

Class Warrior

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Our LCC Ukraine Position Developed

The following article and the articles on Greece come about in response to requests for a clarification and elaboration from international readers.

Ukraine discussion.

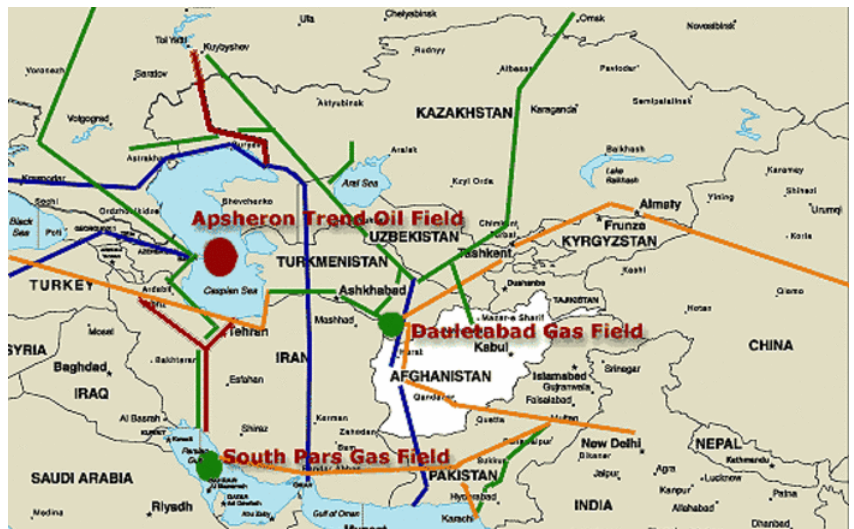
1) Ever the historical materialist, Trotsky compiled a digest of the whole list of failed movements for Ukrainian independence and of their politically defining features in an article in April, 1939. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1939/04/ukraine.html> Using historical materialism, he demonstrated how only the socialist revolution can ever deliver Ukrainian independence and why this is most desirable as a beginning of a political revolution that could spread to, and at the same time provide the best possible defense for the U.S.S.R. A socialist revolution in Ukraine TODAY could easily spread to Russia, and exactly via the Russophone Donbass. Contrary to the schematics of our opponents, we hold fast to the concept and demand for a united independent and socialist Ukraine, which as an expression of Permanent Revolution must go international to survive.

2) When defensive demands for local autonomy arose in the east they were an expression of the workers movement in retreat after the Maidan, a cultural retreat, a military retreat and a retreat into the waiting arms of Russian imperialist chauvinism. In the first months of the Peoples' Republics the Permanent Revolution was fighting its way to the fore as the self expression of the masses in their assemblies, their military self-defense operations and incipient demands for nationalizations. These activities all further enraged the Kiev neo-liberal/fascist bloc on the one side, and with Permanent Revolution nipping at his heels, Putin went into overdrive on the other. Kiev sought to crush the Peoples' Republics and Moscow sought to usurp their leaderships to stop the proletarian trajectory of their revolution; reject and stop the Permanent Revolution moving east or west by installing their lackeys over the workers heads.

3) The demand for regional autonomy was a defensive demand against chauvinist, ultra-nationalist and fascist forces from Kiev. And to the extent that it was defensive, the demand for autonomy was progressive and supportable. The inner logic of defensive calls for regional autonomy against the Kiev offensive was that only Permanent Revolution, despite the

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For a Workers Socialist Federation of Eurasia! A Marxist critique of Escobar's 'Eurasian Big Bang'.



From 'Liquid War across Asia and Asia Pacific'

Pepe Escobar on the occasion of the 7th Summit of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) in Russia has written another excellent analysis of the development of the Eurasian imperialist bloc emerging as a global challenge to the US imperialist bloc. Except that he does not call Russia and China imperialist. Rather for him they are newly emerging great powers that are capable of countering the dominance of the US and its crony states.

His [article](#) first appeared in *Tom Dispatch* and has been widely republished in leftist sites including *Counterpunch*, *Le Monde Diplomatique* and *Russia Insider*, showing his political leanings. Escobar like most the official left today sees Russia and China as the champions of the oppressed masses in challenging the world imperialist domination of the US.

As we have pointed out [many times](#) there is nothing progressive about the rise of Russia and China as global powers. Those who have illusions in these states offering a more worker friendly future to that of US global dominance are dreaming. They are offering what some of us on the old left call a reactionary utopia. That is, a future state that far from meeting the hopes of workers and all oppressed people to escape the destructive decline of global capitalism, offers a future of inter imperialist wars

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lack of revolutionary leadership, provided a solution and defense against the rightist coup. The call for regional autonomy was the first step on that trajectory, i.e., from the masses democratic demands to transitional demands, the demands of the socialist revolution. Along that road and under the onslaught of resurgent Ukraine nationalism, we witnessed the self-defensive retreat of the masses to regional autonomy. To that end we supported the referendum for regional autonomy; we never called for and never advocated national self determination in the form of a dozen mini-states or an embrace of great Russian chauvinism and unification with Russia either. Indeed we warned against these dangers.

4) Not that any of the options of mini states would be *a priori* excluded from support. If Permanent Revolution gains ground in one region or city and needs to temporarily declare the independent republic while awaiting its spread, such a period provides openings for revolutionary workers to advance the program of soviets and expropriation of the capitalists as the only way to sustain an independent united Ukraine against the IMF vultures of the West and the bill collectors for the oligarchs in the east. Even when the fascists are on offensive and the workers movement is in retreat, as was the case in the Russophone regions, the communist vanguard needs to embrace the democratic demands of the masses and bring the socialist action plan and present it as the only way to win. That is where the dialectic puts the historical materialist lessons into practice. That is what we did consistently in our press. We take our stand on a revolutionary independent socialist Ukraine, and this even at the expense of the warmongers at the top of the heap in bourgeois Poland.

5) How ironic is the position of the Kiev fascists? When the stock market crashed in 1929, Hitler made the populist appeal for autarky. He blamed the Weimar Republic for making Germany go broke, after running up huge debts payable on the loans they took from Wall Street banks. Whereas today the Ukraine “nationalists” have delivered the entire economy to the EU and American bankers.

6) And as if Kiev didn’t have enough support from warmongers in Poland and from the Germans and from Archer Daniels Midland, whose dream of black top soil drives the west eastward, Putin steps in to shore up the Kiev regime and screw over the Peoples’ Republics. In July, 2015, Putin shut off electric power to the Donbass, in an evident sign of displeasure with the performance of his own political agents. Kiev imposes the EU austerity telling the masses in the south-east you can’t collect your pension and Moscow says, “when its dark outside go to sleep!” To placate Brussels the Kiev regime sells its citizenship papers, hiring IMF-friendly Lithuanian bankers and even an on-the-run former Georgian president to become instant cabi-

net members in an arch-nationalist government! A government not of Ukrainian ex-pats coming home but the EU’s handpicked technocrats and bankers; this is the product of the ‘democratic’ Maidan--*it is the dictatorship behind the parliamentary democracy*. Ukrainian independence is a fake and will remain a fake until the working class seizes the power away from the robbers.

7) Russia does not want to annex the Donbass unless it is forced to, as it has more to gain from a united Ukraine that it can economically sustain as a buffer and especially as a client state. But it certainly wants to exploit the war to weaken the Kiev regime and achieve a negotiated settlement that prevents the U.S. from positioning missiles on Russia’s border. But the bottom line is sales, and after Kiev balked at higher gas prices Gazprom quietly backed down, offering its historically discounted price. For all his bluster, Putin knows annexation would be a catastrophe and it appears Gazprom needs the cash more than the Russian oligarchs need the Peoples’ Republics. (<http://newcoldwar.org/interview-with-boris-kagarlitsky-on-ukraine-march-2015/>)



Leader of the Vostok Battalion with Victory Banner raised on the Reichstag building in Berlin, on 30 April 1945. It was the Soviet Red Army that defeated the Nazis.

8) We pointed out in *Class War* that Putin was not thrilled with having neighboring regimes in Donetsk and Lugansk who were loudly subscribing to post-capitalist property and employment relations. We said Putin was as repulsed by this development, which complicated his life with mass sympathy in Russia, just as much as he was by the prospect of a semi-fascist, NATO member wannabe state on his border. So Putin saw to it that his own

agents were installed at the top positions in these republics, and they succeeded in suppression of the Popular Assemblies and the elevation of bourgeois parliaments. But to do this they had to exploit and mobilize separatist political strata, contrary to the wishes of the Kremlin and they have not succeeded in subordinating the militias which are nowadays the political refuge of a solidly pro-regional autonomy political force predominantly of workers under arms. This is a tough political problem for Putin as these are the forces who repelled the last offensive of the fascist National Guards who are the bulwark of the Kiev regime.

9) The history of Ukraine, crucified by invasions and annexations, especially since WW1, must be considered in order to make Trotsky’s point of the importance of Ukraine between Europe and Russia. This suggests the framework for the strategy of Permanent Revolution. We see the advances of the Permanent Revolution in post-capitalist Ukraine between 1918 and the third period (1928-34). These working class gains of social property endured as part of the global balance of class forces until the triumph of the counter-revolution in 1991. The power of the Permanent Revolution was such that these gains withstood the counter-revolutionary political activities of the Great Russian chauvinism of the Stalinist dictatorship.

10) We need to recognize that the gains of Soviet Ukraine should have been defended by Trotskyists against capitalist res-

toration and that these gains should have been developed and extended to include support for an independent socialist Ukraine. And revolutionaries should have done so until the capitalist restoration was an accomplished fact. We would not turn our backs on the program of the Permanent Revolution thereafter as our opponents did during the Yugoslavian civil war. We counterpose the Permanent Revolution to the present Ukrainian civil war, which will last as long as the Kiev regime lasts, and which is a product of the U.S. attempt to prevent Russia's rise as an imperialist rival. This attempt explains NATO's push east and Ukraine's recolonisation via color revolution, Maidan and coup. NATO's drive to the east makes Ukraine one of the central conflicts in the west's new 'cold war' with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the China/Russia imperialist alliance. This explains the western bloc's willingness to extend enormous loans to an essentially deadbeat (acknowledged default prone) Kiev regime. This even as the bourgeoisie howls for greater austerity and repayment by the PIIGS (Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Greece & Spain).

11) In this framework the defense by the workers militias of the east against the NATO proxy Kiev regime amounts objectively to the defense of the Permanent Revolution against not only the U.S. bloc but also Russia's attempt to coopt this war for its own imperialist ends.

12) Further and despite setbacks and military debacle the Poroshenko regime, which has no economic, political nor even military independence needs war to survive, and for this has to rely upon the Bandera Right Sector fascists' military organizations, whose politics are unimportant to NATO; for NATO it is sufficient that they shoot Russophones.

13) We have looked and no longer see evidence of independent workers assemblies in the eastern Peoples' Republics. There were some nationalizations of the assets of oligarchs who supported the Kiev regime. But we find no indication of any workers' control. We see considerable evidence of the ascendancy of Moscow agents properly so-called.

14) The shift in trajectory of the Peoples' Republics in August 2014, represented by the ascendancy of Putin's agents and the ratification of their reactionary constitutions became the excuse for the RCIT to break their military bloc with the antifascist fighters. This is treachery in our judgment since the Poroshenko "democrats" are exactly as dependent on the fascist militias of "Svoboda" and the "Right Sector" parties as ever, and Poroshenko's regime needs war to survive! Poroshenko's 'euro-democrats' suffered political set backs equivalent to and consequent of the fascist National Guards' military setbacks and this explains the sudden citizenship for the NATO-handpicked cabinet choices. *The fascist danger has not gone away at all.*

15) At the same time, it appears Moscow's agents did not deliver satisfactorily, and early in July 2015, while much of the world's attention was elsewhere, Putin cut off electricity supplies to the Donbass. You see, inter-imperialist conflict is one thing, whereas Russian commerce with Ukraine exceeds that with Germany! So while NATO is today restocking the arms depots of

the fascists, Putin tells the Donbass fighters they can do without electricity until they get their political line in conformity with his aims. So while Putin punishes the workers in arms the RCIT abandons them.

16) The RCIT has flipped sides, and not for the first time in their history, leaving class war fighters in the lurch! This time, as so often, they fall back on fetishizing democracy, and call for "self-determination" for all of Ukraine's minorities! They should know better than some Trotskyists based on other continents that this would involve 120 minorities each getting a separate state. This would be ecstasy for the Polish, German and Austrian bourgeoisies, and for Archer Daniels Midland too, so easy would the pickings be. They have been suckered by and recoil back in the direction of their British SWP roots and their incomplete break with Cliffism. The Cliffite sects see the Maidan as the great modern expression of pure democracy and the power and portfolios of the fascists in the Kiev parliamentary system as incidental, temporary imperfections. The RCIT hasn't gone this far yet.

17) If the RCIT is abandoning the defense of the workers as dupes of Russia, it is capitulating to the permanent counter-revolution. Certainly for us these workers' struggle for class independence represents the raising of the banner of Permanent Revolution, even if confusedly this banner is masked by Russian flags, reflecting the legacy of the contradictions of Stalinism. The assassination of independent workers calling for regional autonomy by Russian thugs shows that this fight exists. The workers in arms of the Donbass are the vanguard of the Permanent Revolution and of the fight for an independent workers and peasants' Ukraine on the front between the Permanent Revolution and the Permanent counter-revolution. The RCIT abandons these workers to the thuggery of Putin's agents on one side and the neo-fascist vanguard of the Kiev military on the other. When the popular front is undeniably under control of the Russian chauvinists, inviting imperialist Russia, with their nationalist dreams of a *novo russe*, and so without a developed revolutionary workers party, the proletariat was caught between a rock and a hard place, the RCIT abandoned the workers cause. The LCC foresaw and warned the workers of this nationalist danger four months ahead of the August 2014 developments. No longer do we see the RCIT call for a military bloc. They have bought into the western press' picture of opponents of Kiev as pro-Moscow separatists. The arrival of Russian troops and political agents immediately caused a paroxysm in the RCIT. They raised the boilerplate democratic demands against Russian chauvinism but then called for self-determination for all national minorities living in Ukraine. So they picked the worst moment to misunderstand the Leninist conception of national self-determination and the right of nations to it. Right when it became especially relevant to call for a dual defeatism made explicit, the RCIT oversimplified the true political situation and reduced the conflict to Russian chauvinism vs. western imperialism. Then compounding their error by omission, they did not call on the Russian troops (however many or few they may have been) to turn their guns on their officers and Moscow's operatives to spread the popular uprising back to Russia and west to Europe. To see the August 2014 developments the way the RCIT does is to abandon the masses to

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Russian chauvinism and to retreat from the Transitional Program to a minimum program of democratic demands. This illustrates underlying methodological troubles resulting in mistakes the RCIT makes time and again on every continent.

18) We will make it crystal clear here: we supported regional autonomy for the southeast.

19) In May of 2014 we said: *“We support the demands for a referendum on self-determination taking the form of federalism aimed at protecting the national and cultural rights of those in the east from anti-Russian chauvinism and neo-fascist attacks. They (the demands, ed.) take into account the rights of other minorities, and unlike the Crimea, do not force any minority into a secession or annexation by Russia.”* The masses were for federation, not national independence and we qualified the call for referendum as a call for a **“form of federalism”** which the rest of the article supports and reinforces. <http://redrave.blogspot.com/2014/05/ukraine-defeat-neo-fascist-attack-of.html>

20) The LCC statement warned: that unless the workers were united around an internationalist program during the fascist attack from the west, the movement in the Donbass would be driven toward Russian nationalism:

“...At this point it seems that the big majority in the East are still for autonomy, or federalism, and not secession. They are for the unity of the Ukraine workers against the Kiev regime. Only a small minority are for joining Russia. However it will be difficult to hold to this position when workers in the West allow the army to invade the East with fascist shock troops. This will drive the workers in the East into the arms of pro-Russian fascists!

We must call on the army conscripts attacking the East to turn their guns on the officers and neo-fascist militias!

NO political support to the white Russian or Slav xenophobes in the East attempting to incite secession to Russia!

For workers East and West to unite to build their councils and militias against the open fascists of the West and Russian xenophobes of the East!”

21) The Spartacist League seems to have flipped positions as well. Where as recently as May Day, 2014, they proclaimed that the revolt in the Donbass was the beginning of the revival of the U.S.S.R., today they call for self-determination, i.e., separation for the Ukrainian southeast. But this is no strategy for the victory and spread of any revolutionary power of the working class over the western imperialist plans to vassalize all the poorer, peripheral countries of Europe. We call the western imperialist bourgeoisies’ plan, now showcased in the treatment of Greece, the permanent counter-revolution! Thus we see the Spartacists abandoning the workers of western Ukraine and Ukrainian workers living in Poland to some separate abstract struggle for socialism at some future date.

22) We think the fascists, and with them the whole project of the permanent counter-revolution is objectively doomed and can be defeated when the proletariat is correctly armed politically. Let Ukrainian workers embrace the transitional program and the

fight for united socialist states of Europe and the revolution can **genuinely** extend the bourgeois democratic right of self-determination to Ukraine. The Permanent Revolution offers Ukraine genuine independence for the first time in the 21st century, and with it a material and cultural heyday unknown since the first years of the Bolshevik power.

SYRIZA:

The questions of SYRIZA and critical support.

Just now we are watching the sorry spectacle of the CWI group in the U.S., “Socialist Alternative” prostrating themselves in front of the campaign of the so-called “Democratic Socialist,” the Democrat Bernie Sanders. Their idea of critical support for this Senator is all support now with a promise to criticize him later should he throw his support to Hillary Clinton after losing the Democratic Party primary, as he has promised to do! This wonderful example of rank opportunism has not prevented another ostensible “Trotskyist” grouping, the Freedom Socialist Party, from giving the CWI’s leading light, Kshama Sawant, critical support that amounted to active, uncritical street support in the recent non-partisan primary for Seattle, Washington City Council candidates. The F.S.P. had earlier tried some electoral ‘horse-trading’ for mutual cross-endorsement with the [former-U. Sec. Socialist Action \(SA\)](#) group, but this didn’t work out as SA refused to blame “imperialism” for the U.S. wars at an antiwar conference in Albany, New York(!) Why do we bring this in here? Because we don’t have to resort to bunches of citations of actually relevant advice from Lenin and Trotsky to show that our practice is miles to the left of the habitual “Critical Support” conceptions of the gamut of “Trotskyist” sects, and specifically, our 2012 Critical Support tactic towards SYRIZA in an election that actually mattered.

We are convinced that our tactic was correct. Writing and adopting this tactic was not without a cost charged to us. It became the pretext for the expulsion of the CWG-US’ founders from the Humanist Workers for Revolutionary Socialism (HWRS). The HWRS had previously adopted, in an earlier, 1990’s organizational incarnation (Workers Voice), the position that the British Labor Party had decisively resolved its dual class character contradiction as a Bourgeois Workers Party in favor of the bourgeoisie, and thus had become a bourgeois party. Subsequently the D. Winter leadership group was to go on to extend this analysis to social democracy in general, but particularly in the European context. At the time of our expulsion we not only did not have any Kautskian electoralist strategy, we had no electoral orientation whatsoever! We’ll return to that below.

We note the Facebook contribution by Christian Blackoak of the French section of the CoRep international current. He says SYRIZA was formed by a breakaway wing from the Communist Party, the KKE, together with an assortment of the kinds of

“Trotskyists” who are always supporters of popular fronts. This could be used to support the argument that this was a popular front party from the first, except of course that it only makes reference to the social composition and not what kind of party was formed. We characterized SYRIZA as a social-democratic TYPE of formation, with big contradictions in practice and without the history of class betrayals that 2nd International organizations bear in eternal shame. At the time we discussed both questions, what kind of party SYRIZA was and what its social composition was and was becoming. And we published this in July, 2012:

<https://cwgusa.wordpress.com/2012/07/11/differences-with-hwrs-insideoutside-faction-on-using-critical-support-tactic/>

“They claim the CS tactic is only correctly used when the target party has deep roots in the factories and workplaces, implying an entrenched party leadership upon which to make demands in order to expose them by calling on them to lead the class struggle itself and in turn showing their incapacity to. This is a false construct—the SYRIZA is evolving and gathers to it a plurality with a large base in the working class, as the PASOK Rank and File abandon ship and look for a new home in SYRIZA. Some of the old PASOK leadership, ever the opportunists, are quick to follow. With the ranks and layers of the old leadership the unions can’t be so far behind them. The same tactic can be used to drive a wedge between the base and the reformist leadership.”

Even at the time of the June, 2012 elections there was already a great contradiction between the parliamentarism-above-everything orientation of Tsipras and his clique and the party bases, who were organizing Popular Assemblies in all the major cities, and we warned the masses where the Tsipras gang was heading. This is a contradiction classical bourgeois workers’ parties do not have, as everywhere they oppose and attempt to suppress the independent mass activity of the working class. Tsipras could not turn his back on the Popular Assemblies in 2012 but he has done so since then and like a traditional Social Democrat embraced not only parliamentarism but the popular front. This distinction is important; we know about the historical popular front parties in South American history and SYRIZA was not one of those.

We called for building the popular assemblies in the workplace. We said build them in the factories as well as the neighborhoods and develop them into soviets, and we called for their unification nationally, together with the formation of workers’ militias and fraternization with and organization of the rank and file of the armed forces, all so as to defend strikes and a political/revolutionary general strike for the working class rule of soviets and to protect the workers’ power against the Golden Dawn fascists. We took the elections as an opportunity to deliver this message to the worker masses and in this pursuit our critical support tactic toward SYRIZA was our delivery vehicle and nothing else.

We never came around to the idea that this tactic was a sufficient cause for our expulsion from the HWRS, but we realize now

that sectarian abstention, and not just electoral, had become the hallmark and strategy of the “Winter Palace” (D. Winter’s house, and hence “the revolutionary couch,” the sofa where Winter’s closest comrades usually sat at meetings.) In the three years since the 2012 Greek elections we of the CWG-US have not given any candidate or party critical support, although there have been races where we could have supported labor party type local, union backed candidates who were class-independent of the bourgeois parties. But these were not historic contests and we had no forces in those cities.

The HWRS-model sectarian abstention line begins with the argument that Lenin’s 1920s tactic was only meant as an orientation for mass parties. Of course the British CP was one of these only in size comparison to us. We demanded that SYRIZA repudiate the debt, the EU and its austerity and NATO too. We look at the entrists from outside and far to their left as they even now remain and have a perspective of remaining in SYRIZA and the PSUV too! Whereas the moment SYRIZA formed the popular front government with ANEL we demanded that they break it, and we demanded that the revolutionaries in SYRIZA either take over the leadership or break to form a revolutionary Marxist party without delay. Here we ARE talking about strategy.

One more feature of the sectarian abstentionist’s position was that it characterized us (i.e., ourselves, the LCC) as “opportunist” for having something to say by way of advice to workers in a country where we have no influence and no membership to carry it out. They snorted at how seriously we worked almost around the clock sacrificing a 3-day holiday weekend to writing an article on Greece for the first number of our sister publication, Revolutionary Worker, organ of the Zimbabwe comrades. We found this a very old-fashioned argument in the era of social media, and in any event, at any time across the whole post-1928 world crisis of proletarian leadership it would have been correct to tell such workers as you can reach the whole truth, whether at the moment the proletarian party exists as the germ or as the accomplished organized and combative mass.

At least two more subjects, the one conceptual/theoretical and the other practical/tactical, need to be addressed here when we discuss the tactic of critical support for SYRIZA in 2012.

The first is the conceptual and theoretical--almost blood--relation between the critical support tactic and the united front tactic in the minds of Lenin and Trotsky and in their reports to the early congresses of the Communist International. The motive and the purpose of these tactics are the same. With both of these tactics the primary object is to strike together; in this case to return a bourgeois workers party to power while marching separately, raising our program in order to activate the contradiction between worker members and bourgeois program and thus break workers from the rotten leadership. Bolsheviks at the same time would exploit chances thrown up by the struggles or by the electoral contests to explain the revolutionary program and build unities in action that reduce the power of the conservatized and bureaucratic leaderships of the bourgeois workers parties and the

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social democrats. As a consequence of doing this we would be “seen” to be with the workers not only in the struggle but in activating the break, and thus succeed in building our party. Put in the language of the old-time SWP (U.S.), the object of critical support and of the united front tactics is to build OUR party at the other parties’ expense. While we do so we always take our stand on and exclusively take responsibility for our own party’s program. WE never took any responsibility for SYRIZA’s program, which program was exactly of a social-democratic type and would have been of a completely secondary order of importance for Lenin and Trotsky. During a labor strike the first thing the bureaucrats do is find a Democratic Party politician and prop him/her up on the stage. Are communists supposed to quit the union like the sectarian Socialist Equality Party (North/Healy)? Or, should we incite the crowd to demand the union break with the bourgeois politicians, throw them off the stage, and replace the bureaucrats who invited them? Replace them with ever newer youthful and more militant rank and file workers! If every transgression of working class political independence were to be seen as an expression of a popular front, it would be impossible to do trade union work, since the leaderships and the majority consciousness and political opinion are class-collaborationist. The united front and critical support tactics would have been excluded a priori by this formal logic.

The second, the practical and tactical question is what our attitude was and is towards ANTARSYA. Why would we not call for a critical support vote for ANTARSYA? By 2012, those of us in the nowadays CWG-US had been aware of and watching this heterogeneous far-left formation for almost 4 years. By 2012 their influence had not grown and their vote totals had also somewhat shrunk. In 2012 the level of the masses’ struggle was rising to the previous high water mark of 2010 and even surpassing it in advanced organizational forms. And as this occurred there were real chances that the labor movement could escape the control of the traditional bureaucracies, and it was SYRIZA the masses were looking to for a new quality of leadership to fend off their continuing immiseration by the EU Troika. Why did the masses want to support SYRIZA and not either ANTARSYA or the Communist Party, the KKE? In the first place they were by no means convinced that there were no more solutions possible or available via parliamentarism. It was going to take an intervention like that of our own propaganda combined with the masses own experiences to convince them. SYRIZA did seem to hold out both the parliamentarists and the democracy of the Popular Assemblies as solutions. ANTARSYA, with little mass support and itself a mixture of banners and programs, generally supported the Assemblies. While the KKE had actually physically defended the Parliament against the Left, and objectively the sitting previous government, in 2010. Therefore to get the masses’ ear it was necessary to build the Popular Assemblies with them and to walk to the polls with them for SYRIZA too, all the while advocating OUR program.

To say this does not rule out either united front actions with

ANTARSYA nor critical support for some worker candidate(s) of theirs in the present, post-referendum/post betrayal period. But we think the united front actions will likely be more numerous and important than the latter, since we will want to grant office-seeking even less validity as the torture of the workers and the unemployed not only drags on, but promises to go on for the whole lives of the young of today. Such is the unique gift to them from the popular front.

We reaffirm the programmatic positions we laid out in 2012. We warn the workers that the fascists will grow at the expense of the parties in the popular front. The bourgeoisie is intent upon debt collection and holds the Golden Dawn fascists over the heads of the parliamentarists. The western bloc big bourgeoisie and not incidentally also the Chinese big bourgeoisie are demanding blood from the Greek working class and are making an example of them. This is a forecast of the treatment in store for the rest of Europe’s nowadays poor nations of the periphery, the PIIGS (Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Spain). All this is in store for them to solve the balance sheet problems of French and German banks and to fatten the obscene hedge funds of Wall Street and the City of London. Only the socialist revolution and a socialist United States of Europe can eliminate the burden the imperialists have placed on the backs of the working class.

Post Script: When we wrote this the vote on the 3rd bail out referendum was only hours away. Compared to the SYRIZA program of only a year ago the popular front vote in favor of this memorandum represents a complete political collapse of the reformist project. What has not been collapsed is the variety of illusions the masses have in reformist solutions. Lafazanis, biggest name in the left platform group in SYRIZA and holder of one governmental ministry portfolio, is laying down an ultimatum of his own to Tsipras, saying that SYRIZA must return to its own anti-austerity program and must figure out how to reintroduce a Greek currency to replace the Euro. He calls for nationalizing the banks but sees this in Keynesian terms, i.e., to concentrate investment in small and medium size companies to stimulate a capitalist economic recovery. We cannot predict whether his ideas will gain any traction. The initial report of a split only involved Lafazanis and 12 deputies on August 13th. So we have to wonder whether the possibilities of reformism will be exhausted first or whether the Greek masses will go down to total defeat either under a crushing austerity administered by the popular front or under a fascist regime.

One idea that keeps floating to the surface, despite repeated denials involves grand reformist unification, even including the KKE and another popular front government that would be bailed out by Russia and China and this would involve Greece leaving the EU. However, as we said, this has been denied many times, notably by Putin himself, and Russia and China have economic and currency difficulties of their own.

For a new revolutionary workers international!

Greece: NO ELECTORAL SOLUTION!

The “Popular Unity” is a Greek Tragedy

There is no electoral solution because electing parliamentarians will not prevent the keys to banks, factories, ports and airports being turned over to the privatizers of the capitalist Troika or to Chinese imperialist firms. The decision to strip Greece of its assets was not made in a Greek parliament but was made by European central bankers and any decision to fight them and save these assets will not be made in any parliament but by the workers themselves armed and organized in the streets against both the Golden Dawn and NATO. This is the only way these assets can be saved when our social class is confronted by the fascists and threat of NATO military intervention combined. And what happens to Greeks today will happen to the other PIIGS nations (Portugal, Italy, Ireland, and Spain) tomorrow.

Reformists always promise their next new model government power formula will be ‘different this time.’ As the world crisis of capitalism stumbles into its eighth year facing collapsed European Central Bank (ECB) world growth forecasts through all of 2017, SYRIZA has at last split, with 25 deputies breaking from the Tsipras group and forming the new “Popular Unity Party,” the LAE. Twenty five delegates makes LAE the 3rd largest party and forces Tsipras to call Parliamentary elections. Soon many of these delegates will be out of work, of course, and they deserve this. Fate works that way in politics as well as in drama.

We think this split was very late and it was only coincidentally a split from the popular front SYRIZA had made last January with the ANEL party nationalists. Late and a lame split too. To think that a ‘last year’s SYRIZA’ political re-configuration, consciously sold as such even in the aftermath of the OXI (“NO!”) referendum vote, will answer the needs of the oppressed and desperate Greek masses is for Marxists a tragic failure of imagination. It was last year’s SYRIZA that put the masses up to staking everything on parliamentary elections and closed up shop on the Popular Assemblies. This is the essence of Kautskyism. It sees parliamentarism as the highest expression of democracy and suppresses the criticism of this view made by Marx and Engels themselves. These ‘vanguard representatives’ turned out to be as useless as they were helpless when called upon to act and stop the parliamentary betrayal that utterly contradicted the OXI referendum.

The whole conduct of the “left” players around former government Minister Lafazanis and the very name they have taken, sometimes styled as the Popular Unity Front (!), suggests

that they are seeking another popular front in spite of recent history and the history of all popular fronts including Allende’s, from whom they have learned the wrong lesson, i.e., that this time will be different and they will find the ‘peaceful road to socialism.’ And in fact they have called for a popular front, the ‘OXI front’, to the international cheers of every Kautskyite and otherwise rotten group on the left!

Promises, promises, from both sides of the mouth!

Some, such as the International Marxist Tendency (IMT), were already buried in SYRIZA and will automatically continue as entrists in the LAE. Others, like the RCIT, who must seem like our favorite whipping boys, see the LAE’s intention to form a popular front and advocate revolutionists do entry work in it *anyway!* They say struggle to “... make LAE an activists’ party.” Just now (9/15) LAE is polling between 2 and 3%. The RCIT calls for a critical support vote for the new-last-year’s-SYRIZA, as if the masses experience with these very delegates does not exist, or matter if it does.



Solidarity with Syrian refugees and against chauvinist and fascist reaction! Crush fascism in the egg!

Greece is facing the crisis brought to it by the EU and the imperialists. The EU and German imperialism are in trouble and they will impose a diktat of this kind in each of the

PIIGS. The pressure of history will be felt directly by the workers to take the struggle outside parliament because they voted NO and it made no difference. We are not the sectarians who reject electoral politics out of hand. ***But a revolutionary party in Greece would stand as tribunes of the people on a transitional program beginning with an action program; not entry in the LAE, but organizing the masses into workers councils.***

Those who want to give critical support to a handful of LAE MP’s abandon the Leninist method of using critical support to expose the reformists in front of their electoral base. The LAE has no more of an electoral base than ANTARSYA and will undoubtedly seek out popular front partners and has said as much.

The RCIT would have you believe that yesterday’s SYRIZA party bureaucrats, reformists to the core, were the OXI movement vanguard of the working class, and because these workers still have illusions in the parliament this justifies calling for critical support and entry too! But the mass support turns out not to exist because the masses have seen through their act.

In the RCIT prescription there is no accounting for the masses’ experience in the last year. None of these ex-SYRIZA parliamentary delegates are guilty of bringing the masses to this impasse apparently and none of them will be held accountable.

Cont. from pg. 7 Greek Elections...

They are projecting a ‘vanguard’ which never rejected the popular front idea and only belatedly broke with SYRIZA. And then only when it was too late. The third memorandum was passed over their essentially toothless objections.

We call for revolutionists to accompany the workers to the polls to make plain that no electoral solution can exist. And that there is not a moment to lose for the building of workers councils and workers militias to prepare to defeat the fascist danger.

Transitional Program or 21st Century Socialism?

We say the hallmark of 21st Century Socialism is when the workers take over the factory the 21st Century Socialist police come in and give it back to the boss. Various, it can be defined as an ANC popular front government massacring striking miners at Marikana and not a few farm workers in the strike waves that followed, or the PT in Brazil breaking up land occupations and the PSUV serving the Bolivarian-Bourgeoisie in Venezuela by protecting capitalist firms from expropriation by the masses. Anyone who is not a World Social Forum sycophant knows these things happen and we warn that the Greek workers are going to find out soon.

We agree with the dock workers of Piraeus who say Greece is the experiment and that the ECB and German imperialism are set to strip all the assets and swipe all the treasuries of the countries on the European periphery.

In *Jacobin* of August 21st, Stathis Kouvelakis, former member of the central committee of SYRIZA and Left Platform founding member of LAE stated, “...The *front* will also struggle for an unitary internationalist struggle around common objectives at the European and international level and will support exiting NATO, breaking the existing agreements between Greece and Israel, and radically opposing imperialist wars and interventions. This transitional program is situated in a perspective of a socialism of the 21st century.” It is a novelty unsupportable by history to make any equation between any known transitional program and the project of “21st Century Socialism.” These are known quantities to Marxists and are based on wholly different methods.

The first task of a transitional program is to stop the privatizations and to do this with workplace occupations and armed pickets to prevent the turning over of the keys and the deeds to the imperialist bankers and firms. Out of these workplace occupations the immediate task will be to reorganize the Popular Assemblies nationwide and to organize them to take on ever increasing

self-government tasks. What LAE opposes is any transitional program worthy of the name as it would call for workers to power and a planned economy, whereas this LAE program calls for a decentralized economy. And is the LAE preparing the working class for the conquest of power? Do these parliamentarists even contemplate the seizure of power by the working class per se? We think the answer is no.

What are LAE deputies likely to do in a new parliament? Already it is evident that it is not just German imperialism but also China and Russia (the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the SCO) are competing to strip Greece’s assets. While the LAE and the KKE want to break from German imperialism and the EU, they are opening a road to the Russia/China bloc. Their historical links to the 21st Century Socialism movement predisposes them to seeing Russia and China as “progressive nations,” not as imperialist rivals to the U.S.-led imperialist bloc. Sowing illusions in this bloc as saviors from rapine European banks is conning the workers with the program of 21st Century Socialism, which will turn out to be just as fatal as it is in Venezuela or South Africa. A different group of capitalists will be stealing everything the Greek workers make for generations to come. Already it is obvious that the record of the Chinese SCO/BRICS

partners has been to insist upon the fulfillment of promises made by the previous Greek government to give them ownership and control of the port of Piraeus, and this is proceeding and meeting resistance from the workers self-activity alone.

We will march with the Greek workers on the 19th in their mobilizations with the demand that the workers’ organizations initiate workers councils that defend themselves and fight for a workers’ government. Revolutionists must stop by the polls on the 20th as proof positive that we march into

every battle with our class, if only to warn the masses of their lemming-like march over the precipice.

We make no endorsement, nor do we call for any critical support vote; this election is the work of and the result of acquiescence to the Troika’s agenda. This election is held for the bourgeoisie to dispense with SYRIZA and LAE alike. This is no time for electoral politics and indeed there is no electoral solution! We go to the polls and say to the supporters of the LAE that there is no time to delay the building of the workers councils and workers militia because the lemmings are going to parliament while the fascists are preparing the abyss.

The LAE’s economic program is essentially Keynesian. State capitalist interventions, albeit presented with allusions to



Piraeus Greek Dockworkers fight privatization of the port and for worker rights. Only socialist revolution can free Greece from imperialist subjugation.



‘workers’ control,’ and limited nationalizations and plans to renegotiate part of Greece’s debt altogether are nothing more than another parliamentary trap. For the workers the only road to socialism is through their own action committees, their own councils and defense guards embracing the refugees, crushing the fascists and breaking with NATO. Internationalist anti-fascist unity, anti-imperialist mobilization and solidarity with immigrants and the revolutionary upsurge across MENA, and in particular the Palestinian cause, create an opening for Permanent Revolution to unite the workers of MENA and Europe and turn the tide against the proliferation of proxy wars between the two imperialist blocs, against the theocrats, Islamists, Zionists and the overarching military domination of the US imperialist bourgeoisie. *There is no anti-imperialist united front possible with any national bourgeoisie. We must show the masses that their victory requires a break from their own national bourgeoisie both in program and in organization.*

Victory is only possible when the workers build their own revolutionary party and international based on the method of the 1938 Transitional Program.

Liaison Committee of Communists (LCC) 09/15/2015

Guerreiro da classe Trabalhadora

Jornal Teórico do Comitê de Ligação dos Comunistas
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Rússia, China, e a Revolução Permanente Interminada



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Cont. from pg. 1 A Marxist critique of ‘Eurasian Big Bang’...

threatening a Third World War not to mention an uncontrolled climate meltdown.

Permanent Revolution

Rather than fall into this trap we urgently need an action program to unite workers and oppressed the world over to oppose and resist imperialism in all of its shapes and forms East and West, US, EU and Eurasian, and to fight for a new socialist world society.

Our program rests on the foundations of the revolutionary communist history of struggle over the past two centuries. We can summarise that history as the history of Permanent revolution of the proletariat against the permanent counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie.

That is why for us Trotsky’s [Transitional Program](#) of 1938 still serves as the best recent attempt to outline a program for the proletariat to advance its class independence against the capitalist ruling class. It condenses the lessons gained from past revolutions and counter-revolutions and allows us to make a running balance sheet of the advance of the proletariat as the only revolutionary class capable of overthrowing capitalism today.

In summary, capitalism has since the early 20th century entered into its period of decline in which capital is concentrated into the hands of ever larger monopoly firms backed by the imperialist states. The imperialist epoch represents capitalism’s attempt to prolong its life by dominating the global market with rival powers super-exploiting and oppressing workers to extract by force the remaining value it can from their labour power and the limited resources of the earth.

The main contradiction therefore in the imperialist epoch is that of the workers and oppressed against the concentrated wealth and power of the imperialist ruling classes in the dominant states. A secondary contradiction is that between the national bourgeoisies that serve imperialism by oppressing the workers in the dominated states to extract maximum value from their labour power.

[Completing the Permanent revolution](#) today is the objective of those proletarian forces that can draw on past victories to advance the struggle against the imperialist ruling classes and their national bourgeois agents. These include the revolutionary traditions of the four successive revolutionary internationals before they degenerated into Menshevism.

The bourgeois counter-revolution consists of all the attempts by the imperialist rulers and their bourgeois agents, including the bureaucratic agents inside the working class, to defeat the revolutionary gains of the Permanent revolution by dividing and strangling the workers movements in popular fronts disarming them before the fascist counter-revolution.

Cont. from pg. 9 A Marxist critique of 'Eurasian Big Bang'...

The popular front with Russia and China

The most [dangerous popular front](#) that is being built today to lock workers into alliances with their class enemy is that between the BRICS, the Bolivarians, and the fake Trotskyists, who attempt to disguise this global popular front as an anti-imperialist united front. This global popular front ties workers in many countries to the national bourgeois agents of Russian and Chinese imperialism. Escobar's role in this is as a gifted journalist who presents Russia and China as part of a growing multipolar Eurasian bloc limiting the destructive role of the US bloc and justifying a global popular front.

Yet far from posing a progressive alternative to the US hegemony based on mobilising workers revolutions this global popular front is part of the counter-revolution. Russia and China are recognised by the US as new imperialist rivals to its global interests. As a result, proxy trade, diplomatic and military wars between the two rival blocs are blowing up in South Sudan, Yemen, Iraq, and Ukraine. Therefore the key question today posed for workers everywhere is that of defending with the Eurasian bloc against the US bloc, or, opposing both blocs equally.

To defend the Eurasian bloc is part of the permanent counter-revolution because it supports Sino-Russian imperialism in all conflicts with the US bloc. It disarms tens of millions of workers from forming a united anti-imperialist front to overthrow the imperialist ruling classes in the West and the East.

Let us look at those highly contested states where the US, EU and Sino-Russian interests come into conflict, notably Iran, Greece and Ukraine. The main rivalry between the two main imperialist blocs is complicated by the secondary imperialist powers caught between the two main blocs. But as Escobar describes, it is the US and the Russia and China who are the major players in the "great game" of controlling "Greater Eurasia" including Europe itself.

Iran joins the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization)

Escobar argues that the US bloc is losing the race for control of Eurasia. In the same week that it did a deal with Iran to lift sanctions in exchange for renouncing nuclear weapons, the BRICS, the SCO and the EEU (Eurasian Economic Union) were meeting in Russia for the 7th annual BRICS summit and the 15th SCO summit. At that meeting India and Pakistan joined the SCO and Iran will join as soon as its sanctions are lifted. Iran will then be a member of the SCO alongside four nuclear armed powers which are also the major economic powers in Eurasia.

More important the EEU (Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan) is creating free trade agreements with Mercosur (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela) and separately with China, Iran, India and Pakistan. The BRICS bank to replace the World Bank, the BRICS New Development Bank

(NDB), and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), are investing in numerous joint ventures to link Europe and Asia along [new transport corridors](#) ('new silk roads') spanning Asia and right into the heart of Europe.

In the 'great game' the EU is marginalised and torn between the two big blocs. Germany and France cannot stop the breakup of the Eurozone as the PIIGS and the recently joined EU states become increasingly divided up between the rival big powers. The PIIGS and the former Eastern European members of the Soviet bloc, Serbia, Macedonia and the Ukraine, are the main prizes in Europe, while Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and Indo-China are the prizes on the Asia continent.

Greece opens the socialist revolution in Europe

We have seen how the US has been outmanoeuvred over Iran. Let us look at the cases of the other two key contested nations caught between the US and Eurasian bloc, Greece and the Ukraine. Greece is important because it signals the decline and fall of former small imperialist powers within the Eurozone and their reduction to financial colonies or semi-colonies of the rival imperialist powers. Ukraine is important because as an historically divided state between Europe and Russia, and after a period as a soviet republic between 1921 and 1991, is once more reduced to a financial colony fought over by the US, Germany and Russia.

The EU will break up in much the same way that the former Yugoslavia broke up and the Soviet Union itself broke up. Germany (like the US, Russia and China) doesn't want to bail out bankrupt states, it wants the cheap assets and labour power of new colonies. To maintain its profits it must destroy the value of capital and state assets in the PIIGS and drive down wages to starvation levels. Greece has been bankrupt for years and is now forced to sell its public assets to pay for its debts. However, it won't end there because the IMF and the BRICS bank are also involved in the scramble to strip Greece's public assets and get access to its cheap labor.

Revolutionaries must condemn Syriza which continues to make the workers pay for Germany's crisis over the dead body of the 'social Europe'. Similarly the KKE (Greek Communist Party) illusion of an independent Greece bailed out by Russia and China must be destroyed. Only a break from imperialism can revive the permanent revolution in Greece. In this situation workers have to build independent councils and militias to occupy and defend all state and major private assets from asset stripping by Germany, the US and Russia and China and defeat a fascist coup. To do this it will be necessary to smash the bourgeois state and bring a workers' government to power that can socialise imperialist and capitalist property and implement a socialist plan.

Ukraine: for an Independent Socialist Republic!

The Ukraine is currently the main flashpoint of the clash between the major imperialist blocs and heating up the trade, diplomatic

and military conflicts. Ukraine has long been divided between European powers and Russia. The victory of the Russian Revolution was the catalyst for an independent Soviet Ukraine in the East while the West was occupied by the Poles. Stalin's invasion of West Ukraine in 1939 in a deal with Hitler was defended by Trotsky as it threw out the bourgeoisie and constituted a buffer for the defence of workers property in the USSR. However Stalin's 'fascist' methods of oppressing the 'unified' Ukraine during and after the war were not defended by Trotskyists. It was necessary for Ukraine to have a political revolution to throw out its Stalinist caste (as in the rest of the USSR) and create the conditions the workers rule in healthy workers states.

Trotsky defined the political revolution by the slogan "For an Independent Soviet Ukraine". This ultimately failed with the restoration of capitalist property in the USSR in 1991 reviving the split between West and East Ukraine in a new 'independent' bourgeois Ukraine. The oligarchs in the West who grabbed former workers property wanted to 'return' to European imperialism, the oligarchs in the East wanted to retain their ties with capitalist Russia. The Maidan coup engineered by the US in 2014 brought the pro-EU bourgeoisie to power backed by extreme right neo-fascists. Popular opposition to the coup in the East took the form of defence of a united Ukraine against the US coup and against annexation by Russia.

The Kiev regime scapegoated the East as pro-Russian separatists in the manner of the Crimea which was annexed by Russia. Yet the Russian speakers of the East wanted only to oppose the Kiev coup regime and defend their cultural and political autonomy which went back to 1921. The puppet US Kiev regime has constantly dodged this issue and blamed Russia for intervening in the war in the East in desperation to get US and EU bailouts to rescue the bankrupt economy by privatising its assets and financing a NATO bulwark against Russia.

In reality the US and EU imperialists as well as the Russians don't want to spark a wider war in the Ukraine. They want to pull Ukraine out of the Russian orbit (EEC, BRICS, SCO) and bring it firmly into the EU. Russia wants to maintain its influence over Ukraine but not at the expense of a war in which Ukrainian workers unite to overthrow the Kiev regime and destabilise Russia itself. So the war in the East is now no more than a pretext to engage in more diplomatic, trade and military manoeuvring on both sides. The fascist paramilitaries are used to attack the Donetsk and Luhansk 'republics' while Russia has its own agents keeping the lid on the workers armed defence from breaking out into a revolutionary movement in the East.

Against the Stalinophobic left that defends the Kiev regime from the legacy of Russian Stalinism, and the Stalinophile left that backs the Russian imposed leadership in the East who are for secession and annexation by Russia, we take [Trotsky's position](#) on Ukraine. We are for the workers of the East to make a united front with workers of the West against the Kiev regime and bring the war to an end. We are against the direct intervention of the US and NATO in West Ukraine and against

the direct intervention of Russia in the East. We are for a united Ukraine workers socialist revolution the removes the oligarchic pro-fascist regime and puts in place a Workers and Peasants government able to build an Independent Soviet Ukraine.

Either an imperialist or a workers Eurasia!

It's clear from Escobar's very [catchy enthusiasm](#) for a BRICS bloc as an alternative to US hegemony that the greatest danger to the world's workers is to mistakenly tie their revolution to the new great powers, Russia and China. Russia and China are not 'progressive' in offering workers a peaceful, gradual transition to market socialism. They form a rising imperialist bloc that challenges the dominance of the US, not on behalf of workers, but as the successors to the US global dominance. Russia and China no less than the US and its allied powers are in a fight to the death to grab what remains of the earth's resources of land, labour and energy and to do what is necessary to extract more surplus value to return a profit on their multi-trillions of accumulated capital assets.

As we have seen in the cases of Iran, Greece and Ukraine, where these two giant imperialist blocs clash, such dependent nation states must be being fought over by the rival imperialist blocs. Despite its nuclear deal, Iran has been lost to the US. This raises the stakes for a showdown between Israel and Iran. But as Escobar says, any attacks by the Israeli/neo-con lobby on Iran will now be against the SCO. Not as Escobar's anti-imperialist security organisation of course, but as the armed forces of the Russia/China bloc (now including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, India and Pakistan). Greece will be sold off to the highest imperialist bidders unless the workers make a revolution and open the road for the rest of the Euro 'trash' to break free from their imperialist overlords. Ukraine's ongoing war in the East is a class war that can turn into a civil war across the whole of Ukraine to reclaim the Independent Socialist Ukraine and set an example to the other states torn between US, EU and Russia and China.

For Permanent revolution against imperialism, West and East!

For a Workers Socialist Federation of Eurasia!

For a new World Party of Socialism based on the 1938 Transitional Program!

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What we Fight For

We fight to overthrow Capitalism

Historically, capitalism expanded world-wide to free much of humanity from the bonds of feudal or tribal society, and developed the economy, society and culture to a new higher level. But it could only do this by exploiting the labour of the productive classes to make its profits. To survive, capitalism became increasingly destructive of “nature” and humanity. In the early 20th century it entered the epoch of imperialism in which successive crises unleashed wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. Today we fight to end capitalism’s wars, famine, oppression and injustice, by mobilising workers to overthrow their own ruling classes and bring to an end the rotten, exploitative and oppressive society that has exceeded its use-by date.

We fight for Socialism.

By the 20th century, capitalism had created the pre-conditions for socialism –a world-wide working class and modern industry capable of meeting all our basic needs. The potential to eliminate poverty, starvation, disease and war has long existed. The October Revolution proved this to be true, bringing peace, bread and land to millions. But it became the victim of the combined assault of imperialism and Stalinism. After 1924 the USSR , along with its deformed offspring in Europe, degenerated back towards capitalism. In the absence of a workers political revolution, capitalism was restored between 1990 and 1992. Vietnam and China then followed. In the 21st century only North Korea survives as a degenerated workers state. We unconditionally defend the DPRK against capitalism and fight for political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy as part of a world socialist revolution.

We fight to defend Marxism

While the economic conditions for socialism exist today, standing between the working class and socialism are political, social and cultural barriers. They are the capitalist state and bourgeois ideology and its agents. These agents claim that Marxism is dead and capitalism need not be exploitative. We say that Marxism is a living science that explains both capitalism’s continued exploitation and its attempts to hide class exploitation behind the appearance of individual “freedom” and “equality”. It reveals how and why the reformist, Stalinist and centrist misleaders of the working class tie workers to bourgeois ideas of nationalism, racism, sexism and equality. Such false beliefs will be exploded when the struggle against the inequality, injustice, anarchy and barbarism of capitalism in crisis, led by a revolutionary Marxist party, produces a revolutionary class-consciousness.

We fight for a Revolutionary Party

The bourgeoisie and its agents condemn the Marxist party as totalitarian. We say that without a democratic and a centrally organised party there can be no revolution. We base our beliefs on the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism and Trotskyism. Such a party, armed with a transitional program, forms a bridge that joins the daily fight to defend all the past and present gains won from capitalism to the victorious socialist revolution. Defensive struggles for bourgeois rights and freedoms, for decent wages and conditions, will link up the struggles of workers of all nationalities, genders, ethnicities and sexual orientations, bringing about movements for workers control, political strikes and the arming of the working class, as necessary steps to workers’ power and the smashing of the bourgeois state. Along the way, workers will learn that each new step is one of many in a long march to revolutionize every barrier put in the path to their victorious revolution.

We fight for Communism.

Communism stands for the creation of a classless, stateless society beyond socialism that is capable of meeting all human needs. Against the ruling class lies that capitalism can be made “fair” for all, that nature can be “conserved”, that socialism and communism are “dead”, we raise the red flag of communism to keep alive the revolutionary tradition of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, the Bolshevik-led October Revolution, the Third Communist International until 1924, and the revolutionary Fourth International up to its collapse into centrism, with the closing of the International Center. We fight to build a new Communist International, as a world party of socialism capable of leading workers to a victorious struggle for socialism.

Join us:

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