



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE RCIT

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## Astana Deal: A Major Threat for the Syrian Revolution!

- \* Brazil: Mass Protests against Temer
- \* Presidential Elections in France
- \* UK Elections: Critical Vote for Labour

- \* May Day Report
- \* L51, Islamophobia and the Police
- \* "Workers" Immigration Control?

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# English-Language Journal of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), No. 68, June 2017

Syria: Condemn the Reactionary Astana Deal!	p.3
Joint Statement on Astana Deal	p.7
Brazil: Out to the Streets to Bring Down the Temer Government!	p.8
Presidential Elections in France: Neither Le Pen nor Macron!	p.10
Terror Comes To Manchester - War Comes Home	p.11
UK General Election 8. June 2017: Vote for Labour – but organize the resistance!	p.13
Austria: Multi-National May Day Rally for International Solidarity	p.15
The Guardians of Swedish Imperialist Democracy (Polemic vs. the L5I)	p.16
The Pseudo-Trotskyist L5I Congratulates the British Police for Their Service	p.18
A Social-Chauvinist Defence of the Indefensible (Reply to the CWG/LCC)	p.20
Patriotic “Anti-Capitalism” for Fools (Polemic vs. the CWG/LCC)	p.25

*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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## Syria: Condemn the Reactionary Astana Deal!

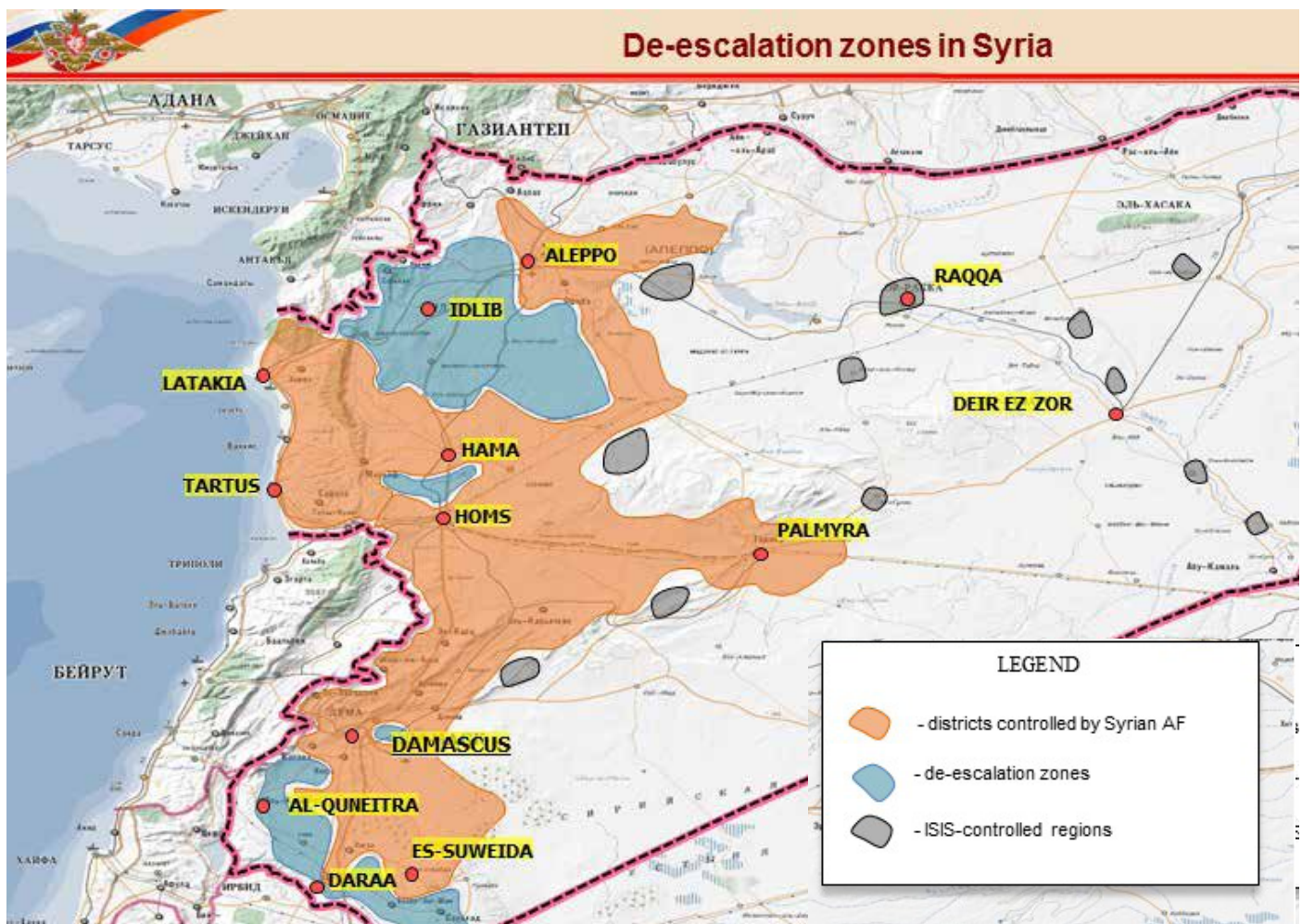
### The so-called “De-Escalation Zones” are a First Step towards the Partition of Syria and a Conspiracy by the Great Powers to Defeat the Revolution

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 7 May 2017*

1. The governments of Russia, Iran and Turkey signed an agreement on 4 May in the Kazakh capital, Astana, according to which four so-called “de-escalation zones” are about to be created. These zones cover significant parts (but far from all; Qaboun for example is not zoned) of those areas which are currently controlled by the Syrian rebels fighting against the tyranny of Assad. (1) While the plan officially calls for the cessation of hostilities between the rebels and the pro-Assad forces in these zones, it makes important exceptions. It explicitly states that the “guarantors” (i.e., Russia, Iran and Turkey) will continue to fight against all “terrorists,” both inside and outside of these zones. In addition to Daesh, the agreement refers to *Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham* (HTS), among other groups, as being “terrorist.” Furthermore, the deal envisages that Russia, Iran and Turkey (and possibly other “third parties”) will administer these zones and station troops (“armed foreign monitors”) there. (2) The US government, as well as that of Germany, has already released a statement welcoming the Astana deal and its support for the liquidation of the HTS “terrorists.” (3)

2. The so-called *High Negotiations Committee*, a “moderate” coalition of several forces of the Syrian opposition led by Riyad Farid Hijab, who was Prime Minister under Assad from June to August 2012, refused to sign the deal and criticized it as “vague” and “illegitimate.” In fact, more or less all relevant rebel factions published statements rejecting the agreement. This is hardly surprising, as these negotiations are extremely unpopular among the Syrian people and, thus, there is massive popular pressure on the delegations of Syrian rebels not to become a party to the deal. However, several of the rebels’ negotiators in Astana merely focused their criticism on the inclusion of Iran as a “guarantor,” i.e., the presence of military forces of the Teheran regime in the administration and enforcement of these “de-escalation zones.”

3. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) calls upon all forces supporting the Syrian Revolution to unconditionally condemn the Astana agreement and openly refuse any cooperation with the Assad regime or the so-called “guarantors”! This deal is nothing but a dangerous conspiracy aimed at liquidating the Syrian



The “de-escalation zones” in Syria on a Russian army map (source: <http://eng.mil.ru/images/2017-05-05-brief01-eng.JPG>)

Revolution by force of arms and placing the still-liberated areas under foreign occupation. All forces loyal to the Syrian Revolution must condemn the Astana deal, primarily for the following reasons:

i) The deal hands over control of the liberated areas (“de-escalation zones”) to the reactionary regimes of Putin, Khamenei/Rohani and Erdoğan. The Russian and Iranian forces have supported the Assad regime’s massacring of the Syrian people for years. Handing over control of the liberated areas to these regimes is equivalent to handing them over to Assad, i.e., abrogating very important gains achieved by the revolutionary struggle. Troops from Russia, Iran, and Turkey will be responsible to militarily secure the “de-escalation zones.” Sergei Rudskoi, an official with Russia’s military general staff, explicitly stated that the “*work of checkpoints and observation posts, as well as the management of security zones, will be carried out by the personnel and formations of Russia, Turkey and Iran*”. (4)

ii) The deal legitimizes the continuation of the reactionary war by Assad, as well as the interventions by the Great Powers, against *Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham* – which is the largest and most disciplined single force defending the liberated areas against the pro-Assad terrorist forces – as well as other so-called “terrorists” throughout all Syria, i.e., both inside and outside the “de-escalation zones.” (The deal is actually *not* relevant to Daesh, as only small units of its forces are found in any of the designated “de-escalation zones.”)

iii) Furthermore, the deal advances the long-sought goal of the Great Powers of liquidating the Syrian Revolution by partitioning the country. As a result, the Assad regime – in reality its Russian and Iranian backers – would control most of the country, while Turkey and the US, together with their Kurdish YPG allies, would control sectors of the central and eastern parts of northern Syria. A few enclaves would still remain under the control of some rebel factions who have expressed their willingness to act as the local gendarme for the Great Powers.

iv) Finally, a crucial, if not the most important, goal of the deal is to split the rebel forces and to encourage the leadership of several factions to become accomplices in the liquidation of the liberation struggle. Behind the scenes, Russia, Iran, and Turkey, as well as the US and EU, are actively attempting to bribe the leaderships of various rebel forces into directing their struggle away from the forces of Assad and towards *Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham*.

4. We also draw attention to the fact that key powers of Western imperialism, like the Trump Administration and Germany’s Merkel government, have already expressed their fundamental support for the Astana deal. (They only publicized reservation is about the role to be played by Iran.) This once more affirms our warning that *all* the imperialist powers involved – Russia, the US, and the EU – share a common interest in liquidating the Syrian Revolution by any means necessary. It also demonstrates, yet again, the idiocy of all those Stalinists, Castro-Chavistas and numerous centrists who claim that US imperialism is supporting or even controlling the Syrian rebels with the aim of overthrowing the Assad regime. In fact, such reactionary slander is designed to discredit the legitimacy of and popular support for the Syrian Revolution.

5. The RCIT repeats its warning that the biggest current danger to the Syrian Revolution – in addition to

the direct threat of the daily bombardment by the forces of Assad, Iran and Russia – is the ongoing conspiracy of the Great Powers behind the scenes. They are pressuring the leaders of several rebel factions to turn their weapons against *Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham* and others who more consistently fight against the Assad tyranny. It is this imperialist conspiracy which explains the repeated recent acts of aggression by *Ahrar al-Sham* against HTS in the Idlib region as well as those of *Jaish al-Islam* against HTS and *Faylaq al-Rahman* in the East Ghouta enclave. While both attacks against HTS failed and provoked popular outrage, it is clear that the imperialist powers, Russia and the US as well as their regional allies, will continue to encourage these forces to attack and weaken the more consistent defenders of the Syrian Revolution. It is hardly an accident that the leadership of *Jaish al-Islam* is part of the negotiation team in Astana and *Ahrar al-Sham*, while not part of the delegation, supports the participation of the Astana “peace process.” In fact, it is revealing that the negotiators of the Syrian rebels attempt to justify their rejection of the deal by emphasizing the role of “co-guarantor” to be played by Iran, when this is, in fact, is a rather minor detail of the thoroughly reactionary Astana agreement. The imperialist conception of the “de-escalation zones” would involve the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution with or without Iranian participation! From this smokescreen tactic of blaming Iran’s role, we understand that the leaders of various rebel factions are currently laying the groundwork to sell-out the revolution in the interests of the imperialist Great Powers!

6. All these developments re-affirm our previous warnings that both secular and Islamist petty-bourgeois leaderships are incapable of consistently fighting for the interests of the democratic revolution. Rather, they are all prepared to betray the struggle and to serve the interests of a regional or Great Powers. In the long run, this is also true of the HTS leadership, despite the fact that they are currently refusing to capitulate.

7. In the present situation, it is crucial to put massive pressure on the rebel leaderships not to support the Astana deal. In fact, all those who are authentically true to the Syrian Revolution must demand that all negotiators claiming to represent Syrian rebels must immediately stop their participation in the so-called “peace negotiations” at Astana and Geneva. Similarly, all forces which instigate armed provocations, in the interests of the Great Powers, against rebel factions fighting against the Assad tyranny must be denounced.

8. In the present situation, all loyal supporters of the Syrian Revolution must call for the creation of an *anti-capitulationist united front* of all forces which unambiguously reject the Astana deal, which oppose the partition of the country by the Great Powers and their regional allies, and which support the continuation of the struggle against the Assad tyranny. We call upon all revolutionaries around the globe not to stand idly aside in this crucial hour, but to rally in defense of the Syrian Revolution. Organize rallies in support of the continuation of the Syrian Revolution and against the Astana deal! Organize material support for the Syrian revolutionaries who are continuing the liberation struggle against the Assad tyranny and their imperialist backers!

9. Finally, we repeat that the only way forward for

the Syrian Revolution is to create popular councils and militias, under the control of the workers and poor peasants, which will fight for a workers' and peasant republic. We call for an international workers' and popular solidarity movement in support of the Syrian Revolution. Furthermore, we urge all authentic supporters of the liberation struggle to unite and found a revolutionary party in Syria and a global revolutionary international based on a program of permanent revolution.

*\* Down with the Assad regime! Victory to the Syrian Revolution!*

*\* Condemn the reactionary Astana deal! No participation in the Astana and Geneva "peace talks"!*

*\* Down with the interventions by the US and Russia in Syria! Defend the Syrian people's sovereignty! Drive all Great Powers out of Syria!*

*\* The international workers' movement must support the liberation struggle of the Syrian people! Organize rallies in support of the continuation of the Syrian Revolution and against the Astana deal! Organize material support for the Syrian revolutionaries!*

*\* For the creation of popular councils and militias! Fight for a workers' and peasant republic!*

*\* For the founding of a revolutionary party in Syria and the establishment of a new international!*

*International Secretariat of the RCIT*

#### Footnotes

(1) Zone 1: Includes Idlib province, as well as northeastern areas of Latakia province, western areas of Aleppo province and northern areas of Hama province (with at least one million civilians currently living in these zone); Zone 2: Contains the Rastan and Talbiseh enclaves in the northern part of Homs province (with approximately 180,000 civilians residents); Zone 3: Comprised of eastern Ghouta in the countryside north of Damascus (with a population today of about 690,000 civilians); Zone 4: The rebel-controlled south along the border with Jordan that includes parts of the Deraa and Quneitra provinces (with up to 800,000 civilians currently living there).

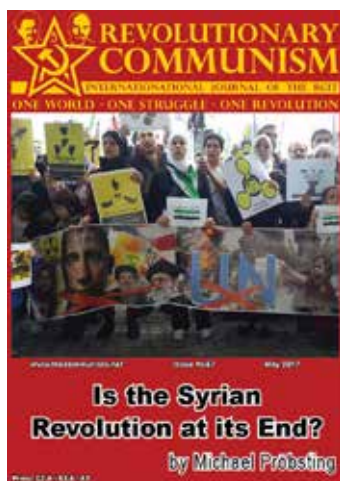
(2) The full text of the Astana agreement can be viewed by visiting the following link: [https://twitter.com/Charles\\_Lister/status/860208101714255877](https://twitter.com/Charles_Lister/status/860208101714255877)

(3) See e.g., [https://twitter.com/Charles\\_Lister/status/860191046101323776](https://twitter.com/Charles_Lister/status/860191046101323776)

(4) Al-Jazeera: Syria's 'de-escalation zones' explained, 2017-05-06, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/05/syria-de-escalation-zones-explained-170506050208636.html>

For the RCIT analysis of the Arab Revolution in general and the Syrian Revolution in particular, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents accessed from 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:

Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those



## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified?

*By Michael Pröbsting, April 2017*

*An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution*

**Introduction \* The Nature of the Local Coordination Councils in Syria \* The Contradictory Nature of the Petty-Bourgeois Rebel Factions \* A note on the adjectival juxtaposition of "progressive" to liberal democrats versus "reactionary" to Islamists \* Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham and Other Islamist Militias \* The Role of Religion in Democratic and National Liberation Struggles \* Some Arguments on the Ongoing Progressive Character of the Syrian Revolution \* Have the Rebels Become Agents of US Imperialism and Regional Powers? \* On Foreign Powers' Support for Liberation Movements p\* Lenin and Trotsky on Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference \* What Did Lenin and Trotsky Say about Getting Support from Imperialists? \* Imagining Two Different Scenarios of the Revolution's Success & Failure \* A Period of Defeats and Retreats: What Are the Reasons? \* Some Thoughts on the Future Prospects of the Arab Revolution \* The Urgent Need for a Revolutionary Party \* Footnotes**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/>

Johannes Moraga: Syria: Was the Chemical Attack a "False Flag" Operation? Let's make Syria the graveyard for Assad, Putin and Trump! Victory to the Revolution! 14 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-false-flag/>

RCIT: Syria: No to Trump's Missiles Strike! Drive all Great Powers out of Syria! Victory to the Syrian Revolution! 7 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-air-strike-in-syria/>

RKO BEFREIUNG: Press Conference on Assad's Chemical Weapons Attack and the US Air Strike, Report (with video) on a press conference of the Syrian Community and the Austrian Section of the RCIT on 7 April 2017 in Vienna, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/press-conference-syria-7-4-2017/>

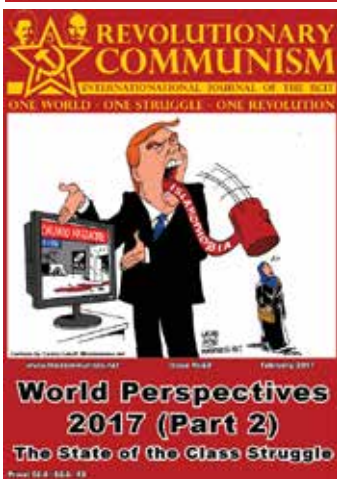
Yossi Schwartz: Raqqa: Defeat the US Imperialist Offensive! An assessment of the US/SDF/YPG war against Daesh, April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-offensive-in-raqqa/>

RCIT: Down with the Assad Tyranny! Victory to the Syrian Revolution! For a Workers and Peasants Republic! Draft Platform of Syrian Revolutionaries in Political Solidarity with the RCIT, April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/draft-syria-platform/>

RCIT: Defeat the Imperialist Invasion in Syria – Victory to the Revolution! Down with the American and Russian interventions! No to the imperialist plan to divide Syria! Down with the butcher Assad and his imperialist allies! 13.03.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/imperialist-invasion-in-syria/>

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



## 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-Sahara 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*

## We Condemn the Astana Deal as an Attack on the Syrian Revolution!

*Joint Statement by activists who support the continuation of the Syrian Revolution*

1) We strongly condemn the Astana Deal as a maneuver of Assad, Russia, Iran and Turkey, with the support of the US, against the Syrian Revolution.

2) The Astana Deal, if implemented, is aimed at partitioning Syria country and liquidating the revolution. It would hand over control of the liberated areas (“de-escalation zones”) to the reactionary regimes of Putin, Khamenei and Erdoğan. As Russian and Iranian forces have supported the Assad regime in its massacre of the Syrian people for years, handing control over the liberated areas to them is equivalent to handing them over to Damascus, i.e., annulling many of the gains of the revolutionary struggle since its beginning. Furthermore, the deal justifies the continuation of the barbaric war of Assad, as well as that of the Great Powers – both inside and outside the so-called “de-escalation zones” – against forces which are legitimate part of the Syrian Revolution, but which are considered “terrorists” by these imperialist state terrorists and their lackeys.

3) We oppose all infighting between Syrian revolutionary factions. Such internecine bloodletting is tremendously destructive to the struggle for liberation and only assists Assad and his backers in liquidating the Syrian Revolution.

4) We call upon all factions of the Syrian Revolution to condemn the Astana Deal and to immediately end their participation in the ongoing negotiations in the capital of Kazakhstan.

5) We unequivocally call for the continuation of the Syrian Revolution against the tyrannical regime of Bashar al-Assad.

6) We oppose all military aggression and intervention in Syria on the part of all foreign powers, whether great (Russia, the US and EU) or regional (Iran, Hezbollah, and Turkey).

7) We call for the creation of an international popular movement in support of the Syrian Revolution.



Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, at a Rally in Solidarity with the Syrian Revolution

# Brazil: Out to the Streets to Bring Down the Temer Government!

## For a United Front of Struggle! Organize a General Strike and Popular Uprising Now! No to the Ongoing Coup of the Ruling Class!

### For a Workers' and Popular Government!

*Statement of the Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (Section of the RCIT in Brazil), 19 May 2017*

1. The Temer government is in a deep crisis. What everybody already previously knew has now been proven by audio tapes. Temer himself, as well as other leading figures of the government, are deeply entangled in the web of corruption of the ruling class; grotesquely so, as this government itself illegitimately came to power last year under the banner of the “struggle against corruption” which in fact was an institutional coup d'état against the elected PT-led government of Dilma Rousseff.

2. The real reason for this coup was the desire of the ruling class to accelerate the attacks on the working class and the popular masses. This is why Temer wants to push through the widely despised labor and pension reforms. These reforms would destroy our social gains for which we fought so hard in the past!

3. Given the popular resistance against these reforms – including the biggest general strike for decades on 28 April with 40 million people participating – the ruling class is now prepared to let Temer fall. They will try to continue their coup and to enhance its achievements for them, via parliamentary maneuvers (and with lots of bribery!) to bring another hard-line reactionary figure to power (e.g., the current president of the Supreme Court, Carmen Lúcia).

4. We must put an end to the cynical power games and institutional coup d'états of the ruling class! We must take advantage of the current crisis of their corrupt government! We can and must strengthen the power of the working class and the popular masses!

5. How can we achieve this? First, we must stop the conspiracy of the ruling class with their obscure parliamentary maneuvers. We must bring down the corrupt Temer government ourselves! For a general strike and a popular uprising!

6. We must call upon the CUT, MST, MTST, Frente Brasil Popular, Frente Povo Sem Medo, PT and all popular mass organizations to form a united front for struggle. We call these organizations to organize a general strike! We

must force the vacillating and conservative bureaucrats at the heads of these organizations to organize the resistance.

7. But we must not trust them! These bureaucratic leaders have proven in the past that they are willing to subordinate the struggle for our interests in exchange for the participation in the bourgeois power institutions. We must put demands on these leaders, but we must carefully watch and control them.

8. We must build popular action committees. These committees should be elected in popular assemblies in which all workers in workplaces and all people in neighborhoods participate. They should discuss the most important issues of the struggle and elect their delegates. These delegates should then convene a national congress that will discuss how to advance our struggle. These action committees should also control the leaderships of the mass organizations and lead the struggle against the Temer government themselves if the bureaucrats hesitate and betray it. Furthermore, such action committees should also create popular self-defense units to defend the people against the unavoidable attacks of the police and the army.

9. Many people are calling for a direct election for a new president. While we understand the motivation for such a demand, we think that it is misplaced. The elections are controlled by the ruling class. They will do everything in their power to get rid of Lula – currently the most popular candidate for president – by putting him on trial. And even if Lula should be elected, they would do everything to undermine his government as they did with Dilma Rousseff.

10. In light of the fact that many people are currently following the lead of the CUT, MST, MTST, FBP, FPSM or PT, we call upon these popular organizations to take power into their own hands in the wake of the general strike and popular uprising. For a government of the CUT/INTERSINDICAL/CTB/MST/MTST/FBP/FPSM/CMP/PCO/PT and all popular mass movements! This could be a first step towards the creation of a workers' and popular gov-

## O Comunismo Revolucionário

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ernment!

11. Naturally, we call upon the workers and poor not to put any blind trust in the leaders of these organizations. They must be watched and controlled. Such a government should be put under the control of a national congress of action committees. In the end, it is such action committees, expanded to authentic workers' and popular councils, which should form their own government – a workers' and popular government!

12. In order to advance such a strategy and to put it into practice, we need to create an authentic revolutionary party. We call upon all activists to share such a perspective of struggle and to join the CCR in our efforts to build such a party as part of a new revolutionary workers' international!

- CUT- Central Única de Trabalhadores
- INTERSINDICAL-
- CTB- Central dos Trabalhadores do Brasil
- MST- Movimento de Trabalhadores Sem terra
- MTST- Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem teto
- FBP – Frente Brasil Popular
- CMP-Central dos Movimentos Populares (CMP)
- FPSM – Frente povo Sem Medo
- PT- Partido dos Trabalhadores
- PCO- Partido de Causa Operária



Mass protests against the Temer government (above); Activists of the Brazil Section of the RCIT at a demonstration (below)

## Presidential Elections in France: Neither Le Pen nor Macron!

Neither right wing racism, nor Millionaire EU imperialism!

For a mass movement of the workers and oppressed to build a real alternative!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 05.05.2017*

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) calls upon the workers, migrants and youth of France to reject giving support to either Le Pen or Macron in the second round of the presidential election that will be held on the 7 May.

If the only alternative is to choose between two factions of the same capitalist class that exploits us day by day, then there is no lesser evil. No matter who will win this coming Sunday – whether Le Pen or Macron – the next French president will be an enemy of the country's working people, as well as of migrants in France and the oppressed peoples overseas who suffer from French imperialism!

It is certainly true that Le Pen represents the more nationally-centered and chauvinistic elements of the French capitalists, and her – unlikely – victory would be a declaration of war against the oppressed, especially the migrants in France of Muslim belief.

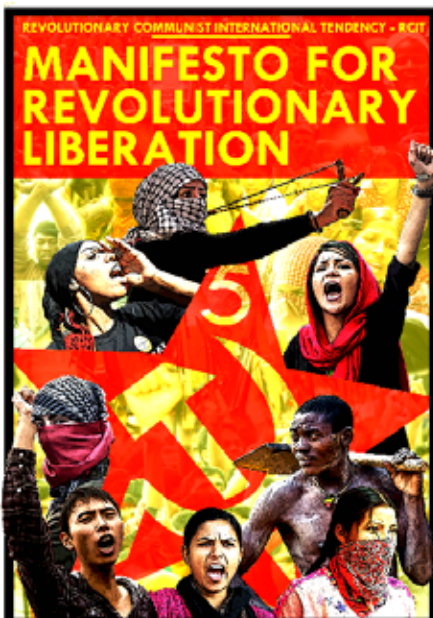
However, Macron is no lesser evil. Rather, he is the candidate favored by big French capital as well as German imperialism! While a victory for Le Pen could provoke the dissolution of the EU and an aggressive war against migrants at home, Macron's victory would be a major step forward in the formative process of EU imperialism. The significance of such a development would be profound, as EU imperialism still does not exist as a major, independent entity, but instead represents an alliance of German imperialism with France, as junior partner, and the subordinated integration of the weaker imperialist EU states. A strengthened EU, which would follow Macron's ascension to the French presidency, would enable the

union to build up its military power and increasingly undertake dirty wars of occupation abroad. Therefore, a Macron victory in no way constitutes a "pragmatic" or "strategic" advantage for our class.

Regardless of Le Pen's disgustingly racist ideology and policies, we the working class must take an independent revolutionary position in this election, and oppose both of the capitalist visages vying for power.

Instead, we must build a third alternative – one based on a consistent struggle against capitalism, racism and imperialist wars! We need to fight for a Europe in which the workers and oppressed hold power, not the European Central Bank, Merkel, Le Pen or Macron! This means that we need to build mass movements for our class that will be able to challenge the rich and their presidents! Furthermore, this involves founding a new working class party, one based on a militant program of struggle against imperialism, racism and capitalist exploitation, and for the revolutionary toppling of the ruling class!

The stakes in this game are extremely high. Nowhere is it ordained that the future will offer a better life for us, our children and our grandchildren. Only if we conduct a united, revolutionary struggle will we even have the chance to create a better tomorrow! Without such a struggle, the forecast is indeed very bleak. This is why we in the RCIT call upon the workers and oppressed of France, regardless of who wins the vote on Sunday, to take to the streets, to strike and demonstrate against the newly elected head of the French bourgeois state. We have no intention of paying for their crisis!



### 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*

## Terror Comes To Manchester - War Comes Home

Statement of the RCIT Britain, 23.05.2017

On Monday the 22<sup>nd</sup> May at 10.35 pm, while Ariana Grande a pop singer was giving a performance at the Manchester Arena, a lone suicide bomber suspected of being a member of Daesh caused an explosion. He killed himself and 22 other people who were attending the performance. 59 innocent bystanders were injured among them several children. [1]

The British supporters of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) unreservedly denounce this cowardly and reactionary attack on innocent people including migrants and refugees from Muslim countries. Daesh/IS never select military targets but attack innocent victims who have no connection to the imperialist bombing campaign in Syria and other Arab countries like Libya, Iraq and Yemen.

This is not the first time that Daesh have brought the terror campaign back home to Europe. We reemphasise what our international organization already said in its reaction to the attacks in Brussels in March 2016:

*"The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) unequivocally condemns these attacks as utterly reactionary. Like the Paris attack, indiscriminate deadly violence was directed not against a military target but against ordinary civilians. The ruling class of the imperialist powers will use these attacks to justify and intensify its reactionary offensive against the oppressed peoples of the Middle East, as well as its repressive policies domestically targeting the working-class in general and Muslim migrants in particular.*

*This attack clearly demonstrates yet again the reactionary character of Daesh/IS. This hateful organization wages war mainly against oppressed people, not against imperialism or reactionary regimes. The RCIT repeats that it is the task of the workers and peasants organized in popular militias to wage the struggle against Daesh/IS. Workers and the oppressed must oppose any actions by the Great Powers and their allied butchers, like Assad, since it is the imperialists and their dogs who are the biggest terrorists of all, and they are cynically using the struggle against "terrorism" only as a pretext to advance*

*their own interests. We say: Fight Daesh by fighting its causes – the exploitation and wars of the Great Powers and their crony dictators in the Middle East!"* [2]

This attack must not be used by the capitalist state to increase its dictatorial attacks on migrants and refugees. The RCIT Britain reiterates its principled opposition to all forms of racism and oppression and for the defense of democratic rights. We will continue to campaign for open borders and defend the democratic rights of migrants and other oppressed sections of the working classes.

The RCIT Britain reemphasizes the absolute necessity for European workers, migrants and youth to unite in the struggle against racism, state oppression, and attacks on democratic and social rights. Furthermore, it is urgent that we mobilize in order to drive the Great Powers out of the Middle East. We also call upon the workers and oppressed to support the Arab Revolution against the dictatorships and the refugees of the Middle Eastern wars who wish to come to Europe.

We warn against May and the Tories using this terrible event to shore up her struggling campaign for the 8<sup>th</sup> June election with racist propaganda. The workers movement must make sure that she can not utilize this as a kind of Thatcher's Falklands/Malvinas moment!

We put forward the following demands to unite the working class against all forms of racism and Imperialism.

\* No to Daesh and its terrorist attacks!

\* Against any "State of Emergency" regime and mobilization of the army!

\* Fight racism and repression directed towards Muslim migrants in Britain and the whole of Europe!

\* Drive Britain and all other Great Powers out of the Middle East! Support the Resistance against the imperialist aggressors!

\* Support the Arab Revolution against the region's dictatorships!

\* Open the Borders of Europe! Down with the EU's Iron Wall against refugees!

\* Forward in the building of a revolutionary World Party!

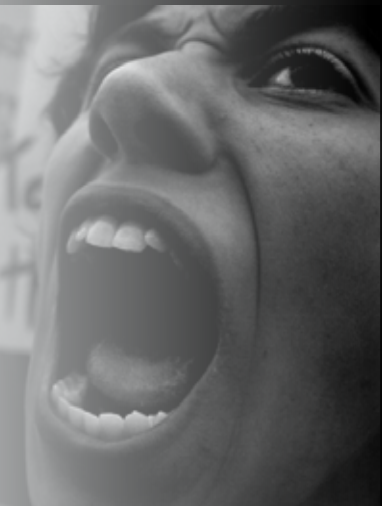
## Two Pamphlets on the EU and Brexit

\* **Marxism, European Union and Brexit**

\* **The British Left and the EU-Referendum**

Written by Michael Pröbsting  
(International Secretary of the RCIT)

Price for one pamphlet: 2 Pound (plus delivery charges)  
Order the pamphlet via our contact addresses



## Footnotes

- 1) See e.g. <http://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/uknews/suspected-attack-in-manchester-live-updates/ar-BBBq69L?ocid=SK2MDHP>  
 2) <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/brussels-attack/>

*On our position on recent terrorist attack in Europe see:*

RCIT: Terror in Brussels: The War comes Home. Daesh-Terror is the Result of Imperialist Terror! Oppose any State of Emergency and Repression against Muslim Peoples in Europe! 23.03.2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/brussels-attack/>

RCIT: Terror in Paris is the Result of Imperialist Terror in the Middle East! Stop France's and other Imperialist Powers' Warmongering! No Mobilization of the Army inside France! Defend the Muslim Peoples against Chauvinist Hatemongering and State Repression! 14.11.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/terror-in-paris/>

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 (January 2016), 23 January 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/>

RCIT: Increasing Instability and Militarization in the European Union. On the Tasks of Revolutionaries in the New Political Phase which has Opened in Europe after the Terrorist Attack in Paris, 08.12.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/militarism-in-eu/>

RCIT: France after the Attacks in Paris: Defend the Muslim People against Imperialist Wars, Chauvinist Hatemongering, and State Repression! 9.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/statement-paris-attacks/>

Michael Pröbsting: France: "Communist" Party fails to Vote in Parliament against Imperialist War in Iraq! 15.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/french-pcf-iraq-war/>

Michael Pröbsting: After the Paris Attack: Socialists must Join Hands with Muslim People Against Imperialism and Racism! Reformist and Centrist Forces try to derail the Workers Movement by Failing to Stand up for Solidarity with the Muslims and Against Imperialist War-Mongering! 17.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/france-defend-muslims/>

Michael Pröbsting: The Racist Character of Charlie Hebdo and the pro-imperialist campaign "Je Suis Charlie". Solidarity with Muslim People! NOT Solidarity with Charlie Hebdo! 17.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/racist-charlie-hebdo/>

# 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

## UK General Election 8. June 2017: Vote for Labour – but organize the resistance!

**Critical electoral support for Jeremy Corbyn on an anti-war and anti-austerity program! For a constituent assembly, peoples assemblies and action committees to fight for a real workers government!**

*Statement of the RCIT Britain, 25.04.2017*

The conservative, Prime Minister Theresa May has decided to call a General Election in Britain on the 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017. May has said that the country is behind her in her campaign for a hard Brexit, this means to abolish the single market and to get rid of free movement of migrants in Britain. She is opposed in parliament by the Labour Party, the Liberal Democrats, the SNP and a minority of remain supporters in the Tory party. The parliament is sabotaging her political plans and therefore she wants to change it, in the hope that she could go forward with her agenda.

As the RCIT said in Liberation 14 May faces an enormous crisis of British imperialism.

*"The decision to leave the European Union has caused an immense crisis amongst the ruling class in Britain. Theresa May, who succeeded David Cameron as Prime Minister, is trying to negotiate Brexit amongst a deeply divided and split Tory party. She is desperate to hold her party together while she negotiates terms to leave Europe by activating Article 50.*

*A section of the ruling class wants to desperately stay in the EU to have access to the single market. Another section wants to get rid of the restrictions of Strasbourg and other European nations. The situation has been complicated by the legal challenge to Brexit which insists that any decision to leave the European Union must be discussed by Parliament". [1].*

This weak and divided Tory Government hopes by calling an election before the expiry of her full term in 2020 to strengthen her position with the European Negotiators to leave the European Union.

### **A divided Labour Party**

The Labour Party also remains a deeply split party between the left reformist Corbyn and the pro-war and pro-austerity Blairite section of the party who is opposed to both Corbyn and Brexit. The Blairites want a relationship with the EU and the single market. Tony Blair - who is a war criminal - although nominally a member of the Labour Party is pushing his democratic alliance to support the Liberal Democrats, which is the most, committed party to remain in the European Union.

The Blairites are hoping that Corbyn is defeated and that the party will return to its Blairite fold. The bourgeois press and others are touting Yvette Cooper, a former Minister in Blair's government, as a possible replacement in the event of a Labour Party defeat.

*"The Labour Party with the left reformist Jeremy Corbyn as leader is deeply split. Although Corbyn is nominally leader, the control of the party remains in the hands of the Blairites who as well as controlling the Parliamentary Labour party are in charge of the bureaucratic structures as well. Tony Blair, ex-Labour leader and indicted war criminal, has returned to lead the attack on Corbyn and his supporters in Momentum. The Blairites*

*through the PLP have attempted two coups against Corbyn but have been roundly defeated. The issue of Brexit has given them the opportunity to remove Corbyn and his supporters. Corbyn has capitulated to the Blairites at every turn even inviting some of them into his shadow cabinet. Blair is now involved in setting up a new centre coalition of pro-Europeans including Tories and Liberal democrats. His aim of course is to try and reverse Brexit". [2]*

The weakness of Corbyn and Momentum was revealed when McNichol the General Secretary of the National Executive committee and a Blair functionary announced that candidates would be imposed on the Labour party membership and sitting Blairite MP's without any discussion from the membership will be imposed on them. There will be no 'trigger ballots' or reselection of sitting Labour MP's. But we call for a critical vote for the Labour Party and we call upon the rank and file to push the leadership to more radical actions. We answer the following to our "orthodox" (in fact sectarian) critics who will tell us but that is an adaption towards reformism: "We are not adapting our program just one inch towards reformism, but we will try to put Labour in power, so that the more radical rank and file workers can make their own experiences with Corbyn in power and we will try to organize the rank and file and to make Corbyn go further than he wants!"

In fact Corbyn and Momentum expect the vast majority of Labour party members to campaign for openly pro-war and pro-austerity candidates. To date Corbyn has said nothing about the undemocratic procedure now being followed.

The RCIT in Britain has consistently followed a revolutionary socialist perspective. We would patiently explain to the masses and the oppressed the necessity to organise a General strike to bring down the May Government in the event of a Labour Party defeat at the polls. If Corbyn was elected and that is very doubtful, May has an 18-21 points lead in the opinion polls, we would patiently explain to workers and the oppressed our anti-war and anti-austerity message and the urgency for a General strike as a first step towards the establishment of a real workers government, which will be based on workers and popular assemblies, the mobilization on the streets and which will not be simply a bourgeois government, sitting in Westminster and simply lead by the Labour Party.

### **From Brexit to a united socialist Europe!**

In the RCIT open letter after the Brexit result we pointed out the wrong positions of the main centrists groups in Britain who supported either the Leave campaign or the remain campaign.

"The results of the BREXIT referendum in Britain have ignited a political crisis not only in the UK itself but throughout the entire European continent. On the one hand, the referendum has obviously strengthened reactionary nationalism, as is reflected in the increasing numbers of hate-crimes against migrants in Britain as well as in the surge of the far right in other Western European countries. On the other hand, the vote to remove Britain from the EU has also created confusion, uncertainty and nervousness among the forces of monopoly capital both in Britain and in Europe in general. Shamefully, in the months leading up to last week's historic referendum, large sectors of the left in Britain had called either for the country to LEAVE or REMAIN in the EU. In both cases, the proponents of these diametrically opposed positions were guilty of adapting to one of two imperialist camps. Those who supported LEAVE unabashedly adapted to the reactionary "UK First" imperialist camp dominated by the most extreme right-wing forces like UKIP; those in the left who called for a REMAIN vote no less shamelessly adapted to the pro-EU imperialist camp of the big bourgeoisie and the leadership of the Labour Party. Again, we contend that both strategies were and remain nothing more than variants of social-imperialism". [3]

Centrists either of the ultra-left variety or the opportunist's variety have never being able to understand the role of the Marxist united front as practiced by Vladimir Lenin or Leon Trotsky. The RCIT in a major study of the Marxists classics explained our attitude to the United Front and our tactics towards Reformist parties like the British Labour party.

The RCIT calls for the formation of people's assemblies and action committees to organise the struggle throughout the country. Their main goal should be to organize mass demonstrations and an indefinite general strike in order to bring down the (May) government (if elected on June 8<sup>th</sup>). The road ahead is to confront and defeat the government on the streets and in the workplaces, not by means of political manoeuvring behind the scene. Socialists should demand that the leaderships of the Labour Party and the TUC organize such mass actions to bring down the government! Instead, the RCIT Britain raises the slogan of a Constituent Assembly. Such an assembly would have the task of discussing the political and social system in which the people of Britain wish to live. There must be no pre-conditions on what type of constitution and what laws are possible. In particular, there should be no a priori commitment

to protect of the property of the rich, the capitalists, and the financial institutions. Such a Constituent Assembly should be based on direct democracy grounded in workplace and residential constituencies; delegates should be elected proportionate to the numbers in each constituency; any delegate should be subject to instant recall if deemed appropriate by the electorate he or she represents; and each delegate must earn no more than the wage of an average skilled worker. After elaborating a new constitution, such a Constituent Assembly would dissolve itself." [5].

In this period of international global crisis the RCIT in Britain puts forward the following transitional demands as a proposal for to workers and the oppressed who want to join the fight.

\* Critically support the Election of a Jeremy Corbyn Labour Government on an anti-austerity and anti-war program. Expel and purge all Blairite MP's and cleanse the party of all pro-war and pro-austerity elements.

\* In the event of an election of a May Tory government: for an indefinite General Strike and the formation of a revolutionary Constituent Assembly with peoples assemblies in all areas of the country!

\* For self-defense guards of the workers and migrants to defend our communities against fascist attacks and police provocations!

\* Battle for open borders for all refugees' full equality for all migrants' equal wages full citizenship and rights to speak their native language.

\* Self Determination for the people of Scotland!

\* For a Unified Ireland as a 32 County Workers Republic as part of a united Socialist states of Europe!

\* For a workers government pledged to bring down Capitalism and destruct British imperialism!

We call on all workers and the oppressed to join the RCIT and help to build a new World Party of the socialist revolution, which will be the Fifth International.

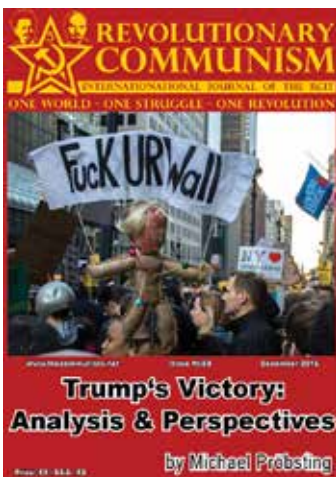
#### Footnotes

(1) <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/brexit-and-uk-crisis/>

(2) <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/brexit-and-uk-crisis/>

(3) <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/book-united-front/chapter-6/>

(4) <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/bring-down-cameron/>



## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump's Victory

By Michael Pröbsting, November 2016

Introduction \* I. The Election Outcome \* II. Where is the Trump Administration Heading? \* III. Global Consequences: The Beginning of a New Era \* IV. Lessons and Perspectives for the Struggle \* V. Summary Theses \* Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 40 pages, A4 Format

## Austria: Multi-National May Day Rally for International Solidarity

*Report (with Pictures and Videos) by the Austrian Section of the RCIT, 03.05.2017*

Like every year, the Austrian Section of the RCIT takes advantage of May Day to spread the ideas of revolutionary Marxism and to demonstrate the spirit of international working class solidarity in words and deeds. Before noon, we intervened in the May Day demonstration of the social democratic party in Vienna. The Austrian section built a large book stall where we displayed newspapers, theoretical journals, pamphlets and books in German and English, as well as in several languages spoken by migrants in Austria. We were able to sell quite a few publications and had fruitful discussions with a number of people who showed interest in our work.

While the social democratic party is still able to mobilize thousands of people, it's remarkable that its contingents hardly contain any migrants. Furthermore, the average age of these contingents is very high and labor aristocrats and better-off workers in the public sector are vastly overrepresented in them. Nevertheless, it's incumbent upon true revolutionaries to try and win over whatever proletarian sectors still exist in the party so that they will break with the extreme right-wing leadership of the party, headed by former manager Christian Kern, a leadership which pursues an agenda of neo-liberal austerity,

militarism and racist Islamophobia.

In the afternoon, the Austrian Section of the RCIT held its May Day rally close to the Syrian embassy. About 80 members and supporters, as well as Syrian, Egyptian, Iraqi, Ahwaz and Chechen activists, participated and listened to speeches by our 18 year old Syrian brother Yussef, our Iraqi brother Kamal al-Din, as well as to several RCIT speakers (Rahime Berisha, Marek Hangler, Johannes Moraga, Almedina Gunić and Michael Pröbsting).

In their speeches, the Austrian RCIT comrades stressed the need to fight against racism and the policy of austerity in Austria, as well as to continue support for the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples against dictatorships and the imperialist Great Powers. We warned all those assembled about the attempts of the Great Powers to divide the oppressed and to buy-off their political leaders. And we vowed to continue our struggle until the working class defeats its enemies and takes power.

*Pictures and videos of the speeches can be viewed here: <https://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei-erster-mai-2017/> (Scroll down to the end of the article)*



May Day Rally 2017 in Vienna, organized by the Austrian section of the RCIT

# The Guardians of Swedish Imperialist Democracy

## Another remarkable document from the ex-Trotskyist L5I

*A comment from Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 09 May 2017*

A few weeks ago we published a reply to two remarkable documents from the ex-Trotskyist "*League for the Fifth International*" (L5I). (1) In one of these documents, our former comrades called for the "*defense of the single European market*" in the upcoming UK election in June. In the other document, published by their Swedish section, they denounced all Islamist currents as "*fascist*" and called for a policy of "*no platform*" for them, i.e., to physically attack them wherever they appear in public.

In our reply we explained that such a characterization of all Islamist currents as "*fascist*" is utter nonsense and, in fact, a capitulation to the Islamophobic wave which currently characterizes European politics. Despite their backward, petty-bourgeois character, many Islamist forces play an important and leading role in various liberation struggles (e.g., Hamas in Palestine, various factions in Syria, etc.). Others have a reactionary, but rather bourgeois-democratic and certainly not fascist character (e.g., Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt).

Instead of joining the camp of Islamophobic imperialism à la Trump, Putin, Netanyahu, Le Pen, Strache and Assad, Marxists have to support mass struggles against the Great Powers and dictatorships. This includes the *defense* of such Islamist forces against US, Russian, Israeli and European imperialism or the Assad tyranny while, at the same time, combating the influence of such Islamist forces among the workers and oppressed. (2)

We pointed out that these new positions of the L5I reflect the tremendous shift to the right by this former revolutionary organization. (3) We characterized the statement by the Swedish section as a kind of 1914 *bonsai* war cry because, with it, the L5I joins the camp of Islamophobic social-chauvinism.

Since we wrote our comment, L5I Sweden published yet another longer article which explains more in detail their Islamophobic position. (4) This document is remarkable, since it goes further in drawing the inevitable practical conclusions from the L5I's Islamophobic social-chauvinist capitulation.

The author of this latest article states that the Swedish section of the L5I supported and joined the official demonstrations which were organized by the country's political establishment in response to the run-down truck terror attack in Stockholm by an alleged supporter of Daesh which cost the lives of four people. ("*We Marxists participate without doubt in such mobilizations.*") These demonstrations – which were similar to government-sponsored demonstrations in Europe after the *Charlie Hebdo* attack in Paris in January 2015, were addressed by various bourgeois politicians and "personalities from public life" and served as a rally for ideological support for Swedish (and European) imperialism. (5)

The L5I in Sweden is certainly aware of the character of these mobilizations as they explicitly mention the "*(Swedish) nationalism*" and the "*tribute to the police.*" However, they downplay these facts as "*unfortunate elements*" which do

not hinder their supporting and joining these reactionary mobilizations! The L5I members have become guardians of Swedish imperialist democracy!

As the RCIT has explained many times, Marxists sharply condemn such reactionary terrorist attacks against civilians. But we certainly do not support or even join the pro-imperialist mobilizations which only serve as ideological support for the oppression of Muslim migrants and the Great Powers' wars in the Middle East.

However, the L5I in Sweden is not content with simply supporting such government-sponsored mobilizations. They now also call the Swedish bourgeois state to accelerate the repression of "jihadists" who return from Syria. As we know, the imperialists in Europe denounce everyone as "jihadist" (and not only the counter-revolutionary Daesh) who joins the liberation struggle in Syria against the Assad regime: "*Jihadists returning to Sweden should either be punished here or deported to, for example, the Kurdish self-government in Iraq or to Rojava and be subjected to war crimes there.*"

In contrast to the L5I, authentic Marxists do not support the repression of the so-called "jihadists" by the European imperialist states, without, of course, lending any *political* support to these Islamist groups. (6)

Finally, the L5I also calls upon the Swedish state to send heavy weapons to the Kurdish PYD/YPG in Syria: "*One demand must be that Sweden immediately donates large amounts of heavy and advanced weapons to YPG in Rojava / Syria, to facilitate their fight against IS.*"

As every observer of the Syrian civil war knows, for some time the YPG has been acting as foot soldiers for US imperialism in their offensive against the Arab-populated territories in Raqqa and other parts of northern Syria. In the very same article, the L5I itself is forced to admit: "*The PYD was even so effective [in fighting the 'jihadists', Ed.] that the United States was forced to enter into a limited partnership with them in order to strike the IS.*"

In other words, despite being aware that the PYD/YPG currently acts on behalf of US imperialism in their efforts to take control of northern Syria, the L5I in Sweden calls for the Swedish imperialist state to send heavy weapons to them. This is equivalent to openly supporting US imperialism! (7)

In our earlier reply to the two articles cited above, we characterized the statement by the L5I Sweden as a kind of 1914 *bonsai* war cry. Given the shocking deepening of their Islamophobic social-chauvinist capitulation, we can now probably delete the adjective "*bonsai.*" In any case, there can be no doubt that the L5I in Sweden has positioned itself on the wrong, imperialist side of the barricade on the issue of Sweden's and the Great Power's war against the Muslim peoples.

It is quite possible that there are comrades in the L5I who are pulling out their hair in light of such a social-chauvinist flip-flop. But their internal criticism has no practical consequences insofar as the L5I has not published a single criticism of the vulgar ideological capitulation of



their Swedish section. And even if they would do so, those would-be critical L5I members have to ask themselves: how is it possible that an old section (the Swedish comrades joined the L5I in 1994) has degenerated to such a low social-chauvinist level before the eyes of the whole international organization?! How is it possible that such people are tolerated in a “Marxist” organization?!

The uncomfortable truth is that the L5I as a whole has shifted radically to the right, towards centrism, and towards adaption to the petty-bourgeois prejudices of the left-liberal intelligentsia. The L5I Sweden represents only the most “advanced” (or better: regressive) sector of the whole L5I’s political degeneration. It’s high time to break with such centrism and to draw the practical conclusions!

### Footnotes:

(1) Michael Pröbsting: The Market Marxists. Two remarkable documents from the ex-Trotskyist L5I, 25 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/l5i-opportunism/>

(2) We have elaborated the Marxist approach to Islamist forces in various documents. See e.g., our numerous articles on Syria, Palestine, Egypt and other countries on our website in the section: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. See also, Yossi Schwartz: The Marxist View of Religion in General and Islam in Particular, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/marxism-and-islam/>; ISL: Islam, Islamism and the Struggle for Revolution, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/islam-and-revolution/>; RCIT: France after the Attacks in Paris: Defend the Muslim People against Imperialist Wars, Chauvinist Hatemongering, and State Repression! 9.1.2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/statement-paris-attacks/>; Michael Pröbsting and Simon Hardy: Theses on Islamism, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-on-islamism/>

(3) The RCIT has dealt with the centrist degeneration of the L5I in various documents. See e.g., Michael Pröbsting: Marxism, the European Union and Brexit. The L5I and the European Union: A Right Turn away from Marxism. The recent change in the L5I’s position towards support for EU membership represents a shift away from its own tradition, of the Marxist method, and of the facts; August 2016, in: Revolutionary Communist No. 55, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/eu-and-brexite/>; Michael Pröbsting: Does the EU Represent “Bourgeois Democratic

Progress”? Once again, on the EU and the Tactics of the Working Class – An Addendum to our Criticism of the L5I’s Turn to the Right and Its Support for EU Membership, 16.09.2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/eu-brexite-article/> ; Manfred Meier: Nachbeben des Brexit - Zur Rechtswende von GAM/L5I: das „JA“ zum Verbleib in der EU, August 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/home/deutsch/gam-brexite/>; Michael Pröbsting: The British Left and the EU-Referendum: The Many Faces of pro-UK or pro-EU Social-Imperialism. An analysis of the left’s failure to fight for an independent, internationalist and socialist stance both against British as well as European imperialism (chapter III.3.), August 2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/british-left-and-eu-referendum/>; RCIT: Where is the LFI drifting? A Letter from the RCIT to the LFI comrades, 11.5.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/centrist-degeneration-of-lfi/>; On the history of the RCIT and the L5I see our book by Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/>

(4) L5I Sweden: Efter terrorattentatet i Stockholm, 2017-04-18, <http://www.arbetarmakt.com/2017/04/efter-terrorattentatet-i-stockholm/>

(5) See e.g., RCIT: France after the Attacks in Paris: Defend the Muslim People against Imperialist Wars, Chauvinist Hatemongering, and State Repression! 9.1.2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/statement-paris-attacks/>; RCIT: Terror in Paris is the Result of Imperialist Terror in the Middle East! 14.11.2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/terror-in-paris/>

(6) See on this e.g., RCIT: Increasing Instability and Militarization in the European Union. On the Tasks of Revolutionaries in the New Political Phase which has Opened in Europe after the Terrorist Attack in Paris, 08.12.2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/militarism-in-eu/>

(7) On the RCIT’s analysis of the current US offensive against Raqqa see Yossi Schwartz: Raqqa: Defeat the US Imperialist Offensive! An assessment of the US/SDF/YPG war against Daesh, April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-offensive-in-raqqa/>. On our analysis of Daesh see RCIT: The Revolutionary Struggle against Daesh and the Imperialist Aggression in the Middle East, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/resolution-daesh/>

## Order from our contact adress past issues of the RCIT’s Journal Revolutionary Communism!

The image displays five covers of the journal 'Revolutionary Communism' from the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT). Each cover features a red background with a hammer and sickle symbol and various headlines. The covers are for September 2012, August 2012, June 2012, January 2012, and September 2011.

- September 2012:** South Africa: The Miners fight, ANC/SACP betrays plus: Revolution in Libya, Greece, WikiLeaks, Bosnia, Turkey, Maoism
- August 2012:** na as an imperialist power: background, nuances and tactics plus: South African Miners Strike, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Canada
- June 2012:** Elections, United and the struggle for workers' Government plus: Programme for Pakistan, France, these Imperialism, Zimbabwe...
- January 2012:** and Resistance in Pakistan plus: General Strike in Greece plus: Occupation Movement Fifth International Iran, Lybia, Israel...
- September 2011:** tives of the Arab Revolution plus: Crisis of the Poor in Britain plus: Theses on Migration Workers Struggle in Pakistan What We Stand For

# The Pseudo-Trotskyist L5I Congratulates the British Police for Their Service

## Another capitulation to the imperialist pressure in the aftermath of the Manchester terror attack

By Michael Pröbsting, *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)*, 25 May 2017

The terror attack in Manchester has not only provoked a wave of right-wing Islamophobic hatred like Katie Hopkins' outrageous call for a "final solution" against Muslims, but also an acceleration of state repression like the positioning of the British army on the streets of the UK. It has also pushed various centrists to adapt to this social-chauvinist pressure. (1)

An example of such adaption to this social-chauvinist pressure is that of the "Red Flag" which has been operating within the Labour Party for nearly two years now, and which was known for decades as "Workers Power" – the British section and flagship of the "League for the Fifth International" (L5I). Formerly this was a revolutionary organization from which the founding cadres of the RCIT were expelled in 2011. (2)

We have recently drawn attention to the huge shift to the right of this organization. In particular, we have pointed out that the leadership of this organization has changed its traditional position of consistent anti-imperialism and now "critically" supports the imperialist European Union and its Single Market against populist right-wing forces. Similarly, the L5I has adapted to the Islamophobic hysteria in Sweden, calling all Islamists "fascists" and supporting state repression against them. (3)

The latest link in this chain of pro-imperialist social-chauvinism can be found in *Red Flags'* statement regarding the Manchester terror attack. It contains a position which has never been heard in the more than 40 years of this organization's existence. While Marxists – and hence, until recently, also our former comrades – have always stood in fundamental opposition to the imperialist repression apparatus, *Red Flag* has now substantially softened this position. (4)

In its statement on the Manchester attack, *Red Flag* writes: "We share in the universal appreciation for the members of the emergency services who risked their own lives to organise medical and security for the victims." (5) As everyone knows, and Wikipedia confirms, the police are a crucial part of the emergency services of the state. (6) The police – in addition to the medical services and the fire fighters – naturally played an important role in the reaction to the Manchester terror attack. Together with the army they play an even more important role in the advancing the machinery of state repression which is going to terribly impact the Muslim migrant communities in Manchester and throughout the entire country. Just ask their brothers and sisters living in France!

Naturally, there would be nothing wrong in the L5I's congratulating the nurses and fire fighters – who are part of the working class – for their helping victims of the attack. But to congratulate our class enemy – the police, a critical part of the imperialist state apparatus of repression – is nothing but an adaption to social-chauvinist pressure. Such a collaborationist attitude to the police has a long

tradition in the camp of reformism and centrism. The left social democrats and the Stalinists often support the police against "extremists." Likewise, centrists like Peter Taffee's SPEW/CWI, flirt with the police and consider them "workers in uniform." As the examples of their British and Swedish comrades demonstrate, the L5I has now joined the camp of these opportunists.

Lenin insisted that the state question was a clear line of demarcation that would completely separate off authentic Marxists from all sorts of revisionists. He emphasized that the working class must stand for "the destruction of the entire bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom". (7) The L5I's "share in the universal appreciation" for the police is nothing but a collapse into vulgar reformism and in utter contradiction to such a Marxist approach.

Unfortunately, this is not the L5I's first capitulation to imperialism nor, we fear, will it be its last. We can only hope that revolutionary militants inside the L5I will revolt against this scandalous degeneration into naked anti-Marxist centrism.

### Footnotes

(1) The statement of our British comrades on this tragic event can be read here: RCIT Britain: Terror Comes To Manchester - War Comes Home, 23.05.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/manchester-terror/>

(2) The RCIT has dealt with the centrist degeneration of the L5I in various documents. See e.g., Michael Pröbsting: Marxism, the European Union and Brexit. The L5I and the European Union: A Right Turn away from Marxism. The recent change in the L5I's position towards support for EU membership represents a shift away from its own tradition, of the Marxist method, and of the facts; August 2016, in: *Revolutionary Communist* No. 55, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/eu-and-brexite/>; Michael Pröbsting: Does the EU Represent "Bourgeois Democratic Progress"? Once again, on the EU and the Tactics of the Working Class – An Addendum to our Criticism of the L5I's Turn to the Right and Its Support for EU Membership, 16.09.2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/eu-brexite-article/>; Manfred Meier: Nachbeben des Brexit - Zur Rechtswende von GAM/L5I: das „JA“ zum Verbleib in der EU, August 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/home/deutsch/gam-brexite/>; Michael Pröbsting: The British Left and the EU-Referendum: The Many Faces of pro-UK or pro-EU Social-Imperialism. An analysis of the left's failure to fight for an independent, internationalist and socialist stance both against British as well as European imperialism (chapter III.3.), August 2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/british-left-and-eu-referendum/>; RCIT: Where is the LFI drifting? A Letter from the RCIT to the LFI comrades, 11.5.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/centrist-degeneration-of-lfi/>; On the history of the RCIT and the L5I, see our book by Michael Pröbsting: *Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism*, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/>

(3) See Michael Pröbsting: *The Guardians of Swedish Imperialist*

Democracy. Another remarkable document from the ex-Trotskyist L5I, 09 May 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/15i-opportunism-2/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Market Marxists. Two remarkable documents from the ex-Trotskyist L5I, 25 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/15i-opportunism/>

(4) Our position on the terrorist attacks which took place in Europe in recent years can be read in RCIT: Terror in Brussels: The War comes Home. Daesh-Terror is the Result of Imperialist Terror! Oppose any State of Emergency and Repression against Muslim Peoples in Europe!, 23.03.2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/brussels-attack/>; RCIT: Terror in Paris is the Result of Imperialist Terror in the Middle East! Stop France's and other Imperialist Powers' Warmongering! No Mobilization of the Army inside France! Defend the Muslim Peoples against Chauvinist Hatemongering and State Repression! 14.11.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/terror-in-paris/>; 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 (January 2016), 23 January 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/>; RCIT: Increasing Instability and Militarization in the European Union. On the Tasks of Revolutionaries in the New Political Phase which has Opened in Europe after the Terrorist Attack in Paris, 08.12.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/militarism-in-eu/>; RCIT: France after the Attacks in Paris: Defend the Muslim People against Imperialist Wars, Chauvinist

Hatemongering, and State Repression! 9.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/statement-paris-attacks/>; Michael Pröbsting: France: "Communist" Party fails to Vote in Parliament against Imperialist War in Iraq! 15.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/french-pcf-iraq-war/>; Michael Pröbsting: After the Paris Attack: Socialists must Join Hands with Muslim People Against Imperialism and Racism! Reformist and Centrist Forces try to derail the Workers Movement by Failing to Stand up for Solidarity with the Muslims and Against Imperialist War-Mongering! 17.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/france-defend-muslims/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Racist Character of Charlie Hebdo and the pro-imperialist campaign "Je Suis Charlie". Solidarity with Muslim People! NOT Solidarity with Charlie Hebdo! 17.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/racist-charlie-hebdo/>

(5) Red Flag: Manchester Arena: the war on terror has turned all civilians into targets, 23/05/2017, <http://www.redflagonline.org/2017/05/manchester-arena-the-war-on-terror-has-turned-all-civilians-into-targets/>; in German: Selbstmordanschlag in Manchester, <http://www.arbeitermacht.de/infomail/946/manchester.htm>

(6) See e.g. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emergency\\_service](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emergency_service); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/999\\_\(emergency\\_telephone\\_number\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/999_(emergency_telephone_number))

(7) V.I.Lenin: Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920), in: LCW Vol. 31, p. 186

# 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

## A Social-Chauvinist Defence of the Indefensible

### Another Reply to the CWG/LCC's Support for "Workers'" Immigration Control

By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT) and Andrew Walton (RCIT Aotearoa / New Zealand), 14.5.2017

Recently, the Communist Workers Group in Aotearoa / New Zealand (CWG) published a polemic against the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT). (1) This was a response to our critique of their slogan of "Workers' Immigration Control" which they raised in contrast to our consistent struggle against all forms of immigration control by rich countries. (2) This slogan reflects the adaption of numerous reformist and centrist groups to the social-chauvinistic pressure in imperialist and other wealthy countries.

In our document, we explained that the slogan for "workers' control of immigration" is anti-democratic, anti-internationalist and socially-chauvinistic. In a world characterized by imperialist exploitation and increasing inequality between rich and poor nations, socialists in the rich capitalist countries must oppose *all forms* of immigration control. Such immigration control only serves as a weapon of the ruling class against the poor, semi-colonial countries; as an instrument to limit the freedom of movement of poor people, and as a means to divide the international working class and to rally the domestic working class behind the cause of chauvinism. The slogan of "Workers' Immigration Control" – raised by the CWG/LCC as well as other centrist groups – is nothing less than adaption to the domestic, white labour aristocracy which supports their ruling class' migration policy in order to defend their national privileges. (3) A more appropriate name for what they propose would be not "Workers' Immigration Control" but "Labour Aristocratic Immigration Control"!

For these reasons, as we have demonstrated in our documents dealing with this issue, the communist program on migration historically included a consistent opposition against *all forms* of immigration control in rich countries. Communists today have to defend this key element of working class internationalism and raise, among other programmatic demands, the slogan of "Open Borders" to defend the right of all migrants to enter the richer countries.

#### Ideological Diversion

Despite the length of their article (5,000 words), the CWG(A/NZ) is unable to contend with any of the numerous facts and figures on immigration to New Zealand and globally which we cited in our document to explain our approach. Nor does their article provide any facts or figures on immigration. Similarly, they remain silent on our reference to the *Communist International* in the time of Lenin and Trotsky, when it explicitly stated its opposition to all forms of immigration control.

Instead of dealing seriously with our criticism, the polemic of the CWG(A/NZ) desperately tries to defend the indefensible. Towards these ends, they employ a crude combination of ideological diversion, unashamed retreat, and a distortion of the Marxist classics.

They start their defence of "Workers' Immigration Control" with long references to the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the Balkan Wars in the 1990s, and the reactionary coups in Egypt, Thailand and Brazil in recent years. As the RCIT has dealt extensively with these issues in other places, here we refer readers to the appropriate documents. (4) Suffice it to say at this point that, with their references to these historic issues, the CWG – respectively their whole "Liaison Committee of Communists" (LCC) – demonstrates that they do indeed have a very long tradition of ultra-left ignorance of the importance of democratic issues in the class struggle.

Furthermore, not only do they ignore the document of the Communist International supporting our struggle for "Open Borders," but they also use a method based on bizarrely distorting the classic Marxist writings.

#### Distortion of the Marxist Classics

The first quote they cite is from a well-known letter from Marx to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt (from 9 April 1870) in which Marx describes the terrible exploitation of the Irish workers by Britain and the deep antagonism between the Irish and the British workers. However, the lengthy quote given in the CWG(A/NZ) article doesn't deal in a single word with the issue of immigration control and, hence, is completely irrelevant to our dispute!

They then quote Trotsky, from 1926, dealing with how a workers' state – Trotsky at that time was still a leading functionary of the Communist Party and the Soviet government – should deal with Japanese and Korean immigration. Again, this has absolutely nothing to do with the issue under dispute here, as Trotsky was addressing the issue of defending the Soviet workers' state *against possible interference from Japanese imperialism*. (Korea, at that time, was part of the Japanese empire.)

The last quote cited by the CWG/LCC in their article is one by Lenin in which the leader of the Bolshevik party opposes a slogan raised by an intra-party opponent after the latter advanced the idea of "Down with frontiers" as a "method of socialist revolution." Here, the CWG assumes that their readers are content to accept this, their own bizarre interpretation, and won't bother reading Lenin's original speech. As a matter of fact, in this speech Lenin was countering the position of the ultra-left opposition within the party, grouped around Pjatakov and Bukharin, which *opposed* the right of national self-determination for oppressed peoples, including their right to create their own state. Pjatakov and Bukharin contended that this Marxist position is an illegitimate democratic demand, because the program of international socialist revolution includes the abolition of all frontiers.

This is not the first time – and we fear not the last – that the CWG/LCC completely distorts the Bolshevik program raised by Lenin. The revolutionary Marxist program includes the consistent struggle for the democratic rights

of oppressed nations. This is why we defend the right of oppressed nations to create their own states and this is also why we defend their right to move freely to imperialist and rich countries. Lenin polemicised against those ultra-leftists who opposed this democratic program and who advised oppressed peoples to find consolation in the fact that they only need to wait until the socialist revolution will have succeeded around the world. Incredibly, the CWG/LCC distorts Lenin's *defence* of the oppressed peoples' right of national self-determination and shamelessly presents it as affirmation for their own support for immigration control in white and wealthy countries like New Zealand *against* oppressed people from semi-colonial countries!

### Lenin on Immigration Control in Imperialist and Rich Countries

As a matter of fact, on numerous occasions Lenin made clear that his party *opposed* all forms of immigration control in the imperialist and rich countries and never raised such reactionary nonsense like "*workers control on immigration.*" This is why the Communist International opposed immigration control – despite its support by white domestic workers – as we have demonstrated in a lengthy quote given in our previous article on the subject to which the CWG/LCC so disingenuously attempted to reply. For the convenience of the readers, let's briefly restate here the conclusions of the Comintern:

*"This fact has led to workers in the imperialist countries demanding the introduction of laws against immigration and coloured labour, both in America and Australia. These restrictive laws deepen the antagonism between coloured and white workers, which divides and weakens the unity of the workers' movement. (...) The Communist Parties of America, Canada and Australia must conduct a vigorous campaign against restrictive*

*immigration laws and must explain to the proletarian masses in these countries that such laws, by inflaming racial hatred, will rebound on them in the long run."* (5)

This was the position that Lenin defended throughout his entire political life. When, at the Stuttgart congress of 1907, the opportunists in the Second International argued for restrictions on immigration – raising the defence of the interests of the domestic workers as the CWG/LCC does today – all authentic Marxists at the time rallied to defeat their motion. They succeeded in getting the congress to adopt a principled resolution which made crystal clear that all restrictions on immigration are "*reactionary by nature*" – instead of spreading any stupid illusions about domestic white workers "*controlling*" the borders against foreign workers.

*"The congress does not see a remedy to the potentially impending consequences for the workers from immigration and emigration in any economic or political exclusionary rules, because these are fruitless and reactionary by nature. This is particularly true of a restriction on the movement and the exclusion of foreign nationalities or races."* (6)

Lenin, who participated as a delegate of the Bolsheviks at the Congress, explicitly stated his agreement with opposing any form of immigration control:

*"Further, on the question of emigration and immigration, a clear difference of opinion arose between the opportunists and the revolutionaries in the Commission of the Stuttgart Congress. The opportunists cherished the idea of limiting the right of migration of backward, undeveloped workers—especially the Japanese and the Chinese. In the minds of these opportunists the spirit of narrow craft isolation, of trade-union exclusiveness, outweighed the consciousness of socialist tasks: the work of educating and organising those strata of the proletariat which have not yet been drawn into the labour movement. The Congress rejected everything that smacked of this spirit. Even in the Commission*

## 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.

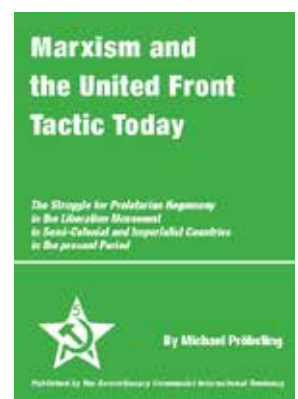
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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.



*there were only a few solitary votes in favour of limiting freedom of migration, and recognition of the solidarity of the workers of all countries in the class struggle is the keynote of the resolution adopted by the International Congress.” (7)*

The Bolsheviks continued such a Marxist approach and expressed it on numerous occasions. In 1915, Lenin again wrote that his party unambiguously opposed any support for restrictions on immigration. He concluded that all socialists *“who are not against any restrictions of immigration ... are in reality jingoes”*.

*“In our struggle for true internationalism & against “jingo-socialism” we always quote in our press the example of the opportunist leaders of the S.P. in America, who are in favor of restrictions of the immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers (especially after the Congress of Stuttgart, 1907, & against the decisions of Stuttgart). We think that one can not be internationalist & be at the same time in favor of such restrictions. And we assert that Socialists in America, especially English Socialists, belonging to the ruling, and oppressing nation, who are not against any restrictions of immigration, against the possession of colonies (Hawaii) and for the entire freedom of colonies, that such Socialists are in reality jingoes.” (8)*

Hence, the resolution of the Communist International in 1922, which we quoted in our previous document and which the CWG/LCC prefers to entirely ignore, was no mere accident but rather the logical extension of the Bolshevik tradition.

#### **The Fourth International against “Any Restrictions on Immigration”**

This Marxist tradition of international working class opposition against *“any restrictions on immigration”* was continued by the Trotskyist Fourth International. Its US-American section published a resolution on the *“Jewish Question”* which, however, also dealt with general issues of immigration. This resolution stated:

*“The Fight for Unrestricted Immigration: In view of the awful plight of the Jews, it must be made a special point in the program of the various sections of the Fourth International to fight against restrictions on immigration, particularly Jewish immigration. In the U.S. we must fight against the imposing of barriers such as the necessity to prove by showing money or through affidavits that the immigrant will not become a public charge. Part of our combating of anti-Semitism must take the form of a fight for unrestricted immigration for refugees, especially Jews.” (9)*

We think these quotes prove sufficiently that the entire Marxist tradition – contrary to the falsifications of the social-chauvinist CWG/LCC – has always opposed any form of immigration control.

#### **A Shameless Tactical Retreat**

It seems that there indeed *are* comrades inside the LCC who are aware of the social-chauvinist significance of the CWG’s turn towards *“Workers’ Immigration Control.”* Can it be only by chance that the CWG(US) – also part of the LCC –, until now, has neither published the original CWG(A/NZ) article nor the latter organization’s polemic against the RCIT? We think not, seeing how embarrassing the support for immigration control would be for the CWG(US) in a country which is currently undergoing

such a powerful solidarity movement with undocumented immigrants who are facing the terror of the racist Trump administration!

In fact, the CWG/LCC seems to be conducting a shameless tactical retreat from their original slogan. In its latest polemic against the RCIT it writes: *“That is why our article included the demand: “Open the borders to political refugees.” We should have been more specific and said ‘refugees from imperialist and national oppression’...”*

By adding the words *“we should have been more specific,”* the CWG/LCC is essentially changing the entire crux of their position, but without being honest enough to admit this. First they called for *“open borders”* only for political refugees, i.e., individuals who are targeted by a dictatorship because of their political opposition activity. As is widely known, such people constitute only a small fraction of the total number of migrants, most of whom flee from wars, poverty and hunger. So now, with no shame whatsoever, the CWG/LCC is attempting to save its social-chauvinist skin by *“being more specific”* and calling for *“Open the borders”* (remember, they condemned the RCIT precisely for raising the slogan of *“Open borders”!*) for *“refugees from imperialist and national oppression.”* But as *“imperialist and national oppression”* is the root cause of the entire phenomena of migration – whether the motivation to flee comes specifically from wars, hunger, or poverty (or all of the above) – by the logic of its embarrassing retreat, the CWG/LCC unwittingly ends up calling for no less than *“open borders.”*

One only has to reread the following paragraphs from the CWG/LCC’s original article which very explicitly admits that their entire policy of *“Workers’ Immigration Control”* arose as a result of and is directed against the increasing importation of cheap skilled labour from semi-colonial countries:

*“Let’s pull this skilled labour category apart – many workers in this category are seeking a better life for themselves. Internationally the flow of skilled workers is from the colonies to the imperialist countries. This leaves colonies and semi-colonies with shortages of skilled workers, notably in the health sector doctors, nurses and other health workers, but also in the education sectors and engineering etc. So, the semi-colonies are undersupplied with skilled labour, the poor are under supplied with health care and education. (...) The “skilled migrants” scheme is to fill labour shortages. However, this shows how capitalism employs workers who sell their skills for a low wage to get a job. NZ employers are only interested in making profits not paying to train NZ workers. The immigration policy of New Zealand has a class bias running through it. It is made to meet the needs of capitalists. Unions have been fighting for migrant workers but are limited to the struggle for labour rights. Migrants are used by the capitalist class as a reserve army of labour of unemployed (and prisoners) to drive down wages.” (10)*

Now, like a thief caught in the act, they have made an embarrassing U-turn and claim that they are actually for *“Open borders for refugees from imperialist and national oppression.”* Does this mean that, now, the CWG/LCC opposes *any* form of immigration control for skilled labour forces from semi-colonial countries and supports *“open borders”!* If not, what else could they possibly mean by *“refugees from imperialist and national oppression”!* All this zigzagging is like a smoke and mirrors used to hide the

tracks of the CWG/LCC adaption's to social-chauvinism! Similarly, it is embarrassingly shameful how the CWG/LCC actually attempts to rally the RCIT's support for their position, based on our support for the right of black African states to oppose the intrusion of white or Chinese settlers. As if this were comparable to their defence of white New Zealand's "Workers' Immigration Control" in reaction to the increasing immigration of refugees from poor Pacific and Asian countries! Does the CWG/LCC seriously want to contend that black African countries should be playing by the same rules as white-dominated New Zealand?!

**Caught in Their Own Trap, the Result is Complete Ideological Confusion**

As we see, the CWG/LCC has fallen into trap that they themselves set, and is now attempting to grope its way out by a disingenuous combination of ideological diversion, a shameless tactical retreat, and a distortion of the Marxist classics. The result is, and can only be, complete ideological confusion and the defense of the indefensible.

However, the Marxist vanguard needs clarity and not confusion! It needs the tradition of Marxist internationalism and not little-islander social-chauvinism!

This is particularly true in the epoch of imperialism and the current historic period. The issue of immigration and imperialist border control is one of the most important global issues given the growing inequality between the rich and the poor nations and given the spread of wars and hunger. Socialists in the rich countries must take an unambiguous stand of proletarian internationalism fighting against all forms of immigration control and for full equality of migrants as part of a transitional program directed at the socialist revolution.

Without such an approach socialists cannot possibly win the trust of the huge majority of the global working class which is living in the poor countries, not the rich. And without winning the trust of the majority of the international proletariat it will be impossible to build a new Workers' International as a world party of socialist revolution.

**A Step towards the Defence of the Imperialist Fatherland**

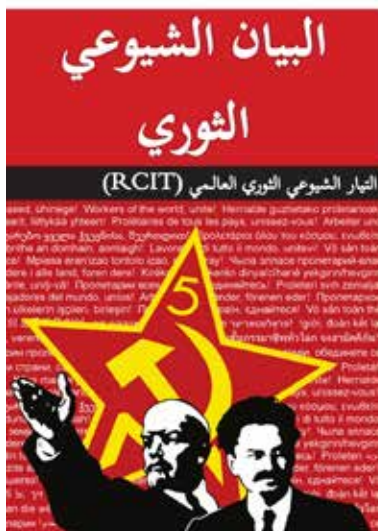
Such a stand includes unambiguous opposition of authentic socialists to all forms of adaption to their ruling classes and all kinds of social-chauvinism. This is even truer given the fact that the reactionary defence of the imperialist fatherland against immigrants is, in essence, the same as the social-patriotic defence of the imperialist fatherland and wealthy states against other countries.

Those who are not able to break with their fatherland when it comes to immigration, with all the resulting consequences, will be incapable of breaking with their fatherland when it comes to military conflicts and wars, again with all the consequences. Those who call for "workers' immigration control" will also call for "workers control" of the defence of their imperialist or rich state when it comes to a military conflict with other countries – instead of calling for its defeat and against giving it any support.

It is no accident that these were exactly the same issues which were argued at the Stuttgart congress in 1907: those calling for immigration control also supported adaption to the defence of the imperialist fatherland. As we know, this social-chauvinist wing ended up a few years later in bed with the European ruling classes when World War I began. On the other hand, the left-wing of the Second International, with V.I. Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg at its head, took a position of consistent proletarian internationalism both on the issue of immigration and on the issue of the defence of the imperialist fatherland in 1907 as well as in 1914.

In conclusion, we reiterate that the slogan for "workers' control of immigration" means in reality *labour aristocratic immigration control*. It is anti-democratic, anti-internationalist and socially-chauvinistic. The communist program on migration must include the slogan "Open Borders" which defends the right of all migrants to enter the richer countries. This is what the RCIT and authentic revolutionaries are fighting for today!

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## Footnotes

(1) CWG(A/NZ): Worker or Capitalist control of borders? Reply to RCIT, April 30, 2017, [http://redrave.blogspot.co.at/2017/04/worker-or-capitalist-control-of-borders\\_30.html](http://redrave.blogspot.co.at/2017/04/worker-or-capitalist-control-of-borders_30.html). The CWG(A/NZ) is part of the "Liaison Committee of Communists" (LCC) which has comrades in the US, Zimbabwe and Brazil.

(2) Michael Pröbsting and Andrew Walton: The Slogan of "Workers" Immigration Control: A Concession to Social-Chauvinism, 27.3.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/workers-immigration-control/>. The original article of the CWG(A/NZ) is here: Aotearoa.NZ: For Workers' Control of Migration, March 17, 2017, <http://redrave.blogspot.co.at/2017/03/aotearoanz-for-workers-control-of.html>

(3) For a more detailed elaboration of the RCIT's position on migration and the internationalist program of revolutionary equality we refer readers to various documents which we have published and which are accessible on our website. See e.g., RCIT: Marxism, Migration and Revolutionary Integration, <https://www.thecommunists.net/oppressed/revolutionary-integration/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South, chapter 8.iv) and 14ii), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>; Michael Pröbsting: The British Left and the EU-Referendum: The Many Faces of pro-UK or pro-EU Social-Imperialism, August 2015, Chapter II.2, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/british-left-and-eu-referendum/part-5-1/>, RCIT-Program, chapter V: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto/fight-against-oppression-of-migrants/>, RCIT-Manifesto chapter IV: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-program-2016/chapter-iv/>; and various actual statements and articles here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/articles-on-refugees/>. See also Michael Pröbsting: Migration and Super-exploitation: Marxist Theory and the Role of Migration in the present Period of Capitalist Decay, in: Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory (Volume 43, Issue 3-4, 2015), pp. 329-346. We have also published a detailed study on migration and the Marxist program in German. See Michael Pröbsting: Marxismus, Migration und revolutionäre Integration

(2010); in: Der Weg des Revolutionären Kommunismus, Nr. 7, pp. 38-41, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/werk-7>

(4) See on this, e.g., RCIT: It is Time to Break with a Wrong Method! Open Letter from the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) to the Members of the Liaison Committee of Communists, July 2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/open-letter-to-lcc/>. In this document readers find references to various documents on the relevant issues. On the issues of tactics in the USSR 1991 and the Balkan Wars in the 1990s see e.g. chapter 3ii) of our book Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/rcit-party-building-iii/>

(5) Communist International: Theses on the Eastern Question, Fourth Congress of the Communist International, December 1922, in: Jane Degras: The Communist International 1919-1943. Documents. Volume I 1919-1922, pp. 391-392, <http://marxists.org/history/international/comintern/4th-congress/eastern-question.htm>

(6) Resolution zur Ein- und Auswanderung, in: Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongreß, Stuttgart 1907, vom 18 bis 24. August, Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin 1907, p. 58; translation in English: Weekly Worker No. 1004, 4 April 2014, <http://www.cpgb.org.uk/home/weekly-worker/1004/border-controls-reactionary-by-nature> (our emphasis)

(7) V.I.Lenin: The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart (1907), in: LCW Vol.13, p. 89 (Emphasis in the original)

(8) V.I.Lenin: Letter to the Secretary of the Socialist Propaganda League (1915), in: LCW Vol.21, p. 428

(9) SWP: Theses on the Jewish Question (1938), in: The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party: Minutes and resolutions 1938-39, Pathfinder Press, New York 1982, p. 253

(10) CWG(A/NZ): Aotearoa.NZ: For Workers' Control of Migration, March 17, 2017, <http://redrave.blogspot.co.at/2017/03/aotearoanz-for-workers-control-of.html>

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The image displays four covers of the journal "Revolutionary Communism", published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT). Each cover includes the journal's title, issue information, and a red star with a hammer and sickle symbol. The covers are:

- Cover 1 (July/August 2013):** Features a cartoon of a man with a rifle and a speech bubble saying "Free at last!". The headline is "Down with the Military Coup in Egypt!" and it includes "History: Israel's War in 1967 plus: Pakistan, Syria, Brazil, Venezuela, ...".
- Cover 2 (September 2013):** Features a cartoon of a man with a rifle and a speech bubble saying "Free at last!". The headline is "The Military Coup in Egypt: Analysis, Program & the Failure of the Left".
- Cover 3 (March 2015):** Features a photograph of a woman wearing a headscarf. The headline is "Arab Revolutions at the crossroad".
- Cover 4 (June 2013):** Features a photograph of a group of people. The headline is "Palestine: Al-Nakba and the 1948 War" and "Permanent Revolution today". It also includes "plus: Open Letter for Revolutionary Unity".



## Patriotic “Anti-Capitalism” for Fools

### Yet Again on the CWG/LCC’s Support for “Workers” Immigration Control and Protectionism in the US

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 30.5.2017

Every political position has its own inner logic. Consciously or unconsciously, its protagonists follow a certain political method. If an organization does not possess a fully developed revolutionary program based on a Marxist method, it ends up in a centrist labyrinth of zigzags and eclecticism. This is the sorry fate of the so-called “*Liaison Committee of Communists*” – a group with a presence in the US, New Zealand, Zimbabwe and Brazil.

During the last two months, there has been an exchange of polemical articles between the RCIT and the LCC on the issue of immigration control. This began when the LCC’s New Zealand group issued a new slogan advocating immigration control by the working class, due to problems for New Zealand workers as a result of cheap migrant labor and the rising cost of housing. According to the LCC, these problems are caused by or have at least been tremendously exacerbated by increasing migration. (1)

In response, the RCIT strongly refuted this slogan as an unwarranted concession to social chauvinism based on an incorrect analysis. (2) We explained that, in a world characterized by imperialist exploitation and increasing inequality between rich and poor nations, socialists residing in rich capitalist countries must oppose *all forms* of immigration control. Such immigration control only serves as a weapon in the hands of the ruling class against the poor, semi-colonial countries. It is used by them as an instrument to limit the freedom of movement of poor people and as a means of dividing the international working class and rallying its domestic national working class behind the cause of chauvinism. (3)

Recently, the US group of the LCC published another reply to the RCIT. (4) In this article they again defended the slogan of “workers immigration control” and also applied it to the US. Essentially, the LCC denies that there are divisions between the white working class in the US and the workers and migrants from poor semi-colonial countries. By ignoring the issue of the labor aristocracy, the upper sector of the working class bribed by the extra-profits of US monopoly capital, they don’t perceive a problem when the working class of an extremely rich imperialist country is given the right of veto against the migration of workers from poorer countries.

They also claim that Lenin’s explicit and unambiguous opposition to *any* restriction of immigration to imperialist countries is not relevant for today. According to the LCC, Lenin “*is speaking in a historical moment before industrial underdevelopment took root in what were then colonies of empires, not in the present of ‘neoliberal’ globalism.*” As if in a world like today’s, opposition to imperialist immigration control should somehow be less important and urgent for Marxists!

#### LCC calls for the ban of foreign capitalists from the US

However, in our current reply we will not repeat the arguments and analysis which we have already elaborated in our previous articles on this issue. Here, we will deal solely with a new position which the LCC has recently introduced into the discussion. In their latest contribution, they justify their policy for “workers immigration control” by citing problems ostensibly caused by the migration of *wealthy* people and capitalists to the US. To illustrate the supposed problems caused by rich foreigners immigrating to the US, they focus on both capital flight and the gentrification of important metropolitan centers like San Francisco and New York.

At the conclusion of their “analysis”, the LCC raises yet another new slogan: “*Ban business migrants and capitalist investors!*”

This new slogan is certainly worthy of its association with the LCC’s call for “labor aristocratic immigration control,” and is merely just another manifestation of the organization’s vulgar social-chauvinism. To put it bluntly, this new slogan is nothing less than an adaption to the most reactionary prejudices among pro-Trump supporters!

First of all, it is reactionary nonsense to maintain that it is not, or not mainly, the US capitalists who are transferring their capital abroad, but rather foreign capitalists residing in the US. Likewise, is it really the case that gentrification in San Francisco or New York is not caused by US speculators in real estate and wealthy middle class American but instead by foreigners?! We think that the LCC’s blaming of foreigners for these developments is utterly reactionary babble!

The LCC’s call for the banning of foreign capitalists from the US is, in fact, merely a repetition of vulgar protectionism. There is a long tradition of bourgeois forces – both in the US as well as many other imperialist countries – calling for the ban of foreign business competitors. One just has to recall the chauvinist campaign of US trade unions against Japanese car producers or, more recently, against Chinese competitors.

The LCC is just adapting to this chauvinist sentiment against foreign competitors, irrespective of the “anti-capitalist” rhetoric in which it is clothed. The concrete meaning of such chauvinist slogans is an indirect preference for US capitalists relative to their foreign competitors. In other words, the LCC’s slogan to ban foreign capital and capitalists is nothing but a capitulation to imperialist protectionism!

In effect, calling for the ban of foreign investors means that the LCC considers capitalist exploitation by foreigners as somehow worse than exploitation by US-American capitalists. To such chauvinist nonsense we can only repeat the words of Marx, directed against supporters of protectionism: “*If they [the protectionists, Ed.] speak consciously and openly to the working class, then they summarise their philanthropy in the following words: It is better*

to be exploited by one's fellow-countrymen than by foreigners." (5)

### The Marxist tradition against imperialist protectionism

Authentic Marxists have always been intransigent opponents of any concession to imperialist protectionism. Faced with the alternative of free trade or protectionism, revolutionaries in imperialist countries oppose both and call instead for a policy of, by and for the international working class in the context of an internationalist class struggle.

While supporting free trade versus protectionism in capitalism's epoch of ascent, Marx and Engels nevertheless later warned the working class that they should support neither option of capitalist trade policy. This is what Engels wrote in an article on "Protection and Free Trade":

*"The question of Free Trade or Protection moves entirely within the bounds of the present system of capitalist production, and has, therefore, no direct interest for us socialists who want to do away with that system. (...) If a country nowadays accepts Free Trade, it will certainly not do so to please the socialists. It will do so because Free trade has become a necessity for the industrial capitalists. But if it should reject Free Trade and stick to Protection, in order to cheat the socialists out of the expected social catastrophe, that will not hurt the prospects of socialism in the least. (...) In the meantime, there is no help for it: you must go on developing the capitalist system, you must accelerate the production, accumulation, and centralization of capitalist wealth, and, along with it, the production of a revolutionary class of laborers. Whether you try the Protectionist or the Free Trade will make no difference in the end, and hardly any in the length of the respite left to you until the day when that end will come." (6)*

Such a perspective has become even more appropriate during the epoch of imperialism. Rudolf Hilferding, the author of the famous book *Finance Capital*, which played an influential role for Lenin's theory of imperialism, summarized quite well the Marxist attitude towards the issue of protectionism and free trade. Indeed Lenin reprinted the following quotation in his book on imperialism.

*"While capital can pursue no other policy than that of imperialism, the proletariat cannot oppose to it a policy derived from the period when industrial capital was sovereign; it is no use for the proletariat to oppose the policy of advanced capitalism with an antiquated policy from the era of free trade and of hostility to the state. The response of the proletariat to the economic policy of finance capital - imperialism - cannot be free trade, but only socialism. The objective of proletarian policy cannot possibly be the now reactionary ideal of reinstating free competition by the overthrow of capitalism. The proletariat avoids the bourgeois dilemma - protectionism or free trade - with a solution of its own; neither protectionism nor free trade, but socialism, the organization of production, the conscious control of the economy not by and for the benefit of capitalist magnates but by and for society as a whole, which will then at last subordinate the economy to itself as it has been able to subordinate nature ever since it discovered the laws of motion of the natural world. (...) It is precisely in those countries where the policy of the bourgeoisie has been put into effect most fully, and where the most important social aspects of the democratic political demands of the working class have been realized, that*

*socialism must be given the most prominent place in propaganda, as the only alternative to imperialism, in order to ensure the independence of working class politics and to demonstrate its superiority in the defence of proletarian interests." (7)*

Lenin based his own, no less cogent refutation of any support for either protectionism or free trade in imperialist countries by explaining that both are simply variations of monopoly capital's essence:

*„Official science tried by a conspiracy of silence, to kill the works of Marx, who by a theoretical and historical analysis of capitalism had proved that free competition gives rise to the concentration of production, which, in turn, at a certain stage of development leads to monopoly. Today, monopoly has become a fact. Economists are writing mountains of books in which they describe the diverse manifestations of monopoly, and continue to declare in chorus that "Marxism is refuted". But facts are stubborn things, as the English proverb says, and they have to be reckoned with, whether we like it or not. The facts show that differences between capitalist countries, e.g., in the matter of protection or free trade, only give rise to insignificant variations in the form of monopolies or in the moment of their appearance; and that the rise of monopolies, as the result of the concentration of production, is a general and fundamental law of the present stage of development of capitalism." (8)*

Trotsky and the Fourth International continued this approach and emphasized that the working class must be opposed to all forms of defense of the imperialist fatherland (including the "preference" of domestic to foreign capitalists):

*"The defense of the national state, first of all in Balkanized Europe - the cradle of the national state - is in the full sense of the word a reactionary task. The national state with its borders, passports, monetary system, customs and the army for the protection of customs has become a frightful impediment to the economic and cultural development of humanity. The task of the proletariat is not the defense of the national state but its complete and final liquidation. (...) A "socialist" who preaches national defense is a petty-bourgeois reactionary at the service of decaying capitalism. Not to bind itself to the national state in time of war, to follow not the war map but the map of the class struggle, is possible only for that party that has already declared irreconcilable war on the national state in time of peace. Only by realizing fully the objectively reactionary role of the imperialist state can the proletarian vanguard become invulnerable to all types of social patriotism. This means that a real break with the ideology and policy of "national defense" is possible only from the standpoint of the international proletarian revolution." (9)*

Hence, the working class must give no support either to protectionist or to free trade measures.

*"One of the pretty clear reactionaries inside the British Labour Party, Dr. Haden Guest, a chauvinist, a militarist and a protectionist in parliament, mercilessly poured scorn on his own party's line on the question of free trade and protectionism: MacDonald's position, in Guest's words, has a purely negative character and does not indicate any way out of the economic impasse. That the days of Free Trade are over really is absolutely obvious: the break-up of Liberalism has also been conditioned by the break-up of Free Trade. But Britain can just as little seek a way out in protectionism. For a young capitalist country just developing, protectionism may be an unavoidable and progressive stage of development. But for the oldest industrial country whose industry was geared to the world market and had an offensive and conquering*

character the transition to protectionism is historical testimony to the beginning of a process of mortification, and signifies in practice the maintaining of certain branches of industry that are less viable in the given world situation, at the expense of other branches of the same British industry that are better adapted to the conditions of the world and the home market. The programme of senile protectionism of Baldwin's party can be countered not by an equally senile and moribund Free Trade policy but only by the practical programme of a socialist overturn. But in order to tackle this programme it is necessary as a preliminary to purge the party both of the reactionary protectionists like Guest and reactionary free traders like MacDonald." (10)

### Conclusion

When the LCC began advocating immigration control by the working class in imperialist and rich countries, we immediately warned that doing so opens the door to the hell of social-chauvinism. While they first limited this slogan to New Zealand, the LCC now extends it even to the most advanced imperialist country – the United States. Confirming our warning, they have now taken the next logical step and call for the “ban of business migrants and foreign investors” in the US. In other words, they have adopted a so-called “Marxist” version of the arch-reactionary “America First” policy of Trump and Co. In fact, this is nothing but patriotic “anti-capitalism” for fools!

We cannot deny the inner consistency of the LCC's positions. There is an inescapable inner logic in their social-chauvinism: when one grants the domestic, relatively privileged working class of the imperialist and rich countries the right to veto all issues related to the migration of workers from poorer, semi-colonial countries, one is perfectly capable of giving preferential treatment to domestic capitalists by calling for the ban of their foreign competitors. In both cases, the LCC's inner logic inevitably leads to its favoring, whether in the US or in New Zealand, domestic white workers to migrant workers and the domestic capitalists to their foreign competitors.

It is obvious that this has nothing to do with the most basic teachings of proletarian internationalism and the tradition of Marxism. It is nothing but a vulgar adaption to the social-chauvinist ideology of the privileged labor aristocracy which is currently experiencing a certain revival under Trump's “Make America Great Again” rhetoric.

In conclusion, let us draw attention to the fact that the sad fate of the pseudo-Trotskyist LCC is an example of the fate of sterile sects. Such groups typically believe that they can avoid the traps of opportunism by divorcing themselves from the systematic, practical participation in the class struggle. In this way, according to their view, such sects can immunize themselves against contagion from reformist mass consciousness. This is, however, an idiotic delusion, as it invariably also isolates them from the dynamic pulse of class struggle. One cannot fight the pressure of reformism by self-isolation, but only by combining an authentically revolutionary Marxist method with systematic interventionism in the living class struggle, both in theory and in practice.

### Footnotes

(1) The first CWG(A/NZ) article is – Aotearoa.NZ: For Workers' Control of Migration, March 17, 2017, <http://redrave.blogspot.co.at/2017/03/aotearoanz-for-workers-control-of.html>; Their first response to ours was – CWG(A/NZ): Worker or Capitalist control of borders? Reply to RCIT, April 30, 2017, [http://redrave.blogspot.co.at/2017/04/worker-or-capitalist-control-of-borders\\_30.html](http://redrave.blogspot.co.at/2017/04/worker-or-capitalist-control-of-borders_30.html).

(2) Michael Pröbsting and Andrew Walton: The Slogan of “Workers” Immigration Control: A Concession to Social-Chauvinism, 27.3.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/workers-immigration-control/>; Michael Pröbsting and Andrew Walton: A Social-Chauvinist Defence of the Indefensible. Another Reply to the CWG/LCC's Support for “Workers” Immigration Control, 14.5.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/cwg-immigration-control/>.

(3) For a more detailed elaboration of the RCIT's position on migration and the internationalist program of revolutionary equality, we refer readers to various documents which we have published and which are accessible on our website. See e.g., RCIT: Marxism, Migration and Revolutionary Integration, <https://www.thecommunists.net/oppresed/revolutionary-integration/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South, chapter 8.iv) and 14ii), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>; Michael Pröbsting: The British Left and the EU-Referendum: The Many Faces of pro-UK or pro-EU Social-Imperialism, August 2015, Chapter II.2, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/british-left-and-eu-referendum/part-5-1/>; RCIT-Program, chapter V: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto/fight-against-oppression-of-migrants/>; RCIT-Manifesto chapter IV: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-program-2016/chapter-iv/>; and various actual statements and articles here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/articles-on-refugees/>. See also Michael Pröbsting: Migration and Super-exploitation: Marxist Theory and the Role of Migration in the present Period of Capitalist Decay, in: Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory (Volume 43, Issue 3-4, 2015), pp. 329-346. We have also published a detailed study on migration and the Marxist program in German. See Michael Pröbsting: Marxismus, Migration und revolutionäre Integration (2010); in: Der Weg des Revolutionären Kommunismus, Nr. 7, pp. 38-41, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/werk-7>.

(4) LCC vs RCIT on Immigration, May 26, 2017, <http://www.cwgusa.org/?p=1890>

(5) Karl Marx: The Protectionists, the Free Traders and the Working Class (1847), in: MECW Vol. 6, p. 280

(6) Friedrich Engels: Protection and Free Trade. Preface to the Pamphlet: Karl Marx, Speech on the Question of Free Trade (1888), in: MECW 26, pp. 535-536

(7) Rudolf Hilferding: Finance Capital. A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development (1910), Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981, pp.366-367. Lenin reprinted this quote in Imperialism. The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916) ; in: LCW Vol. 22, p. 289.

(8) V. I. Lenin: Imperialism. The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916) ; in: LCW Vol. 22, p. 200

(9) Leon Trotsky: War and the Fourth International (1934); in: Trotsky Writings 1933-34, pp. 304-305

(10) Leon Trotsky: Where is Britain Going? (1925), in: Trotsky's Writings on Britain, Vol. 2, New Park Publications, London 1974, pp. 115-116

