



In Defence of Trotskyism No. 12

£1 waged, 50p unwaged/low waged, €1.50



Ukraine: The French Left and Imperialism

The NPA capitulates outright to French Imperialism on Ukraine
Lutte Ouvrière hides their revolutionary colours under the flag of syndicalism



Videos and pictures were posted by the fascists to celebrate the Odessa Massacre:

This picture montage is entitled, *Joy of the “Ukrainian patriot”*— his arrow points to the victim, a pregnant woman cleaner in the building, the killer at the window (he appeared there to celebrate just after her screams stopped) and the crime scene. Play on the word “mother” -- future mother (strangled pregnant woman) and Odessa-mama (“Mother Odessa”, as locals call it) have both been “extinguished”. Bottom title is “Glory to Ukraine!”, common nationalist/fascist slogan.

Where We Stand

1. WE STAND WITH KARL MARX: 'The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves. The struggle for the emancipation of the working class means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule' (The International Workingmen's Association 1864, General Rules).

2. 'The capitalist state consists, in the last analysis, of ruling-class laws within a judicial system and detention centres overseen by the armed bodies of police/army who are under the direction and are controlled in acts of defence of capitalist property rights against the interests of the majority of civil society. The working class must overthrow the

capitalist state and replace it with a workers' state based on democratic soviets/workers' councils to suppress the inevitable counter-revolution of private capitalist profit against planned production for the satisfaction of socialised human need.

3. We recognise the necessity for revolutionaries to carry out serious ideological and political struggle as direct participants in the trade unions (always) and in the mass reformist social democratic bourgeois workers' parties despite their pro-capitalist leaderships when conditions are favourable. Because we see the trade union bureaucracy and their allies in the Labour party leadership as the most fundamental obstacle to the struggle for power of the working class, outside of the state forces and their direct agencies themselves, we must fight and defeat and replace them with a revolutionary leadership by mobilising the base against the pro-capitalist bureaucratic misleaders to open the way forward for the struggle for workers' power.

4. We are fully in support of all mass mobilisations against the onslaught of this reactionary Con-Lib Dem coalition. However,

whilst participating in this struggle we will oppose all policies which subordinate the working class to the political agenda of the petty-bourgeois reformist leaders of the Labour party and trade unions

5. We oppose all immigration controls. International finance capital roams the planet in search of profit and imperialist governments disrupts the lives of workers and cause the collapse of whole nations with their direct intervention in the Balkans, Iraq and Afghanistan and their proxy wars in Somalia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, etc. Workers have the right to sell their labour internationally wherever they get the best price. Only union membership and pay rates can counter employers who seek to exploit immigrant workers as cheap labour to undermine the gains of past struggles.

Socialist Fight produces IDOT. It is a part of the Liaison Committee for the Fourth International with the Liga Comunista, Brazil and the Tendencia Militante Bolchevique, Argentina.

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Subscribe to Socialist Fight and In Defence of Trotskyism

Four Issues: UK: £12.00, EU: £14.00

Rest of the World: £18.00

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Cheques and Standing Orders to Socialist Fight Account No. 1

Unity Trust Bank, Sort Code

08-60-01, Account. No.

20227368.

Islamophobia is the racism de jour

LCFI statement on Charlie Hebdo: 10/1/15

The LCFI asserts that the roots cause of the deaths at the Charlie Hebdo office in Paris on 7 January is imperialism's wars on Muslim lands, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Syria, etc. Marxists never equate the violence of the oppressor with that of the oppressed, we make no moral judgements on the people who have carried out these attacks and recognise the deaths caused by imperialism in these lands run into the hundreds of thousands, if not the low millions.

Already by May 12, 1996, in response to the question from Lesley Stahl, "We have heard that half a million children have died. I mean, that's more children than died in Hiroshima. And, you know, is the price worth it?" Madeleine Albright, then United States Ambassador to the United Nations replied, "We think the price is worth it."

We do not have the right to dictate to the militant representatives of the oppressed how they conduct their struggles, not the IRA or the Palestinians or those fighting imperialism in the Middle East today. But as Marxists we oppose individual acts of terror like this on the political grounds that it cannot achieve its aims of defeating imperialism by these methods and in fact only ends up doing the oppo-



site, strengthening the hands of the state against them and alienation their only true potential allies, the French and international working class, as we discuss below.

As Trotsky said:

"In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes towards a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission. The anarchist prophets of the 'propaganda of the

deed' can argue all they want about the elevating and stimulating influence of terrorist acts on the masses. Theoretical considerations and political experience prove otherwise. The more 'effective' the terrorist acts, the greater their impact, the more they reduce the interest of the masses in self-organisation and self-education. But the smoke from the confusion clears away, the panic disappears, the successor of the murdered minister makes his appearance, life again settles into the old rut, the wheel of capitalist exploitation turns as before; only the police repression grows more savage and brazen. And as a result, in place of the kindled hopes and artificially aroused excitement comes disillusionment and apathy." [1]

Free Speech and Gross Hypocrisy

The French Left and Imperialism

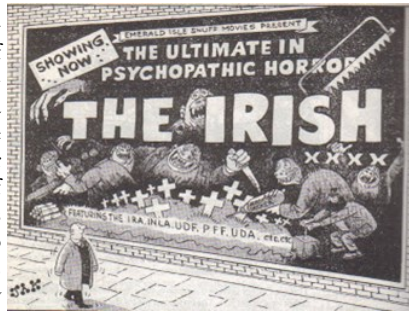
The great cry of imperialism today is “freedom of speech”. One is not permitted to shout ‘fire’ in a crowded theatre because although this would appear to fall under the remit of freedom of expression this freedom is curtailed due to social responsibilities. As such one should not cry ‘scrounger’ at a minority group who suffer disproportionately from unemployment, and it may cause a social stampede and get someone beaten up in the street.

The WSWs commented on 9 January:

“In its use of crude and vulgar caricatures that purvey a sinister and stereotyped image of Muslims, Charlie Hebdo recalls the cheap racist publications that played a significant role in fostering the anti-Semitic agitation that swept France during the famous Dreyfus Affair, which erupted in 1894 after a Jewish officer was accused and falsely convicted of espionage on behalf of Germany. In whipping up popular hatred of Jews, *La Libre Parole* [“Free Speech”], published by the infamous Edoard Adolfe Drumont, made highly effective use of cartoons that employed the familiar anti-Semitic devices. The caricatures served to inflame public opinion, inciting mobs against Dreyfus and his defenders, such as Emile Zola, the great novelist and author of *J’Accuse*.” [2]

Freedom of expression is not an abstract, free-floating right, but rather should be employed in conjunction with, and properly situated amongst, the social, historical and political context of the day. In that great bastion of “free speech”, in California, by far the wealthiest and most ‘liberal’ state of the union, a rap artist, Brandon Duncan, also known as Tiny Doo, with no criminal record, faces life in prison for album lyrics. And here is the convoluted ‘logic’ behind the charge:

“We’re not just talking about a CD of anything, of love songs. We’re talking about a



CD (cover) ... there is a revolver with bullets,” Deputy District Attorney Anthony Campagna said, justifying his unconstitutional prosecution of the musician. Duncan is charged with “gang conspiracy” because his “gang gained in status” from crimes,

and this – prosecutors argue – allowed him to “sell more albums.” [3]

The state of California wants to affirm in law that freedom of speech is a privilege, not a right. Apparently, prosecutors believe that writing lyrics about crime is a crime itself – and one punishable by a life sentence in prison. If we are to compare the case of Brandon Duncan and Charlie Hebdo ‘gross hypocrisy’ is the only phrase that springs to mind.

Of course the ‘free speech’ of Charlie Hebdo attacks the ruling class Christians, Jews etc. but that is not used to justify the mass murder of hundreds of thousands. So you could defend racism against Irish people because it was only a little fun and not understand how it justified the British army murders in Ireland? And those 1920s and 1930s anti-Semitic cartoons; just a little fun and not ideological preparation for the Holocaust?

Freedom of Expression and Racism

Charlie Hebdo is a right-wing libertarian magazine which promotes racism, Islamophobia, sexism and homophobia. Whatever the origins of these journalists in the leftism 1968 and after since the 2001 9/11 attack they have become ever more the mouthpiece of French imperialism.

At the height of war in Ireland anti Irish jokes and racist cartoons were everywhere. *The Evening Standard* published one called, ‘The Irish’, by JAK, on 29 October 1982 and Ken Livingstone withdrew all GLC advertising from them.

The poster featured grotesque figures wield-

The French Left and Imperialism

ing a variety of gruesome weapons and was part of a wider series of images and writings that have appeared in the UK for over 100 years that have portrayed the Irish as apelike, stupid, violent etc.

The cartoon led to protests by the British Irish community and resulted in the GLC led by Ken Livingstone banning advertising (worth some £100,000 per year) in the Standard.

Ken Livingstone stated:

“The clear message of the cartoon is that the Irish, as a race and as a community, are murderous, mindless thugs . . . I do not believe in free speech for racists . . . We will not put another penny into the Standard while they continue to vilify the Irish.”

The purpose of the attacks was to portray the Irish as sub human savages and so make the British army killing of them acceptable. It is truly pathetic that those leftists who supported the stance taken by Livingstone then cannot do so over Charlie Hebdo today.

In 1930s America when white people were burning black people on trees, whites could equally have used the argument that they, like Charlie Hebdo, attack all religions equally. After all, there were cartoons even about the American president! However, making insulting cartoons about white people who controlled the power structures was not the same as demonizing black people- a powerless underclass.

Imagery of black people being dumb, violent, lazy thieves who looked like monkeys- upheld a political reality, the very imagery re-enforced the prejudices of those in power and subjugated blacks. Until the 1950s, signs like no dogs, no Negroes, no Mexicans were common markers of legally enforced laws of racial segregation in America. The French law against Mus-

lim women wearing the veil/hijab is along those same lines.

The same with Jews in Nazi Germany—Imagine today’s spurious and concealed argument being used by the Nazi’s—could a German newspaper hide behind the claim it also made fun of white Germans? How unjustified that only the Jews complained so! After all, Germans didn’t complain when they were made fun of—those backward Jews and their greedy religion didn’t under-



stand free speech!

This is the memory of a Jewish person of what it was like in the Germany of the 1930s: “My earliest personal encounter with anti-Semitism were the horrible cartoons of Jews in the official Nazi propaganda papers, “Das Schwarze Korps”, an SS paper, and “Der Völkische Beobachter”, displayed behind

glass in showcases fixed at eye level to walls at street corners. They showed the most ugly Jews with the most enormous noses clad in either Russian-Bolshevik uniforms or with an “Uncle Sam” Stars and Stripes top hat and called Plutocrats, both apparently dominating the world, or trying to, profiting from exploiting good-looking innocent Germans. How unlike the truth!” [4]



The French Left and Imperialism

The Muslims of France and other European countries are suffering that same type of attacks today. As the Muslims of the Middle East and Afghanistan have been slaughtered in their hundreds of thousands by imperialist armies in the last few decades racism against Muslims justified this mass slaughter. We identify anti Muslim racism today as gelling with the imperialist slaughter in the Middle East and only superficially like the anti Christian and anti Semitic stuff, repulsive and reactionary as this is.

The French working class must defend the oppressed Muslims

The blogger Asghar Bukhari put it this way:

“White people don’t like to admit it, but those cartoons upheld their prejudice, their racism, their political supremacy, and cut it how you will—images like that upheld a political order built on discrimination. The Muslims today are a demonized underclass in France. A people vilified and attacked by the power structures. A poor people with little or no power and these vile cartoons made their lives worse and heightened the racist prejudice against them. Even white liberals have acted in the most prejudiced way. It was as if white people had a right to offend Muslims and Muslims had no right to be offended?” [5]

But we really do need a ‘health warning’ about this approach. “White people” are not the problem but Imperialism itself whose ideology does reach deep into the French working class, it is true. In line with this non-class approach Asghar Bukhari frequently confuses ‘Zionist’ with ‘Jew’ and therefore is open to the charge of anti-Semitism. And as an educated representative of the oppressed Muslims it really is not acceptable to confuse the two. The task of Marxists is to forge a programme



of action to defend the Muslims of France and of Europe against the state and the far right by forging unity with the working class.

In this we concur entirely with the RCIT statement:

“A chief task for socialists in France and Europe now is to organize self-defence units in order to defend mosques and migrant districts against chauvinist attacks. It is equally urgent to build a broad united front against the anti-Muslim chauvinism. Finally, it is urgent to build a strong anti-war movement against the spreading imperialist war drive in the Middle East

and in Africa.” [6]

Equally we concur with their condemnation of the French left like the French Communist party (PCF) whose national chauvinism has led them to support ‘national unity’ in effect that is their own ruling class attacks on Muslims. The NPA and Lutte Ouvrière, whilst courageously defending the Muslims, were also wrong not to put the attack in its historical and political context:

“The RCIT severely condemns the French Communist Party (PCF) and many other so-called “leftist” groups for their support of Hollande’s pro-imperialist call for “national unity.” While the centrist forces – the NPA (whose leading forces are part of the Mandeliste “Fourth International”) and Lutte Ouvrière – in their statements of January 7 have not joined Hollande’s reactionary “national unity,” they both condemn the attack on Charlie Hebdo as an attack on “freedom of expression.” At the same time, they fail to mention even in a single word the connection between this event and France’s imperialist wars against Muslim peoples, or its oppression and super-exploitation of migrants. In their state-

The French Left and Imperialism

ments, both of these centrist groups refer to their close relations with the journalists of Charlie Hebdo and thereby reveal their affiliation with the bourgeois-liberal milieu.” [7] This collaboration and silence of the left is all the more appalling considering the history of French Imperialism’s exploitation of North Africa and the massacres in both Muslim North Africa and in Paris itself.

We summarise and quote from the article by Mawuna Remarque Koutonin in Wiki:

Still to this day fourteen African countries are forced to pay colonial tax for the benefits of slavery and colonization. The crucial confrontations were by De Gaulle with Guinea, Togo and Senegal, the rest were forced to follow suit. In 1958 the French left Guinea and destroyed all infrastructure when they left, crushing cars and leveling buildings in an orgy of destruction. The next up was Togo, who were forced to agree to pay an annual debt to France for the so called benefits Togo got from French colonization. Senegal scared about the consequence of choosing independence from France, Leopold Sédar Senghor the first president of Senegal declared: “The choice of the Senegalese people is independence; they want it to take place only in friendship with France, not in dispute.” From then on France accepted only an “independence on paper” for his colonies, but signed binding “Cooperation Accords”, detailing the nature of their relations with France, in particular ties to France colonial currency (the Franc), France educational system, military and commercial preferences. [8]

We recall the Paris massacre of up to 200 Algerians on 17 October 1961, during the Algerian War (1954–62). The Wiki article gives us a true picture of the nature of the French state and its police forces even today: “Under orders from the head of the Parisian police, Maurice Papon, the French police attacked a forbidden demonstration of some 30,000 pro-FLN Algerians... Many demonstrators died when they were violently herded by police into the River Seine, with some thrown from bridges after being beaten unconscious. Other demonstrators were killed



A US B-52 drops its 750-pounds bombs over Vietnam Nov. 5, 1965, the real ‘butchery by cowards’ of some 1.5 – 3.5 million Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians.

within the courtyard of the Paris police headquarters after being arrested and delivered there in police buses.

...Maurice Papon, who died in 2007, was the only Vichy France official to be convicted for his role in the deportation of Jews during World War Two. According to historian Jean-Luc Einaudi, a specialist in the 17 October 1961 massacre, some of the causes of the violent repression of the 17 October 1961 demonstration can best be understood in terms of the composition of the French police force itself, which still included many former members of the force in place during the World War II Vichy regime which had collaborated with the Gestapo to detain Jews, as for example in the Vel’ d’Hiv Roundup of 16–17 July 1942.

...Encouraged by far-right deputy Jean-Marie Le Pen, (in March 1958) 2,000 of them attempted to enter the Palais Bourbon, seat of the National Assembly, with shouts of “Sales Juifs! A la Seine! Mort aux fellaghas!” (Dirty Jews! Into the Seine (river)! Death to the (Algerian) rebels!). With the recommendation of Minister of Interior Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury, Maurice Papon was next day named prefect of the police.” [9]

Butchery by cowards

“Butchery by cowards” is what one Facebook post called the attack on Charlie Hebdo. But “Butchery by cowards” is dropping bombs from 20,000 feet on defenceless civilians because you never have to see their faces or look

The French Left and Imperialism

at what 'doing your job' does to built-up areas. The biggest cowards and butchers sit in the White House, Downing Street, the Élysée Palace and Tel Aviv. Their outraged victims' relatives are often not very politically sussed on how to extract revolutionary justice from these mass murderers. They assassinate and target workers in imperialist countries who have no responsibility for what happened to them. And the imperialist spy agencies of the CIA, MI5, DGSE, Mossad etc. encourage and foster these methods by 'false flag' operations which are calculate to inflame sectarian tensions and strengthen the hand of the state against the oppressed.

The cause of the violence is imperialism not religious fundamentalism. Of course a revolutionary government would have to tackle this real problem sensitivity to separate the secondary oppressors from their victims, defend the peasants from the landlords, women from the imposition of the veil etc. But never, never as an ally of the 'civilising mission' of imperialism, never be taken in by that peace and democracy bullshit which only puts double chains on these oppressed people. That is unforgivable in Ukraine, in Palestine, in the whole of the Middle East and the whole semi-colonial world. The contrast between the bureaucratic/Stalinist/liberal imperialist approach to religion and the Marxist approach as practiced by the early Comintern is outline here in the 1997 document: Afghanistan: Marxist Method vs. Bureaucratic method, By Gerry Downing 1997. The following quote indicates the tasks that a reformed Fourth International would face in these lands and how to tackle them:

"It took fifteen years of warfare to subdue the uprisings in the Soviet Central Asian republics caused in the main by Menshevik and Stalinist bureaucratic methods. Some conflict was and is inevitable if the power of the Mullahs, Khans and fundamentalists is again to be broken in the countries of Soviet Central Asia and in Afghanistan, Iran through to Algeria. What terrible price humanity must pay for the marginalisation of the transitional method of the Bolsheviks and the triumph of the counter

-revolutionary bureaucratic methods of fighting reaction of Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism in these states." [10]

We defy anyone to say the cartoon of the kidnapped Nigerian women is not a vile racist, Islamophobic, sexist piece of French imperialist propaganda. It has a double meaning which suggests that the young women are 'finally' angry because their benefits were removed and they did not mind being kidnapped and repeatedly raped.

Islamophobia is the "racism du Jour" in the current political climate. And Charlie Hebdo lobbied in the anti Russian stuff on the Ukraine to make sure no one doubted where their true pro-Imperialist political loyalties lay.

Notes

[1] Trotsky, Leon. *Why Marxists Oppose Individual Terrorism*, (November 1911), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1911/11/tia09.htm>

[2] WSWs, "Free Speech" hypocrisy in the aftermath of the attack on Charlie Hebdo, <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2015/01/09/pers-j09.html>

[3] *Rap Artist With No Criminal Record Faces Life In Prison For Album Lyrics*, Nov. 19, 2014, <http://countercurrentnews.com/2014/11/rap-artist-with-no-criminal-record-faces-life-in-prison-for-album-lyrics/>

[4] *The Family Brichta*, <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/survivor/brichta1.html>

[5] <https://medium.com/@asgharbukhari/charlie-hebdo-this-attack-was-nothing-to-do-with-free-speech-it-was-about-war-26aff1c3e998>.

[6] *Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)*, 9.1.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net>

[7] Ibid.

[8] *14 African Countries Forced by France to Pay Colonial Tax For the Benefits of Slavery and Colonization*, By Mawuna Remarque Koutonin <http://www.siliconafrika.com/france-colonial-tax/>

[9] *Paris massacre of 1961*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paris_massacre_of_1961

[10] *Afghanistan: Marxist Method vs. Bureaucratic method*, By Gerry Downing 1997, <http://socialistfight.com/2014/08/15/afghanistan-marxist-method-vs-bureaucratic-method-by-gerry-downing-1997/>

The Minsk Agreement and the fall of Debaltseve

LCFI Statement 22/2/2015

The Empire strikes back

The fall of Debaltseve to the Donbass army on 18 February 2015 is a great victory for anti-imperialist fighters everywhere and for the global working class. Coming just a week after the signing of Minsk 2, it is a blow both to the plans of Anglo-American imperialism to force Franco-German imperialism into war with Russia and to the plans of the European imperialist powers in alliance with Russia to force a compromise with Kiev on the Donetsk and Lugansk Peoples' Republics to save Debaltseve and keep the working class in check. Minsk 2 is Russia's attempt to broker a new compromise for itself with global imperialism.

According to the Borotba leader Victor Shapinov Interview on page 30 of Socialist Fight No19: "The Ukrainian state in the Donbass region collapsed in the spring and summer. Real power rests with the militias. They themselves function as police, prosecutors and intelligence agencies, courts and prisons." The Russian TASS news agency reports:

"Kiev insists on Donetsk, Luhansk leaders' participation in peace talks on Ukraine. A senior Ukrainian foreign ministry official said the peace talks on the conflict in Ukraine's east must be attended by leaders of the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics (DPR and LPR)." We've learned this morning that DPR and LPR have sent quite different people – Pushilin and Deinego. But we should adhere to the format we have agreed upon," the official, Dmitry Ku-



Ukraine's demoralised army retreats from Debaltseve, 18 Feb. 2015, after defeat by the Donbass Militias

leba, told journalists. At the same time, the plenipotentiary representatives of the Donetsk and Luhansk republics, Denis Pushilin and Vladislav Deinego, who arrived in the Belarusian capital of Minsk on Friday, said they had full authority to negotiate, a TASS correspondent reported from the site." [1]

Presumably Kiev, acting as the mouthpiece of US imperialism, were objecting that the Donbass had sent the wrong leaders. Either they regarded Deinego and Pushilin as Putin's supporters and wanted the heads of state Alexander Zakharchenko from the Donetsk and Igor Plotnitsky and/or Prime Minister Hennadiy Tsygalkov from Lugansk Peoples Republic or they wanted representatives of the heads of the militias who were prepared to compromise and who wielded the real power in the Donbass as Shapinov tells us above.

Either way Minsk 2 failed to save Debaltseve; the anti-imperialist struggle and thereby the working class of Ukraine and the global working class has been enormously strengthened by this victory. Despite the renewed ceasefire now taking effect the impetus is with the fighters of the Donbass militias and this will strengthen their self-

The French Left and Imperialism

consciousness as leaders and therefore their class consciousness. These debates have echoes of the Truce and Treaty debates that led to the Irish Civil War in 1922-3 – see Brokering a sell-out to Kiev in SF19, page 27 for these contradictions within the Donbass.

The central aggressive power is Anglo-American imperialism

Let us now reassert that the central aggressive power here is Anglo-American imperialism and that their central target is the Eurasian capitalist bloc of Russia and China. The war in the Ukraine, the war against Iraq, Afghanistan, ISIS, Assad and Gaddafi cannot be properly outside of this geopolitical struggle being waged by US imperialism in the first place to secure global domination and protect and enhance the profits of its great finance houses and global transnational companies. Russia mobilises its forces to defend the Caspian Sea because of its strategic importance; this region has the second biggest crude oil reserves in the world, also the Caspian region is a boundary between the West and East, the region where “the great game” has been played between great powers for over a century and a half.

But it is now clear that a huge gulf has developed between the US policy of arming their Kiev puppets to risk WWII and the far more cautious Merkel and Hollande who know that the USA is only too willing to fight to the last European to defeat Russia. The real inter-imperialist power blocs are Anglo-American imperialism and the Franco-German European bloc. As the global crisis of capitalism



Vladimir Putin, François Hollande, Angela Merkel and Petro Poroshenko in Minsk on 11 Feb. 2015.

deepens these tensions become greater and greater. In Africa for example French imperialism is being continually undermined and outmanoeuvred by US imperialism; Rwanda was French speaking it now speaks English, or rather American. Its only resort to that would be to ally with China. [2]

Again and again the US shows its contempt for France (“cheese eating surrender monkeys” on the Iraq invasion by the US in 2003 and sending no representative to the reactionary Charlie Hebdo photo op march in Paris on 11 January), for the EU (Nuland’s “Fuck the EU”) and for Germany, bugging Merkel’s personal mobile phone, spying on the whole German nation (and every other one!) via GCHQ etc. and the latest move where Merkel and Hollande snubbed Obama and Cameron in the Minsk talks provoking a furious reaction from the likes of McCain and Kerry and British Tory politicians. The following is typical:

“The German publication Der Spiegel described a closed-door meeting, apparently reported on anonymously both to it and to the Bild newspaper, held by Assistant Secretary of State Nuland at the Munich Security Conference, with “perhaps two dozen U.S. diplomats and Senators.” There Nuland gave instructions

The French Left and Imperialism

to “fight against the Europeans” on the issue of arming Ukraine to fight Russia. She was described as “bitterly” referring to the German Chancellor’s and French President Hollande’s meeting with Russian President Putin as “Merkel’s Moscow junk,” and “Moscow bullshit,” and she welcomed a Senator’s calling German Defence Minister Ursula von der Leyen the “Defeatism Minister.” [3]

Russia does not have to accept defeat, they are a nuclear power. And the British ruling class itself is far more split than the USA is right now. The warmongering Timothy Garton Ash on 2 February laughed at the liberal Guardian readership, “America does the cooking but Europe does the washing up” he crowed in a wisdom from the pre-nuclear age. [4]

We insist that by far the best thing for the British and American working-class is defeat of their proxy army in the Ukraine. Remember the Vietnam Syndrome and the great leftist impulse this gave to the global working class before and after 1975 despite the liberal patriotism of the ‘bring our boys home’ peaceniks. We must re-establish the revolutionary Marxist understanding that defeat for imperialism in a foreign war opens up revolutionary possibilities for the working class in imperialist countries and we must want it and work for it with all our might.

What will happen next in Ukraine?

Putin capitulates to Obama’s diplomatic blackmail negotiated by Germany and France. However on the day following Putin’s capitulation Merkel followed up with blackmail and announced new sanctions against Russia to be implemented if Putin does not force the popular republics of Donbass to accept the agreed surrender. The first few days of what should be a cease-fire were marked by the resurgence of Ukrainian artil-



Before the battle of Debaltsevo



After the battle on 18 February – the red has replaced the blue.

lery against the AFDs in Debaltsevo. At the same time in another city, Shirokino, the Nazi paramilitary Azov Battalion, opened fire with artillery and tanks against residential areas. In both the ADFs the regions are required to respond to coordinated attacks by agents of imperialism.

The Opera magazine highlights this well:

“The Right Sector will continue to attack the East and the East will be forced to fight back. The backlash will be reported throughout the pro-Western media as the non-fulfilment of the agreement and new sanctions will be applied against Russia – perhaps even the long-awaited shipment of arms to Kiev will materialize and Poroshenko will be back in the East with his best trained and armed forces and difficult days are close for the Eastern combatants.”

With the failure of the agreement, Putin will

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MAY DAY, 1940 — —

AGAINST BOTH WAR CAMPS — — FOR THE CAMP OF WORLD LABOR!

Max Shachtman's Third Camp Labor Action repudiates defence of the USSR during WWII.

be charged by the international media with attempting to break the truce just signed. Simultaneously, the military force of Obama are beginning the deployment of marines in the Pacific against China and in the Middle East they are using the fight against ISIS as justification. Closing the encirclement via Eastern Europe, Asia-Pacific, the Middle East and Latin America, Venezuela and Brazil, with the right to privatization as a resolution of most of the Brazilian state and mysterious ship sinking platform and simultaneously the scandal makes the murder of Nisman against the Cristina government in Argentina.

In this way imperialism closes the siege against the Eurasian core. This rapid ongoing movement of Russia in the Caspian Sea is an attempt to break this encirclement. Putin has taken note of imperialism manoeuvres. Perhaps, in addition to all commercial and wars of the last three years, we should not rule out that among the possible scenarios to unfold that this counterattack imperialist would be the beginning of World War III.

Russia is not imperialist; no to 'Dual Defeatism'

The former Workers Power group, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCIT) demonstrate their outright capitulation to US-led imperialist propaganda in the following extract:

"The situation changed qualitatively when, in July-August 2014, the Ukrainian army gained huge military advances and brought the Donbass republics close to defeat. At that moment the Putin government decided to massively intervene. Moscow replaced the leadership of the People's Republics and put in charge Russian as well as pro-Russian politicians from the Donbass region who had a history of being loyal instruments of Moscow. In addition, the Putin government deployed thousands of troops in the eastern Ukraine thereby tipping the balance of forces and helping the Donbass republics regain substantial ground. In early September, Moscow imposed a ceasefire. The August intervention of the Russian imperialist state marked a qualitative turning point, as we have outlined in the RCIT's analysis of these events. From that moment on, the uprising has been transformed into one which is predominantly a tool of an imperialistic Russian foreign policy." [5]

There is no proof for the assertion that: "Moscow replaced the leadership of the People's Republics (with those) who had a history of being loyal instruments of Moscow" or that "the Putin government (sic!) deployed thousands of troops in the eastern Ukraine". No doubt that Russia seeks to direct the struggle and that they allowed thousands of VOLUNTEERS to enter the Donbass but to echo John McCain's propaganda on this is unforgivable as it the political decision to then withdraw unconditional support from

The French Left and Imperialism

the Donbass whilst it was under such vicious attack for fascist led forces who were slaughtering the civilian population in the cities of the east.

We categorically reject the proposition that this war is one between rival imperialist powers. For instance the RCIT say:

“In addition, the Minsk Agreement demonstrates once again the character of the military conflict in the eastern Ukraine as a proxy war of rival Great Powers. It is not the separatist leaders and the Kiev government which negotiated the agreement, but rather the leaders of the two biggest Western European imperialist nations opposite Russian imperialism on the behalf of the former.”[6]

Whilst this might seem better than the outright national chauvinist positions taken by the likes of Socialist Resistance (USFI), the Alliance for Workers Liberty and the majority leadership of the Labour Representation Committee nonetheless it is profoundly in error. In particular we reject the proposition that the fighters of the Donbass have become simply a proxy army for Putin (just as we rejected this in Libya in 2011 and in Syria since then).

The only proxy armies in these three conflicts are US/EU proxy armies; the Benghazi rebels, the Free Syrian Army and the jihadists of the Al-Nusra Front and the ISIS and the Kiev regime and its fascist infested army. Libya, Syria and the Donbass fought or are fighting genuine wars of national liberation against imperialist aggression despite the fact that they are led by reactionary bourgeois nationalist politicians. They have a right to get arms and assistance from anyone who will supply it, including Russia in the case of Syria and the Donbass.

The RCIT says:

“Instead, they have to pursue a dual defeatist

position, i.e., to wage a struggle on two fronts: against the imperialist bourgeoisie of the US and EU and their Kiev marionette, as well as against Russian imperialism and their stooges at the head of the Donbass republics.” [7]

And then go on to take an openly Shachtmanite position in its list of demands at the end of their article, The Minsk Agreement and the Civil War in the Ukraine; “Down with the reactionary, pro-Western imperialist regime in Kiev! Down with the Putin regime and its puppets in the Donbass republics!” and “Neither Brussels nor Moscow! For an independent workers’ republic!” [8] they say and draw the same conclusions in almost the same words as Max Shachtman did against Trotsky and Trotskyism in 1939 and subsequently.[9]

The RCIT and Workers Power’s line “Neither Brussels nor Moscow!” is obviously a genuine offspring of Shachtman’s “Neither Washington nor Moscow but the Third Camp of Independent Socialism!” was used by Shachtman but originally formulated by Joseph Carter.

This is profoundly incorrect, it will not assist the working class in its struggles against US imperialist aggression. It will only spread defeatism and confusion. If taken seriously that position would have dire consequences for the working class of the Donbass and the revolutionary socialists in the region fighting for the leadership of the working class. It would demoralise them and undermine the position of a working class growing in confidence and class consciousness following their great victory at Debaltseve.

Conclusion

The big working class base of the Donbass army desires socialism and harks back to the nationalised property relations that existed in

The French Left and Imperialism

the days of the USSR, when conditions for the working class were far better and the oligarchs had not seized all the collective wealth of the country with the assistance of Yeltsin and US imperialism. The conscript Ukraine army (59 is now the upper conscript age!) is demoralised and do not want to fight a war in defence of the corrupt and fascist infested Kiev regime whilst their own conditions of life approach starvation levels; only the Banderite [10] fascist militias are motivated and these by Nazi ideology. Our task here as revolutionary socialist is to offer all the political and practical assistance we can to the fighters of the Donbass. We do not call for the overthrow of the Donbass leadership in the circumstances of this civil war until they have exposed themselves as anti-working class AND collaborators with imperialism and the class has grown in strength and class consciousness to overthrow them with a revolutionary socialist leadership that can appeal to the working class in western Ukraine, in Russia and the whole region and the world to rally to their cause and the cause of international socialism. To the revolutionary socialist of the Borotba union we offer all the political and practical assistance we can to assist them in their internationalist task of winning the leadership of the Donbass struggle for the working class. That is our understanding of the correct way to pose the task of the Anti-Imperialist United Front in this conflict

● **Victory to the peoples' Republics of Donetsk and Lugansk!**

● **Down with the fascist-infested regime in Kiev, the tool of Anglo American imperialism!**

● **For the right of the Donbass to separate as an independent state or to join Russia if they chose.**

● **Nationalise under workers control all the industries, mines and banks in the Donbass!**

Notes

[1] Russian News Agency TASS: <http://tass.ru/en/world/774571>

[2] Why Rwanda said adieu to French, <http://www.theguardian.com/education/2009/jan/16/rwanda-english-genocide>

[3] Will Nuland's Nazis Push the World into War? By Jeffrey Steinberg Executive Intelligence Review, February 20, 2015, http://www.larouchepub.com/other/2015/4208nuland_nazis_world_war.html

[4] Putin must be stopped. And sometimes only guns can stop guns By Timothy Garton Ash, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/01/putin-stopped-ukraine-military-support-russian-propaganda>

[5] Ibid.

[6] The Minsk Agreement and the Civil War in the Ukraine, By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 20.2.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/minsk-agreement/>

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Spartacus Educational Max Shachtman: "Shachtman became disillusioned with the Soviet Union when it signed the Soviet-Nazi Pact. These feelings were intensified when the Red Army invaded Poland (September, 1939) and Finland (November 1939). James Cannon continued to support the foreign policy of Joseph Stalin. Cannon, like Leon Trotsky, believed that the Soviet Union was a "degenerated workers' state", whereas Shachtman argued that Stalin was developing an imperialist policy in Eastern Europe." <http://spartacus-educational.com/USAShachtman.htm>

[10] Stephan Bandera, the war time Nazi collaborator glorified by the Kiev regime and almost deified by the Kiev fascist battalions.

US Aggression in Ukraine and the Anti-imperialist United Front

By Chiang Ching

Why US imperialism has supported, financed and armed a coup d'état in Ukraine and put in place the government of Poroshenko.

Imperialism mainly targets the semi-oppressed and semi-colonized nations who demonstrate some independence, like Russia and China that the United States can no longer tolerate. Especially since these countries, with others also, are trying to threaten the supremacy of the dollar.

Ukraine as an important step to reach the Russia and Eurasia and the vast resources of this region.

What was the political and class nature of the Maidan Movement?

The movement of Maidan was far right oriented, US sponsored, mostly petty bourgeois and lumpen working class. It received the open support of the United States to overthrow the corrupt government of Yanukovich. The result was a coalition government based in Kiev of oligarchs and fascist ultra-nationalists seeking closer economic agreements with the EU and IMF to pave the way for accession to the EU and the NATO.

(This part of the American plan was sabotaged, we do not know for how long, by France President Hollande during his surprise visit to Russia and has not the support of the UK because of their rivalries with emerging German imperialism). The Svoboda party that has big influence in the

Ukrainian government is a direct descendant of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led by Nazi collaborator Stepan Bandera.

Why the eastern workers rebelled against the coup d'état and the puppet government issued from this blatant

intervention of the Western imperialist block?

This coup d'état caused a wave of opposition to the imperialist coup from the working class in eastern Ukraine. The East is highly industrialized and many of the inhabitants speak Russian or a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian. They understood that Svoboda had declared they wanted to exterminate them physically. Within days, the government tried to ban the use of minority languages. The working class of the East also understand that the agreements with the IMF and the EU would lead to privatization, de-



A Ukraine "patriot" celebrates the massacre at the Trade Union house in Odessa on 2 May 2014.

The French Left and Imperialism

industrialization, and reduce the already precarious social services after the “reforms” of other oligarchs governments. They just had to look at Greece to see the results, they knew they had no choice but to resist, first in Crimea and Odessa, then in Donetsk and Lugansk.

What was the answer of the “democratic” oligarch Poroshenko?

Repression and war against the workers and inhabitants of the East. The Kiev government and the oligarchs were quick to establish a “national guard” in the fascist party base to support the military operations of the Ukrainian army. These fascist gangs, mainly Privy Sektor / Praviy Sektor (Right Sector) terrorized workers who tried to organize, tortured and murdered socialists of the Borotba organization and revolutionary communists. They committed the horrible massacre of Odessa in the House of Unions on 2 May, the anniversary of the liquidation of German trade unions by Hitler’s storm troops in 1933.

Kiev has effectively banned the Communist Party of Ukraine, which had an electorate of two million people first and today every “manifestation of communism” is prosecuted

legally as a crime. There can be no clearer indication of the fascist tendencies that the system uses as a tool of US financial capital.

What was the reaction of the pro-western press?

The Western media were quick to present the working class resistance as an “aggression” from Russia, especially since Russia was forced to restore Crimea to its territory. This was a defensive measure and not an action parallel to the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland by Hitler in 1938. Russia has a naval base in the Crimea which is of great strategic military importance to it. It had every right to resume full control of it following the challenge from the Pentagon who tried to take control of the peninsula from the moment Ukraine requested admission to NATO.

Why has Russia occupied Crimea?

Russia acted primarily to prevent threats to its sovereignty and protect the majority Russian population from a violently hostile government of Kiev. It is the United States and the countries of the North Atlantic bloc who are practicing the type of aggressive expansion similar to the Third Reich and the Axis powers,

in fact. Since the beginning of the 21st century the United States and NATO have caused war and imposed “regime change” on any nation that does not allow the economic and political domination of the interests of US finance capital. This has also led to military invasions near Russian territory



The French Left and Imperialism

in the Baltic and the Black Sea and has even begun manoeuvres against China in the Pacific. The destruction of independent Libya was of course also one of the highlights of this policy, even if it was through their French vassal. President Poroshenko is emboldened by US imperialism and NATO, and their threats of aggression against Russia and is assured that there will be no pause in military attacks against cities that resist the Kiev government which is sponsored by the IMF.

Why have the US and EU sanctioned Russia?

The mysterious attack against the flight MH 117 Malaysia Airlines has been used as an excuse by the United States and the EU to impose sanctions on Russia, which began creating economic difficulties in Europe. The main representative of the ruling classes of the EU, Angela Merkel, at a meeting in Germany with the dictator oligarch Poroshenko stressed that there should be no abandonment of the sanctions against Russia unless it gives in to Western imperialism. The United States and NATO now believe they can launch a pre-emptive strike against Russia or China and win; they concentrate thousands of troops in Central and Eastern Europe, they stand ready to fight with nuclear bombers in the Baltic sea and the Balkans; they dominate the seas of the world with their aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines. World War III is potentially upon us, and the slightest miscalculation could see Europe and probably the world enveloped in the flames of a nuclear war.

The threat of a Third World War and the working class leadership.

However, at this crucial time in history, the current leadership of the working class is betraying us again as in 1914. We must organize our class to call the leaders of the la-

bour movement to support the resistance to fascism in Ukraine, which means the formation of a united anti-imperialist front with the people of semi oppressed countries under the threat of imperialism, mainly in the current crisis, Syria and Russia. Ukrainian workers who struggle against fascism and imperialism have the same interest in defeating them that the Russian ruling class and the Russian people have, it is they who suffer the consequences of economic sanctions. The Russian and world working class must push in the same direction against the same enemy.

Do we support Russian capitalists?

This does not mean that we call for the political subordination of conscious workers for Russian capitalists, but we do call on them to “march separately and fight together”. In fact, we cannot trust any capitalist class. We have already seen that Putin is trying to adapt to American and German imperialism, but still he is unable to get any other result than constant demonization of himself and Russia in the Western media.

Who is the main enemy of humanity today?

Against the United States, which is the main enemy of the world working class, the oligarchs and Putin are secondary enemies. There are many people on the left and in the labour movement who see the United States and Russia as equal enemies of the working class, merging everything and refuse to adopt a policy that advocates the defeat of American imperialism. They have become bourgeois liberals and are anti-communists.

What is needed to fight US imperialism?

The struggle against imperialism and the struggle for socialist revolution requires that the working class forms a temporary alliance

The French Left and Imperialism

with the forces opposing US financial capital, which dominates the planet. We must also recognize the need to form temporary alliances with existing mass workers' organizations despite their pro-capitalist leaders. We must rely on the masses and urge them forward, when possible, to attack the base of financial capital that rules over them. We must strengthen our moral and material solidarity with the working class in eastern Ukraine who are struggling against fascism and the imperialism of the IMF. We must champion the independence of the People's Republics of Donbass as voted by their peoples. Ultimately, we must denounce the perfidious role of the current leadership of the working class and forge a new revolutionary leadership capable of reversing the global dominant US capitalism by opposing it with a world party of socialist revolution.

What must we fight for?

- Against NATO imperialism!
- No to World War III!
- Freedom and independence for the Donbass!
- Solidarity with the resistance against the terror of Poroshenko!
- Anti-imperialist united front of all forces active in the fight against world imperialism!
- Withdrawal of imperialist troops from countries occupied by the US and its EU allies.

This short introduction sets out the problem in order and to develop the correct political line, today a minority, but defended by several trends: consistent Marxists-Leninists, orthodox Trotskyists mainly Anglo-Saxons, and some "left" revisionists who have not forgotten all basic principles of Marxism or interna-

tionism. We will try to justify theoretically this in reference to the principles of communism.

Which are the principled basis of an international communist policy?

References for the communists on the national question and imperialism are the resolutions of the Communist International during its Second Congress and Lenin's text, "Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and his writings before and after the trigger of the First World War. This are: "The bankruptcy of the Second International", "Socialism and War" and all the articles of the time.

The very first distinction; oppressed and oppressor nations

In his speech on this subject, Lenin said: "First, What is the main idea of our fundamental theses? The distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. We emphasize this distinction, unlike bourgeois democracy and the Second International. In the era of imperialism, it is particularly important for the proletariat and the Communist International to see concrete economic facts and to resolve all colonial and national issues, leaving not abstract concepts, but concrete realities. The characteristic feature of imperialism is that the world as we see it, is currently divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, which have enormous wealth and a powerful military force."

The ones who had "forgotten" this have passed to the bourgeois camp

This is the essential starting point for any analysis of an international question. Which is exactly what all supporters of the aggressive policy of US imperialism seem to forget. Instead of studying the reality on the ground,

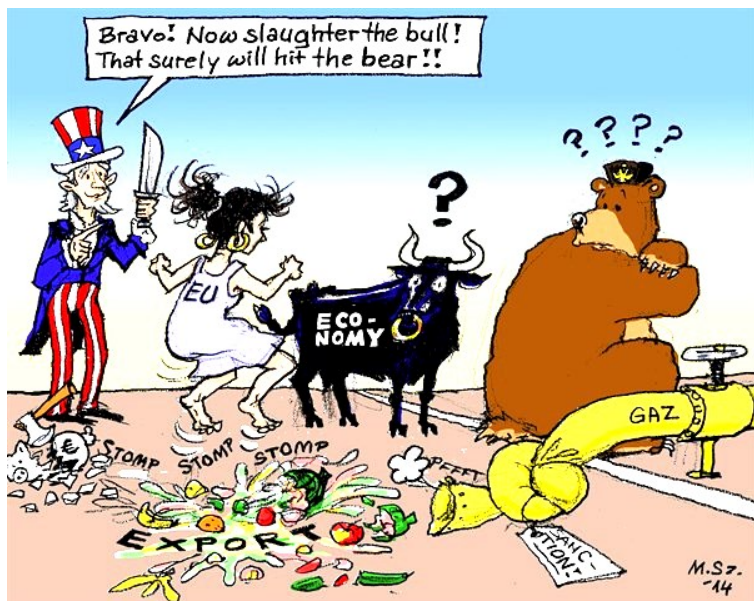
The French Left and Imperialism

they leaned in the books to find an “inter-imperialist conflict”; they do not see the huge claws of US imperialism, they can only see that fantasy about “Russian imperialism”. Such a “Russian imperialism” may have its own ambitions; Russian oligarchs may plan to become one, but that is not the situation

that exists today, nor is it relevant to Ukraine situation. Communists do not deal with “ambitions” or “wants” that have no influence on reality. We seek above all to determine who is the oppressor and the oppressed, or is about to become one of these. The latest developments in the situation, the “sanctions” against Russia by the US / EU and the hidden manoeuvres to crash the ruble and the oil price, fully validate the diagnosis we have always made: it is an imperialist aggression against a backward Third World country, Russia.

Which are the real aims of this attack on East Ukraine and Russia?

This attack can even take an even more acute form and become a step in the confrontation between the United States and China for world supremacy (another unequal conflict in perspective) and does not affect the question of fundamental principles. Some will say that Lenin’s theses were referring to semi-colonial and colonized capitalist countries and not



just backward and dependent countries like Russia and / or China.

Can we compare the conflict between westerns imperialism and Russia today with the situation just before First and Second World Wars?

Although the situation has changed, the basic political features of the problem persist (a coordinated imperialist aggression conducted by the US) and we can never, as some do, make and equals sign between the current situation and the conflicting forces during the First and Second World Wars. It is not the military capacity or rather the nuclear force, which could support such arguments, because the armies of Russia and China, even together, cannot be compared in any way with the military power of the Western bloc. Even the Russian nuclear force is in a very poor condition and reconstruction has only recently begun. The China is in an even weaker military position.

Whatever it Takes

Hillary Clinton's Record
of Support for War
and Other Depravities
Along Her Political Ascension



The weakness of the international political movement of the working class is an aggravating factor.

This situation of imperialist aggression against much weaker countries is accompanied by unprecedented weakness of the international labour movement. This lack of political presence of the working class and its organizations, including its ideology, not only internationally but also nationally, considering their actual relative weight, is one of root causes of the ease with which imperialist adventures and all kinds of military aggression occur. They use scandalous pressure, they overturn governments who have sometimes become only slightly divergent from their interests or just because they have begun to covet their natural resources.

Who is the main aggressor in the world for many long years?

Particularly since the end of the USSR, US imperialism has committed all kinds of military aggression, destroying whole countries, practiced state terrorism, torture, murder outside its borders, the overthrow of governments through “colour revolutions”, the physical liquidation of its former employees and / or dictators put in place by the CIA or supported by them. This victorious drunkenness, which sought to consolidate the advantage gained by the fall of the USSR betrayed and sold by her rotten and treacherous leaders, has fed their dreams of world domi-

nation, even at the expense of their former “allies” (who know what kind of “friend” they have, and are only aligned with them because of their own relative weakness).

What is the main goal of US imperialism?

All their policy is geared to maintaining this domination but it is decaying by slow degrees with the emergence of new economic powers who can become as a real threat to their hegemony in the future. This international situation, a hegemonic superpower dominance without shearing, began to be threatened by new capitalist powers in the making, in a situation in which the working class has lost its political presence, where it is plunged into major political and ideological confusion but has grown in number and still continues to fight. The class desperately needs a strategy and appropriate tactics to stop the race of humanity towards the abyss.

Could the US imperialist plans be stopped by criticism?

The aggressive plans of US imperialism to maintain its global dominance are not going to stop. These plans are essential to continue the operations and financial dominance of the United States to export its systemic crisis and fuel its military-industrial complex which is the centre of its profits from their production. It can only continue to cause more wars or local or global firefights by a more acute struggle against Russia, China or Iran, or with two or three of them together. The domi-

The French Left and Imperialism

nance of energy sources and the exploitation of Eurasia are among the most important plans of US imperialism. They will find strong opposition from Russia, China and Iran, which is not by a “conflict between imperialist”, but an attempt to defend the resources of the major countries of the Third World against the most powerful imperialist coalition in the world.

Should communist support oppressed and exploited countries no matter their actual leaders against an imperialist aggression?

Faced with this alternative the famous quote from Lenin comes to mind; he said that the Communists should always actively support the wars of the oppressed and exploited countries (or those that may become so), whatever the nature of these states or characteristics of their leaders. He illustrated this with the hypothetical case of a war between “democratic” Britain and feudal India, and he said it was the duty of the Communists to support India, even if Hindus were the initiators of the war, because it was a just national war against an imperialist nation.

What is the nature of the resistance of the East Ukrainian workers?

The conflict in Ukraine has the same characteristics. It is mostly an insurrection of Eastern workers (despite the prevailing ideas, and some reactionary nationalists). We had the proclamation of self-determination first and independence of the Popular Republics later.

The government of the oligarchies and the Nazis, strongly pushed, advised and supported by the imperialist bloc of Germany, France and the United States went to war against them to force them to accept cultural apartheid, dictatorship from fascists gangs and the dictates of the IMF. All these

measures involve the liquidation of Ukrainian industry and the social benefits of the working class. They seek to transform Ukraine into an arena for NATO exercises against Russia and to impose the dictatorship of international finance. The fate of Albania beckons for these regions and for the whole Ukraine.

What promises enticed some Ukrainian workers to fight for the oligarchs, fascists and US imperialist policies?

The purported compensation they were to get for all this trouble was their integration into the EU and NATO, but it will not happen, because the French and English imperialists do not want the strengthening of German power in Europe, even less so now. Policy changes are the “specialty” of the new “diplomacy” of the French imperialists. In fact they seek to transform Ukraine into an exporter of agricultural products, mineral and other raw materials, without industry and without national independence. Ukrainian oligarchs would be satisfied with the status of parasites whilst collecting the crumbs from the imperialist table.

Is it an armed resistance the correct answer to the oligarch-fascist imperialist aggression?

A national or regional war to oppose these plans is quite fair and correct. Especially when the Ukrainian army acts as an aggressor under the command of US imperialism, which has the nerve to install its “intelligence service” and his mercenaries and agents directly in the Ukrainian land still controlled by the oligarchs and the fascists.

How can the most conscious sectors of the working class intervene and are they ideologically prepared to do it under these conditions?

The French Left and Imperialism



For a long time Marxist-Leninists have defined the contradictions between classes and countries in the world. Even when the USSR still existed as a socialist country despite all the internal distortions that eventually led to its fall, the following contradictions (except the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp) were still same:

- The contradiction of the oppressed nations on the one hand, against the imperialist superpower, the United States and other imperialist powers.
- Inter-imperialist contradictions. a) The US imperialist superpower against the imperialist powers like France, Britain, Germany, Japan, etc. b) The contradictions between small imperialist powers.
- The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which will always be the most antagonist.
- The various contradictions between the different layers of the petty bourgeoisie and the working class, and in certain circumstances, against imperialism and the comprador bourgeoisie, who are closely linked

to foreign capital in the colonial and semi-colonial world.

What is the real solution to all these contradictions?

The solution of these contradictions is the world socialist revolution that will pass through intermediate steps because it does not develop in a single pulse, due to the uneven development of world countries. How can Revolutionary Communists and all those who really oppose the aggressive actions of imperialism and want to support the struggle of Donbass Republics participate in this fight? Some people measure the magnitude of the task and are discouraged in advance, forgetting that the people of Donbass are already struggling. They see the enormous difficulties of such a struggle and the very real possibility that these fighters for socialism and national independence may be abandoned (by Putin) because of short term geopolitical calculations. They may lose because of lack of arms and ammunition. These fighters are increasingly communists and have many other Marxists in their ranks; there are also those elements who are nostal-

The French Left and Imperialism



Trotsky, Lenin and Kamenev at the Second Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia in 1919

of their rulers. Therefore, we propose this type of United Front to all those who are fighting or preparing to fight against imperialist in Ukraine or another country, as Syria, Iraq, Yemen or even Russia or China. The acceptance of such a united front in turn depends on the degree of importance of the movement of workers around the world who support the Front.

Is this an easy fight? Are we supporting Putin? Fighting US imperialism is only a first step?

gic for the Soviet era. They may lose because a large part of the European and global left have betrayed them objectively.

Others would materially help and some have even gone to fight alongside them. Others are willing to accept any peaceful solution, any waiver of independence so they can get a minimum peace and stop the attacks against civilians carried by the fascist oligarchy.

What is the only policy the true Left can propose? The Anti-imperialist United !

The only policy to support these fighters is that of an anti-imperialist united front to fight together against American led-imperialism by all possible means.

A united front is defined as the tactics of the Communists and is summed up in the phrase "march separately, strike together." This united front of workers and conscious communists must be open to all the forces opposed in fact, to the main aggressor without fear of the political nature of the attacked state, much less the nature and characteristics

The difficulties are real but it is the only political line accords with communist political principles. We stand alongside Russia to fight against the main imperialism without making any political concessions to Putin nor the leaders of the People's Republic of Donbass if these leaders are not on the path of struggle for socialism and the national independence.

As we also know that once finished the fight that requires us to strike together, we will go against the policies of the Russian oligarchs and the Donbass. Some may say that, given the state of our forces and our influence (quite small actually) it is a sword thrust in the water, or a statement of principles empty of all content. We reject this claim. Today the political and consistent ideological defence with all the practice, experience and Marxist-Leninist theory, its preservation and dissemination are the seeds that will bear fruit. The other road is to follow the line of opportunism, ultra-leftism of centrism and betrayal; that is the real impasse facing all Revolutionary Communists.

UKRAINE AND INTERNATIONAL LEFT

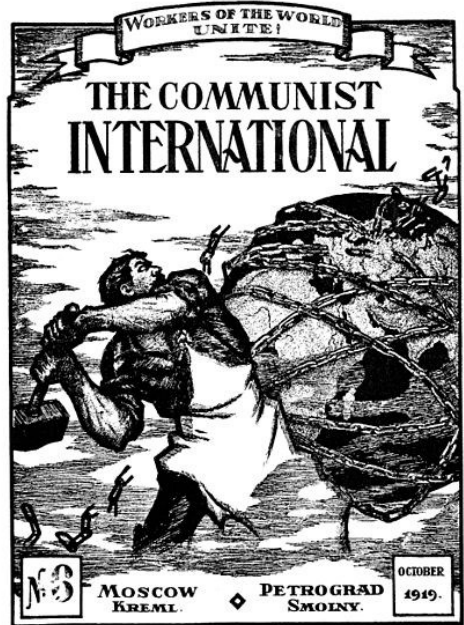
The Ukrainian question appears as the continuation of many other conflicts and attacks against dependent or semi colonial countries after the fall of the USSR.

US-led imperialism's direct aggressions have been backed by and have and counted in the collaboration of other secondary imperialisms such as Great Britain and France but also of Germany, Spain, Italy and even vassal states or close allies like Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Israel.

Since Yugoslavia wars and through to Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria, according to US imperialism's obvious geopolitical strategy, they have smashed any country or any neighbouring former ally of the former Soviet Union on one pretext or another but always targeting, as their final goal, Russia and China.

In the state of decay of Yeltsin's Russia that would have happened without too much opposition but since Russia has recovered a bit of its strength, this is done openly against it now. It is also directed in a more muted way against China, for the moment.

Beginning with the fall of the Soviet Union Ukraine has been designated by the US imperialist strategists as the weakest link to conquer. They see there the potential to limit and / or break up Russia and keep it in backwardness vassalage, what they had been during the decade under Yeltsin after the foustery of Gorbachev. Ukraine therefore has been for more than a year a place for the imperialist manoeuvres and aggressions, first by US imperialism with its dismemberment plans for the political or military liquidation of Russia if necessary. But also for the rising ambitions of German imperialism that has its own, ancient designs on the "East" i.e. from



the "black lands" of Ukrainian to the Carpathian mountains as in the First and Second World Wars.

The Euromaidan movement melds into this perspective and so the Ukrainian issue is of global importance because of its political consequences. A victory for US imperialism and their puppet oligarchs and their Nazi pawns (who are even more dangerous), may have devastating consequences for the struggle of the international working class.

Such international situation, which has gone on since the 2011 Libyan conflict, at least, has divided the international left in three perfectly distinct currents. This aggression against a small nation by an imperialist coalition, met with the open and/ or the hidden support of countless political movements of

The French Left and Imperialism

all sorts (Trotskyists, Maoists, Revisionists, in short the whole political movement that poses, rightly or wrongly, on the workers' side) who have forgotten and/or hidden the yet clear teachings of the Communist International Congress and its leaders, as discussed later.

In France all organizations are located or are in an almost open support of imperialist policy (the NPA, Mélenchon, PCF) on the right, the centrist "neither-nor" position, such as the so called Trotskyist Lutte Ouvrière and the so called Maoist Voie Ptolétarienne. These say they cannot support either the imperialist on the one hand nor a dictator on the other, under the pretext that even if the imperialist aggression appears clear, a revolutionary communist party could not support a "bloody dictator", following the name given to the political leader on site by the imperialist mass media services of disinformation. In this way they contributed to the imperialist propaganda among the working class in their respective countries and indirectly helped the assault and subsequent destruction of that country.

These currents are found everywhere, and everywhere the same ideological tendencies, Trotskyists, Maoists, Stalinists, Hoxhaists (followers of Enver Hoxha of Albania) or other revisionists of all colours, are divided in three or at least two of this currents, on the issue.

A political crisis like the one known in 1914 during the first imperialist war exists today. This coincidence which does not bode well for the near future.

The only correct position against this imperialist aggression and plans is to maintain its world supremacy at the risk of provoking a new world war is that which we defend:

The Anti Imperialist United Front

We defend the principle of the Anti Imperi-

alist United Front (AIUF) in all conflicts between imperialist powers, or their proxies who carry pursue their war aims with their support, and semi-colonial countries like Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Venezuela and the Donbass region of the Ukraine, the focus of this article. We also defend countries of intermediate development, with features of both imperialism and semi-colonies, like Russia, China, Greece, Portugal and some former 'Iron Curtain' countries in Eastern Europe, from Imperialist attack.

A United Front has as its first condition that it be led by the industrial working class guided by their revolutionary communist party and each temporary alliance he made should be made strictly in the short and long term interests of the working class.

The principles of the Anti Imperialist United Front are simple as laid out by the revolutionary Comintern in 1922:

"The workers' united front is the slogan advanced in the West during the transition period, characterised by the organised gathering of forces. Similarly in the colonial East at the present time the key slogan to advance is the anti-imperialist united front. Its expediency follows from the perspective of a long-drawn-out struggle with world imperialism that will demand the mobilisation of all revolutionary elements. This mobilisation is made all the more necessary by the tendency of the indigenous ruling classes to make compromises with foreign capital directed against the fundamental interests of the mass of the people. Just as in the West the slogan of the workers' united front has helped and is still helping to expose the social democrats' sell-out of proletarian interests, so the slogan of an anti-imperialist united front will help to expose the vacillations of the various bourgeois-nationalist groups. This slogan will also help the working masses to develop their revolutionary will and to increase their

The French Left and Imperialism



EuroMaidan Nazi emblem

class consciousness; it will place them in the front ranks of those fighting not only imperialism, but the remnants of feudalism.”

As Lenin said in his speech at that Congress: "The Communist International should accompany the revolutionary movement in the colonial and backward countries for part of the way, and should even make an alliance with it, but must unconditionally maintain the independent character of the proletarian movement, be it only in embryo."

And Stuart King, then a central leader of Workers Power, pointed out in his debate with the GOR of Italy in 1986:

“What we believe is necessary in countries oppressed and attacked by imperialism and its agents is a fighting bloc of all social forces and their parties willing and able to resist.

This may be extremely episodic - for a single demonstration or a rally - or it may be a military bloc. Our position is that it is incorrect in non-imperialist countries to exclude the bourgeoisie on principle. Indeed where the

bourgeoisie has mass influence amongst the oppressed classes (and where has it not?) refusal to offer the united front is to strengthen that influence not undermine it.” [1]

The NPA supported the Euro-Maidan

The NPA has supported Euromaidan and made it an alibi, claiming that Euromaidan could be saved from his leadership and extreme fascist right and, in spite of these leaders, it was a “ democratic revolution “. They said:

“While the main organized forces are, for now, right and far right, we support the social and political forces that are trying to build a left opposition within the movement. In doing so, they refused stay out of the movement and to identify all the movement with his right-wing component. “

Zakhar Popovych, the fraudster who ripped off a dozen or more far-left groups in the West while pretending to be a member of all, is now a leader of the Ukrainian group Left Opposition, he said: “The first attacks against the riot of Berkut Police (anti mutinous police) were organized mainly by neo-Nazis of Pravdiy Sektor, who are even more radical than the movement of the extreme right Svo-boda “.

In their statement of 7 March the Left Opposition, the USFI group wrote: “Ukraine will be saved dune intervention by solidarity,” and she accepted the coup led by fascists: “Our Government was legitimized by the threat of foreign intervention “and went on to say:” It is necessary to create international brigades to maintain legal order, to oppose the chauvinism of us, to defend strategic facilities, to propaganda among the troops, and to oppose the disarmament of the Ukrainian Armed detachments ... Organize with whom you trust, or with whom you are

The French Left and Imperialism

ready to elect! The Ukrainian army must act under the control of citizens “.

Of course, the “international brigades” of fascists from Sweden, Poland and elsewhere rushed to Kiev and actual international socialist brigades from Spain gathered to defend the Donbass these fascist monsters.

The silence of the NPA on the Odessa massacre of May 2, 2014 is more eloquent than any of their political degeneration. It is impossible to imagine that a Marxist International Group, for example, may tacitly approve the massacre of at least 48 anti-fascists by Nazi thugs, saying they did not know who had done this heinous crime by building on the occult by the Ukrainian dominated by the extreme right government and so avoid its responsibilities Socialists. Their British comrades of the Socialist Resistance brought an equally reactionary contribution to their right skid. In an article on their website March 24, 2014, “Ukraine - the Russians are the aggressors,” Liam Mac Uaid gives:

“The Russian occupation of Crimea sharply divided opinion in the British left” wrote Liam Mac Uaid, he continues. “The European Commission will formally present more than 1.1 billion € this week to extreme putschists Right Kiev who eliminated by street violence the elected government “ A fairly direct statement in fact, we could have thought. But no, naive, non-dialectical people fail to perceive the “revolutionary content” behind the reactionary appearance he tell us in a terrible section of political chicanery:

“However, the socialist participants in these events, as Ilya Boudraïtksis of Vpered (“Forward “), the Russian section of the Fourth International saw in this mass movement as if it contained the seeds of a revolutionary process: “... each element exudes an authentic revolutionary consciousness, painted in a strange color, unusual - a propaganda

kaleidoscope of all possible sects and far-right parties, with countless symbols” Celtic “and runes on walls. The dissonance between the incredibly sickening revolutionary content of the process and its reactionary form are not demanding circumstances no ethical evaluations disgusted, but an action which seeks to amend an ugly equation.”

In the comments on this article a Japanese comrade, sigesige00, replied:

“This article makes clear the degeneration of the USFI in a neo-conservative organization openly against-revolutionary and pro-imperialist under the direction of Professor Gilbert Achcar (in fact, he is not a member of the NPA, but a mouthpiece for the USFI). Now the USFI clearly works for Western imperialism, in the same way that Achcar has supported the Western imperialist attack against Libya. I urge these “Trotskyists” to be honest and say: “We are not Communists at all, but left apologists for US imperialism and the EU.”

It's hard to find a better political explanation.

Lutte Ouvrière and Ukraine

We will treat the position of Lutte Ouvrière as a typical rightist and centrist tendency which have arisen in France and leave aside the criticism of Voie Proletarienne that has made a copy and paste of these positions with some small variations.

Their positioning is indistinguishable from the one they have taken during the imperialist aggression in Libya and can, with no doubt, be described as centrist. It has been also called Schatmanite in allusion to a political leader who had the position in 1939 of “neither Moscow nor Washington, for the working class” or as a Kautskite position, similar to the “intermediate” position taken by Kautsky during the First World War, in fact a hypocritical support for their own imperialism. This centrist policy was also used

The French Left and Imperialism

to describe the imperialist aggression in Syria and it is again in service in Ukraine, where they arrived at the point of describing both the Nazi bands and the leaders which count in their ranks communists and Borotbists of workers in struggle against Kiev's typical military aggression, openly backed by US imperialism as: "All bandits" P.Lafitte wrote in their weekly "Lutte Ouvrière" last August:

"Admittedly, the separatist leaders of Donbass, supported by leaders of parts of the Russian state apparatus, if not Putin, are bloodthirsty henchmen. They are bandits in the pay of some oligarchs, gangsters that are blessed by the priests and the Great Russian nationalist thugs who get rich by the looting of the region."

A fight between "bandits", that's their justification for their political line. As in Libya and Syria they tune their violins to the imperialist propaganda.

Let us see what they wrote in one of those rare comments on this issue they made which is, nonetheless, central not only in international politics but that which determines and will determine increasingly, any national policy (Already the military budgets of countries concerned are increasing):

In the journal Worker's Fight No. 101 of March, the sister British organisation of Lutte Ouvrière, the article "*Ukraine - The petty bourgeoisie, bureaucracy and the games of the imperialist powers: from shakedown to bloodbath*" is a translation with some additional comments, of a section that appeared in the No. 158 of "Lutte de Classes" monthly, in French.

It follows the general line of LO articles on international questions as the 'balanced' title suggests, the working class are caught between the petty-bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy and West. The term 'bureaucracy' is a very vague term and which particular 'petty-bourgeoisie' we are referring to is also vague. However the content of the article itself sug-



gests very strongly that there is not an equal sign between the two contending sides. Actually the two sides are Western imperialism and the Ukraine oligarchs with Russia supporting a section of the oligarchs in the East. Very unlike the NPA they are in no doubt what the EuroMaidan was:

"The "self-appointed provisional government" immediately announced "a drastic austerity programme designed to make the majority of the population foot the bill of the country's catastrophic economic situation, without affecting the considerable wealth of its "oligarchs"... this government includes four representatives of neo-fascist organisations, including its deputy prime minister. Meanwhile, taking opportunity of the power vacuum created by Yanukovych's hurried departure and by the illegitimacy of this government, the armed thugs of the neo-fascist groups have been openly parading in the streets of western Ukraine, taking over control of police stations and establishing road blocks to enforce their own "order"."

Moreover there was not:

““A "Russian invasion" of the Crimean province. This was hypocritically ignoring the facts. Indeed, the Russian army did not have to "invade" Crimea since it is permanently stationed there. Moreover, it enjoyed the sympathy of a large part of the Crimean population which, being ethnic Russians, had every reason to fear a backlash from neo-

The French Left and Imperialism

fascist groups whose hateful demagoguery targets all minorities - including the Russian-speaking one."

The article then goes into very useful detail of what happened, who was who and the history of the region. All this strongly suggests an anti-imperialist united front.

Although also in this article are found phrases that show how constant is their tendency to position itself as impartial judges of a situation that concerns them little, can manifest.

Against all minimum observation of the manoeuvres of US imperialism who prepared and set fire to this situation since the beginning, following very clear strategic plans, they write "Caught off guard, Western governments, which had bet on an output scenario of negotiated crisis and whose foreign ministers were scheduled to meet Yanukovych the following day, made it known on the same mode as the UN secretary general, they considered that "recourse to such measures [of violence] by one or the other party is unacceptable. " Then, the arsonists were "caught off guard" in the fire they have put up to light? This type of judgment that it is found all along their few articles they publish on the issue is typical of the difficulties they find to make swallow a political line always located anywhere except in class lines, or as abstracts incantations on a class working completely idealized and inexistent. To the point that when their last Congress they have found a way to walk around the world ... except in Ukraine.

So there's something for every taste but a condemnation of those truly responsible and a centrist position that helps indirectly US imperialism and its aggressive plans. Their eternal refrain, their moralizing accusation of "both sides" always ends the same way as it has since the aggression against Libya: a lament about the lack of revolution-

ary communist parties and ... the ban is closed, nothing to do, basta .

The basic question for a communist, who is the oppressor and who the oppressed?, the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky (as they claim to be his followers) slide off them like water on a duck. They do not bother with that stuff, and this last paragraph is one of their "usual ends" and very characteristic:

"The fact is that no-one, absolutely no-one, tried to address workers as such, let alone on the basis of their class interests. And, as far as one can assess from a distance, until mid-February at least, workers took no real part in the movement. Was it because workers lived on a planet which was different from that inhabited by the protesters, including those who did not support the right-wing forces? Was it because workers instinctively considered that the ideas promoted by the movement were foreign, if not hostile, to their interests? In any case, to our knowledge, no party or group has tried to show how it was in the interests of the working class to oppose both the so-called "pro-Russian" ruling clique, together with its oligarchs and riot police, and the so-called "pro-Europeans", who are only bidding for positions and whose ideology is openly hostile to working class interests."

And did the workers in Eastern Ukraine not have a "class interest" in fighting the fascists so well described by the article above?

The "working class" as described here by the LO exists nowhere on the planet and can never exist. The first and most immediate interests of these workers is to stop themselves being slaughtered by the fascist-led Ukrainian army, as the Odessa Massacre showed just a few months after this article was written, on 2 May. They go on to say: "Caught between imperialism on one side and, on the other, Yanukovych's bureaucracy and Putin's Russia, the working class is

The French Left and Imperialism

confronted with the combined threat of the Berkut (Yanukovych's anti-riot police, disbanded less than a week after this article was written) and Svoboda's thugs."

So they finish by saying:

"The current crisis underlines bloodily how it lacks groups, revolutionary organizations who want and know how to address the working class of this country, in every language it employs, to lobby for it a class policy. A policy that clearly states that workers opposed fundamentally to their exploiters and those who are their political servants to the system in which they call for, and this regardless of the language or label which they give orders to their guard dogs."

In the introduction to the English version N° 101, March 16, 2014, we find a stronger condemnation of Kiev again:

"The response of Western governments to these events have reminded the Cold War - but they are both hypocritical and ridiculous. Given the role that governments have played in triggering and worsening the Ukrainian crisis, threats of sanctions against Russia made by Obama and the European Union have not been less hypocritical than their condemnation of "the Intervention "Russian"

This whole line of reasoning of LO corresponds to what is known as Anarcho-syndicalism that does not seek allies, much less follow Lenin's advice to use any contradiction among the enemies of the working class. The following quote of Bakunin does not sum up the outlook of today's LO?:

"Workers do not count about anyone but yourselves. Do not demoralize and paralyze your not growing strength being duped alliances with bourgeois radicalism... Refrain from participation in bourgeois radicalism and arrange forces proletariat outside of it. The foundations of this organization... are the workshops and the Federation of work-



Demonstrators protest against the nationalist/fascist regime in Kiev in April 2014

shops... instruments of struggle against the bourgeoisie and their federation, not only national, but international... when the time of revolution sounds, you proclaim the liquidation of the state and of bourgeois society, anarchy, ie the true, honest people's revolution. "[2]

At last, here is the ideological justification for their purpose supports imperialist aggression against small countries trying to defend their national independence. This quote comes directly from their last Congress when international issues were addressed briefly:

"There was a time when the national question was a revolutionary factor that Lenin or Trotsky knew integrate into the revolutionary strategy of the Communists. In our time, nationalism turns to chauvinism and/or even is relayed by religious sectarianism, it is becoming a contrarevolutionary factor who regressed consciences because of those ideas, even when they take the form of a challenge to imperialism, they become an expression of imperialist barbarism. *Lutte de Classes* N° 165 In short, goodbye Lenin, Trotsky and the whole Marxist tradition, this is "in our time" where "a nationalist opposition to imperialism becomes an expression of imperialist barbarism ..."

Chavez, Morales, Castro and others, for LO, are expressions of imperialist barbarism.

The French Left and Imperialism

Imperialist will thank them.

Similarly LO refused to take a clear anti-imperialist position on Charlie Hebdo. In their statement: "The assault on 'Charlie Hebdo': against a barbaric attack, and also against those who abuse the name of 'national unity'," they declare:

"This attack is a despicable act. It targeted journalists for what they have drawn and written, as well as those who protected them. Those who use such methods are not only enemies of freedom of expression and freedom of the press, they are thus enemies of the workers, their freedom to express themselves and organize themselves. Whatever the ideology they claim, their methods seek to impose the dictatorship to a population or a fraction of a population. Terrorism, whether employed by states or groups seeking to establish a state power, aims to silence any dissenting expression, and it always strikes especially freedom of the oppressed to struggle against their exploitation.

At the same time, we can only be shocked by the political exploitation which is now made of this event by different political parties and especially by the government of Francois Hollande and Manuel Valls. In calling for national unity from this event, it seeks to restore credit in the opinion that he has largely lost by all their policy. He wants especially to justified, by the attack attributed to so-called "jihadists", the intervention of the French army in Africa and the Middle East. By doing so, it claims to defend them, the government betrays the memory of murdered journalists themselves. They were not only irreconcilable enemies of religious ideologies, but also anti-militarists opposed to all military expeditions. But more, for an operation that is basically symmetrical to that would make the "jihadists", the government would impose its policy as the only possible one. But the manoeuvres and military opera-

tions of the imperialist powers, conducted in Africa and the Middle East to uphold the interests of large Western companies themselves bear a heavy responsibility in the development of uncontrolled armed bands operating in these countries but also seek to act here.

Therefore Lutte Ouvrière will not participate in demonstrations to uphold national unity in which can meet different political forces, the Socialist Party to the right and the National Front. [3]

It is good that LO has refused to participate in the demonstrations on Charlie Hebdo. But there is not a word of condemnation for the cartoons, vile racist pro-imperialist, produced by Charlie Hebdo (the last one, mocks those Africans who drowned off the coast of Libya, whose deaths are due directly to the imperialist intervention in Libya), there is no call to defend the oppressed Muslims of France, now threatened by the French state, and there is no recognition of origin of this racism in French imperialist barbarity in Vietnam, Algeria and other former colonies in Africa and the Middle East. Again, we have simply workers as abstract human beings and not pro-imperialist workers in the metropolitan countries, which the revolutionary party must fight their prejudices, or anti-imperialist workers living in or originating in countries semi- settlements that have suffered oppression and massacres organized by imperialism. These workers must learn class politics and class solidarity, but they will never learn of those who practice the imperialist prejudices themselves.

LO simply portrayed them as "workers" who must learn their "class interests" outside history and cultural identity. Such abstract workers do not exist anywhere in the world.

The historical task of the working class is to free the entire human society of class domination, dictatorship of the imperialist capital-

The French Left and Imperialism

ist class. They can not be free without freeing the whole of society accordingly.

As the task today is to fight against the main enemy of humanity, US imperialism with its aggressive **policy** that, not only leaves behind as such a new Attila in ruins wherever it goes but seriously threatens world peace in its struggle to maintain its global hegemony against Russia and China. And this force revolutionary communists to take a stand in defense of the countries attacked by the main imperialism. This elementary duty has been forgotten by many people and do not predict any good for future of both national as international working class struggles. For without defending a truly Leninist and Communist policy and the reconstruction of organizations that truly orient the working class for its emancipation, the



EuroMaidan HQ proudly display the image of the WWII fascist monster Stepan Bandera.

proletariat and humanity run to ruin.

It is only the tactics of the United Front anti imperialist, already a century old, the only ones that can unite all who can possible be united to first liquidate US imperialism and after turn us against other reactionaries for communism.

Such a policy not only is the only correct tactics but it is the only one that preserves the political future of the working class in countries attacked by imperialism because an open support or an indirect on of US aggression can only divert peoples oppressed from the international working class.

Notes

1] Stuart King, Fifth International, the united anti-imperialist front: a debate with the GOR, 30.03.1986, <http://www.fifthinternational.org/content/anti-imperialist-united-front-debate-gor>

[2] Bakunin, quoted by KJ Kenafick in Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx, pp. 120-1.

[3] Lutte Ouvrière, 8 January 2014, <http://www.union-communiste.org/?EN-srch-show-x-9-1950-6956-5fbcdf78df602609f33e1e70fb50>

[3] Lutte Ouvrière, 8 January 2014, <http://www.union-communiste.org/?EN-srch-show-x-9-1950-6956-5fbcdf78df602609f33e1e70fb50>

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