even moreso, the Trump administration provokes mass resistance because of its undisguised extreme chauvinism and super rich arrogance. It even provokes the shame of bourgeois imperialist forces who claim to defend democratic values, mainly the liberal sectors of the bourgeoisie of the United States, Canada and the European Union, while amusing and confusing the eastern



Almedina Gunic, International Women's Secretary of the RCIT, speaks at a rally on Women's Day

imperialists like Russia, China and Japan. We don't take the democratic protest of the bourgeois liberals against the Trump government seriously, as they themselves have implemented such racist and imperialist policies in the past (and are still implementing them in Europe) against both the workers at home as well as against our oppressed brothers and sisters in the semi-colonial world. However, the Trump administration, while clearly a tremendous danger for the workers and oppressed and a catalyst for rivalries between the imperialist powers, at the same time also objectively (albeit unintentionally) constitutes a factor for the mobilization of the masses.

Women in particular were and still are a driving force in the mass mobilizations as we have seen during the inauguration of Trump on 20 January, when more than 5 million people, mainly women, marched world-wide against the new US government. There are already calls circulating for a women's general strike on this year's International Women's Day (8 March) – something the world hasn't witnessed for nearly a hundred years.

Less than a month ago there was a mass strike of migrant workers in the US on 16 February, the „Day Without Immigrants.“ Indeed, migrants have played a central role in reviving the militant May Day tradition in the US since 2006. In particular, Mexican brothers and sisters, along with migrants from other Latin American countries, brought the May Day tradition back to the US. It is the vital labor movement of Latin America which, through militant migrant protests, is enlightening the stiffened traditions of the US. Given Trump's attacks on Mexico specifically and migrants in general, it's no wonder that the new Trump Era provokes mass popular protests in Mexico and other countries of Latin America!

In October 2016 tens of thousands of women marched under the slogan of „Ni Una Menos“ (Not One Less) against femicide in Argentina. We have seen similar mass demonstrations in Mexico (*Ni Una Muerta Más*), Bolivia, Chile, El Salvador, Paraguay and Uruguay. In the time of such important and impressive mass movements of women a US president who is known for boasting to „grab her by the pussy“ as well as for his racist slander against Mexican people, is an additional provocative factor.

Thousands have marched against the extremely racist Muslim Ban which was initiated by the Trump government – not only in the US but also in London. The politics of the Trump administration creates automatically a sharp demarcation line and provokes even those people to protest against the reactionary Muslim Ban who have not always been „comfortable“ with a multinational composition of the population respectively who have some issues with Muslim people as such. Even the deep popular mistrust – nurtured by the chauvinist propaganda of the imperialist forces against people of color and mainly Muslim people – is partly broken up amongst broader layers of the population.

However, at the same time we can see an increase of direct and violent attacks against migrants and Muslims as the right wing forces – and with them a relevant part of reactionary elements in the population – feel encouraged by Trump's victory. Along the demarcation line it is the utmost duty of the working class and the oppressed – especially of its vanguard – to uphold the banner of class solidarity. In this it is the duty of us, women workers, urban and rural poor women, to be the role model for our class as we have been already in the past.

It is time to revive our own heroic tradition and to stand together with all oppressed. It is time to stop the imperialist beast, to revive the Arab revolutions, to turn the spontaneous solidarity with people of color and Muslim people into an organized joint struggle, to fight for a proletarian leadership of the emerging new Women's movement as well as to broaden it by including our sisters in the semi-colonial countries who should play a leading role in an international, revolutionary Women's movement. It is time to turn the 8<sup>th</sup> March into a day not only replete with the spirit of the heroic past, but rather with the spirit of a revolutionary present and future. Let us turn the 8<sup>th</sup> March into a day of general strike action! Let us make imperialists worldwide afraid again!

*For a more extensive analysis of the women's liberation struggle we refer readers to the following document:* <https://www.thecomunists.net/oppressed/resolution-womens-liberation/>

**Order RCIT Document's on the Arab Revolution via our Contact Address!**

The image displays four covers of the journal 'Revolutionary Communism', published by the Revolutionary Communist Internationalist Tendency (RCIT). Each cover includes the journal's title, issue information, and a central illustration with accompanying text.

- Cover 1 (July/August 2013):** Features a cartoon of a man with a rifle and a speech bubble saying 'Free at last!'. A large green circle contains the word 'SCAF'. Below the illustration, it reads 'Down with the Military Coup in Egypt!' and 'History: Israel's War in 1967 plus: Pakistan, Syria, Brazil, Venezuela, ...'. A red star with a hammer and sickle is in the bottom left corner.
- Cover 2 (September 2013):** Features a cartoon of a man in a military uniform being executed. Below the illustration, it reads 'The Military Coup in Egypt Analysis, Program & the Failure of the Left'. A red star with a hammer and sickle is in the bottom left corner.
- Cover 3 (March 2015):** Features a portrait of a woman wearing a headscarf. The headline is 'Arab Revolutions at the crossroad'. A red star with a hammer and sickle is in the bottom left corner.
- Cover 4 (June 2013):** Features a black and white photograph of a group of people, likely refugees. The headline is 'Palestine: Al-Nakba and the 1948 War Permanent Revolution today'. Below the photo, it says 'plus Open Letter for Revolutionary Unity'. A red star with a hammer and sickle is in the bottom left corner.

# The Revolutionary Struggle against Daesh and the Imperialist Aggression in the Middle East

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 28.02.2017*

1. The emergence of *Daesh* (which is the Arabic abbreviation of *al-Dawlah al-Islāmiyyah fi al-Iraq wa al-Shām* or the *Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant*) has created enormous dangers for the Arab Revolution and at the same time provoked ongoing military aggression by the imperialist Great Powers in the Middle East. It is essential for revolutionaries to have a correct and precise understanding of this organization as well as of the appropriate tactics to be used in relation to it.

2. The historic origins of *Daesh* go back to the aftermaths of imperialist occupation of Iraq in 2003. In October 2004 a group called *Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad* (English: Organization of Monotheism and Jihad) led by the Jordanian national Abu Musab al-Zarqawi pledged allegiance to Osama bin Laden and became *Al-Qaeda in Iraq* (AQI). Al-Zarqawi adopted a Salafi-Takfiri ideology (one that espouses physical Jihad, while at the same time basing itself on returning to what it conceives as "true" Sunni Islam and accusing Muslims of other persuasions of being apostates or infidels), and combined resistance to the US occupation with an extreme sectarian policy aimed at the expulsion and mass killing of Shiites. His extreme sectarian policy was even criticized by Osama bin Laden who wanted to focus the terrorist struggle against the imperialists and their local agents and not against the Shiite civilian population. In short, AQI acted as a backward, sectarian and reactionary force inside the anti-occupation resistance, since it obstructed the construction of an alliance of the Sunni and the Shia workers and peasants against the imperialist occupiers.

3. For some time, Al-Zarqawi succeeded in rallying the support of many Sunni tribes in the Al-Anbar province of Iraq against the US occupation forces. However, its extreme sectarian policy, as well as its extremist interpretation of the Sharia law, caused many conflicts with the Sunni tribes and the resistance forces in general. Furthermore, US forces invested huge sums to undermine the support by the tribal leaders for AQI so that it could isolate and expel the group (the so-called "*Anbar Awakening*"). Al-Zarqawi was killed by the Americans in 2006, and after his death his group united with others and formed the *Islamic State of Iraq* (ISI).

4. Al-Zarqawi's sectarian policy played a counter-revolutionary role, as it objectively helped the US occupation forces and their Iraqi puppet government under Shiite Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki, as it divided the Sunni and Shia popular masses. As a result, al-Maliki was able to recruit followers for his militias which fought against the anti-imperialist resistance.

5. However, the claim, disseminated by those centrists who tail Russian Imperialism, that Al-Zarqawi was an American agent and that his group was controlled by US imperialism is utter nonsense. As revolutionary Marxists, we must differentiate between a given group, the reactionary policy of which objectively helps the interests of its enemy, and a group which actually operates under

the auspices and instructions of this enemy. For example, while the Stalinist parties and partisans collaborated with the Anglo-American imperialism during World War II, they were *not* agents of the latter. In fact, in the case of Iraq, the US together with the Iraqi government killed and imprisoned many leaders and militants of AQI. However, as we stated above, their counter-revolutionary, sectarian policy objectively aided the imperialist occupiers.

6. After a massive setback of AQI in Iraq, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who took over the group in 2010, recruited many ex-Baathist Iraqi soldiers and officers. He also extended the area of operation into Syria after the beginning of the revolution there in 2011. In April 2013, al-Baghdadi announced his intention to will combine his forces in Iraq and Syria with *Jabhat an-Nusra li-Ahli ash-Shām* (al-Nusra Front) and renamed his group "*The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant*." However, this merger was rejected by the al-Nusra Front. This provoked a long and bitter armed conflict between the two groups and led to the split of ISIL from Al-Qaeda.

7. In 2014, *Daesh* experienced a rapid expansion as it captured the Sunni-dominated Iraqi cities of Al-Fallūjah and Al-Ramādī in January of that year, followed by Mosul – Iraq's second largest city that capitulated without fighting. In addition, *Daesh* succeeded in capturing large parts of Eastern Syria, with the city of Raqqa as its center. After this victory, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi proclaimed a Caliphate. It conquered the oil fields in eastern Syria, allowing them to fund their operations by selling oil in the international black market. They also financed themselves by demanding ransoms for captured citizens of the West. In the areas it controlled, it functioned as a government providing services to the local resident, while implementing its extremist interpretation of Sharia law.

8. *Daesh* acts as a counter-revolutionary force in its frequent, primary targeting of the organizations which are leading resistance struggle (e.g., the Syrian rebels, the Taliban in Afghanistan, al-Shabaab in Somalia) against the imperialist occupation forces or the ruling dictatorships, rather than the main enemy. Consequently, *Daesh* usually constitutes a direct threat for the resistance struggle against imperialism and its puppet dictatorships.

9. From the beginning of the Arab Revolution, all imperialist Great Powers viewed it as a threat to their own economic and political interests in the Middle East. Likewise, they nervously recognized the radicalizing effects of that revolutionary process on the Muslim migrant youth in Europe and America. This radicalization accelerated even more as the Great Powers waged brutal military aggression in Syria and Iraq and intensified their support for reactionary dictatorships. The Great Powers' war against *Daesh* must be understood in this context.

10. As a result, US imperialism, in alliance with the imperialist EU governments and numerous Arab regimes, has created an international, Western force. Its primary goal is to defeat the Arab Spring in general and the Syrian

Revolution in particular under the pretext of combating Daesh. Similarly, for its own geopolitical reasons, Russian imperialism's intervention in Syria is also carried out under the pretext of fighting against Daesh "and other terrorists" (the term with which the imperialists usually dub the popular rebel forces). In December 2016, the Pentagon announced "*that some 50,000 Islamic State fighters have been killed since the United States started battling the group more than two years ago*" — Reuters/Alaa Al-Marjani: US officials estimate that some 50,000 Islamic State fighters have been killed so far (Dec 8, 2016 <http://mobile.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSKBN13X28N>). During the same month, Russia claimed to have launched 71,000 airstrikes which were supposed to have eliminated 35,000 "terrorists" (in fact mostly civilians and rebels) — (Russian Warplanes Eliminate 35,000 Terrorists in Syria, 2016-12-22, <https://southfront.org/russian-warplanes-eliminate-35000-terrorists-in-syria/>) In other words, the imperialists themselves admit that they have killed at least 85,000 "terrorists" in Iraq and Syria in the past two years.

11. This demonstrates once more that, contrary to the claims of various Islamophobic centrists who try to justify their adaption to imperialism, Daesh is *not* a secret agent of US imperialism. In fact, Daesh is a bitter enemy of the Iraqi government which is supported by Washington with money, weapons, its air force and thousands of elite soldiers. Daesh is also a bitter enemy of the Kurdish militias both in Iraq as well as in Syria, which are supported by the US air force and hundreds of NATO "military advisers." Thus, we see, Daesh is clearly a reactionary petit-bourgeois organization fighting with fanatical religious, sectarian, counter-revolutionary means against, on the one hand, democratic and national forces opposed to the imperialist occupation and reactionary puppet dictatorships and, on the other hand, against the Great Powers and the forces they back.

12. Marxists reject explanations of historical and social movements as being the product of secret conspiracies by the Great Powers. A Marxist explanation must begin by analyzing the political and social developments in the region (as well as in the imperialist societies) in recent years. Restating the RCIT's analysis of Daesh and tactical conclusions as we have developed them in our document *World Perspectives 2017*, we state that the emergence of such reactionary forces like the Salafi-Takfiri *Daesh* has been the *product of demoralization* among sectors of the youth and the rural poor resulting from the defeats of the Arab Revolution. In addition, the intensifying Islamophobic racism and the dire outlook for Muslim migrant youth in the imperialist metropolises are pushing a sector of them into the arms of Daesh. Furthermore, the imperialist war-drive in Syria and Iraq under the banner of "War against IS" and the massive state repression (Muslim youth in Europe are thrown into prison for only sharing a video of Daesh on Facebook!) increase the credibility of Daesh in the eyes of some Muslims as a "revolutionary" and "anti-imperialist" force. These factors — defeats and demoralization, the intensifying Islamophobia, and the imperialist war and repression — are the main sources of strength of Daesh, and *not* the supposedly secret support of US imperialism or Assad, as many silly leftists claim who replace Marxist political class analysis with obscure conspiracy theories.

13. Daesh's social composition is dominated by a coalition of sectors of the impoverished petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the urban and rural poor. Its policy represents a strange combination of shades of ideological adherence to the struggle against the "infidel" dictators — the driving force of the Arab Revolution — with unlimited counter-revolutionary (one could even say "fascistic") hatred and repression against each and every form of democratic rights and popular self-governance, in fact against all non-Muslims and even all other strands of Muslims outside of their own sect. Where they establish power, it takes the form of an outright theocratic sectarian dictatorship — in fact its basis is a "deal" with the local bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie: While Daesh usurps complete political and ideological power and imposes its rules with terrorist might it ensures security for the owners of private property. Reports from Daesh-controlled territory show that the highly centralized character of Daesh's "Caliphate" and the qualitatively less corrupt nature of the Daesh fighters (given their religious commitment) have created more security in public life for many people (provided they submit to Daesh's strict cultural rules) than this has been the case in areas controlled by Assad or the Bagdad government with all their highly corrupt and rivalling militias. The main desire of Daesh's leadership is to establish their small "Caliphate" (one could characterize this as an Islamist version of the Stalinist utopia of "socialism in one country"). Such a "Caliphate" represents a theocratic and terroristic dictatorship of a petty-bourgeois, Salafi-Takfiri elite on the basis of a capitalist economy (dominated by small property owners). Hence, Daesh's vision of a caliphate is nothing else than a dictatorship on the basis of keeping the capitalist property relations — in other words, precisely the opposite of the political freedom for which the workers and poor in Syria and Iraq are fighting.

14. Despite its (counter)-"revolutionary" rhetoric, this is basically a conservative project and from this flows the principal desire for accommodation with the ruling class by Daesh's leadership. This is, however, completely utopian, as the whole dynamic of the Arab Revolution, as well as the advancing counterrevolution, leaves no place for such a petty-bourgeois reactionary utopia.

15. Daesh is an outright and direct enemy of the working class, and must to be defeated by the workers and peasants of the region. Daesh needs to be driven out of every movement which resists imperialism. Its attacks on forces which are fighting against US-imperialism in Afghanistan, including the Taliban, demonstrate how urgent this task is.

16. However, it is important to understand the contradictory nature of Daesh in a dialectical way. It would be wrong to equate Daesh with such counterrevolutionary reactionary forces like the *Basij* militia in Iran, which is simply a tool of the ruling class which has held power for decades. Nor would it be correct to equate it with fascist forces like the UDF loyalists in Northern Ireland, which have their origins in the struggle to keep the British imperialist occupation and the sectarian privileges in place. Daesh neither represents an established ruling class or an imperialist power, but has emerged as a reactionary product of a revolutionary process.

17. The RCIT's main policy towards Daesh is that it

must be fought as a counterrevolutionary force. Only in situations where Daesh is forced to militarily fight against imperialist forces, only in such exceptional situations, would we support its military victory while continuing to denounce it and fight against it politically. In other words, we lend support to the military struggle of Daesh against the imperialist forces but at the same time it is crucial to denounce Daesh as counter-revolutionaries and to unmask their true nature. While in certain situations they might be forced to oppose the forces of imperialism, their program and their strategy can in no way be characterized as anti-imperialist. Furthermore, one cannot exclude the possibility that they seek negotiations with the Great Powers. The workers, peasants and poor of Syria and Iraq are the *only* force which can really defeat imperialism. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen all those rebel forces closely connected with the popular masses. Clearly, with the exception of situations involving direct confrontation between the imperialist forces and Daesh, the struggle against Daesh remains of primary importance.

18. In summary, Daesh represents an arch-reactionary, petty-bourgeois force based on the extremely sectarian Salafi-Takfiri ideology. It is an outright and direct enemy of the working class. However, we emphasize that the biggest murderer of the Syrian people is *not* Daesh but the Assad regime and their imperialist backers! We, therefore, strongly reject the imperialist, Stalinist and centrist myth that the main character of the Syrian civil war is the war against Daesh. In fact, this is a subordinate element! Revolutionaries support the struggle of the Syrian rebels against Daesh (but certainly not the military campaign of Assad's mercenaries or of the Bagdad government). Likewise, we support the struggle of Kurdish rebels where they defend Kurdish territory, but not where they advance as lackeys of US and Russian imperialism (e.g., in their attempts to attack Raqqa). Hence, we reject the widespread uncritical praise for the petty-bourgeois nationalist YPG/PKK by most of the Stalinist and pseudo-"Trotskyist" left, as this organization is closely aligned with US and Russian forces, which have hundreds of their "military advisers" among its ranks. In fact, the Stalinist and centrist hype for the YPG/PKK leadership is nothing but a camouflaged adaption to imperialism. However, we continue to support the Kurdish liberation struggle - for a free, red Kurdistan! We call upon Kurdish revolutionaries to combat any involvement by the imperialist Great Powers.

19. Daesh's origins in the struggles against dictatorships, state repression in Europe, and the ongoing imperialist war-drive against, all help Daesh to gain some credibility and popularity among sectors of the impoverished layers. Revolutionaries in Europe should oppose the state repression being directed against the migrant youth. Likewise, revolutionaries should stand for the defeat of the Great Powers in any confrontation with Daesh. A defeat for the Great Powers at the hands even of such a reactionary force like Daesh would be a step forward for the global struggle against imperialism, and not a step backward. In contrast to the revisionists, we base our politics on Trotsky's position that Marxists even defend "fascists" against the "democratic" imperialists, As he wrote at the end of the 1930s: "*I will take the most simple and obvious example. In Brazil there now reigns a semi-fascist regime that every revolutionary can only view with*

*hatred. Let us assume, however, that on the morrow England enters into a military conflict with Brazil. I ask you on whose side of the conflict will the working class be? I will answer for myself personally—in this case I will be on the side of "fascist" Brazil against "democratic" Great Britain. Why? Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the contrary should be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship. The defeat of England will at the same time deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the revolutionary movement of the British proletariat. Truly, one must have an empty head to reduce world antagonisms and military conflicts to the struggle between fascism and democracy. Under all masks one must know how to distinguish exploiters, slave-owners, and robbers!"* (Leon Trotsky: *Anti-Imperialist Struggle is Key to Liberation. An Interview with Mateo Fossa* (1938); in: *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1938-39*, p. 34)

International Secretariat of the RCIT

*For more articles on Daesh see:*

Yossi Schwartz: Why Revolutionary Marxists Oppose Daesh/ISIL, 15.12.2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/marxists-vs-daesh/>

*For our analysis of the Arab Revolution we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents on the Africa and Middle East section of our website:* <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>

*In particular we refer readers to the following documents:*

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 18 December 2016, Chapter IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/part-4/>

RCIT: World Perspectives 2016: Advancing Counterrevolution and Acceleration of Class Contradictions Mark the Opening of a New Political Phase. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 23 January 2016, Chapter IV.2. Counterrevolutionary Offensive: The Retreat of the Arab Revolution Continues Despite Heroic Popular Struggles, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/part6/>

RCIT: Revolution and Counterrevolution in the Arab World: An Acid Test for Revolutionaries, 31 May 2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-arab-revolution/>

## For the Iranian Revolution!

### Down with the capitalist Mullah dictatorship! Down with Imperialism! For a working class revolution in Iran!

*Action Platform for Iran by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), February 2017*

1. Iran is a capitalist semi-colonial country. It is ruled by a bourgeois class which utilizes the huge state-capitalist sector (about 60% of the economy) to enrich themselves and to finance the huge repressive state apparatus which they need to control their own people. Iran is a semi-colony. This means that, while formally independent, it is in fact strongly dependent economically on the world market dominated by the imperialist multinational corporations and is subordinated in world politics to the imperialist Great Powers: the US, EU, China, Russia, and Japan. It is particularly dependent on its income from oil exports which make up 24% of its entire annual economic output (GDP) and 88% of its total exports. Like other semi-colonies, Iran suffers super-exploitation by the imperialist monopolies – in particular by being forced to sell its oil exports at a lower price. While Iran is attempting to become a regional power, it in particular needs to remain subordinate to the rising imperialist powers, China and Russia. Iran increasingly acts as a policeman of imperialism in the region, as its interventions in Syria and Iraq against the rebellious masses demonstrate very clearly.

2. Iran is ruled today by a reactionary bourgeois-Islamist regime currently led by Chamene'i and Rohani. This regime oversees and enforces the systematic exploitation of the working class and suppresses any form of independent trade unions. It oppresses the numerous

national minorities like the Azerbaijanis, Lurs, Kurds, Ahwazi Arabs, Balochs and others, and it suppresses women and youth. This reactionary regime came to power after the betrayal and misleading of the heroic revolution of the workers and youth in 1979 by Banisadr as well as by the leaderships of Tudeh, the People's Mujahedin and the Fedaiian.

3. The exploitation and oppression of the working class, the poor peasants, the national minorities, the women and youth can only be abolished by a successful socialist revolution. Such a revolution must not be merely a coup d'état, but a mass armed uprising of the workers and the popular masses to overthrow the dictatorship. The goal of the revolution must be the establishment of a workers' and peasant republic. In such a republic, the working class and popular masses will rule via direct-democratic councils – Shoras – based in the enterprises, neighborhoods and villages. The economy will no longer serve the capitalists, but will be publicly owned, controlled by the working people and planned in the people's interest. It will radically solve the democratic question, by consistently giving democratic rights to all oppressed people of Iran and combining this with the establishment of social justice, a precondition for real democracy that serves the oppressed.

4. Although the Rohani government poses itself as more liberal, this is mostly an illusion to lure the Iranian

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today

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

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

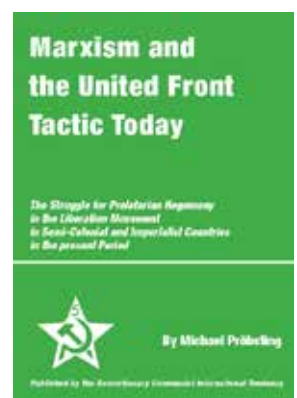
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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

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

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

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





masses as well as to nurture better connections with western imperialism and to open the country to western tourism. The working class and the oppressed detest the reactionary Mullah regime. Despite fierce repression, we have seen in the recent years numerous struggles like the bus-driver strike in Teheran, the mass protests after the 2009 Iranian presidential election (the "Green Movement"), the continued national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people, etc. Revolutionary Socialists support these mass protests against the regime. We fight inside these movements side by side with our brothers and sisters. We struggle inside such movements against the dangerous influence of bourgeois leaders like Mousavi, Rafsanjani and Khatami. The workers' and democratic movement must not serve the interests of any faction of the ruling class. It must fight for its own democratic, anti-imperialist and social goals by establishing action committees of the masses to take up the lead in the struggle. Revolutionary Socialists call for support of the international workers' movement for the progressive activists in Iran.

5. Revolutionary Socialists in Iran and around the world oppose all forms of imperialist pressure and extortion. Iran is victim of the imperialists' greed since its proven oil and gas reserves constitute respectively 10% and 15% of world's known total. We oppose all forms of imperialist sanctions against Iran. We condemn the regular military threats of the US and Israel against Iran, as we witnessed with the latest intimidations by Donald Trump. In the vent of an imperialist attack against Iran, we call for the defense of Iran and the defeat of the imperialist powers. We call for international mass mobilizations against any such imperialist aggression.

6. We stand for international solidarity with the heroic national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people against the Zionist Apartheid state of Israel. We call for the smashing of Israel, the right of return for the millions of Palestinian refugees and the creation of a single workers' and peasant republic in the whole of Palestine, with minority rights for the Jewish population. We support the popular revolution in Syria against the reactionary Assad dictatorship. We sharply condemn the massive support for Assad by the regime of Mullahs in Teheran and the Russian-Iranian military intervention as well as the Western intervention. The Iranian workers and oppressed must demonstrate that they have nothing in common with the Iranian government. We also condemn Iran's support for the sectarian and pro-imperialist Iraqi government in Bag-

dad as well as Iran's intervention in Iraq. We are in solidarity with the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of all oppressed people – whether this be the Afghani struggle against the NATO occupation, the US presence in Pakistan, the French occupation in Mali, the struggle of the Chechnya people against Russian occupation, or the struggle of the Uyghurs against Chinese occupation. What we need is an independent revolutionary struggle against all great powers and oppressors!

7. The struggle for liberation within Iran, as well as internationally, can only be won if we build a revolutionary socialist party nationally and internationally. Only such a party can give the necessary leadership for those struggles. Only such a party can transmit the socialist program to the masses. It is therefore the central task of all consistent revolutionary forces to focus on building such a party. The RCIT urges all revolutionaries, especially in Iran, to fight together for the founding of such a party.

Specifically, what we are fighting for in Iran, as elsewhere, is expressed in the following slogans:

*\* No to the privatization of public enterprises! No to price liberalizations and cuts in food subsidies!*

*\* Expropriate the rich and use their wealth for social programs and a public employment program!*

*\* For the right to set up independent trade unions!*

*\* Free all political prisoners!*

*\* Self determination for the national minorities in Iran, including the right to secede!*

*\* Liberate women from all religious restrictions, dress codes, and male tutelage. Stop state interference in the sexual life of the people!*

*\* Build Shoras and self-defense units to fight against the regime!*

*\* Down with the reactionary bourgeois-Islamist regime of Chamene'i and Rohani!*

*\* Down with Iran's role as a regional policeman for imperialist powers (like Russia and China)!*

*\* For a revolutionary constituent assembly!*

*\* For a workers' and peasants' government!*

*\* For international working class solidarity with the Iranian workers' and democratic movements!*

*\* No to imperialist sanctions and war against Iran!*

*\* For a socialist federation of the Middle East!*

*\* For the founding of a revolutionary workers' party, as part of a revolutionary, Fifth Workers International!*

*Workers and Oppressed, Unite!*



## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

**Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?**

**Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism**

**Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism**

**Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:**

**Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism**

## Freedom, Equality and Peace for Ahvaz!

### RCIT Representatives Attend International Symposium for the Ahvaz People

Report (with Pictures and Video) from the RKO BEFREIUNG (Austrian Section of the RCIT), 13th February 2017

The Ahvaz Community organized on 10 February a symposium in Vienna about the living conditions of its people, about the political situation in Iran, and the importance of the struggle for equal rights and freedom. The Arabic speaking Ahvaz people are one of many minorities in Iran which are oppressed by the Iranian regime both with regard to their democratic rights as well as their being driven into poverty and miserable living conditions.

Michael Pröbsting, the International Secretary of the RCIT, was invited by the organizers to attend the symposium as one of the speakers. In his speech (given in English), comrade Pröbsting highlighted the importance of international solidarity of workers and all the oppressed with the cause of the Ahvaz people. He attacked the Iranian regime as a capitalist dictatorship and warned against the policies of any of the imperialist Great Powers.

Several other speakers of differing political views, as well as journalists, also contributed as speakers in the symposium, and a lively political discussion was held on the general development of the Arab revolutions.

We in the Austrian section of the RCIT have been collaborating in practice with the Ahvaz community in Austria for more than a year. We are in complete solidarity with the cause of the Arabic speaking people of the Ahvaz in their struggle for full equality, freedom and peace, and we support their right of national self-determination. However, our support is part of a broader revolutionary strategy. Hence, we combine the support for the national rights of the Ahvaz people with a perspective of socialist revolution and reject placing any hopes in a constructive role that might be played by the United Nations or similar institutions.

The symposium on 10 February strengthened our collaboration with the Ahvaz community, and in particular it initiated further discussions on political perspectives that

are not limited to the cause of our Ahvaz brothers and sisters, but which emphasize positions common to all workers and oppressed in the Arab world.

*Freedom, Peace, Equality for the Arab people of the Ahvaz!  
Long live international solidarity!*

*To view the speech of comrade Pröbsting (in English) click the following link:*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6VVwu7cx8XY>

*To view some pictures from the symposium click below:*

<https://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/ahvaz-symposium-10-feb/>



Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, speaks at the International Symposium for the Ahvaz People on 10 February

## Order RCIT Document's in Arab Language



## Rally in Solidarity with the Ahvaz People

**Down with the reactionary dictatorship in Iran! No to imperialist interference!**

*Report (with Pictures and Video) from the RKO BEFREIUNG (Austrian Section of the RCIT), 19th February 2017*

The Ahvaz Community organized on 17 February a rally in front of the United Nations office in Vienna (Austria). About 150 people protested against the discrimination of the Arabic speaking Ahvaz people. The Austrian section of the RCIT was invited to participate in the rally.

Michael Pröbsting, the International Secretary of the RCIT, addressed the rally as one of the speakers. He highlighted the importance of international solidarity of workers and oppressed with the national liberation struggle of the Ahvaz people. He also attacked the Iranian dictatorship and warned against the policies of any of the imperialist Great Powers. Comrade Pröbsting also gave interviews to the representatives of the media.

*Freedom, Peace, Equality for the Arab people of the Ahvaz!  
Long live international solidarity!*

To view the speech of comrade Pröbsting (in German) as well as some pictures of the rally click the following link:

<https://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei-kundgebung-ahvaz-17-feb/>

To view an Arab-language report on the TV Channel Al-Akbarya about the rally with excerpts of an interview with comrade Pröbsting click the following links:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-ShdFjZOHY&app=desktop> (starting at minute 1:00)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zv9C3b9qRU&feature=youtu.be> (starting at minute 1:31)

A report about a recently held international symposium including a speech by comrade Pröbsting (in English) can be viewed here:

<https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/ahvaz-conference/>

To read the RCIT's analysis of the Iranian regime, click here:

<https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/iran-platform/>



Michael Pröbsting gives an interview to Arab-language media (l.); Demonstration for the Ahvaz People on 17 February (r.)

## Freedom for the Chechen People!

### Down with Putin and Kadyrov! Fight against Russian Imperialism!

*Report (with Pictures and Videos) from the RKO BEFREIUNG (Austrian Section of the RCIT), 26 February 2017*

The Chechen migrant community in Austria organized a rally on 23 February in commemoration of the mass deportation of the Chechen people by the regime of Stalin in 1944. As a result of this genocidal act, up to half of the Chechen people lost their lives.

About 100 people participated in the rally. Many activists reported the fears which many Chechen migrants feel when they consider participating in public political events, given the constant threat of repression against their relatives at home by the terrorist thugs of the regime of Ramsam Kadyrov, the local Chechen marionette of Russia's Putin regime.

Michael Pröbsting, the International Secretary of the RCIT, was asked to address the rally as one of the speakers. In his speech, comrade Pröbsting expressed the RCIT's unambiguous solidarity with the Chechen people and their liberation struggle against the oppression of imperialist Russia.

Two days later the Chechen migrant community held a conference in a Viennese hotel which was again dedicated to the memory of victims of the mass deportations of 1944. About 150 people participated in this conference.

Here, too, the Austrian section of the RCIT was invited to

participate and comrade Pröbsting was once again asked to deliver a speech. In his address, he expressed the outrage of the RCIT, as a revolutionary socialist organization, over the brutal oppression of the Chechen and other peoples by the dictatorship of Stalin, as well as that of many communists who opposed Stalinism. He said that, today, the Chechens are facing imperialist oppression by the Putin regime. And, rather than being "terrorism" the resistance of the Chechen people to this oppression is just!

*To view the speeches of comrade Pröbsting (in German) as well as some photographs of the rally and conference, click the following link:*

<https://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/aktionen-tschetschenien-feb>

*You can read a summary of the RCIT's position on the Chechen liberation struggle in Chapter III of our book **Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice -- Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism**. (Go to the subchapter „1994 until Today: The Uprising of the Chechen People against the Russian Occupation“): <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/rcit-party-building-iii/>*



Chechens demand "Russia Out of Chechnya!" at a demonstration in Vienna 23 February 2017

## Platform of the Socialist League of Zimbabwe (Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency)

**W**orkers of the World Unite! You have nothing to lose but your shackles!

1. For the immediate removal of economic sanctions on Zimbabwe! These sanctions imposed by the Western imperialists do not help us to achieve democracy but serve only the colonial interests of the Great Powers!

2. The land should belong to those who work on it! Support the expropriation of big as well as foreign land-owners immediately and without compensation and allocate the land to the Zimbabwean peasants. No compensation for evicted white landowners! For free state-loans for the small and middle peasants! Only the unity of workers and the poor peasants against the rich can open the road to the liberation of the masses of the people!

3. Nationalize all mines and foreign or big companies immediately – under control of the workers. Kick out all corrupt administrators and managers – only the workers can assure that the economy serves the people and not imperialism!

4. For free health and free education! For the creation of jobs and housing for the poor build adequate and decent accommodation for workers as well as schools, hospitals, care homes and similar institutions! For a national public investment and employment plan! We need to give our people a future – this is why everyone who can work should get work. We need to build schools, hospitals, public housing and roads; we need to train nurses, teachers, skilled farmers and engineers! This public program should be financed by massively taxing the rich!

5. For equalization of the wage structure of all governmental officials with the wage structure of the broad mass of the working class – those who represent the people should not live a more luxurious life than the people! Down with corruption!

6. For democratic rights of all people! Full freedom to organize in unions, free speech and press! Full religious freedom for people of all beliefs, down with nationalist or ethnic hatred, everyone should have full rights to practice his or her culture! Only solidarity between all peoples can unify us against our common enemies – the bosses, their imperialist great powers and the state bureaucracy!

7. For the rights of poor working women! Full equality for women and young people! Down with violence against women! Women are an important part of the struggle for a better future!

8. We call on the trade unions, mass organizations of the workers, poor peasants and urban poor to fight for the interest of the broad masses! While we support the unity of action with reformist, populist and centrist forces, at the same time we warn against any illusions in the bureaucratic leaderships! For the formation of a rank and file movement inside the trade unions to organize the ordinary workers independently of the bureaucracy!

9. Down with the regime which is preserving the capitalist system which exploits the popular masses! Despite its claims to be anti-imperialist, the government is collaborating with the Great Powers (China, USA, EU,

etc.). However the regime must be brought down by the workers and peasants – not the great powers and their local agents! Direct colonial oppression will never come back to our country!

10. For the working class to take power it is necessary to build a revolutionary party that can organize the oppressed to be able to rule via popular councils. Such councils are formed by mass meetings in the factories, universities, villages and districts. They elect representatives from their own ranks who will not have any privileges and have to be held accountable by their base.

11. For a government of the workers and poor, based on such popular council and protected by militias of the workers! Forward with the African Revolution! We will liberate our continent from the new colonialism and poverty! For a Socialist Federation of all people in Africa!

12. Liberate Africa from the yoke of imperialist exploitation! Expropriate all multi-national corporations! Down with the interference by all Great Powers like US, EU and China! No military bases of imperialist powers on the continent! Support the resistance of the people against imperialist crusaders and their local allies (Mali, Somalia, etc.)!

13. For international solidarity with the struggle of all oppressed worldwide! Solidarity with the South African miners and metal workers, the heroic Palestinian people, the ongoing Syrian revolution, all people who fight against imperialism, the struggle against racism in Europe and the US, the fighting women of India and our brothers and sisters who fight for their future all over Africa!

14. We believe that the problems facing Zimbabwe and indeed the world such as environmental depredation, the systematic waste of public resources for private and personal profit, persistent unemployment and the unequal distribution of wealth, power and income are a result of the capitalist system. We see socialism as a new social and economic order in which workers and consumers control production for the benefit of all humanity, not for the private profit of the few.

15. For a global socialist mass movement of the working people and peasants that can truly change the world! We are dedicated to building an authentic revolutionary organization to struggle for the rights of the workers and poor! Support the building of the RCIT! For a revolutionary Fifth International of the world working class (World Party of Socialist Revolution)!

***Down with Imperialism, Capitalism and Oppression!***

***Forward with the African Revolution!***

***Forward with the workers struggle!***

***Forward with building a revolutionary party in Zimbabwe and worldwide!***

## Venezuela: Present Realities

*By Corriente Comunista Revolucionaria (Venezuela section of RCIT), January 25th 2017*

### Introduction

1. Capitalism entered a new historical cycle of crisis, characterized by dramatic decline in productive forces and increasing contradictions inherent to the system. The class antagonism between capital and labor continues to deepen, making inevitable economic, political and social explosions.

2. Actually the world is dominated by big monopolists powers that oppress and exploit to working class. Latin America is a region of semicolonial and super-exploited countries by these big monopolists powers that, as a result of this spoliation, have subjected popular masses to hardest poverty levels and have led these countries in region to severe debt crisis, devaluations, bankruptcy and inflation.

3. For that reason, impact of inner-imperialist contradictions (mainly between US, EU, Japan, Russia and China) becomes more evident and severe the crisis of capitalist system. Consequently, increases the capacity of super-exploitation and oppression that imperialist monopolies have in semicolonial countries. It is not possible to completely solve fundamental problems if working class doesn't destroy capitalist system.

### Venezuelan capitalism

4. Venezuela is a semi-colonial capitalist country that is immersed in a structural crisis, consequence of rentier, monoproducer and multi-importer economic model on which there is not real prospect of overcoming. The current cycle of Venezuelan crisis is marked by two general elements,

\* Non-diversified economy dependent on oil revenues and,

\* Monopoly by bourgeoisie on main means of production.

5. Remaining within capitalism's limits, Venezuela depends entirely on movement in world oil market and policies dictated by OPEC. Strategic economic sectors were abandoned such as agriculture and industry or reduce their importance for replacing production by imports.

6. The bourgeoisie in Venezuela deeply rooted to US imperialism and its dictates has monopoly over means of production. This gives them power to manage the market at their whim, reduce supply of products and generate shortage with consequent increase in prices. These methods are traditional for parasitic bourgeoisies in states where they cannot have direct political domination.

7. The Venezuelan bourgeois appropriated all surplus value that steals from the working class and does not reinvest it to strengthen its own productive apparatus, resulting in important affectations for general capacity of production. The Maduro's government has not been successful in establish controls and reforms to prevent from bourgeoisie strangling the economy, entrenched to terrible illusion that such reforms could be sustainable, something impossible when capitalist class controls the means of production. For that reason, they have created the "National Council of Productive Economics" with intention to negotiate and try to reach agreement with bourgeoisie. Something that, by the way, has not worked either.

8. All these factors have created a hard situation that directly attacks to working class, who pays the consequences: shortages and endless lines to find food, rampant speculation, precarious and insufficient wages due to inflation (which exceeded 475% in 2016 and forced Maduro's government to make changes in monetary cone). Today, more than ever, Venezuelan working class is faced with alternative "socialism or barbarism".

## Comunismo Revolucionario

### Spanish-language Journal of the RCIT

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

**Order the journal via our contact address: [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net)**

### PSUV and MUD: Contradictions and power

9. MUD and PSUV have exacerbated their contradictions and entered to a new stage in fight for power. On the one hand, PSUV tries by all possible means to maintain dominion over the state which internally has deep contradictions through a “leftist” government that uses “socialist” rhetoric while applying reforms that do not directly attack structural problems affecting the masses, trapped within capitalism limits. On the other hand, MUD takes advantage over control that bourgeoisie associated to its right-wing parties have on the means of production to induce higher levels of crisis, they have succeeded for materializing victories in election spite of disagreements to distribute power quotas and influence and constantly prepares reactionary attacks aimed at overthrowing Maduro’s government.

10. Recent history has shown that “progressive” or “leftist” governments like Venezuela’s one have failed to break with capitalism, making themselves unable to prevent their countries from becoming victims of deep recessions. In fact, all these governments are populist or popular front that have yielded economic power or have allowed capitalist class to conserve it, condemning working class and oppressed to bourgeois system. However, a right-wing government would represent a serious setback for working class. Their programs of adjustments, privatizations and austerity are designed to annihilate all social and democratic conquests achieved by

popular masses in struggle (just like Macri did recently in Argentina and Temer in Brazil). The central task for Venezuelan working class consist of need to find full political independence to overcome dramatic leadership crisis and neutralize reactionary offensives of ruling classes.

### Class independence and revolutionary party

11. The thing about political independence of working class is crucial for this stage of reaction and exacerbation in class struggle. The workers’ vanguard and all true revolutionaries must break with reformist, populist or centrist organizations and tendencies. These deviations block the advance of socialist cause.

12. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* calls for Venezuelan working class to form an independent revolutionary combat party with a clear program based on concrete perspectives for abolition of capitalist exploitation relations and liberation of exploited and oppressed, that determines the way until final conquest of power.

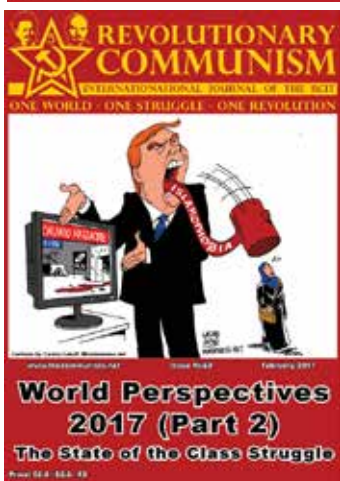
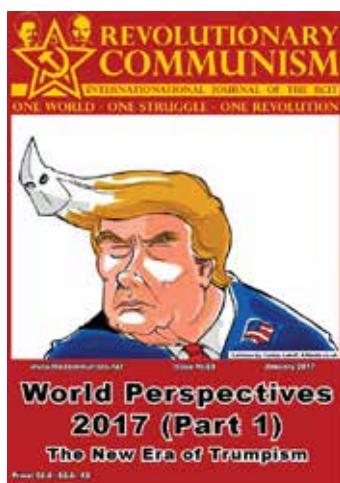
*No future without socialism!*

*No socialism without a revolution!*

*No revolution without a revolutionary party!*

*Corriente Comunista Revolucionaria - Venezuela section of RCIT*

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## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism

Introduction \* I . A New Political Phase Has Opened: The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class in the Era of Trumpism \* II. Some Theoretical Question about the New Political Phase \* III. The Great Power Rivalry and Its Consequences for World Politics \* IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution \* V. Class Struggle in the US after Trump’s Victory \* VI . The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class and the Resistance in Latin America \* VII. Imperialist Interference and the Struggle for Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa \* VIII. Europe in the Era of Chauvinism, Militarization and Brexit \* IX. Russia: Victorious Outcome of NATO’s Cold War \* X. China: Strengthened as a Great Power but Before a Serious Recession \* XI. The Class Struggle in Asia \* XII. Perspectives for Building of the Revolutionary World Party Today \* Footnotes

*Published as two special issues of RevCom with altogether 56 pages, A4 Format*

## France: Nique la Police, avenge Theo!

### Throw the racist police out of the Banlieues, build self-defense committees and organize mass protests of the workers and oppressed!

By Johannes Moraga, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 27 February 2017

#### The Terror of the French Police

A few weeks ago, French police officers, who have a long history of killing and harassment, in particular migrant working class youth of the suburbs of Paris and other cities, raped 22-year-old Theo, a black brother with no criminal record. While Theo was in police custody, officers beat, tear-gassed and anally raped him with a police-baton. The terrorist pigs who so violently abused Theo also shouted racist insults at him during his ordeal. After the story went viral, the lying police even went so far as to call the crime an "accident." Theo suffered from serious injuries and had to be rushed to hospital. This horrible, brutal incident is not an isolated one, as the capitalist press and the social-democrats would want us to believe. Rather it is a manifestation of systemic police oppression against the poor masses in great cities.

This particular incident is yet another in the long brutal war that imperialist France is conducting against the French working class, as well as against migrant youth and the oppressed peoples of Africa and the Arab world; but no less so, the ongoing systematic oppression of Muslims in France by the police and the vile racist bourgeois state. In the France of today, a black brother is six times more likely to be stopped by the police than a white one is; and an Arab brother is eight times more likely. (1)

Systemic Islamophobia, the oppression of the migrant youth, the brutal violence against workers' strikes and the military aggression overseas (in Mali, Central Africa, Syria, Iraq, etc.) are merely different weapons in the arsenal of the French ruling class, all of which are directed against the oppressed. They are waging war against us; and we, the working class, the poor, the migrants, the black and Muslim people as well as the peoples of Africa and the Middle East, need to unite and fight a joint battle to defend ourselves and our future.

It is encouraging to see the massive spread of the protests in solidarity with Theo – starting from demonstrations in suburbs to regular marches in cities all over France, including Paris. Most recently the protests reached a new level with many schools being barricaded. The RCIT wholeheartedly welcomes this uprising!

#### How to organize resistance?

Naturally the suffering of Theo and the constant provocative and racist behavior of the police which is behaving no differently than a force of occupation in the Banlieues (suburbs) sparked protests and small, locally isolated uprisings. It is very clear that the French state sees the police as an occupation force against the working class and migrant districts themselves – that's why they call them field brigades and use mostly white officers who are from far away cities and regions. The first instinct of the poor and migrant youth was to throw the police out of their

districts. This is what happened in 2005 in Paris after the murder of Zyed Benna and Bouna Traoré; in London 2011 after the murder of Mark Duggan; in 2014 in Ferguson after the murder of Michael Brown; and in 2015 in Baltimore after the murder of Freddie Gray.

This reflex in response to long-term oppression, which explodes after a single, particularly outrageous police-crime, is natural and deeply justified. But if we want to succeed in stopping the racist police and their terrorization of the masses of our black and migrant brothers and sisters we need to be organized! It is not enough to attack the police and to try to drive them out of the districts at the night. As long as we don't have organized self-defense units in our communities to drive the police out and keep them out, and to start to organize order that is in the interest of the community, we will have more Theos, Bounas, Zyeds and Adamas in the future!

It is also important to spread the movement, as we already have seen in the demonstrations outside of the Banlieues and in solidarity movements in other cities and in the schools. However, it is crucial to extend the movement to the workers! A crucial link to this should be the Arab and black workers who suffer the same violence and who are particularly over-exploited! Thousands of workers have had their own (bad) experiences with the violent, terrorist police during the strikes against the labor reform last year. So now it is doubly important to fight *together* for justice, against racist oppression and for more rights for the workers and poor! We call upon the trade unions, the PCF, NPA and LO to organize strikes in solidarity with the migrant youth and organize joint protests! It is vital that the workers' movement actively supports the migrant youth in their struggle, so they don't stay isolated like in 2005!

#### No to pacifism and illusions in the state – for a revolutionary way forward!

The revolutionary answer to the ongoing racist crimes of the police must be clear and offer a perspective of struggle for the militant migrant youth! It must go beyond condemning the crimes and pointing out their systemic nature (even the reformists and liberals can do this). The revolutionary answer must say clearly what to do, how to defend our class, and how to achieve justice. The two central things to fight for must be, first, to build self-defense units, that don't rely solely on the bravery of the youth, but which are organized; and second, to spread the movement throughout France and especially to the working class in the factories.

The French left, which is mostly quite blind and economic in its perspective to the needs of the masses of black and Arab peoples, has displayed serious weaknesses in this matter. Sadly, the NPA, the *Lutte Ouvrière* and *L'Étincelle* (The Spark) do not call for the formation of self-defense units of the oppressed, nor do they even mention the word



self-defense. And this is in a situation in which thousands of young migrants are fighting against the police to defend themselves and their districts! These forces of the left defend the movement, but don't cross the line from centrism to revolutionary communism. Thus, they go no farther than defending the oppressed and explaining the reasons why they are oppressed, but without demonstrating the militant path towards liberation. A very positive exception to this error among the French left is *Révolution Permanente* (the French Section of the Fracción Trotskista) which calls for throwing the police out of the Banlieus.

Much worse of course is the so called "Communist" Party – the reformist PCF – which has supported the imperialist French state a number of times in its fight against militant resistance, what they call "terrorism" (e.g., supporting the "state of emergency"; supporting imperialist wars in Afghanistan or Iraq, Mali, etc.) The PCF not only doesn't give any perspective for the mass movement, but they even appeal to the capitalist "justice" system, and – insanely – call to recruit 20,000 more cops! (2) Naturally, this is not surprising given the fact that the PCF slandered the militant youth in the 2005 uprising.

What we need is a militant revolutionary party which is rooted in the lower layers of the working class and in par-

ticular among the migrants! It is urgent that revolutionaries in France and throughout Europe stop directing their political work towards white university students and start working in the suburbs, Banlieus and factories! We call upon all genuine revolutionaries to unite under a revolutionary program and to dedicate themselves to building such genuine revolutionary parties and a new World Party which will break with the tradition of white social-chauvinist reformism and the passivity of centrism! We in the RCIT commits all our force to this aim!

***Victory to the Banlieus – throw the police out, build self-defense committees!***

***Extend the movement to the masses of the working class and to the youth!***

***For a revolutionary migrant movement to combat police violence and racism!***

***Down with French imperialism – defeat it at home and abroad!***

#### Footnotes

(1) [https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/search\\_20090630.Web.pdf](https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/search_20090630.Web.pdf)

(2) <http://13.pcf.fr/96702>

## Books of the RCIT

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

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

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

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

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

25 years.

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

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

## Britain: Critically Support for Ian Allinson!

### A Rank and File Candidate Stands in the Election for General Secretary of UNITE

By Joseph Adams, RCIT Britain, 09.01.2017

**L**en McCluskey, the General Secretary of Unite, announced on 7<sup>th</sup> December that he is resigning as General Secretary and seeking re-election in 2017. It was also decided that the executive council would organise the Executive Council elections and the General Secretary election at the same time.

#### ***“Unite confirms the timetable for the general secretary election in 2017***

06 December 2016

*The Executive Council of Unite the Union has today (Tuesday 6 December) agreed that the timetable for the election of the union’s General Secretary will be brought forward to the first months of 2017. This will ensure that the ballot for Executive Council (EC) members and the ballot for General Secretary are conducted simultaneously, minimizing the enormous costs caused to the union by the legal requirement to conduct the ballot by post and not by modern voting methods, thereby saving the union in the region of £1 million. Following a period of candidate nominations, the ballot for both elections will commence on 27 March 2017, concluding on 28 April 2017. General Secretary Len McCluskey immediately tendered his resignation to the Unite EC, announcing his intention to stand as a candidate. The EC also agreed that Assistant General Secretary Gail Cartmail, should become acting General Secretary for the election period. Len McCluskey said: “I intend to be a candidate in the upcoming general secretary election and to submit my record to the vote of Unite members. “Unite’s Executive Council has agreed that my resignation will take effect from 28 April, when the elections for general secretary and the Executive Council itself end. I will remain general secretary until then – after that it is in the hands of the membership.” [1]*

The election which is going to be brought forward will mean that if McCluskey is elected he will be in his 70’s when his term of office ends. McCluskey is part of the labour bureaucracy and during his term of office he has presided over austerity attacks both by the Cameron and May governments.

#### **Treacherous McCluskey Leadership**

His response at every turn has been to betray dispute after dispute and at all costs prevent strike action. The Grangemouth Oil Refinery dispute is an example of where the Unite Leadership capitulated to the INEOS management and agreed to the sacking of the convenor and agreed a no strike deal.

*“This was a rout. One of the best organised workplaces in the country, Grangemouth, suffered one of the worst defeats of the trade union movement in years. Barely a shot was fired. The union was stunned; this wasn’t the dispute they thought it was. Lured into a limited battle over the witch-hunting of a union organiser, the real stakes were quickly revealed when the boss locked workers out of the plant and threatened to close it down. The union’s retreat was humiliating. They conceded everything: pay freezes, an end to final salary pensions, the end of full-time union convenors on site, and no strikes for three years. Employers*

*across the country will look enviously on what Jim Ratcliffe, the billionaire boss of INEOS, has achieved. Why did they lose so badly? After all, this was not the first time that Ratcliffe had gone after the final-salary pension’s scheme. He was comprehensively defeated in 2008. His battle with tanker drivers in March this year met with no greater success.” However, it seems that in March Ratcliffe began planning for a new confrontation, and stockpiling oil reserves to see out any strike. The basis for an offensive was provided by the Falkirk controversy in which Unite officials were supposedly involved in rigging Labour’s selection procedures. It was a candyfloss controversy: mouth-watering, but fuzzy and insubstantial. However, the Labour leadership used it to launch a wide-ranging attack on the union link, forcing the Unite leadership onto the back foot”. [2]*

In December 2016 the Tata steel management presented a deal to the unions at Port Talbot. Both the Unite leadership under McCluskey and Community under Roy Richaus are recommending acceptance although it means that the final salary scheme will go and there will not be a satisfactory Pension scheme in place. The workers are going to be balloted on whether they will accept the deal or not. It is just another example of McCluskey’s leadership. All that has been organised is meetings with the government and one march in Port Talbot when Tata threatened to close all of its plants.

*“A deal to safeguard production at Britain’s biggest steelworks in Port Talbot has been secured with Tata Steel, according to trade unions, including commitments on jobs and £1bn of investment in its wider UK business over the next decade. As part of the rescue package Tata is proposing to close the £15bn British Steel pension scheme, which has become a serious financial burden on the company. In return, the Indian group has committed to keep Port Talbot’s twin blast furnaces running for a minimum of five years and to reinvest in the older of the two. It has also promised to try to avoid any compulsory redundancies over a five-year period. Britain’s steel industry was thrown into uncertainty when Tata Steel announced it wanted to sell its troubled business there in spring. Global oversupply, a wave of cheap imports from countries such as China and a plunge in prices for the metal triggered a crisis last autumn, leading to plant closures and thousands of job losses. The Community, Unite and GMB unions said that they will ballot their members on the proposal in the new year”. [3].*

#### **Reactionary Role of the Labour Bureaucracy**

The RCIT in Britain in its no 11 issue of LIBERATION pointed out the reactionary role of the labour bureaucracy in Britain:

*“The labour bureaucracy of UNITE; the biggest trade union with over 1.4 million members is a crucial agent for the ruling class in the workers movement. The labour bureaucracy constitutes the most reactionary and conservative element in the working class today. It is composed of sell-serving careerists whose role is to police the working class and make it safe for capitalism in order to exploit the most vulnerable and exploited*

sections in society". [4]

Further on we explained why it is important to patiently explain the united front tactic to workers and show that it is only through the rank file organisation that they can challenge the power of the bureaucracy and liberate it from the control of the bureaucracy and ensure proper workers democracy not the sham democracy which means only the General Secretary and the executive council are up for re-election. All other positions are appointed.

Therefore it is crucial that revolutionaries help the workers vanguard to organize a struggle against the labour bureaucracy. In our "Theses on the Trade Unions" we explained:

"Revolutionaries struggle for the expulsion of the labor bureaucracy and its agents from the ranks of the workers' movement. These forces are the biggest obstacle for the working class struggle in the ranks of the workers' movement. Naturally, this is a long-term task involves the application of the united front tactic (calls to the rank and file, but also the reformist leaders for joint actions, etc.). But communists should state clearly that the trade unions can only become an authentic instrument of the working class if they are liberated from the bureaucracy and brought under workers control. (...)

[W]e derive the following set of strategies for revolutionary communists:

i) Building a rank-and-file movement in opposition to the bureaucracy, one which can fight both for more democratic rights and a militant union policy, and which has the goal of liberating the union from the bureaucracy.

ii) Fighting to change the composition of the unions. This involves driving back the influence of the 'aristocratic type' of the upper layer and transforming the unions into an instrument dominated by the 'mass type' of the working class, which means the lower and middle strata – i.e. the huge majority – of the proletariat. "The unionization of the lower strata of the working class (especially the migrants, women, precarious workers, etc.) is an indispensable task. These layers must not, therefore, play the role of the infantry in the union, but should play a central role and should also proportionally be represented in the trade union bodies according to their share among the employees.

iii) Striving to utilize every class struggle to build action committees which organize the militant workers (including the

unorganized workers) independent of the bureaucracy. "In every battle and in preparation for this the Bolsheviks-Communists are therefore keen to establish rank and file committees outside the bureaucratic control. They will often bring together the most active and most militant elements in Action Committees." [5]

**Support for Rank and File Candidates**

Most of the centrist organizations in Britain have nothing to say on this election in Unite. Most of them supported McCluskey in the last election for General Secretary, with the principled exception of the Socialist Workers Party who to their credit supported Jerry Hicks, the rank and file candidate.

If a rank and file candidate decides to stand we would support them as part of our united front tactic.

We therefore propose the following demands.

\* Vote for IAN ALLINSON, the rank and file candidate for the position of General Secretary of Unite. Establish rank and file committees whose aim should be to remove and expel the bureaucracy and elect genuine rank and file militants in positions of leadership like the forthcoming election for the General Secretary in Unite.

\* For an indefinite general strike to bring down this government. Build action committees independent of the bureaucracy. Elect workers defense guards to protect workers who go on strike.

\* For a genuine communist fraction. Support the RCIT Britain in building a revolutionary party as part of a new World Party of Socialist Revolution!

**Footnotes**

- 1) <http://www.unitetheunion.org/news/unite-confirms-the-timetable-for-the-general-secretary-election-in-2017/>
- 2) <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/nov/09/ineos-unite-union-grangemouth-oil-refinery>
- 3) <http://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/uknews/deal-to-safeguard-port-talbot-steelworks-agreed-say-unions/AAIlgKFR?OCID=ansmsnnews11>
- 4) <https://rcit.wordpress.com/liberationno11>
- 5) RCIT-Theses on Revolutionary Trade Union Policy, <https://www.thecommutists.net/theory/theses-trade-union/>

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# Austria: A Small but Important Victory for the Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Struggle!

## Public Prosecution Department Stops Investigation against Michael Pröbsting

Report by the RKOB (Austrian Section of the RCIT), 09.02.2017

The public prosecution department in Vienna informed us that it has closed the investigation against Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT and a leading member of its Austrian section. As we reported, the Austrian State attempted to prosecute comrade Pröbsting for his pro-Palestine and Anti-Zionist views. In April 2016 he was summoned to the *Federal Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution and Counter-Terrorism* (the political police in Austria) to answer charges of "sedition" and "inciting criminal action" (paragraph 282 of the Austrian Criminal Code). Later the public prosecution department in Vienna investigated the case. The background of these accusations was a speech which comrade Pröbsting held at a demonstration and in which he expressed his support for the Palestinian liberation struggle. If a trial would have been opened and if comrade Pröbsting would have been convicted, he could have faced up to one year in prison. (1)

Naturally, we welcome the decision to close the case and thank all supporters both in Austria as well as internationally for their solidarity! (2)

However, it would be naïve to imagine that this would be the end of the witch-hunt against the Austrian section of the RCIT and other pro-Palestinian activists. There have been already a number of attacks on us in the past and, as we reported a few days ago, the extreme right-wing Freiheitliche Party – which is currently leading the polls – has recently put forward an official inquiry in the Austrian parliament. In this inquiry, they accuse the Austrian section of the RCIT as well as the leading organization of the Egypt migrants of "Left-Wing Extremism", "Antisemitism"

and "Radical Islamism". As a consequence, they ask the Federal Ministry of the Interior to officially investigate the two organizations. (3)

We therefore call upon all friends of the Palestinian Liberation Struggle, and all who defend democratic rights, to join our solidarity campaign, to sign our statement of protest and to send it to the Austrian parliament and the Ministry of the Interior. (4)

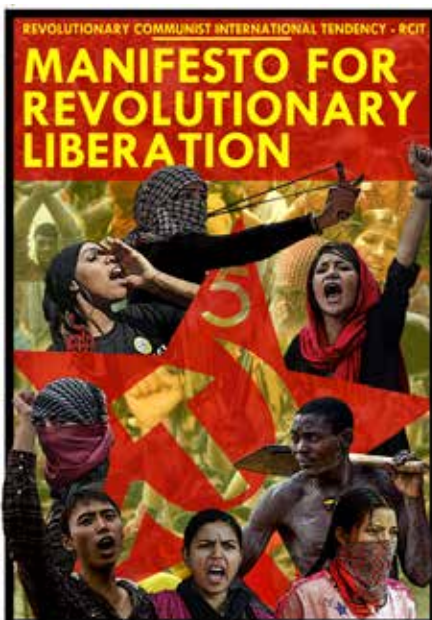
### Footnotes

(1) For more information see: RCIT: Stop Judicial Prosecution for Solidarity with Palestine! <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/solidarity-proebsting/>

(2) The List of Signatories can be viewed here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/list-signatures/>

(3) For more information see: RKOB: Austria: Right-Wing Party Opens Parliamentary Inquiry against the RCIT Section. Biggest Opposition Party smears the Trotskyists for alleged "Left-Wing Extremism", "Antisemitism" and "Radical Islamism" and asks the Federal Ministry of the Interior to officially investigate them, 29.01.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/parliamentary-inquiry-against-rcit-section/>. See also RKOB: Austria: Press Conference on the Right-Wing Campaign against the Austrian Section of the RCIT and the Egyptian Community, 2 February 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/press-conference-rkob-vs-fpo/>

(4) Sign the Call for Solidarity here: RKOB: Stop Prosecution for Solidarity with Palestine and for Opposition against the Military Dictatorship in Egypt! <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/solidarity-rkob-korat/>



## NEW RCIT PROGRAM!

# Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

Adopted at the 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format

## Islam, Islamism and the Struggle for Revolution

Resolution issued by the ISL (Section of the RCIT in Occupied Palestine) and adopted by the IS of the RCIT, November 2016

1. The relationship of communists to religion and religious workers is different from that of the secular social-chauvinists, nationalists, populists and pro-imperialists. Every worker who agrees to act together according to our program belongs in our movement. We see religion (in today's world) as a double edged sword. It can be used to pacify the masses and block their revolutionary advancement, but can also serve as a pretext to objectively rally and unite them in revolt against imperialism, oppression, injustice, etc. In many cases religious leaderships take both roles at the same time, depending on the class character of the leadership as a whole and how much their rank and file pushes them to struggle. Therefore, unlike other organizations on the left, RCIT members are united around its action program and theoretical analysis, which have their roots in the philosophy of Dialectical Materialism - regardless of their private religious thoughts, views and beliefs. In other words, the RCIT welcomes to its ranks atheists, agnostics as well as religious members. This is especially true for religious minorities and those who suffer religious discrimination like Muslims and those of Muslim background in the global north.

2. The decisive aspect in the class struggle is the political opinion and the deeds of activists and oppressed people, not their philosophical beliefs (if they believe in god, or what they think will happen to them after they

die). For us it is important to change the world we live in today and to not to direct our hopes to heaven, paradise, Nirvana or justice by god. We also want to stress the fact that not believing in god in no way guarantees a progressive position in the class struggle: many revolutionary fighters were religious and some of the most reactionary enemies of the working class were and are atheists. Secular regimes can be much more undemocratic and brutal than those with a religious gloss. The central aspects are the political circumstances, the class struggle and not the ideological justification of a dictatorship. For example, even if the political ideology of Laïcité has its origin in the great French Revolution and is preaching the separation of religion and state, today it is mostly used to harass, murder and oppress Arabs, Muslims and other people of color – as it is the “honorable” legacy of French secular imperialism.

3. We consistently fight against every form of hatred against a religion or people. We also staunchly reject the spreading of reactionary Anti-Semitism in both theory and practice. Today, we see Zionism as the leading cause of the spread of such ideas. Let's remember some of the quotes of the founding fathers of Zionism towards Judaism, quotes that are not particularly well known nowadays.

*“Zionism and Judaism are not the same, but two very differ-*

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South

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

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

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

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

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

### The Great Robbery of the South

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

*ent things. Of course they are opposed to each other. He who cannot be Jewish becomes Zionist. Zionism starts from the destruction of Judaism, from a place where people become tired... one thing is clear, Zionism is not a continuation, not a healing but destruction and uprooting. Even more, it incites its opinion between the people, opposes them, goes against their will and spirit, undermines it and uproots it, and breaks into a different road, for a far and specific purpose. Zionism and the few people in her vanguard are the nucleus of a different people. Please be aware, not new and not renewed, but a different. He who doesn't think so either is wrong or is deceiving himself."* (Haim Hazaz, Zionist Novelist)

*"In our national homeland we will declare those Jews who refuse to remove from them the stains of the diaspora and refuse to cut their beards as second class citizens. We would not allow them to vote."* (Jabotinsky, father of right wing revisionist Zionism). And if this is their view of Judaism, the view of Islam is much worse.

4. Muslim workers face sharp oppression in the West - at times, more than any other minority. In their homelands, they are being massacred by, mostly western but also eastern, imperialist forces. In the past, revolutionary communist movements managed to form splits within political Islam. Thus, forming united fronts for joint practical struggle with those who struggle against imperialism and reactionary regimes is critical - regardless of political and religious differences. It is also noteworthy the fact that in the Soviet Union under Lenin - the transitional society between capitalism and socialism - saw no problem in having a choice between both state-funded secular courts and community-funded religious courts. Under Lenin's leadership this was the case in many Muslim-dominated areas.

5. Islamic resistance to imperialism and Zionist colonization has an impressive record of heroism. Dating back to the 1880s the Mahdi was able to defeat Britain in Sudan and win over a couple more years of peace for his people. In Morocco, Abed Al Karim fought fiercely against the Spanish and the French in 1921-26 and paid a heavy price for doing so. In Iran, the Islamists helped topple the pro-western regime of the Shah. In Afghanistan, they have been waging guerilla warfare against the imperialist occupation, turning an easy invasion into a muddy adventure. The same we could see in Chechnya were popular resistance was able to defeat Russia in Grozny. In Palestine, Hamas is the prominent force retaining a certain degree of fighting spirit against Israel. In many countries such movements were repressed. Nasser cracked down upon them with an iron fist, executing and jailing many, including their spiritual guide Sayyid Qutb. In Egypt today general Sisi is trying to eliminate the Muslim Brotherhood altogether. Thus, many Islamist forces have gathered a lot of valuable experience confronting oppression and occupation.

6. Despite all of this, we offer no *political* support to such religious forces. Once victorious, their true class-character reveals itself through the constant willingness to kiss the feet of capitalism and to compromise with one or other great power. In places where the Islamists have come to power, they have used the same mechanisms of oppression against left wing and secular organizations and sometimes have even joined the imperialists - like in Bangladesh, Indonesia and after 1979 in Afghanistan.

Their frequent clashes with imperialism show only that they have a base in the working class, peasants and urban poor, which many secular movements don't have. The reason for this is its seemingly uncompromising appeal to anti-imperialist sentiment, the capitulation of the left in most Muslim countries towards the elitist secular bourgeois-nationalism, and the aura that the Islamists would serve the poor. Revolutionary communists who wish to win over Muslim workers to the proletarian revolution must also consistently fight within the anti-imperialist movement against those forces willing to stop short of the complete and utter defeat of imperialism, while exposing any other elements, Islamic or secular.

7. Today under the banner of the war on terror, more and more Muslim organizations within civil society are subject to surveillance and police harassment. The mainstream western media have been leading defamation and smear campaigns against Islam and Muslims in order to gather public support for imperialist wars of aggression (this is true for EU, US, Russian and Chinese imperialism). As we have seen in the election of Trump, the rise of Le Pen, Farrage and Van Wilders, more and more politicians are building their careers upon this hatred and fear, calling for laws which limit the freedom of religious expression - like the ban on the hijab or the full-body-covering swimsuit in France.

8. The attempt to create truly multicultural societies in the West has largely failed. Some Muslims have illusions that in joining imperialist armies, conducting joint prayers in the White House, etc., they may be able improve their position. Such status, however, is only open to a very small minority. Furthermore, such opportunism hurts poor Muslims in other countries by helping the imperialist super-powers to continue to terrorize Muslim countries and communities - all under slogans of democracy, while denying the racist character of their actions.

9. We as revolutionaries fight for a state in which power is in the hands of the workers and the poor. This can only be achieved by a socialist revolution - which needs to include workers from all religions, struggling together, hand in hand. The people who are most oppressed under capitalism will have a disproportionately higher representation and more rights. In contrast to the imperialist Europe, the US, China and Russia, all of which discriminate against the religion of Muslims, the workers' revolution will grant them full religious rights. It is the duty of all revolutionaries to enthuse religious workers and oppressed with the spirit of revolution. We cannot possibly win if we cast them aside - as so many so called "leftists" arrogantly do under the pretext that the consciousness of our religious brothers and sisters is "*not sufficiently developed.*"

# The Marxist View of Religion in General and Islam in Particular

By Yossi Schwartz (Member of the RCIT and Central-Israel Branch of Balad), December 2016

The attitude of revolutionary socialists towards religion is crucial in the struggle to recruit religious workers to the socialist revolution. Unlike liberal atheists and secularists who see all religions as a manifestation of the stupidity of the ignorant masses, we as Marxists look at the social and class core of any religious group. Thus, we are able to determine that within any religious groups we will find different subdivisions that reflect different and even contradictory class interests. Moreover, we are able to determine how the same class interests manifest themselves across many, seemingly much different, religions.

To give but a few examples: Early Christians were persecuted in Rome, but later on when Christianity became the state-religion, it became a tool of oppression; the Huguenots were a persecuted minority in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, when they settled in South Africa they became part of the oppressive white colonialists; The white churches in South Africa supported Apartheid and black Africans of the same denomination had to worship in Churches for blacks only, Black churches of different denominations opposed the racist regime; Jews who were persecuted in the Russian Empire and in Germany, when they settled in Palestine, became the oppressors of the native Arabs; While the Russian Orthodox Church's establishment vehemently supported the Czar, it was a Russian Orthodox priest named Gapon who led the mass protest in 1905 that began the revolution.

Religion promises the oppressed that after the wretched life they live on earth awaits a better life in heaven. To the upper classes it promises to preserve the social order which secures their rights and privileges as part of a divine plan. As Marxists we support the rebellions of the workers and other oppressed whether they are secular or religious while we oppose the ruling classes secular or religious. Our political fight is not against the idea of religion, but against all forms of privilege and oppression.

## Islamophobia

We live in a period characterized by the deepest economic crisis of the capitalist system. To survive, the ruling classes of the imperialist states not only super exploit the working class in the semi colonies but inflame the hate against Muslims and other minorities in the imperialist states. Today many American Jews are fearful because of the open racism expressed by Trump's supporters. (1)

Many people try to explain the victory of the right-wing-populist Donald Trump. Islamophobia is definitely one of the reasons. (2) A sizeable segment of those who voted for him casted their votes for him because of his speeches against Muslims. An NBC poll conducted in December 2015, found that 25% of Americans supported Trump's Muslim ban. A March 2016 poll indicated greater support, with 51% favoring Trump's Ban "until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on". (3)

Clinton's political message helped this malice. On 19 October in the third presidential debate, Clinton said that the

US needs "to work with American Muslim communities who are on the front lines to identify and prevent attacks." This was not the first time she used such language in her campaign singling out the Muslim community as one which is aware but silent regarding the whereabouts of Islamist terrorists. In her first and second debates, she said: "We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines." (4)

American Muslims don't possess any special knowledge of terrorist attacks. They are simply trying to live their lives in the US. To point out to them as a group with special knowledge about terrorism is to blame them for ISIS activity.

Today the Americans are seeking extreme measures to fight against an extreme economic crisis. Without a radical and revolutionary pole, many of them would drift away to the extreme right.

The American middle class left, like the Communist Party of the USA, the ISO, Socialist Alternative (CWI), claiming to be socialists but tailing Bernie Sanders, who ran on the ticket of the Democratic imperialist party, shamefully contributed to the victory of Trump. Sanders, on November 14<sup>th</sup> blamed Clinton for not being able to reach the white workers. He is right, of course, but he ignores his part in supporting Clinton. (5)

Today the racists in Europe and the US connect Islam with ISIS. ISIS is a reactionary Islamist organization, yet it is able to attract and recruit followers because it is perceived as an organization that fights western imperialist oppression. Furthermore, it is impossible to understand ISIS in separation from the devastating impact of the imperialist war on Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali and the civil war in Syria, where Assad backed by Russian imperialism massacres the civilian population as part of the imperialist counter revolutionary offensive.

The imperialists' propaganda characterized ISIS as a fascist movement. For example, the *Wall Street Journal* applauded Hilary Ben, the British Labor party shadow foreign secretary, who during a speech in December 2015 called British imperialism to join the war against fascist ISIS. Labeling ISIS as fascist, according to the WSJ, contrasts with Democrats in the U.S. tying themselves into politically correct knots to avoid naming the enemy.

"President Obama still refuses to include "Islam" in the same breath as "terrorism." In response to a question during last month's Democratic presidential debate, the candidates all refused to say the U.S. is at war with "radical Islam." Mrs. Clinton demurred by calling the term "not particularly helpful." (6)

## ISIS and the Label of Fascism

The term used by the imperialist propaganda is "Islamofascism," aimed at slandering all Muslims and Islam. Under this term they include Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood and Hezbollah. This term justifies further institutionalized surveillance and targeting of Muslim Europeans and Americans. While there are fascistic elements in the ideology and the practice of ISIS, it is not a fascist organization

as it is not a mass plebeian movement fighting to destroy the working class movement in the service of imperialist capital. Furthermore, even if it was a fascist organization, imperialism is the main enemy of the international working class and humanity.

Trotsky wrote on this question: *"In Brazil there now reigns a semi-fascist regime that every revolutionary can only view with hatred. Let us assume, however, that on the morrow England enters into a military conflict with Brazil. I ask you on whose side of the conflict will the working class be? I will answer for myself personally—in this case I will be on the side of "fascist" Brazil against "democratic" Great Britain. Why? Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the contrary should be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship. The defeat of England will at the same time deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the revolutionary movement of the British proletariat. Truly, one must have an empty head to reduce world antagonisms and military conflicts to the struggle between fascism and democracy. Under all masks one must know how to distinguish exploiters, slave-owners, and robbers!"* (7)

The *New York Times* this March wrote that, in total, more than 1,200 people outside of Iraq and Syria have been killed in attacks inspired or coordinated by the Islamic State. (8) In March 2015 the Washington DC-based *Physicians for Social Responsibility* (PRS) released a landmark study concluding that the death toll from 10 years of the "War on Terror" since the 9/11 attacks is at least 1.3 million, and could be as high as 2 million.

The 97-page report by the Nobel Peace Prize-winning doctors' group is the first to tally up the total number of civilian casualties from US-led interventions in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan [...] According to the figures explored here, total deaths from Western interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan since the 1990s – from direct killings and the longer-term impact of war-imposed deprivation – likely constitute around 4 million (2 million in Iraq from 1991-2003, plus 2 million from the "war on terror"), and could be as high as 6-8 million people when accounting for higher avoidable death estimates in Afghanistan. (9)

### Islamophobia in France

In France the "Burkini ban" was defeated at the French courts, but the Islamophobia pushed by the government and the social-imperialist President Francois Hollande is feeding the propaganda of the far right. There is a real danger that the next government will be led by the National Front (FN) of Marine Le Pen.

The reactionary attacks of ISIS in Nice and Rouen were a gift for the most reactionary segment of the capitalist class exploiting the wave of middle-class and white working class xenophobia.

Muslims in France have been harassed, intimidated, spied on and brutalized by the state. Over 3,500 raids have been conducted; just six of them have led to any terrorism investigation. Mosques have been violently ransacked by the police. No effort has been spared to humiliate and degrade worshippers, for instance, through the deliberate

use of police dogs. Around twenty mosques were simply closed.

Furthermore, it is not only the right wing and the social democrats that push Islamophobia, but the Communist Party and the centrist left seem to have contracted this sickness. Leading members of the *Lutte Ouvrière* (LO) and the *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire* (LCR, Section of the centrist "Fourth International" in the tradition of Ernest Mandel) initiated the idea of the anti-headscarf law of 2004.

They called for the expulsion of two headscarf-wearing young women Alma and Lila Lévy from the school in which both party members taught. The Lévy sisters' expulsion was supported by the Communist mayor of Aubervilliers, the Parisian suburb in which they lived – the very mayor who, around the same time, called the police to remove African migrants from their squat residence.

The well-known Left Party figure and Left Front presidential candidate Jean-Luc Mélenchon has sustained a strongly republican and nationalist position, going so far as to call, in 2011, for the banning of street prayers. Frustration with the ambient racism of the liberal feminist left specifically led in 2003 to the founding of a new group, the movement – and later the Party – of the *Indigènes de la République*, the 'Republic's Indigenous People' (PIR). The PIR sets out to "struggle against all the forms of imperial, colonial and Zionist domination which ground *white supremacy*" in France and internationally. It describes its main goal as:

*"Bringing about, within a single antiracist and decolonizing dynamic, the convergence of all spaces of resistance created by immigrants and their children, people who live in working-class areas, and the populations originally from the dominions and territories. Our aim is to construct an autonomous indigenous political force with the ability to influence the development of French society and public policy."* (10)

During the surprising outbreak of sustained national protest in the 'Nuit Debout' movement, the Nuit Debout did not succeed in appealing to the immigrant-origin populations from whom PIR draw their base. The PIR commented:

*"Nuit Debout had urged the "areas", the "suburbs", and "racialized" people to join the social movement. Nuit Debout wanted to organise marches to the suburbs, so that, finally, the dream of the union of workers, the oppressed, and the under-oppressed would be made real. We replied: the general convergence cannot be decreed; it will happen when you come to join our struggles."* (11)

### Lenin on Religion

Unlike these middle class left, Lenin had a very different attitude towards religion and Muslims. In *"Socialism and Religion"* Lenin wrote that the weakness and the misery of the exploited classes inevitably gives rise to the belief in a better life after death.

*"Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which everywhere weighs down heavily upon the masses of the people, over burdened by their perpetual work for others, by want and isolation. Impotence of the exploited classes in their struggle against the exploiters just as inevitably gives rise to the belief in a better life after death as impotence of the savage in his battle with nature gives rise to belief in gods, devils, miracles, and the*



like. Those who toil and live in want all their lives are taught by religion to be submissive and patient while here on earth, and to take comfort in the hope of a heavenly reward. But those who live by the labor of others are taught by religion to practice charity while on earth, thus offering them a very cheap way of justifying their entire existence as exploiters and selling them at a moderate price tickets to well-being in heaven "[...] a slave who has become conscious of his slavery and has risen to struggle for his emancipation has already half ceased to be a slave. The modern class-conscious worker, reared by large-scale factory industry and enlightened by urban life, contemptuously casts aside religious prejudices, leaves heaven to the priests and bourgeois bigots, and tries to win a better life for himself here on earth."

He continued in the same article and wrote about the attitude of Marxism towards religion:

"Religion must be declared a private affair. In these words socialists usually express their attitude towards religion. But the meaning of these words should be accurately defined to prevent any misunderstanding. We demand that religion be held a private affair so far as the state is concerned. But by no means can we consider religion a private affair so far as our Party is concerned. Religion must be of no concern to the state, and religious societies must have no connection with governmental authority. Everyone must be absolutely free to profess any religion he pleases, or no religion whatever, i.e., to be an atheist, which every socialist is, as a rule. Discrimination among citizens on account of their religious convictions is wholly intolerable. Even the bare mention of a citizen's religion in official documents should unquestionably be eliminated. No subsidies should be granted to the established church nor state allowances made to ecclesiastical and religious societies. These should become absolutely free associations of like-minded citizens, associations independent of the state."

He wrote in the same article about the attitude towards priests:

"However abject, however ignorant Russian Orthodox clergymen may have been, even they have now been awakened by the thunder of the downfall of the old, medieval order in Russia. Even they are joining in the demand for freedom, are protesting against bureaucratic practices and officialism, against the spying for the police imposed on the "servants of God". We socialists must lend this movement our support, carrying the demands of honest and sincere members of the clergy to their conclusion, making them stick to their words about freedom, demanding that they should resolutely break all ties between religion and the police."

Against those who want to include atheism in the revolutionary program he stated:

"That is the reason why we do not and should not set forth our atheism in our Programme; that is why we do not and should not prohibit proletarians who still retain vestiges of their old prejudices from associating themselves with our Party. We shall always preach the scientific world-outlook, and it is essential for us to combat the inconsistency of various "Christians." (12)

### The Bolsheviks and Islam

The Bolsheviks reached out to the Islamic Communities. Muslims under the Czars were systematically oppressed, excluded, and discriminated against. Most Muslims lived in Central Asia and the Caucasus Mountains far away from the centers of the revolutions – Petrograd and Moscow. However, to win the socialist revolution it was neces-

sary to get the support of the Muslims.

On April 26, 1917, the Central Bureau of Russian Muslims published an appeal to the Muslim women of Russia in the newspaper, *Turke-stanskii golos* (The Voice of Turkestan). (13) Muslim women were urged to join other Russian women in newfound political action, by organizing, forming committees, and voting. Muslim women were called upon to join the revolutionary cause without deserting their religion.

In the *First All-Russian Congress of Muslims* held in May 1917, with one thousand delegates including 200 women, Muslim women voted in favor of many socialist policies, such as eight-hour working days, redistribution of property, and equal rights for women. This congress also supported the idea of cultural and religious autonomy within a new Russian republic. Many Muslims believed that Islamic values had much in common with the socialism advocated by the Bolsheviks. Several slogans connecting the two were raised. One such slogan reads, "Long live soviet power, and long live the sharia [Islamic law]". (14) On November 24, 1917, the new Soviet government, led by the Bolsheviks, reached out to Muslims in a declaration entitled "To all the Muslim workers of Russia and the East". This declaration assured Muslims that, "your beliefs and practices, your national and cultural institutions are forever free and inviolate. Know that your rights, like those of all the peoples of Russia, are under the mighty protection of the revolution". (15)

After the revolution Lenin in a speech to the first Women's Congress said: "We must be extremely careful in fighting religious prejudices; some people cause a lot of harm in this struggle by offending religious feelings." (16)

Dave Crouch in an article *The Bolsheviks and Islam* quoted Trotsky: "Muslim were allowed to join the Bolshevik party without any prejudice against their religion. Some Muslims drew revolutionary conclusions and joined the Communist parties themselves." Trotsky noted in 1923 that in some of the southern republics as many as 15% of party members were believers in Islam. He called them the 'raw revolutionary recruits who come knocking on our door'. In parts of Central Asia, Muslims made up as much as 70% of the Communist Party membership. They brought with them vestiges of their religious customs and beliefs: in the mid-1920s even wives of high-ranking Communist Party members in Central Asia wore veils. (17)

### The Case of Mir-Said Sultan Galiyev

While it is correct to let Muslims to join the revolutionary working class party, it is essential not to water down dialectical and historical materialism and internationalism as a concession to religious members of the party, while at the same time be very careful not to insult their sensitivities. This problem manifested itself in the case of Sultan-Galiyev. Mir-Said Sultan Galiyev was a Volga Tatar who studied education in the college of Kazan and returned to his village where he worked as a teacher and librarian. In November 1917 he joined the Bolshevik Party. The Central Commissariat for the Muslim Affairs was created in 1918 and he was the chairman. He was also the chairman of the Central Muslim Military Collegiums that was formed in April 1918 to fight the counter revolution as well as a leading member of the Commissariat of the Nationalities under Stalin.

He and his followers were considered by 1920 the right wing of the Tatar Communist party. In his views the Muslim peoples are proletarian people and their national movement was the movement of socialist revolution. (18) In his opinion "*The martial premises of a social transformation of humanity can be created only through the establishment of the dictatorship of the colonies and semi-colonies over the metropolis.*" (19)

He also demanded to have a separate party for Muslims and that non Muslims should join the Russian Bolshevik party. (20) In June 1918 in the first conference of Muslim Communists held in Kazan a party of Muslim Communists only was formed. It was independent of the Bolshevik party. In March 1918 during the eighth congress of the Bolshevik party, a unified and centralized party for the all Soviet state was formed.

In November 1919 a Bashkir Soviet Socialist Autonomous region was created but Sultan-Galiyev demanded a separate Tatar-Bashkir state – a demand that the Bolsheviks turned down to form a Tatar Autonomous Soviet Republic. Sultan wanted to expand it to include the Bashkirs and other Muslims but his demand was rejected as expression of chauvinism seeking to dominate less developed people. He was sent to Crimea to report of the conditions there and he recommended the creation of a Soviet Republic, a suggestion that was accepted and in 1921 a Crimean Autonomous Soviet Republic was created.

While his ideas expressed a nationalist petit bourgeois deviation, there is a good chance that he reacted to Russian great chauvinism pushed by Stalin who was in charge of nationalities that caused the first major conflict between Lenin and Stalin as in the case of Georgia in 1922. Stalin pushed for the amalgamation of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan into Transcaucasian SFSR, a move that was staunchly opposed by the Georgian leaders who urged for their republic a full-member status within the Soviet Union.

In 1923 Sultan was expelled from the party and was arrested by Stalin for "nationalist deviation". This was the first time a leading member of the party was arrested. This was clearly wrong that Trotsky consented to this only to later regret it implicitly. (21) The politics of Sultan resembled the politics of Mao who saw the peasants as the leading class of the socialist revolution and was in the right wing of the Chinese Communist Party.

Similarly, later on C.L.R James, the West Indian Trotskyist, rejected the concept of the vanguard party of the working class and focused on the nationalist movement of the colonies and semi colonies. Prior to Mao and C.L.R James the same nationalist deviation was expressed by the Jewish Bund.

It is true that the oppressed masses in the colonies and semi colonies or in the imperialist countries many times are more revolutionary than the white working class in the imperialist countries. We just saw that sectors of the American white workers supported Trump. However, the key for the victory of the oppressed nations and minorities in the imperialist countries is to win the support of the masses of the whole working class in these countries instead of orientating to the bourgeois and the petite bourgeois leaderships that stand at the head of the nationalist movement. The latter will betray, sooner or later, the struggle

because of their fear of losing control over the workers and the poor peasants. The answer is true working class internationalism, not left nationalism.

### Footnotes

(1) See on this e.g. Yossi Schwartz: Israel Loves Donald Trump who Loves Israel but Dislikes Jews, RCIT, 20.11.2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/trump-jews-and-israel/>

(2) On the analysis of the RCIT see our pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump's Victory. On the Lessons of the US Presidential Election Outcome and the Perspectives for the Domestic and International Class Struggle, 24.November 2016, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 58, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/meaning-of-trump/>; Michael Pröbsting: US Presidential Election: The Victory of Donald Trump is a Historical Turning Point, 09.11.2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/north-america/trump-victory/>

(3) <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/11/donald-trump-islamophobia-president-1611>

(4) Braking News Presidential candidates towards us 'really demoralising', say US Muslims, <http://www.breakingnews.ie/world/presidential-candidates-towards-us-really-demoralising-say-us-muslims-762132.html>

(5) <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2016/11/14/bernie-sanders-humiliated-democrats-cant-talk-to-white-working-class-voters.html>

(6) Gordon Crovitz: A Liberal Truth-Telling on Terror, The Wall Street Journal, Dec.6/2015 <http://www.wsj.com/articles/a-liberals-truth-telling-on-terror-1449445745>

(7) Leon Trotsky: Anti-Imperialist Struggle is Key to Liberation. An Interview with Mateo Fossa (1938); in: Writings of Leon Trotsky 1938-39, p. 34

(8) Karen Yourish, Derek Watkins, Tom GiratikAnon and Jasmine C. Lee: How Many People Have Been Killed in ISIS Attacks Around the World, New York Times, July 16, 2016 [http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/03/25/world/map-isis-attacks-around-the-world.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/03/25/world/map-isis-attacks-around-the-world.html?_r=0)

(9) Nafeez Ahmed: Unworthy victims: Western wars have killed four million Muslims since 1990, 8 April 2015, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/unworthy-victims-western-wars-have-killed-four-million-muslims-1990-39149394>. On the RCIT's analysis of the imperialist wars and the position of Marxists see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism*, 2013, (in particular chapter 12 and 13) <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>

(10) <http://indigenes-republique.fr/le-p-i-r/que-voulons-nous/>

(11) Nick Riemer: Islamophobia, secularism and the French left, 19 August 2016, <http://www.solidarity.net.au/islamophobia/islamophobia-secularism-and-the-french-left>

(12) V. I. Lenin: Socialism and Religion (1905), in: LCW Vol. 10, pp. 83-87, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1905/dec/03.htm>

(13) Central Bureau of Russian Muslims: *Appeal to Russia's Muslim Women*, in: Michael C. Hickey, ed. *Competing Voices from the Russian Revolution* (Greenwood Press, Santa Barbara, CA, 2011), pp. 169-170

(14) Dave Crouch: The Bolsheviks and Islam, in: *International Socialism* 110 (April 2006)

(15) Council of People's Commissars: *Appeal to the Moslems of Russia and the East*. December 7, 1917 Original Source: *Izvestia*, No. 232, 7 December 1917, pp. 1-2, <http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1921-2/the-muslim-east/the-muslim-east-texts/appeal-to-the-moslems-of-russia-and-the-east/>

(16) First All-Russia Congress of Working Women, November 19, 1918 <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1918/nov/19.htm>

(17) Leon Trotsky: *Tasks of the Communist Education* (1923), in: Leon Trotsky: *Problems of Everyday Life*, Pathfinder Press, New York 1994, pp. 117-118). See also Dave Crouch: *The Bolsheviks and Islam*

(18) Mir-said Sultan-Galiyev: *Speech of 1918*, in: Azade-Ayse Rorlich: 'The Volga, Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience'; Stanford (USA); p. 143). In Marxist Internet Archive

(19) Mir Said Sultan-Galiev, in: Richard Pipes: 'The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism: 1917-1923'; Harvard University Press, Cambridge (USA) 1954, pp. 261-262

(20) Azade-Ayse Rorlich: *The Volga, Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience*; Stanford (USA) in: Marxist Internet Archive

(21) Leon Trotsky: *Stalin*, New York; 1941; p. 417

# What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*No future without socialism!*

*No socialism without revolution!*

*No revolution without a revolutionary party!*

