



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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ONE WORLD - ONE STRUGGLE - ONE REVOLUTION



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The picture on the cover shows a Kenyan policeman attacking school girls.
Source: twitter.com @roths daddy 1

The articles in this journal are only a selection of the articles which the RCIT has published last month. Find more on our website www.thecommunists.net.

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

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Kenya: Active Boycott of the Election – Prepare for the Uprising!

Organize Mass Demonstrations and a General Strike! Build Action Committees and Self-Defence Units in Work Places, Neighbourhoods, Schools and Villages!

Joint Statement of the Pan African Movement – Kenyan Chapter, the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia) and the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 11.10.2017

1. Raila Odinga, leader and presidential candidate of Kenya's main opposition force, the *National Super Alliance* (NASA), has withdrawn his participation in the presidential election re-run ordered by the country's Supreme Court. He gave as reasons for his withdrawal the lack of electoral reforms like the replacement of suppliers of equipment used to transmit election results and the replacement of electoral officials the opposition claimed were complicit in electoral fraud.

2. Odingas' reasons for withdrawal are more than justified. There can be not the slightest doubt that the reactionary and pro-imperialist regime of President Uhuru Kenyatta is trying to hold power by any means necessary. It organized massive fraud in the last election, hold on 8 August, which was later annulled by the Supreme Court, and will try the same in any future election. Furthermore, the regime intensified the repression against democratic activists and oppositional politicians (e.g. the arrest of Babu Owino) in the past weeks. It even went so far to close the University of Nairobi, Kenya's largest and oldest university, on 3 October after massive protests of students.

3. There are talks amongst oppositional forces about a boycott of the election. However, there exists a serious danger that Odinga and the leadership of the *National Super Alliance* is mainly interested in some political manoeuvres instead of seriously challenging the Kenyatta regime. The opposition's leadership is a bourgeois force which has no interest in removing the fundamental illnesses of the country – the super-exploitation by imperialist powers (US, EU and China) and the oppression by a thoroughly corrupt and repressive state apparatus wedded with the ruling capitalist class.

4. It is useless to hope for some serious reforms by the existing regime. It is urgent that all consistent democrats and socialists unite in order to organize an active boycott of the election. We call for the creation of action committees in work places, neighbourhoods, schools and villages to organize the resistance! Only such mass organs of self-organization will allow the people not to become the passive instrument of politicians' manoeuvres. It is important to start now with mobilising for mass demonstrations and a general strike against the electoral fraud! Likewise we propose to organize self-defence units so that the people can defend themselves against the police thugs.

5. Real change will not come via elections. It will only be the result of a popular uprising against the regime which will open the road to a socialist revolution. We repeat that the only solution for Kenya's and Africa's burden of exploitation and oppression is the expulsion of all great powers, the expropriation of the big corporations and the super-rich elite as well as the abolition of capitalism.

6. We call all activists who share such an outlook to unite in building a revolutionary party in Kenya and

international! Join us in this struggle!

Long live a free and socialist Kenya! Long live the United Socialist States of Africa!

*Pan African Movement – Kenyan Chapter
Economic Liberation Association (Zambia), <http://www.elazambia.org>*

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Brazil, México, Venezuela, Israel/Occupied Palestine, Yemen, Tunisia, Turkey, Aotearoa / New Zealand, Germany, Britain and Austria), www.thecomunists.net

Map of Kenya



Source: Wikipedia, <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b7/Un-kenya.png>

Kenya: Stop the Repression against Students!

For mass protests on the streets in defense of democratic rights!

Joint Statement of the Pan African Movement – Kenyan Chapter, ELA (Zambia) and the RCIT, 04.08.2017

The reactionary and pro-imperialist regime of President Uhuru Kenyatta is trying to hold power by any means necessary. After a series of protests and clashes of students with special police, it closed the University of Nairobi, Kenya's largest and oldest university, on 3 October. As a result the government is forcing 84,000 students to leave.

The background of this recent escalation is the accelerating repression of Kenyatta's government against its opponents before the re-run of the presidential election. The Supreme Court enforced such a repetition of this election, initially hold on 8 August, because it was severely rigged by the government.

One of the governments' prime targets in this campaign is Babu Owino, a Member of Parliament and supporter of the main opposition force *National Super Alliance* led by Raila Odinga – Kenyatta's opponent at the presidential election. Owino is a young agitator, a former student leader and highly popular amongst the youth. He has provoked the hatred of the state apparatus by fierce speeches against the regime, including famously calling Kenyatta a "mtoto wa mbwa" (son of a dog) who will be removed by the people like other African dictators such as Gbagbo of Ivory Coast and Gaddafi of Libya. As a result he has been repeatedly arrested by the regime. When the university students came out in defense of Owino, the government decided to close the university.

We denounce the regime of Uhuru Kenyatta who belongs to one of the richest families in Africa and has a long

record of collaboration with the imperialist great powers. The President is a darling both of the Western imperialist powers as well as of Chinese imperialism. He slavishly implements the austerity program dictated by the International Monetary Fund. Likewise the government sent troops to participate in the AMISOM mission which is responsible for the pro-imperialist military occupation of Somalia.

Naturally, socialists and anti-imperialists have no illusions in Odinga's *National Super Alliance* which is a bourgeois force. Its program can be characterized as liberal and social democratic. A government led by Odinga would continue to administer the imperialist super-exploitation and capitalist oppression of the popular masses of Kenya.

We demand an immediate end to the repression against the university students! We protest against the arrest of oppositional figures like Babu Owino! We support mass protests on the streets in defense of democratic rights.

The only solution for Kenya's and Africa's burden of exploitation and oppression is the expulsion of all great powers, the expropriation of the big corporations and the super-rich elite as well as the abolition of capitalism.

Long live a free and socialist Kenya! Long live the United Socialist States of Africa!

Pan African Movement – Kenyan Chapter, Economic Liberation Association (Zambia), Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

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Solidarity with the Mass Protests against the Gnassingbé Regime in Togo!

Joint Statement of ELA (Zambia), IAAEE (Sierra Leone), MSP (Sierra Leone), PACOR (Nigeria), PAM (Kenya) and RCIT, 12.10.2017

We, the undersigned organisations, express our solidarity with the popular protests against the Gnassingbé regime in Togo.

We condemn this government for its role in helping imperialist corporations to exploit the country's valuable phosphate deposits as well as its agricultural products.

Likewise we denounce the Gnassingbé regime for its role in regional pro-imperialist political institutions like the *Economic Community of West African States* (ECOWAS). ECOWAS serves the Great Powers not only as an economic institution but also by providing troops for imperialist interventions (e.g., in Mali in 2013).

The Gnassingbé regime is part of the numerous dictatorships and pseudo-democracies which are ruling the peoples of Africa in the service of the imperialist Great Powers and their monopolies (like France, Britain, US, and China). It is via such regimes that the imperialists are able to economically suck dry the African workers and poor peasants under the cover of political (pseudo-) independence. There is no real political independence without economic freedom!

We send our warmest greetings to the proud people of Togo who demonstrate since many weeks for democracy and freedom!

We warn against the political games of the opposition leader Tikpi Atchadam and his pro-capitalist PNP.

Atchadam wants to limit the protests to small constitutional reforms instead of supporting an authentic popular movement for the overthrow of the regime.

In our opinion freedom and equality can only be secured if the workers, poor peasants and youth combine the toppling of the reactionary regime with the expulsion of the imperialist monopolies and the Great Powers and the expropriation of the ruling capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to create their own government which can open the road towards socialism.

** Solidarity with the Togolese masses!*

** Down with the neo-colonial regimes of Gnassingbe!*

** No political independence without economic freedom!*

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

** Long Live the Revolution! Aluta Continua!*

Undersigned Organisations (in alphabetic order):

Economic Liberation Association (Zambia)

International African Alliance for Economic Emancipation (Sierra Leone)

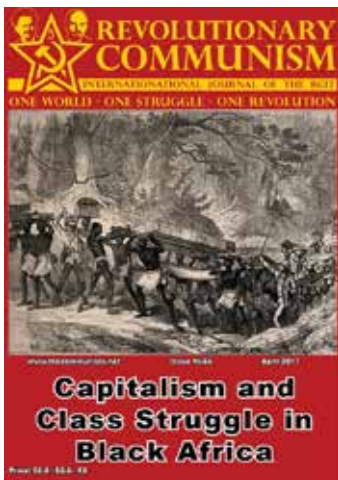
Movement for Social Progress (Sierra Leone)

Pan African Consciousness Renaissance (Lagos, Nigeria),

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Pan African Movement – Kenyan Chapter

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



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Zambia at 53: Still Not Free – Aluta Continua!!!

By Mainda Simataa, General Secretary of Economic Liberation Association (Zambia), 10.10.2017

Aluta Continua! The Freedom Struggle Continues!
In a fortnights time; on the 24th of October 2017 to be precise, Zambia will mark 53 years of limited self-rule (NOT REAL INDEPENDENCE!) by an indigenous black self-serving political class of certified fools – the worst and most corrupt kind being the post 1991 class of Chiluba's 'Movement for Mass Destruction' MMD, up until the present 'People's Fault' PF.

53 Years of Economic Domination by Colonial Powers!

And so it is that after 53 years of self-rule, or should we say self-destruction by a self-serving political elite that maintains, and keeps changing and exchanging positions of power and privilege within its ranks, the overwhelming vast majority of Zambians have had nothing good to show for so called Independence, except abject poverty, political oppression, and of course, mass exploitation of labour! Zambians have thus been reduced to slavery and destitution at the hands of foreign multinationals and local exploiters!

The old white master is still in the driving seat of our economy, though operating in the shadows from where he continues to pull the puppet strings of his chosen political retainers. In this open scam of indirect-rule, our foolish, corrupt and ignorant political leaders have further opened the door wide open to the entry of the Chinese, Indian and Lebanese exploiters. Today, Zambians are singing and dancing to a foreign tune!!!

The Liberation War Must Continue!

Therefore, the Liberation war – the war to end poverty and free Zambia from foreign and local exploiters must continue uninterrupted until this capitalist class is rooted out wholly, completely, and resolutely! The Liberation struggle must continue until complete and true freedom is won: not just political freedom only – which in any case we have lost, since our leaders are nothing but spineless puppets and appointees of foreign powers with a vested interest in our resources and cheap labour. But more importantly, we must strive to win Economic Freedom. Economic freedom means the right to profit from our own resources, jobs for all with living wages, free quality

healthcare and education, and ultimately, a better life for all regardless of status in society.

The Duty to Struggle is Ours, No One Else's!

Let it be borne in the mind of every freedom loving Zambian that no country can claim to be free as long as its resources are mined and extracted for the benefit of a few foreign investors and self-serving local collaborators and traitors of the land! Traitors must one day be nailed against the wall!

The issues we face today are well known and too many to enumerate, and the social-economic injustices and gross inequalities we suffer at the hands of foreign exploiters and a corrupt government are too shocking to comprehend. Change must come, and change will come, but change doesn't just happen by itself! Change begins with us. The revolutionary ball is in our hands, so let us not drop it.

Neither should we repeat the mistake of entrusting the responsibility of saving our poverty-stricken nation in the hands of men without a moral conscience or Political party's without an ideological compass that point to progress and justice for all. We all know from experience – the consequences of entrusting cadre-idiots with political power have been disastrous, and the MMD-PF political alliance to rob the nation is living proof of that danger. The UPND is no better; it simply a buffer awaiting to absorb the entry of political rejects and opportunists waiting for their turn to loot!

The Untried, Untainted, Incorruptible and Ideologically Trained, Must Lead!

Let us therefore turn to, and trust to ourselves, let us the youth take the duty of Zambia's liberation upon the shoulders of our generation, not the tired wings of the old generation, or the unseen future generations. Above all, let us believe in ourselves, let us be agents of change, let us be the change we wish to see in our motherland – Zambia! Freedom is coming tomorrow!

** Prepare for Struggle! Win no easy victories! Progress cannot be stopped!*

** Aluta Continua! Victory is Certain!*



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump's Victory

By Michael Prebsting, November 2016

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 40 pages, A4 Format

Zambian Copper On Wheels: Whereto?

Re-Nationalization A Matter of Life or Death!!!

By Mainda Simataa, General Secretary of Economic Liberation Association (Zambia), 17.10.2017

Zambia Not Free: Still A Copper Colony

With over 83% of all Zambia's foreign exchange revenue coming from proceeds of the copper mining industry (which is all privatized); but yet only a miserly 3% finding itself in the Zambian Governments' coffers, nobody in their right frame of mind can doubt that Zambia is still colonized economically and politically, but that Zambia is veritably one of the the most corrupt and resource exploited nation on earth! The users of our chief raw material – copper, are still the greatest beneficiaries, along with their political local puppet elites!

The Paradox of A Rich But Poor Nation

Zambia is a rich poor nation, therein lies the paradox; a nation successful at failure! Founded in the early 19th century as a copper mining colony (Northern Rhodesia) and beholden to arch-imperialist – Cecil Rhodes of the British South Africa Company BSAC, Zambia continues to serve as nothing more than a farm for the harvesting of its rich copper resources. Also, Zambia's rapidly growing but chronically unemployed and thus impoverished population serves as an industrial reserve army of cheap slave labour to oil the wheels of the now expansive and expensive mining industry, and other related industries.

Privatization: the Open Wound that Will Never Heal!

Today, since 1991; the Zambian people have been dispossessed of the mines which they once owned as of 1964, and are now possessed by abject poverty, ignorance, disease and gross inequality. The poverty stats in Zambia are not only shocking and heart-breaking, but also record-breaking – poverty stands at over 83%, with reserved estimates by Oxfarm (2016) putting them at 63%...and the government Central Statistical Office CSO, down-playing or totally denying the existence of poverty in Zambia! Zambia has been re-colonized, albeit indirectly.

No Economic Diversification without Re-Nationalization of the Mines

It is a known fact that all other industries in Zambia serve and revolve around Mining. Mining is, in a sense, the center of our economic universe, it is the mainspring of our economic well-being. Without it, we are out of orbit and headed towards a meteoric crash!

That is why any talk of diversifying the economy to other industries at the moment – and this diversification being away from and independent of our copper cash cow, must be treated as utter buffoonery, nonsensical rubbish, and sky-high stupidity coming from the well-paid spokesmen of capitalism in Zambia. Such is the talk of mining looting cartels who continue to rob our nation of the billions of dollars derived from our mining industry. Such talk must not be entertained, and it must be denounced! Instead, talk of re-nationalization is what should dominate national discourse and prick the conscience of the nation.

It is well known that in Zambia, all other industries, including commercial agriculture which is equally and highly dominated and monopolized by foreign white-settler farmers (SA Boers and runaway Zimbabwean white

settlers among others), is simply a means to support and supply the core industry – mining.

Banks, road and rail infrastructure, energy and telecommunications, and the little that exists of local manufacturing, are all tied to the mining industry. That is why when the mining industry shakes even slightly, the entire Zambian economy suffers!

Yet the Robbery Continues – Who is benefiting?

For over 100 years now, our national mineral resources continue to be extracted and exported to foreign industries and markets – USA, Europe and Asia, yet the proceeds of these exports never return to our country, except in the form of so called Donor Aid, which is in any case, 10 times less than what is actually stolen out of our soil. This is the great robbery of Zambia which has spanned over a century, and the final end-users and beneficiaries of the loot are the same capitalistic Anglo-American forces we are supposed to have ousted at independence!

But it is much worse now, because new looters have entered Zambia's mining industry by the thousands: the Chinese and Indian capitalist class, and the Lebanese mafia have struck gold in Zambia; and as usual, the pro-capitalist Political parties in power and those waiting their turn to loot in the opposition, all continue to collude and connive with these foreign forces to further loot the nation.

So What is to be Done? When, and by Whom?

Ultimately, the continued loss of Zambian ground and all the mineral resources under it will continue to spell doom and poverty for the vast majority of Zambians. The ones to pay the highest price are the youths who consist over 70% of the population.

Therefore, to rescue themselves, and to rescue the nation from economic extermination, it is this young group that stands to lose a lot, that must do the fighting for its own sake and survival, and it must do so now! To fail in this liberation task is to give up all sovereignty and hope of true independence, it is to resign ourselves to defeat and assign ourselves to slavery once again. But we must not tire, retreat nor surrender, we must mount a revolutionary fight back!

Our struggle must start somewhere, and the re-nationalization of the mines is the best place to start for all the reasons outlined above, and much more than there is room to write about here. The fight for the mines is, in essence, a first fight for the heart and soul of the nation! If we win the mines we can have everything back, but if we fail, we shall have nothing at all.

Stop the Wheeling out of our Copper!

Stop the centuries old looting of our Wealth!

Aluta Continua!

Economic Freedom is Coming Tomorrow!

Interview: “Ghana’s Leaders are all Puppets of the IMF, World Bank and other imperialist organisation”

Interview with Yabaaba Mohammed Dawud, Convention People’s Party in Ghana

Below we publish an interview with Yabaaba Mohammed Dawud, the Director for Communication of the Convention People’s Party in Ghana. Their website is <http://conventionpeoplesparty.org/>.

Question: How do you view the present political situation in Ghana under President Nana Akufo-Addo?

Answer: The Nana Akufo-Addo Government is trying to change the history of Ghana by associating some of his family members who are part of the big 6 to the foundership of Ghana. Ghana was founded by Dr Kwame Nkrumah, the Leader of the CPP and the First and Founding President of Ghana. Nana Akufo-Addo like the former NDC leader are all puppets of the IMF, World Bank and other imperialist organisation.

Question: What is your opinion on the role of National Democratic Congress, the main opposition party?

Answer: The *National Democratic Congress* (NDC) is just like the ruling NPP. They are all anti-socialism in practice, anti communism and anti-Marxism. They only preach Social Democracy just to help them to collapse the CPP that is the true mass and revolutionary party in Ghana. They helped the NPP to suppress the CPP. They sold all the State Own Enterprises (SOE) when they adopted the IMF Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1989-1996.

Question: How do you view the state of the trade union movement?

Answer: The Trade Union is the natural ally of the CPP in Ghana. It was formed at the time that the CPP Government was in power. They are a vibrant group that help to keep the government on its toes.

Question: How do you assess the class character of Ghana’s capitalism? Do you see it as a semi-colonial country dependent on imperialism?

Answer: The struggle is a huge. It’s about control of resources and control of the masses.

Question: Which Great Powers exert substantial influence in Ghana?

Answer: The IMF, World Bank and the UN.

Question: What you believe will be the main issues in the political developments in Ghana in the near future?

Answer: The issue of nationalisation of our resources.

Question: What are the main demands of your party in the current situation?

Answer: We demand for the nationalisation of our natural resources, we demand for the scarp of neoliberal and neocolonial policies in Ghana. We demand for the full implementation of Nkrumahist ideas, Socialist Ideas and communist ideals.

Question: Which kind of political and economic system is the CPP fighting for?

Answer: We are fighting for the establishment of socialist state

Question: Can you say a few words about the history of your organization?

Answer: The *United Gold Coast Convention* (UGCC) had been formed in 1947 with the goal of bringing about independence for Ghana. Kwame Nkrumah thought the UGCC’s opposition to the colonial rulers lacked the necessary vehemence and urgency; he wanted immediate independence. Breaking from the UGCC on these grounds, he founded the *Convention People’s Party* (CPP) with the motto “self-government now”.

On 9 January 1950 the CPP called for countrywide boycotts and strikes. In the course of these, two policemen were shot dead, and the CPP leadership was arrested and imprisoned. This only increased Nkrumah’s popularity. When general elections were held in 1951, the CPP won decisively despite the imprisonment of Dr. Nkrumah and other party leaders. Nkrumah was subsequently released to form the colony’s first African government.

Our History

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah broke away from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) to form his *Convention People’s Party* (CPP) in 1949. Nkrumah guided by his Pan-Africanist ideology felt he could not do business with the UGCC because of their measured, gradual, and somewhat tardy, approach to self-rule. The *Convention Peoples’ Party* (CPP) was therefore formed in 1949 during the struggle for independence and it was the first party to rule Ghana after independence.

The CPP started as a vehicle of emancipation of the nation and the whole of Africa. It sees itself as a mass party that embraces farmers, fishermen, the rural folks, the rich and the poor alike. The CPP led by its illustrious leader, great Pan-Africanist and visionary Nkrumah turned to the masses that are the up and coming young men/women in the cities, but mainly marginalized by the attitude,

Our Ideology - Nkrumaism

The Nkrumaism is the ideological principle underpinning Nkrumaist political parties, namely CPP, PNC etc. There are three main principles guiding Nkrumaism:

Self-determination: We must abandon our colonial mentality and inferiority complex and re-assert control over our natural resources and national interests for the sustainable and equitable development of our country.

Social Justice: The State has a moral and constitutional duty to promote equal opportunity and equitable rewards for all Ghanaians, irrespective of age, gender, ethnic, religious, political or other backgrounds, and

Pan-Africanism: We must work with Africans at home and abroad to find common solutions to our common problems of racism, poverty, exploitation and under-development.

For more information please visit: Centre for policy studies on Nkrumaism.

Thank you for the interview!

Yemen – Thirsty, Sick and War-Ridden!

Commentary by Almedina Gunić, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 02.10.2017

It is not difficult to explain the injustice of today's class system. Half of the world population lives on less than 2,5 dollar per day while one quarter of the worldwide population is so poor that it must be characterized as living in extreme (life threatening) poverty. The eight richest billionaires control as much wealth as the poorest half of humanity! The class system we live in, capitalism in its final stage (called "imperialism" by Marxists), is not only exploiting and oppressing huge parts of the world. In this world we also observe a ridiculous gap between the reality of life in the rich and the poor countries.

The *Guinness Book of Records* names the biggest looping driven by a car, the largest collection of items looking like a hamburger and similar "thrilling" records. It is somehow bizarre to read about these and to know that in the same time the "largest humanitarian crisis in the world" is taking place in Yemen. Overwhelming decadence is so visible today that even the blind can see it.

Our brothers and sisters in Yemen are suffering of a brutal war led by the Saudi aggressors since March 2015. In addition to this a huge epidemic, outbreak of Cholera is currently tormenting our brother and sisters. This disease is painful as it leads very fast to complete dehydration. It is spread via contaminated water and therefore it is mainly a phenomenon in poor countries with a lack of water resources. Mainly little children, older and sick people as well as people in very poor areas are threatened to die because of the rapid dehydration. Vaccinations exist since 1884 (!) and it would be very easy to free not only our brothers and sisters in Yemen but rather humanity as such from this threat. In addition it is not so difficult to cure people who are infected with Cholera as they just need to receive infusions.

The above mentioned biggest looping was driven by a Jaguar car. One of these models was developed as part of an additional 4.8 billion budget of the *Jaguar Land Rover Corporation* for 2016. With the same amount of money the vaccination against Cholera of every living person in Yemen could have been done four times! How is it possible that posh cars are built in order to be able to drive a 19 meter loop but there is no money for the health care of our poorest brothers and sisters?

Talking about decadence one has also to mention that in average 44 liters of drinking water are wasted just for using the toilet per person, per day in Germany! A person who drinks the minimum amount of 1.5 liters water per

day to stay healthy needs the equal amount of water in a month that is flushed by a single person using the toilet in a day! So there is enough clean drinking water to run the toilets with it in imperialist countries but not enough to give it to the thirsty people in Yemen or elsewhere?

In 2003 the main parts of Yemen didn't have a sufficient infrastructure to enable the minimum water supply for the population. While the minimum amount to be above the absolute poverty line is defined by 1000 cubic meters water per person annually, the average amount of the people in Yemen was 140 cubic meters. And this was the situation *before* the war started. One can imagine how the situation developed to the worst during the last two years. No wonder that Cholera is spread so widely as the people will drink whatever they get in order to survive.

It is highly urgent that the international workers movement organizes a solidarity campaign for the people in Yemen in order to support them with fresh drinking water, medicine and other daily goods.

In addition, such a campaign must be combined with the unconditional support of the Yemeni resistance. This includes the support for the victory of the Yemeni resistance against the alliance of dictatorships under Saudi leadership. However, such an unconditional support of the military struggle doesn't mean a support of the political leadership of the Houthis. Only the combined struggle for national liberation and a socialist society can solve the current crisis in Yemen.

Aside of this ultimate goal it is the duty of every authentic revolutionary to support the Yemeni people in their current resistance against the alliance of the Saudi monarchy and the dictatorship of Sisi, which are backed by the imperialists of the USA and the EU. It is the task of authentic revolutionaries to demand a broad humanitarian campaign organized by the international workers movement in order to end the "largest humanitarian crisis in the world". It is the task of authentic revolutionaries to fight against the decadence developed under the rule of the bourgeois class, which is a consequence of the imperialist oppression and exploitation of billions of people in the world. History gives us this test. Will you stand on the side of those who are spending money and resources on Jaguar cars in loops or rather on the side of these people organizing themselves in heroic resistance against dictatorships, imperialist occupation, oppression and exploitation?

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Syria: Putin, the Astana Deal and the Role of the U.S.

On the “Astana Process” as a tool of Russian Imperialism as well as on the shared interest of the imperialist powers in liquidating the Syrian Revolution!

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 01.11.2017

Recently, Russian President Vladimir Putin, spoke at the Valdai International Discussion Club event on 19 October in Sochi. He expressed his optimistic outlook to liquidate the Syrian Revolution and to pacify the country under the control of the bloody Assad regime and his imperialist masters. He said, *“There is every reason to believe ... we will finish off the terrorists in the short term.”*

He presented imperialist Russia’s vision of the ongoing “peace effort” (the so-called “Astana process” negotiations in Kazakhstan), and praised the contributions of Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Israel. He also spoke highly of the role of the United States: *“Other countries, including the United States, are greatly contributing; even though they are not participating in the talks in Astana directly, they are influencing these processes behind the scenes. We maintain stable cooperation with our American partners in this sphere, on this track, even though [we’re] not without disputes. However, there are more positive than negative elements in our cooperation.”* (1)

In this brief comment, we do not wish to repeat the RCIT’s characterizations of the arch-reactionary Assad dictatorship, of the imperialist nature of both the US as well as the Russian military intervention in Syria or of the fundamental progressive nature of uprising of the Syrian people (despite being led by petty-bourgeois nationalist and Islamist forces). (2)

At this point we confine ourselves to demonstrate, by the example of Putin’s quote, the correctness of two important conclusions of us Marxists.

First, a number of supporters of the Syrian FSA claim that the Turkish capitalist regime of Erdoğan follows a policy in the interest of the Syrian Revolution. They claim that Ankara helps the Syrian liberation fighters. The RCIT has always pointed out that this claim is totally wrong. Surely, Erdoğan lent some material support to the liberation fighters in order to gain some influence in the civil war. But such support was always motivated by selfish regional power interests to which the interests of the Syrian people were completely subordinated. For the regime in Ankara, the Syrian liberation fighters are nothing more than pawns in play for power. The primary interest of the regime in Ankara is to keep the Turkish domination over the oppressed Kurdish people and to put down the popular insurgency in Syria.

This is why the Turkish state is participating in the Astana negotiations and is fulfilling its role as an executor of its decision. It is not surprising that Putin is praising Erdoğan role in the Great Powers attempts to liquidate the Syrian Revolution. Erdoğan recently ordered the Turkish Army to move into Idlib – the last large area under the control of the Syrian liberation fighters. By doing this he tries to pressurize the Kurdish PYD/YPG which controls the area around Afrin (in the north of Idlib) as well as to take over Idlib.

This military intervention is part of the Astana deal. As its main goal is to liquidate the Syrian Revolution, the Assad

regime as well as the Great Powers and their regional allies must take over control of the whole country so that they can smash all the Syrian liberation forces which refuse to subordinate to the interests of the popular insurgency against the Assad regime under the interests of the Great Power. (3) These forces are currently in particular the petty-bourgeois nationalist-Islamist *Hayyat Tharir al-Sham* (HTS) as well various independent factions. (4)

This is why Putin praises Erdoğan and this is why authentic supporters of the Syrian Revolution must oppose the Turkish regime and its military intervention in Syria.

However, there is also another interesting aspect in Putin’s speech. As one can see in the above quote, the Russian President also praises the role of US imperialism. He positively refers to its *“influencing of the Astana process behind the scenes”* and welcomes the *“stable cooperation with our American partners in this sphere.”* Naturally, such cooperation is *“not without disputes”*.

Such disputes are not surprising as Russia and the U.S. represents two imperialist Great Powers which are in constant rivalry in the desire to expand their regional influence. While the U.S. has been the hegemonial imperialist power for many decades, this has changed in the last decade with China and Russia emerging as new imperialist powers. (5)

When Russia and the U.S. are in conflict, it is purely because of their rivaling imperialist interests, not because of any principled class differences. They are essentially the same predatory animal.

However, irrespective of this rivalry, the Great Powers share a common interest in putting down popular insurgencies which threaten regional stability and, as a result, endanger stable conditions for the imperialist exploitation of the region. This is why Russia and the US join the strategic goal to smash the Syrian Revolution. Naturally, this is covered with the notorious phraseology about *“fighting against terrorism and extremism”*. But no sincere person should take such empty phrases seriously.

Every objective observer will immediately recognize the absurdity of these claims. Who are these people who are supposed to save us from “terrorism”? Is it Assad who is responsible for more than 90% of all dead in the Syrian civil war and of at least half a million people in the past 6 years?! (6) Or is it the Russian imperialists who are responsible for the killing of up to 200.000 Chechens and the displacement of many more during the two wars since 1994?! (7) Or is it US imperialism which is responsible for the death of at least one million Iraqis and the displacement of another four million people?! (8)

Putin’s praise for the supportive role of US imperialism in the Astana process demonstrates once more the silliness of the admirers of Assad and Russia. How can they cheer their heroes as a progressive resistance factor against Washington?! Who has forgotten all those muddleheaded theories of these Assadist and Putinist eulogists who fantasized for years that the regime in Damascus would

defend “national independence against Western imperialism”?! They spread myths that Washington would control the Syrian rebels, that the US primary interest would be to topple the Assad regime (since the latter was supposed to be “anti-imperialist”), etc. (9)

In fact, Assad helped to transform Syria to a colony of Russian imperialism. Today Washington, Moscow, Teheran and Ankara are all cooperating to pacify and to occupy the country. All the gossip spread by the Assadists was just smokescreen in order to justify their hatred for the uprising of the Syrian people. In fact, the Assadists and Putinists are not “anti-imperialists” but rather pro-Russian social-imperialists.

Footnotes

(1) Anton Mardasov: Moscow eyes working with tribes as its next move in Syria, A-Monitor, October 25, 2017, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/russia-work-syria-tribes-next-more-putin.html>; see also Taha Abed Al-Wahed and Kamal Sheikho: Putin Outlines his Vision for Syria Solution, 2017-10-20, <https://english.aawsat.com/taha-abed-al-wahed-and-kamal-sheikho/news-middle-east/putin-outlines-vision-syria-solution>

(2) See on this the collection of the numerous documents and articles of the RCIT on the Syrian Revolution which can be accessed at the link below.

(3) For an overview of our view of the developments in the Syrian civil war in the past weeks we refer readers to the following articles of Michael Pröbsting: The Revelations of a U.S. General on Washington’s Allies in Syria. Another Blow to the Stalinist Myths about the Character of Syrian Liberation Fighters and the Role of the Kurdish SDF/YPG, 27.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/revelations-of-u-s-general-on-washington-s-allies-in-syria/>; Syria: Assad’s Army and ISIS Act Hand in Hand against the Liberation Forces. Assad’s Republican Guard marches undisturbed through the Daesh/ISIS pocket in North Hama so that it can attack the free Syrian areas in the North), 25.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/assad-s-army-and-isis-act-hand-in-hand-against-the-liberation-forces/>; Russia’s Air Force supports Daesh against Syrian Liberation Fighters. Another instructive episode how Russian imperialism helps Daesh/ISIS to attack the Liberation Forces in the North of Syria, 23.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/russia-s-air-force-supports-daesh-against-syrian-liberation-fighters/>; Syria: A Very Instructive Episode. Counterrevolutionary ISIS/Daesh collaborates with Assad’s Army (as well as Erdoğan and Putin) in Attacking the Syrian Liberation Fighters in Idlib, 10.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/a-very-instructive-episode-in-syria/>; Syria: The Turkish-Russian Invasion against Idlib has begun! All out to defend the Syrian Revolution against the Astana Conspirators! For an anti-Assad, anti-imperialist and anti-capitulationist united front, 07.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-turkish-russian-invasion-against-idlib-has-begun/>

(4) For an analysis of the contradictory nature of the petty-bourgeois Syrian liberation forces we refer reader,

among others, to the following pamphlet: Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/>

(5) For the RCIT’s analysis of China and Russia as emerging imperialist powers, we refer readers to our numerous studies and documents which can be accessed from a special section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>

(6) See on this e.g. OGN Research Staff and Bilal Abdul Kareem: Civilian Casualties vs Terror Narrative, OGN News, April 14, 2017, <http://ogn.news/ccn/>

(7) See on this e.g. Russian-Chechen Friendship Society: Civil and military casualties of the wars in Chechnya, <https://archive.is/20070821154629/http://www.hrvc.net/htmls/references.htm>. See also: RCIT: Where does the RCIT Stand on Russia’s Occupation of Chechnya? <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/russia-and-chechnya/>; Freedom for Chechnya! Down with Russian Imperialism! For a Workers and Peasants Republic! A Video Statement by Michael Pröbsting, 06 August 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/multimedia-1/freedom-for-chechnya/>.

(8) See on this e.g. Larry Everest: 10 Years Later, U.S. Legacy in Iraq: Death, Disease, Devastation, Displacement, Global Research, March 26, 2013, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/10-years-later-u-s-legacy-in-iraq-death-disease-devastation-displacement/5328530>. See also Yossi Schwartz: Down With the New Imperialist Attack on Iraq and Syria! The Renewal of the Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Workers Movement, 2.10.2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-war-in-iraq-and-syria/>

(9) See on this e.g. Yossi Schwartz: The Myth of Assad’s Syria as an Anti-Imperialist Regime, November 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/myth-of-assad-s-anti-imperialism/>

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For the RCIT’s analysis of the Syrian Revolution, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents which can be accessed at a special section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>

The Revelations of a U.S. General on Washington's Allies in Syria

Another Blow to the Stalinist Myths about the Character of Syrian Liberation Fighters and the Role of the Kurdish SDF/YPG

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 27.10.2017

At a recent press conference US General Joseph F. Dunford, Jr., Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made a significant revelation. He said: "At one point [he refers to the year 2015, Ed.] I think we had identified about 175 partners in Syria that we had trained and some hundreds that were available to fight - now we now have 50,000 partners on the ground." (1)

This statement is interesting for two reasons. First, it confirms once more what the RCIT and other Marxists have said for years: the Syrian liberation fighters who started to fight against the terrorist Assad dictatorship in March 2011 have never been "agents of US imperialism", despite the slanderous denunciations of all those cynical Stalinist supporters of Assad and Putin as well as numerous centrist muddleheads who later dropped support for the Syrian Revolution! (2)

According to this high-ranking General, US imperialism had no more than "175 partners in Syria" and "some hundreds that were available to fight" by 2015. This is a miniscule minority among the mass of 150-200.000 liberation fighters which existed at that time. So let us take note that a leading representative of US imperialism, who is boasting about the influence of Washington in Syria, has to admit that it hardly had any Syrian allies on the ground two years ago.

The second, highly interesting, aspect about General Dunford's revelations is about the current U.S. allies in Syria. As the General says the situation has substantially improved for the biggest imperialist power. Today, Dunford claims, they have "have 50,000 partners on the ground." Who are these partners? They are the SDF/YPG which is dominated by the petty-bourgeois Kurdish nationalist PKK movement. In addition, there are some treacherous FSA factions affiliated to the U.S., mostly in the North as part of the SDF as well as some others in the South near the Jordanian border. However, as all observers stress, these Arab allies have only little independent military strength and the main force among the US's allies are the Kurdish YPG.

Again, this statement confirms the analysis of the RCIT and other Marxists who have characterized the role of the Kurdish YPG forces in the recent past as foot soldiers of US imperialism.

Hence, let us not forget to remember all the praise which nearly all Stalinists, centrists and liberals were singing for the Kurdish Stalinist nationalists in the last years. In numerous cases they do so even today! These enemies of the Syrian Revolution denounce the liberation fighters because of the prominent role of petty-bourgeois nationalists and Islamists. At the same time they cheer the Kurdish YPG forces despite the fact that they are serving as lackeys for the US American Great Power. What a confirmation of the rotten character of these pseudo-Marxist muddleheads!

Authentic revolutionaries must neither lend support to the foot soldiers of Russian imperialism, the Iranian regime and Assad nor to the lackeys of US imperialism.

They have to continue supporting the heroic liberation struggle of the Syrian workers and oppressed – despite all the setbacks it suffered by the combined efforts of Assad's regime, the Great Powers, Iran, Turkey as well as Daesh/ISIS! (3)

Footnotes

(1) Lucas Tomlinson, Jennifer Griffin: What comes after Raqqa for ISIS? Fox News, 2017-10-26, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2017/10/25/what-comes-after-raqqa-for-isis.html>

(2) See on this the collection of the numerous documents and articles of the RCIT on the Syrian Revolution which can be accessed at the link below.

(13) For an overview of our view of the developments in the Syrian civil war in the past weeks we refer readers to the following articles of Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Assad's Army and ISIS Act Hand in Hand against the Liberation Forces. Assad's Republican Guard marches undisturbed through the Daesh/ISIS pocket in North Hama so that it can attack the free Syrian areas in the North), 25.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/assad-s-army-and-isis-act-hand-in-hand-against-the-liberation-forces/>; Russia's Air Force supports Daesh against Syrian Liberation Fighters. Another instructive episode how Russian imperialism helps Daesh/ISIS to attack the Liberation Forces in the North of Syria, 23.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/russia-s-air-force-supports-daesh-against-syrian-liberation-fighters/>; Syria: A Very Instructive Episode. Counterrevolutionary ISIS/Daesh collaborates with Assad's Army (as well as Erdoğan and Putin) in Attacking the Syrian Liberation Fighters in Idlib, 10.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/a-very-instructive-episode-in-syria/>; Syria: The Turkish-Russian Invasion against Idlib has begun! All out to defend the Syrian Revolution against the Astana Conspirators! For an anti-Assad, anti-imperialist and anti-capitulationist united front, 07.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-turkish-russian-invasion-against-idlib-has-begun/>

Syria: Assad's Army and ISIS Act Hand in Hand

Assad's Republican Guard marches undisturbed through the Daesh/ISIS pocket in North Hama so that it can attack the free Syrian areas in the North

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25.10.2017

In the days we have published two articles demonstrating how the terrorist Assad regime and its Russian masters collaborate with the counter-revolutionary Daesh/ISIS in north Hama against the Syrian liberation forces who still control the North of the country. We also reported that the Syrian liberation forces – led by the petty-bourgeois nationalist-Islamist *Hayyat Tharir al-Sham* (HTS) – were able to successfully push back the Daesh troops from most of the area they had occupied in the past weeks. (1)

On 24 October another aggression against the Syrian revolutionaries started which demonstrates, once more, the arch-reactionary character not only of Daesh but also of the Assad dictatorship as well as of Russian imperialism. Assad's elite troops, the Republican Guard, began an attack in north Hama and west Aleppo. Simultaneously, the Russian Air Force continued to attack Syrian liberation forces in the same area. (2) At the moment we don't know if this is the beginning of a larger offensive by the regime.

However, what we already know is that the military advance of the Assad troops into the free Syrian area took place ... through the territory which has been occupied by Daesh/ISIS! (3) As the map below shows the Assad forces marched directly through the Daesh-controlled pocket in order to attack the Syrian revolutionaries. Not a single clash between the troops of Assad and Daesh has been reported during this marching-through!

Before, Assad's army helped Daesh to march through its territory in order to attack the Syrian revolutionaries. Now, Daesh is returning the favor! What a disgusting demonstration of this unholy alliance of the enemies of the Syrian Revolution!

According to first reports, the Syrian liberation forces have already launched a counter-offensive to repel the regime's attack. (4)

It can be taken for granted that all the Stalinist and semi-Stalinist muddleheads will continue to praise Assad and Putin as "defenders of secularity, progress and anti-imperialism". As we have emphasized many times, this has always been a cynical myth. In fact, the Syrian Revolution which began in March 2011 has been a legitimate democratic and popular uprising against a reactionary capitalist dictatorship which could not have survived without the massive military and economic support by the Iranian dictatorship and Russian imperialism.

The most recent collaboration between the regime's Republican Guard and Daesh/ISIS against the Syrian revolutionaries demonstrates once more the true and arch-reactionary character of these forces and the pathetic nature of the Stalinist propaganda for Assad and Putin.

Footnotes

(1) See on this Michael Pröbsting: Russia's Air Force supports Daesh against Syrian Liberation Fighters. Another instructive episode how Russian imperialism helps Daesh/ISIS to attack the Liberation Forces in the North of Syria, 23.10.2017, [https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-](https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/russia-s-air-force-supports-daesh-against-syrian-liberation-fighters/)

[east/russia-s-air-force-supports-daesh-against-syrian-liberation-fighters/](https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/russia-s-air-force-supports-daesh-against-syrian-liberation-fighters/); Michael Pröbsting: Syria: A Very Instructive Episode. Counterrevolutionary ISIS/Daesh collaborates with Assad's Army (as well as Erdoğan and Putin) in Attacking the Syrian Liberation Fighters in Idlib, 10.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/a-very-instructive-episode-in-syria/>; Michael Pröbsting: Syria: The Turkish-Russian Invasion against Idlib has begun! All out to defend the Syrian Revolution against the Astana Conspirators! For an anti-Assad, anti-imperialist and anti-capitulationist united front, 07.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-turkish-russian-invasion-against-idlib-has-begun/>

(2) See on this e.g. <https://twitter.com/IvanSidorenko1/status/922823369556246529>, <https://twitter.com/michaelh992/status/922811816908124160>, <https://twitter.com/SyriaGeneral/status/922834177795518464>, <https://twitter.com/michaelh992/status/922809331384504323>, <https://twitter.com/markito0171/status/922887769239810048>, <https://twitter.com/QalaatAlMudiq/status/922922464270721025>, Qasioun: Dozens Of Russian Raids Hit Villages East Of Hama, 24 October 2017, http://qasioun.net/en/news/show/105164/Dozens_Of_Russian_Raids_Hit_Villages_East_Of_Hama

(3) Qasioun: ISIS Helps The Syrian Regime Forces To Attack Syrian Opposition, 24 October 2017, http://qasioun.net/en/news/show/105107/ISIS_Helps_The_Syrian_Regime_Forces_To_Attack_Syrian_Opposition; <https://twitter.com/michaelh992/status/922811816908124160>, AlDorar AlShamia: The Syrian regime advances in the (IS) Group-held & (HTS) areas in the countryside of Hama, 24 Oct, 2017, <http://www.aldorars.com/en/news/2294>

(4) Qasioun: ISIS Helps The Syrian Regime Forces To Attack Syrian Opposition, 24 October 2017, http://qasioun.net/en/news/show/105107/ISIS_Helps_The_Syrian_Regime_Forces_To_Attack_Syrian_Opposition; <https://twitter.com/QalaatAlMudiq/status/922922464270721025>;

Appendix: The Advance of Assad's Army through the Daesh/ISIS Pocket, 24 October 2017



Legend of the Map:

Red: Areas under control of Assad's Army

Blue: Areas which were initially conquered by Daesh/ISIS on 9 October 2017 but from they have been repelled by the Syrian liberation forces since then.

Black: Areas still under control of Daesh/ISIS

Green: Areas under control of the Syrian liberation forces

Syria: A Very Instructive Episode

Counterrevolutionary ISIS/Daesh collaborates with Assad's Army (as well as Erdoğan and Putin) in Attacking the Syrian Liberation Fighters in Idlib

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 10.10.2017

Very instructive events are currently taking place at the southeastern border of the Idlib province which is the largest area controlled by the supporters of the Syrian Revolution. In the morning of 9 October a large convoy of several hundred (up to 700) Daesh/ISIS fighters, including 3 tanks, one BMP (infantry fighting vehicle,) and 25 technicals (light truck mounted with weapons), attacked areas in the East Hama countryside which have been under control of the Syrian liberation forces. They surprised the rebels and succeeded in temporarily conquering 13 villages.

However, the Syrian liberation fighters in the area – led by the petty-bourgeois nationalist Islamist *Hayyat Tahir al-Sham* (HTS) – immediately organized the resistance and succeeded during the day to drive back the aggressors. According to the *Ebaa News Agency* (HTS's official media wing), they were able to restore control of all villages concerned by the evening of the same day. (1)

It is not surprising in itself that Daesh/ISIS attacks those who are fighting for the continuation of the Syrian Revolution. They have done this for years which is why the RCIT – like many Syrian revolutionaries – characterizes them as reactionary, counter-revolutionary forces. (2)

It is however highly indicative that Daesh's attack takes place exactly at the same time when HTS and other Syrian liberation forces have launched a successful offensive against Assad's army in southern Idlib. (3) During their campaign they gained fully control over the villages Abu Dali, Mushairfa and Tal Aswad since 19 September. This is noteworthy as Abu Dali is the only gate between the Syrian opposition held areas in north Syria and Syrian regime held areas in Hama city. (4)

It is likewise characteristic that this attack of Daesh/ISIS takes place at exactly the same time when the Turkish army and their FSA mercenaries are invading Idlib in the North and when the Russian air force is intensifying its terrorist attacks in that area. (5) They are doing this with the openly declared goal of smashing HTS and all other

forces who oppose the counterrevolutionary Astana deal which is the instrument through which Assad, Russia, Iran and Turkey, with the tacit support of the US, want to liquidate the Syrian Revolution. (6)

However, the most instructive aspect of this episode is the location where the Daesh/ISIS fighters came from. These forces were stationed before in the Uqayribat district in Hama where they were besieged by Assad's army for two months. (7) "Suddenly", these encircled the Daesh/ISIS fighters were able to cross a distance of more than 35km through an area which has been under control by Assad's forces since a very long time. This fact is undisputable and has to be admitted even by fanatical supporters of Assad and Putin like the notorious *South Front* website. (8)

This automatically provokes the following questions:

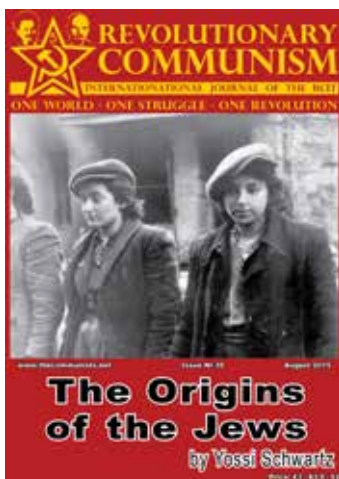
* How were the Daesh/ISIS fighters able to move to the rebel-controlled areas despite the fact that they were besieged and totally outnumbered by Assad's army for two months?!

* And how was this possible given the fact that this was a large convoy with three tanks travelling such a long distance?!

* And why did the Daesh/ISIS convoy not face a single attack by Assad's or Russia's air force?!

The only possible conclusion is that the commanders of the Assadist and Russian forces reached an agreement with Daesh/ISIS. They allowed them to leave their pocket so that they can attack the liberated areas in Idlib. Hence we see, despite the Assadists' empty rhetoric about being the "forward post in the struggle against the ISIS terrorists and the jihadists", when it comes to fighting the Syrian Revolution Assad and Daesh/ISIS become good friends and direct their weapons jointly against the liberation fighters.

The RCIT has been attacked many times by the friends and semi-friends of Assad and Putin for our unwavering support for the Syrian Revolution. These fools call us "Trotskyist jihadists", etc. But as we can see it is the Assadists which work hand in hand with the "jihadists"



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

in order to defeat one of the most important and heroic popular uprising in recent times!

The practical collaboration of the Assadist terrorists and the Daesh terrorists against the Syrian Revolution is once more a proof of the counterrevolutionary nature of these forces.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* continues its support for the liberation struggle of the Syrian workers and peasants despite the extremely difficult situation it faces today. When the Revolution is under attack from all sides – the Assad dictatorship, the Turkish Erdoğan regime, Russian as well as US imperialism and finally various FSA mercenaries – it is all the more important to maintain international solidarity with those who don't give up the struggle.

Footnotes

(1) Qasioun: HTS Restores Areas Of ISIS East Of Hama, 9 October 2017, http://qasioun.net/en/news/show/101592/HTS_Restores_Areas_Of_ISIS_East_Of_Hama

(2) See e.g. RCIT: The Revolutionary Struggle against Daesh and the Imperialist Aggression in the Middle East, 28.02.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/resolution-daesh/>

(3) Zaman Al Wasl: ISIS takes 13 villages from Tahrir al-Sham in eastern Hama, 2017-10-09, <https://en.zamanawsl.net/news/30274.html>

(4) Qasioun: What HTS Achieved In Abu Daly Battle? 8 October 2017, http://qasioun.net/en/news/show/101380/What_HTS_Achieved_In_Abu_Daly_Battle

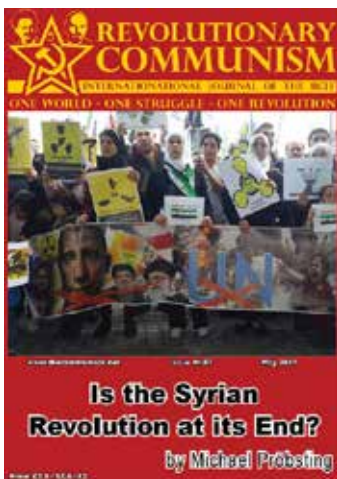
(5) On our assessment of the Turkish-Russian invasion against Idlib see Michael Pröbsting: Syria: The Turkish-Russian Invasion against Idlib has begun! All out to defend the Syrian

Revolution against the Astana Conspirators! For an anti-Assad, anti-imperialist and anti-capitulationist united front, 07.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-turkish-russian-invasion-against-idlib-has-begun/>.

(6) On the RCIT's assessment of the Astana deal see: Michael Pröbsting: Syrian Revolution: The Moment of Truth is Approaching! Rally to defend the Syrian Revolution against the Imperialist conspiracy called the "Astana Deal"! 20.09.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-moment-of-truth-approaching/>; RCIT: Syria: Defend Idlib against the Great Powers! Down with the reactionary Astana Deal! Defend the Revolution against the butcher Assad, against Russian and US Imperialism and the local Allies! Victory to the Struggle of the Workers and Oppressed! 04.08.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/defend-idlib-against-great-powers/>; Michael Pröbsting: Syria: The Astana-Deal Struggle Intensifies. Some Notes on Recent Developments in the Syrian Civil War and the Dangers for the Liberation Struggle, 28 July 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syrian-revolution-28-7-2017/>; RCIT: Syria: Condemn the Reactionary Astana Deal! The so-called "De-Escalation Zones" are a First Step towards the Partition of Syria and a Conspiracy by the Great Powers to Defeat the Revolution, 7 May 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/astana-deal/>

(7) See e.g. Qasioun: Where ISIS Sieged Fighters Eastern Hama Headed To? 9 October 2017, http://qasioun.net/en/news/show/101536/Where_ISIS_Sieged_Fighters_Eastern_Hama_Headed_To

(8) See e.g. South Front: ISIS Attacks Hayat Tahrir al-Sham In Syria's Eastern Hama, 09.10.2017, <https://southfront.org/isis-attacks-hayat-tahrir-al-sham-in-syrias-eastern-hama/>



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

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

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2017

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

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A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

Russia's Air Force supports Daesh against Syrian Liberation Fighters

Another instructive episode how Russian imperialism helps Daesh/ISIS to attack the Liberation Forces in the North of Syria

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 23.10.2017

In recent days we experienced another highly instructive episode demonstrating the true nature of Russian imperialism and its priorities in its military intervention in Syria.

As we reported two weeks ago, the Syrian Army – with approval by their Russian masters – let a huge and heavily armed column of Daesh/ISIS fighters pass through its controlled areas in order to attack the largest region which is still liberated by the Syrian revolutionaries. (1)

This counterrevolutionary attack took place in a crucial moment. At that time Syrian liberation fighters – mostly led by *Hayyat Tharir al-Sham* (HTS) – successfully advanced in the area around Abu Dali in the north of Hama against Assad's terrorist army. At the same time the Turkish Army – with the support of Russian as well as US imperialism – started its invasion in Idlib in order to subjugate the region. (2) This area in the north of the country – encompassing the province Idlib as well as West Aleppo and North Hama – is not only the largest area under the control of the liberation fighters.

This area is furthermore mostly controlled by the petty-bourgeois nationalist-Islamist HTS which is the largest and best organized force of the resistance and the main faction which denounces the reactionary Astana deal. This deal – agreed by Russia, Iran, Turkey, Assad and various treacherous factions of the resistance and tacitly approved by Washington – aims to pacify the civil war, to liquidate the Syrian Revolution and to divide the country in different spheres of influence of the regime and the Great Powers. (3)

This attack of several hundred Daesh/ISIS fighters against the Syrian revolutionary forces in north east Hama forced HTS to effectively stop its offensive in the Abu Dali area and to relocate its troops so that it could push back the Daesh intruders.

Fortunately HTS elite units ("*Inghimasi*") are making constant progress and liberate one village after the other from the counterrevolutionary Daesh forces. It is to be hoped that they will soon finish them off.

As we already noted in the past it is obvious that the counterrevolutionary attack of Daesh took place with the support of Assad's army and its Russian master as the Daesh aggressors marched dozens of kilometers of open field though areas controlled by the regime without being attacked by them a single time! (4)

Now, as the Syrian liberation fighters are advancing against Daesh and the latter are close to defeat, the Russian Air Force accelerates its attacks on exactly those HTS forces which are actually fighting against Daesh! (5) As currently the only ongoing battle in this region is the one between HTS and Daesh, the meaning of massive Russian airstrikes against HTS forces is clear: compared with HTS and other Syrian liberation forces, Putin considers Daesh as a lesser evil.

This confirms once more the sinister collusion of Russian

imperialism and Daesh and their common hatred against the Syrian Revolution. Naturally, one must not forget a sense of proportion. Daesh represents a sadistic mafia capo while imperialist Russia – one of the main Great Powers beside the US, China and the EU – rather represents Al Capone who has already slaughtered tens of thousands of Syrians.

True, the regime's forces, with the support of the Russian Air Force, are currently smashing Daesh – together with US imperialism and its SDF/YPG foot soldiers – in the east of the country as the latter constitutes an obstacle to the colonialist plans of the Great Powers. However, when it sees a chance to utilize Daesh in the struggle against its main enemy – the ongoing liberation struggle of the Syrian people – Assad and Putin are ready to support Daesh without hesitation.

This small episode of the ongoing civil war in Syria demonstrates very well the thoroughly counterrevolutionary character of the imperialist Putin regime as well as of Daesh. Shame on those so-called leftists who praise Assad and Putin as "progressive" forces! Shame on those who have deserted the ongoing liberation struggle of the Syrian people against Assad, against the Great Powers and against their joint sinister conspiracy in Astana!

Long live the Syrian Revolution!

Defend free Idlib against Assad, Putin, Erdoğan and Daesh!

Footnotes

(1) Michael Pröbsting: Syria: A Very Instructive Episode. Counterrevolutionary ISIS/Daesh collaborates with Assad's Army (as well as Erdoğan and Putin) in Attacking the Syrian Liberation Fighters in Idlib, 10.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/a-very-instructive-episode-in-syria/>

(2) Michael Pröbsting: Syria: The Turkish-Russian Invasion against Idlib has begun! All out to defend the Syrian Revolution against the Astana Conspirators! For an anti-Assad, anti-imperialist and anti-capitulationist united front, 07.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-turkish-russian-invasion-against-idlib-has-begun/>. A second motive of this invasion is Erdoğan's desire to encircle the area around Afrin which is controlled by the Kurdish YPG militia.

(3) On the RCIT's assessment of the Astana deal see the special section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>

(4) Our article "*Syria: A Very Instructive Episode*" contains a number of sources about this latest attack of Daesh against the Syrian revolutionaries.

(5) See on this e.g. <https://twitter.com/OalaatAlMudiq/status/922065096989446145>, <https://twitter.com/milietweet/status/920733544573530115>, <https://twitter.com/abdullahazzam34/status/922021856785391616>

Syria: The Turkish-Russian Invasion against Idlib has begun!

All out to defend the Syrian Revolution against the Astana Conspirators! For an anti-Assad, anti-imperialist and anti-capitulationist united front!

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 07.10.2017

In the last hours, Turkey and Russia finally started their onslaught on the last free citadel of the Syrian Revolution. Erdoğan himself announced today in a speech at his AK Party's 26th Consultation and Assessment meeting that "a serious operation" was beginning in Syria's Idlib – the last large area under control of the Syrian liberation fighters where two million Syrians are living. (1) Adapting to the notorious language used by Assad, Teheran, Moscow and Washington, the Turkish President denounced the supporters of the Syrian Revolution as "terrorists": "We will never allow the formation of a terror corridor along our Syrian border."

The invasion is spearheaded by FSA troops who serve as mercenaries for the Erdoğan and Putin. According to reports 800 fighters from 15 FSA groups entered Idlib via the Bab al Hawa border crossing. (2) Let us memorize the names of these treacherous groups which now act as marionettes of the imperialist conspirators of Astana! Among them are the FSA *Liwa Mu'tasim*, the FSA *Hamza Division* and the FSA *Liwa Samarkand*. (3)

The Astana Conspiracy

There exists not the slightest doubt about the goal of this invasion. As the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and other supporters of the Syrian Revolution have warned for a long time, the Assad regime, Russia, Iran and Turkey reached an agreement at their negotiations at Astana in spring this year. (4) This deal comprises the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution, consolidation of Assad's domination in the country and the establishment of four so-called "de-escalation zones" in those areas which are still under control of the liberation fighters (of which Idlib is the largest and most important). The goal of this plan to disarm and "integrate" (i.e. corrupt) the remaining rebel forces so that they give up the struggle against the Assad dictatorship. Hence the Astana deal includes the occupation of the four zones by Russian, Iranian and Turkish troops which will, sooner or later, ensure the full re-establishment of Assad's terrorist regime in the whole country.

Unsurprisingly, the Astana deal has been supported by US imperialism, which is currently occupying the north of Syria with the help of their SDF/YPG foot soldiers, as well as the European Union from the very first moment as these powers have always desired for the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution. Shamefully this deal also received the tacit support of the leaderships of various demoralized and corrupted groups of the so-called "moderate" Syrian opposition including the FSA.

Now, the assassins of the Syrian Revolution – Assad, Putin, Rouhani, and Erdoğan, with the support of Trump – are all uniting now to smash the last free citadel of the Syrian people in Idlib. Erdoğan himself is openly admitting this collaboration. According to the Turkish state media, he announced in his speech today "that Russia is backing

the operation from the air and Turkish soldiers from inside the Turkish border." (5)

Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham defends Idlib

The main target of the Turkish-Russian invasion in Idlib is *Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham* (HTS) – the largest and most dedicated force which is continuing the struggle against the genocidal Assad dictatorship and the imperialist aggressors, Russia and US as well as their local lackeys (SDF/YPG, Iran, Turkey). The HTS has correctly, and unlike many other opposition forces, publicly denounced the Astana deal and called for the continuation of the struggle against the Assad dictatorship. The imperialists – both Russia as well as the US – and their local mercenaries have already prepared for this invasion in the past months by indiscriminately bombing civilian areas in Idlib (including hospitals (6)), by targeted air strikes against HTS leaders (7), and by orchestrating splits and divisions in HTS. (8)

It is symbolic for the counter-revolutionary, pro-Assadist character of the Turkish-Russian invasion in Idlib that it takes place only one day after HTS launched a successful offensive in East Hama against the Assad forces. (9)

The RCIT and other supporters of the Syrian Revolution have warned about the Russian-Iranian-Turkish conspiracy for a very long time. Many brothers and sisters did not believe us when we warned them about the reactionary character of the Erdoğan regime. They thought that Turkey would not do this. However, there can be no doubt now about the intention of Ankara: it wants to have its share of the Syrian cake, it wants to continue the oppression of the Kurdish people and it is happy to sell the Syrian people for this purpose.

All forces who are determined to continue the Syrian liberation struggle must understand that the Turkish state is their enemy like Russian and US imperialism, like Assad and like the Iranian regime. It has been one of the tragic failures of Syrian Revolution that many leaders hoped for support from imperialist or regional powers like the US or Turkey. As we predicted such hopes had no basis and only led to disorientation, defeat and demoralization. A revolution can only win if it relies first and foremost on the organized power of the workers and poor peasants!

Stand with the Idlib in these difficult hours!

Naturally, as revolutionary communists we have no illusions about the nature of the HTS leadership, which follows a petty-bourgeois nationalist-Islamist agenda. This, however, does not limit our unconditional support for the liberation struggle in Syria and in particular, in these difficult hours, in Idlib – even if it is led by forces which ideological agenda we strongly reject (like the HTS).

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* calls once more for international solidarity with the Syrian Revolution. The international workers' movement

and popular mass organizations must defend the anti-capitulationist liberation forces which are continuing the struggle against the Assad regime and the Great Powers and their allies. In this decisive hour, we call for the defeat of the Turkish-Russian invasion and their local mercenaries and the defense of the liberation forces in Idlib. We call all Syrian liberation fighters to create a joint military bloc against the enemies of the revolution. For an anti-Assad, anti-imperialist and anti-capitulationist united front!

Most crucially, all Syrian revolutionaries should learn the lessons of the defeats which the liberation struggle experienced in the past years. This includes the combination of the defense of liberated areas like Idlib with a socialist program. Instead of hoping for support by this or that foreign power or by focusing on a militarist guerilla strategy, revolutionaries should fight for the organization of the popular masses in independent councils and armed militias. The goal of the liberation struggle must be the creation of a multinational, independent workers' and peasants republic in Syria as part of a socialist federation of the Middle East!

We are fully aware about the difficult situation. This might be the Syrian Revolution's last stand against overwhelming enemies. Encircled and attacked by Assad's army, the Russian and American imperialists, the Turkish army as well as the Iranian forces and Hezbollah and even the "FSA" traitors – the Syrian liberation fighters face a nearly impossible task. However, only those who aid the imperialist will cynically stand aside or even join the traitors. All honest fighters for freedom will continue to support the ongoing liberation struggle!

** Defeat the Turkish-Russian invasion against the free Syrians in Idlib!*

** Condemn the FSA mercenaries of Erdoğan and Putin!*

** For a military bloc of all forces which continue to defend the Syrian Revolution against the imperialist Astana Conspirators! For an anti-Assad, anti-imperialist and anti-capitulationist united front!*

** Down with the Astana Deal! Support the Syrian Revolution!*

** Defend Idlib against the Great Powers and their allies!*

** For a multinational, independent workers' and peasants republic in Syria – free of sectarianism, foreign occupation and dictatorship!*

** For international mass mobilizations and strikes of workers, migrants and youth to stop the imperialist aggression of Russia and the US against the peoples of the Middle East!*

Footnotes

(1) TRT World: Turkey says major operation underway in Syria's Idlib, 2017-10-07, <https://www.trtworld.com/middle-east/turkey-says-major-operation-underway-in-syria-s-idlib-11164>

(2) https://twitter.com/op_shield/status/916585720420163584

(3) https://twitter.com/badly_xeroxed/status/916528799017242624

(4) On the RCIT's assessment of the Astana deal see the special section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>

(5) TRT World: Turkey says major operation underway in Syria's Idlib, 2017-10-07, <https://www.trtworld.com/middle-east/turkey-says-major-operation-underway-in-syria-s-idlib-11164>

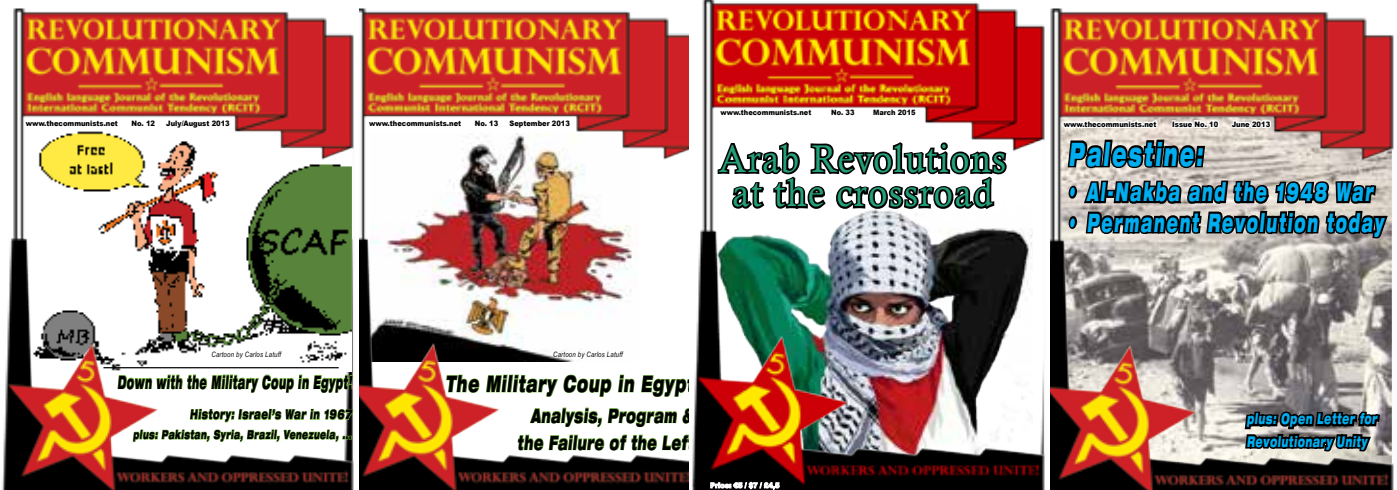
(6) See e.g. the OGN Report: Powerful Russian Missile Blasts 3 Floors of Hospital, September 26, 2017, <http://ogn.news/prm-2/>

(7) Russia claimed on 5 October to have killed a number of HTS commanders as well as severely injured its chief leader Abu Mohamad al-Golani. (See Reuters: Russia says kills 7 Nusra Front field commanders in Syria air strike, October 5, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia/russia-says-kills-7-nusra-front-field-commanders-in-syria-air-strike-idUSKBN1CA0F5>). However, HTS strongly denied Golani injury. (See Orient-Net: Tahrir al-Sham to Orient News: Al-Julani is not injured, 04.10.2017, http://orient-news.net/en/news_show/141163/0/Tahrir-al-Sham-to-Orient-News-Al-Julani-is-not-injured)

(8) See e.g. Al-Shahid: HTS endures splits and defections as Jolani takes the leadership role, 2017-10-05, <https://alshahidwitness.com/hts-splits-defections-jolani-role/>; The Separation of the third largest bloc of HTS Organization, 13 Sep, 2017, <http://www.aldorars.com/en/news/1597>; Mustafa Harrington: Shaykh Muhaysini Resigns from HTS Amid Controversy, OGN News, September 12, 2017, <http://ogn.news/smr/>

(9) Qasioun News: HTS Impose A Siege Over Abu Daly Village Southern Idlib (Pictures), 7 October 2017, http://qasioun.net/en/news/show/101055/HTS_Impose_A_Siege_Over_Abu_Daly_Village_Southern_Idlib_Pictures

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On the Kurdish Referendum in Iraq

By Yossi Schwartz (*The Internationalist Socialist League - Israel / Occupied Palestine*), 13.10.2017

Between 25 and 35 million Kurds live in the mountainous region on the borders of Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Iran and Armenia. They are the fourth-largest national group in the Middle East, but they have never been able to form a permanent nation state.

In Iraq alone about 5 million Kurds live; and they dream of an independent state. As an oppressed nation they have the right to self determination, but under their reactionary leadership they will never be able to secure authentic independence because not only Iraq, Iran and Turkey oppose it, but so does US imperialism.

The Kurdish region has been occupied by many nations: Ancient Persia, Alexander the Great, Muslim Arabs in the 7th Century, Seljuk Turks in the 11th, Mongols in the 13th Century, Turkey in the 16th Century and most recently, the United States in its 2003 invasion of Iraq. After WWI, following The War, British and French imperialists promised a Kurdish state in the 1920 Treaty of Sevres. However, imperialists, as usual, ignore their promises.

The Kurds after World War II

During WWII the Soviet Stalinists helped to establish a republic in Northern Iran - the Republic of Mahabad. However, in spite of a declaration of Azi Muhammad, the chairman of the republic; that his party the *Kurdish Democratic Party* (KDP) was not a communist party, the US imperialists sided with Iran that crushed the fledgling republic.

On December 15th, 1946, Iranian forces captured Mahabad. Iran closed down the Kurdish printing press, banned the teaching of the Kurdish language and burned Kurdish books. On March 31, 1947, Azi Muhammad was hanged in Mahabad on counts of treason. The leadership of the KDP passed to Mustafa of the Barzani tribe that lives mostly in Iraq.

In October 1958, Mustafa Barzani returned to Northern Iraq, and began to struggle for an autonomous Kurdish region. The first major uprising under Barzani was in 1931, and it failed. The next revolt was led by Ahmed Barzani's younger brother Mustafa Barzani in 1943, but it also failed and Barzani was exiled to Iran, where he participated in an attempt to form the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad.

In 1958, Mustafa Barzani returned to Iraq and he attempted to negotiate a Kurdish autonomy in the north of Iraq with General Qasim. Because of this negotiation, army officers among them Abed as-Salām 'Ārif led a coup in February 1963, which overthrew the government and killed Qāsīm himself.

A Kurdish Autonomy agreement was reached in March 1970 by the Iraqi government and the Kurds. However, this autonomy was crushed in a new war between the Kurds led by the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Iraqi army in 1975. The PUK was led by Jalal Talabani's while Massoud Barzani's was the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party. These two parties were rivals and the conflict between them led to a civil war in 1994.

Iran supported the KDP against the PUK, while Talabani formed an alliance with Iran, against the KDP, Massoud

Barzani made a pact with Saddam Hussein. The latter sent the Iraqi Republican Guard and attacked the PUK-held city of Erbil, which was captured by the Iraqi army with KDP forces. Iraqi troops executed 700 captured fighters of the PUK.

Talabani retreated to Iran, where he formed an alliance with the PKK against the KDP which was backed by Turkey. In September 1998, Barzani and Talabani signed the U.S.-mediated Agreement that established a formal peace treaty among the two parties, The US promised to defend the Kurdish autonomy against Saddam Hussein. The US however, never saw the Kurds as a partner, but as something to be used and thrown away, despite any promises to the contrary.

Israel and the Iraqi-Kurdish Leadership - an Alliance of Reactionaries

Israel has been a player and has a long history of support for the reactionary factions in the leadership of the Iraqi Kurds, especially the ones that rely on the imperialist states with a vain hope that they will help the Kurds gain independence.

"The initial success of the Iraqi Kurds in the struggle against the Baghdad regime attracted the attention of the Israeli special services which regarded them as efficient allies in their struggle against Syria and Iraq, Israel's most consistent adversaries in the region. That is why by the end of 1950s, with respect to the Kurdish minorities in Arab states, Israel pursued the policy later referred to as the "peripheral strategy." (1)

By the end of 1950s and in the early 1960s Israel became the principal source of weapons, supplies and training for the Kurds in their struggle against the government. By various estimates, thousands of Mossad agents and instructors of the Israeli army resided in the Kurdish-populated regions of Iraq at the time and conducted undercover operations.

Various arms supplies for the Iraqi Kurds actively continued in 1965-1975. The *Parastin*, the intelligence service of the Kurdish Democratic Party, was also established with Mossad's support in the late 1960s. The operations conducted by the Israeli intelligence agency in Northern Iraq were of particular significance for Israel because the Iraqi Kurds were being pounded not only by the Iraqi troops, but also by the regular army of Syria, another Arab state ruled by the Baath party. (2)

According to a former senior Mossad official, Eliezer Tsafir, Israel had military advisers at the headquarters of Mulla Mustafa Barzani in 1963-1975, trained and supplied the Kurdish units with firearms, field and anti-aircraft artillery. The US also participated in this campaign. Israel spent tens of millions of dollars on the support for the Kurds, supplying them via Iran, which pursued its own goals in Iraq and had close ties with Israel up until 1979. (3)

In the mid 1960s and 70s, Israel cooperated with Iran, then a U.S. ally under the Shah, to fight against its Arab enemies - Iraq, Syria and Egypt. As part of the cooperation the Mossad sent Lt. Colonel Tzuri Sagi to develop plans for and build up a Kurdish army to fight Iraqi troops in

northern Iraq. Tzuri Sagi was also responsible for the Israeli assassination attempts against Saddam Hussein. His Kurdish cooperation partner was the leader of the Barzani clan, Mullah Mustafa Barzani. The Kurdish army the Israelis created is now known as Peshmerga. The son of Mullah Mustafa Barzani, Masoud Barzani, is now the president of the Kurdish region of Iraq.

New York Times correspondent Rukmini Callimachi reported from the ground in her twitter:

"A common refrain I hear is that the Iraqi army ran when ISIS overran Mosul, whereas the Kurds stood their ground. Sadly that's not true. One of the areas that was under the control of Kurdish troops was Mt Sinjar, home to a large share of the 500,000 Yazidis living in Iraq. According to the dozens of interviews I've done with Yazidi survivors of ISIS' ensuing genocide, Kurdish troops cut and ran when ISIS came. Adding insult to injury, say community leaders, Kurdish troops disarmed Yazidis. And did not warn them of ISIS' advance. The result: Thousands of Yazidi women were kidnapped by ISIS and systematically raped. Many I spoke to partially blamed Kurdish troops for their fate."

Callimachi further reports that Kurdish troops prevented Yazidis from returning to their homes, meaning that their lands have been unilaterally annexed. The Kurds also occupy land and villages that belong to Assyrian Christians, already mentioned in the bible.

Another hot spot is Kirkuk. The oil rich city is an original Turkmen and Arab area. The Kurdish militias snatched it in 2014 while the Islamic State marched on to Baghdad. They now want to annex it. The Iraqi state is naturally vehemently against this and is now sending its army to the area. The Turkish government, which sees itself as the defender of all Turkmen, also threatens to intervene.

US Empty Promises

After Iraq's defeat in Kuwait, Shi'as in Southern Iraq started a popular uprising against the Baghdad regime. The Kurds in the North joined them. Within two weeks, Saddam Hussein lost 15 of Iraq's 18 provinces. However, once it was clear that the U.S. will not support the rebellion, Saddam's forces crushed the revolt. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds fled into the mountains.

US President Bush, who encouraged the Kurds to rise up against the Baathist government in 1991, refused to arm the Kurds in the fight against the Iraqi army that was using aircraft to attack the Kurds.

"[...] I do not want one single soldier or airman shoved into a civil war in Iraq that's been going on for ages," he was quoted by The New York Times on April 13, 1991. "And I'm not going to have that."(4) Only after the rebellion was crushed did the US initiate 'Operation Provide Comfort' to aid the Kurd civilians running for their lives.

Kurdish militiamen in Iraq have been key American allies fighting the Islamic State alongside the Iraqi government's troops. However, once Mosul was captured, the US-puppet Iraqi government refused to allow the Kurds to control the city.

Thus, at the end of September 2017, people living in northern Iraq voted overwhelmingly in favor of independence for the Kurdistan Region in Iraq. The electoral commission said 92% of the 3.3 million Kurds and non-Kurds who cast their ballots supported secession. The announcement was made despite a last-minute appeal for

the results to be voided by Iraq's prime minister. Haider al-Abadi urged Kurds to instead engage in dialogue with Baghdad *"in the framework of the constitution"*.

Kurdish leaders say the "Yes" vote will give them a mandate to start negotiations on secession with the central government in Baghdad and neighboring countries. (5)

The flag-waving, including of the Zionist one, in Kurdish rallies across Iraq's semi autonomous Kurdish enclave, is jubilant. However, the leadership's conviction that the referendum must lead to independence seems misplaced. Every major player in the region opposes it, placing the Kurds on a collision course with neighbors and allies alike, including the United States.

The latter warns that this could ignite armed conflict with the central government in Baghdad and unleash ethnic fighting in a part of the world still roiled by the battle against Islamic State. The United Nations has also appealed for dialogue, saying it will not be *"engaged in any way or form"* in the referendum.

Two of Iraq's neighbors, Turkey and Iran, concerned that the referendum could fan the flames of secessionist aspirations among their own Kurdish minorities, have stated that they are considering countermeasures. Turkey is carrying out military drills near northern Iraq, and Iran has threatened to close its border with the landlocked Kurdish enclave. (6)

In Israel the Jews of Kurdish origin celebrated the outcome of the referendum and Prime Minister Nethanyahu issued, on September 13th, a statement of support, only to then bar Israeli government comments on the Kurdish independence referendum, as it apparently irked Turkey.

Asked to comment on the referendum, one Israeli cabinet minister declined, telling Reuters on condition of anonymity: *"Bibi (Netanyahu) asked us not to."* A second Israeli official confirmed the order, saying the subject was *"too sensitive"*. (7)

While the Kurds have the right to establish a free independent Kurdistan in the areas they have a majority in, they do not have a chance of winning independence within the existing political framework. Their capitalist leadership has provided bloody proof for this during decades.

The only way they will be able to win their national freedom is in the framework of the Arab revolution that will begin again under revolutionary democratic demands. Such a revolution must lead to a workers' revolution, that will establish the socialist federation of the Middle East, along with a free red Palestine.

The Kurdish leadership's politics that relies on the US and Israel is a sure recipe for a failure. Furthermore, under pressure there is a good chance that Barzani will cave in. Baghdad announced that Turkey - an indispensable trade partner to the Kurdish oil - will now only deal with Iraq's central government on oil sales. That could deprive the Kurdish region of more than 80% of its income.

Footnotes

(1) The Israeli-Kurdish Relations. Sergey Minasian. Published in *"21-st Century"*, No1, April 2007; (2+3) Ibid.; (4) <http://www.rudaw.net/mobile/english/opinion/03092017>; (5) <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-41419633>; (6) <http://tinyurl.com/y8y6cbds>; (7) <http://tinyurl.com/yddy3lee>

Israel / Occupied Palestine: Hadash, 72 days is long enough!

By Boris Hammerschlag, Statement of the Internationalist Socialist League, 27/09/2017

The necessity of the formation of a united anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist front of the Palestinian citizens of Israel has been crystal clear for a long time, not only to socialist revolutionaries well-educated in Marxism and well-trained in class struggle, but also to most major '48 Palestinians. The ideological differences between the 4 parties - Hadash - socialist (albeit reformist), Balad - left-nationalist, Ra'am - Islamist, and Ta'al - center-nationalist, were significant but had no practical implications as far as participation in the Zionist parliament is concerned, since none of the parties ever stood a chance of being accepted as part of a coalition with any major Zionist party, and for obvious reasons, nor dramatically influence any major decision.

Additionally, for decades on end none of the parties, despite different temporary electoral alliances, could gain the upper hand and decisively sweep away public support in its own favor for to lead the Palestinian citizens of Israel in any clear direction. Such stalemate forced '48 Palestinian political action to unite over the lowest common denominator with very little to show for it. Demoralization quickly followed, especially since Israel managed to quash the second intifada (2000) with unprecedented brutality, almost without suffering any major international ramifications.

'48 Palestinian voter turnout plunged in 2001 to 18% after a 77% in previous elections (1999) (1), and it never recovered since, even after the formation of the Joint List - 65%. (2) Nevertheless, those 65% constitute a 9% increase compared to 2013! (3)

However, the Joint List was, unfortunately, not formed as a result of public pressure, but as a result of a foolish move by the Zionist right to raise the electoral threshold hoping to leave the relatively small disunited Palestinian parties out of the Zionist parliament, resulting in an "Arabrein" (4) Knesset. This attempt obviously backfired as it resulted in an electoral unification of the Palestinian parties and an increase in Palestinian parliamentary influence resulting in the Joint List becoming one of the largest factions gaining many committee and access to information privileges.

Many such dimwitted maneuvers by the Zionist right are expected in the future since left Zionism is in such a weak state it can no longer save the right from itself, pushing Israel further into isolation not only from the international community as a whole, but from the world Jewish community as well.

Hadash, despite its claims in the Palestinian media, did not initiate the idea of a joint Palestinian list. On the contrary, it enabled its creation by removing itself as an obstacle! A significant faction within it, led by Israeli MP and self-proclaimed communist Dov Hanin, has been vehemently, however somewhat discretely, promoting since 2010 the notion of uniting Hadash, on an abstract left-reformist ideological basis, with various left-Zionist elements, instead of an anti-colonialist Palestinian one.

That is perhaps why Hadash agreed to form the Joint List only after forcing its own program as the basis of the alliance. Then, it pushed towards signing a left-over-votes-sharing agreement with the left-Zionist Meretz and

the center-Zionist Yesh-Atid - which is led by a Zionist equivalent of an American white-supremacist, Ya'ir Lapid (a deal prevented by Balad). Now, it stands in the focal point of an attempt to block the rotation agreement which should even-out the representation of the 4 parties in a 4-4-4-1 fashion. In practice, it means that Yousef 'Atawne - a self-proclaimed socialist who is married to two wives - would keep his seat in parliament instead of the school teacher and prominent Balad woman leader - Niveen Abou Rahmoun.

In an attempt to push its allies towards a split, Hadash leaders are well aware of the potential ramifications of it being blamed for it. Therefore, it is careful to present, what we deem as deceitful, image that everything is going well and that the unity of the Joint List is important to them above anything else. If that were in anyway true the rotation agreement would have already happened by now. In the meantime, the joint united action front of Hadash and various left-Zionists - "Standing Together" - could very easily be turned into a basis for the new home for Hadash's Zionist-leaning members and supporters after the Joint List is destroyed from within or without.

As the Joint list was announced, the ISL along with many Palestinian brothers and sisters, changed its position from non-participation to critical support for the Joint List, while warning the masses from the potentially treacherous implications of it being lead by a middle class, reformist leadership. Now Hadash, in its conduct proves exactly what we meant and were attacked for online by Hadash supporters ("Ayman Odeh is "petty-bourgeois leadership" unworthy of the masses' trust?!").

As '48 Palestinian public opinion quickly reverts back to its comfort-zone of disgust and distrust in its political leadership, demoralization and stagnation deepening even further on one end, and various new "Jewish-Arab" pre-party (Zionist-leaning) formations emerge like mushrooms after rainfall on the other, we urge our Palestinian brothers and sisters not to despair, but instead use this as an opportunity to tell leaders from misleaders, honest from dishonest, loyal from treacherous. In other words, potential revolutionaries of hope from dead-end reformists and centrists of despair.

We call upon all our comrades and friends in Hadash, Palestinian students and youth, those loyal to the Marxist school of thought and Leninist action -

Prove your potential as true communists - patiently explain and help your leaders and comrades withstand all Zionist pressures.

Refuse any political union with Zionism!

Do not allow the Joint List to split at such critical times!

Push for the immediate application of the rotation agreement!

Not one more second of delay!

Footnotes

- (1) <https://www.idi.org.il/parliaments/3077/3431> - Hebrew source; (2) <https://www.idi.org.il/articles/3458> - Hebrew source; (3) [Wikipedia - hebrew source](#); (4) The Nazis used the term "Judenrein" to refer to their plan to rid Germany of all Jews

The Addicted Warmonger in the White House

US President Trump would not certify the Iran nuclear deal against the backdrop of domestic political crisis and accelerating rivalry in the Middle East

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 16.10.2017

In a militaristic speech on 13 October, US President Donald Trump announced his refusal to certify the 2015 Iran nuclear deal to Congress. This deal which basically led to the end of sanctions against Iran in exchange for Teheran not building a nuclear bomb, was signed by Trump's predecessor Barack Obama as well as by China, France, Russia, Britain, Germany and the European Union.

The US President threatened to terminate the deal if Congress and US allies fail to amend the agreement in significant ways. (1) He claimed that Iran was not living up to the spirit of the accord, despite the UN nuclear watchdog repeatedly confirming that the country was complying with its obligations. His decision does not immediately pull the US out of the deal but pushes action to the Republican-controlled US Congress. Legislators now have a non-binding 60-day period to decide whether to re-impose economic sanctions on Tehran which were lifted under the pact.

The President said he wanted Congress to toughen US policy towards Iran, but added that if *"we are not able to reach a solution ... then the agreement will be terminated"*. (2)

Condemnation by many and support by very few

Trump's decision was nearly unanimously denounced not only by domestic opponents but also by the main imperialist rivals of the US – Russia, China and the European Union. It also met criticism from the United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres as well as Yukiya Amano, chief of the UN atomic watchdog. (3)

German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel warned that Trump's move could lead to nuclear armament of Iran which *"Israel would not tolerate"* and *"then we will be back where we were 10, 12 years ago with the danger of war relatively close to Europe"*. (4) Berlin tries now to create an alliance against Trump's policy on Iran. (5)

The White House's decision also united the different factions of Iran's ruling class in unanimously condemning the US President's militaristic turn. (6) In the longer run, it is however likely that Trump's move will weaken the position of the so-called "moderate" President Rouhani and strengthen the so-called "hardliners" around former President Ahmadinejad and the *"Revolutionary Guards"*. (7)

Trump's new threats against Iran have met with approval only by arch-reactionary regimes in the region – Israel and Saudi Arabia. (8) Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu praised the move and repeated his long-time sermon: *"We cannot allow this rogue regime 30 times the size of North Korea's economy to have a nuclear arsenal."* (9) Israel Katz, the country's intelligence minister, said to Israel's Channel 2 TV, when asked whether he saw a risk of war after Trump's speech: *"Absolutely, yes. I think that the speech was very significant. (...) Iran is the new North Korea. We see where things are going."* (10)

While it is not clear at the moment what the US Congress will decide in the coming 60 days, it is obvious that this move will accelerate regional and global tensions. It will not only lead to a deterioration of relations between Iran and the US, Israel and Saudi Arabia. It will also worsen the tensions between Washington and Moscow and Beijing. Likewise it will also become a major issue between the US and the EU.

Domestic political crisis and decline of global hegemony

The background for Trump's foreign-policy shift has to be located in the domestic crisis of US politics as well as in the continuing decline of Washington's global hegemony.

The fragility of the Trump Administration has not been minimized, despite numerous personal changes in recent months like the resignation of the alt-right ideologist Steve Bannon and the ascent of the various ex-Generals (like Mattis, McMaster and Kelly) into the inner circle of the President. At this point, we can not dwell into a closer analysis of the present state of the political situation of the US. (11) However, it is sufficient to state that the Trump Administration remains a, highly fragile and divided, government with the support of only a minority faction of the ruling class as well as a segment of the most reactionary sectors of the middle class while being increasingly hated and despised by the majority of the bourgeoisie as well as the popular classes. In fact, the signs are increasing that a significant sector of the US ruling class is considering measures to force Trump into (voluntary or involuntary) early resignation.

To this, one needs to add the continuation of Washington's decline of its hegemonic role in global politics and the parallel rise of new imperialist powers – China as well as Russia. The new global relations of power have become visible in the course of various regional crises like Syria, Korea, the Chinese Sea and the Ukraine. (12)

Warmongering as a way for Trump's political survival

In this situation, the Trump Administration sees only one way out: the rapid escalation of an utter chauvinist and militarist agenda – domestically (against migrants and *"terrorist threats"*) as well as globally. Such a policy, which the Italians called *"strategia della tensione"* (*"strategy of tensions"*) is designed to deflect public attention from the fragility, inner division and outright ignorance of the most incompetent government the country ever had in modern history. This is why Trump is, and can only be, an addicted warmonger.

Trump's policy, motivated by a desperate desire for political survival, meets the strategic necessity for US imperialism to resist its decline as a global hegemonic power. Iran is a well-chosen subject for such an aggressive imperialist policy. It plays an important role in the Syrian civil war as a key ally of Assad and its main backer Russia.

Likewise, it is a crucial country for the success of the *Belt and Road Initiative*, the strategic economic international project of Chinese imperialism.

Trump can hope to hit the US's imperialist rivals by attacking Iran. Furthermore, beating the war drums against Teheran meets wholeheartedly approval of Teheran's regional arch-enemies – Israel and Saudi Arabia – which are also amongst Washington's most loyal allies. These countries will support every move of Washington which promises to weaken the Persian rival.

The result is an insane US foreign policy, often formulated in bizarre accusations, which threatens other countries like North Korea, Iran or Venezuela with military intervention and even “*annihilation*”. (13)

As a side note, we remark that such rivalry does not stop regional and imperialist powers to make business deals and to cooperate on geopolitical issues. For example the US imperialists support the reactionary *Astana deal* to end the Syrian Revolution despite the fact that it is run under the patronage of its Russian rival. (14) Likewise, the Israeli government has looked for closer collaboration with Moscow in recent years. And Saudi King Salman recently visited Putin in order to expand their business deals in the oil sector as well as to jointly advance the counterrevolutionary political order in the Middle East, i.e. the complete liquidation of the Arab Revolution. (15)

In short, the regional and global powers are inevitable enmeshed in conflicts and rivalry but they have also a joint interest in smashing all democratic and social uprising of the workers and oppressed.

What is the position of the communists?

To avoid any misunderstanding: our denunciation of Trump's aggressive foreign policy against Iran (or any other country) is not motivated by any political sympathy with the regime in Teheran. Quite the opposite, the RCIT has always sharply opposed this reactionary capitalist regime and called for its overthrow by a revolutionary uprising of the working class and the oppressed in Iran. (16) We did, and continue to do so, engage in solidarity campaigns with the Syrian Revolution for which the Iranian regime is one of the key enemies. Likewise, we support the national liberation struggle of the Arab minority in Iran which faces appalling persecution by the regime. (17)

But neither do we forget that if the Teheran regime is a disgusting criminal which deserves no mercy by the working class and the oppressed, Washington represents the god-father which is chiefly responsible for the imperialist world order which makes the workers and oppressed around the world suffer for so long.

Hence, as communists we will continue to support the Syrian Revolution as well as the struggle of the workers and oppressed people in Iran against the Teheran regime. But against US imperialism and Israel, the RCIT will also continue to defend Iran, even when it is led by such criminals like Rouhani and Khamenei.

Footnotes

(1) See on this e.g. Steve Holland, Yara Bayoumy: Trump strikes blow at Iran nuclear deal in major U.S. policy shift, Reuters, October 13, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-usa/trump-strikes-blow-at-iran-nuclear-deal-in-major-u-s-policy-shift>

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(7) See e.g. Parisa Hafezi: Trump hostility set to deepen Iran power struggles, Reuters, October 15, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-politics-analysis/trump-hostility-set-to-deepen-iran-power-struggles-idUSKBN1CK0RO>

(8) See e.g. the joyful article of Salman Al-dossary, the former editor-in-chief of the Saudi newspaper *Asharq Al-Awsat*: Blowing up the Nuclear Agreement, 2017-10-15, <https://english.aawsat.com/salman-aldossary/opinion/blowing-nuclear-agreement>

(9) Richard Cowan, David Morgan: U.S. officials try to ease concerns Trump may quit Iran deal, Reuters, October 15, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-usa/u-s-officials-try-to-ease-concerns-trump-may-quit-iran-deal-idUSKBN1CK0KX>

(10) Reuters: Israeli minister says Trump speech may start war with Iran, October 13, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-israel-katz/israeli-minister-says-trump-speech-may-start-war-with-iran-idUSKBN1CI2J1>

(11) See on this various documents of the RCIT on our website in the section on North America.

(12) See on this e.g. RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, 18 December 2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/>

(13) The numerous links in this footnote can be viewed in the online version of this article.

(14) On the RCIT's assessment of the Astana deal see the special section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>

(15) See on this e.g. Al Jazeera: Saudi king, Putin agree deals on historic Russia trip. Russia and Saudi Arabia announce large investment agreements and joint ventures to further cement relations, 2017-10-06, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/saudi-king-putin-sign-deals-historic-russia-trip-171005102100641.html>

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Brazil: Under the permanent Shadow of a Military Coup

Statement of the Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (CCR, Brazil Section of the RCIT), 27 September 2017

On September 15, in a lecture held on Friday night at the Grand Orient Masonic Lodge in Brasilia, the army general Antonio Hamilton Martins Mourão repeated three times on the possibility of military intervention in the face of the crisis faced by the country if the situation is not resolved by the institutions themselves. The general's address was an answer to the following question from one of the listeners: *"The Federal Constitution of 1988 admits a constitutional intervention with the use of the Armed Forces. The Executive and Legislative Powers are rotten, full of corruption. Is not this the moment for this intervention?"*

Among other things, what drew attention to General Mourão's response were the following statements: *"It is obvious that when we look with dread and sadness at the facts that are surrounding us ... why are not we going to knock this whole thing down ? (...) until there comes a time when either the institutions solve the political problem by the action of the Judiciary, removing from public life those elements involved in all the illicit, or we have to impose it, "and added one more important information: **We have already prepared very well done plans!**(for intervention). So, in the present moment, what do we envision? That the ruling powers will have to seek the solution. If they could not, the time will come when we will have to **impose a solution!**"*

Facing the repercussions of the incident, the Defense Minister of govern Temer, *Raul Jungmann*, summoned Army commander General *Eduardo Villas Bôas* to ask him for explanations regarding the military's statements while urging that *"measures be taken "*. However, *Villas Bôas* stated that General Antonio Mourão will not be punished, and by emphasizing that the possibility of an intervention *"occurs permanently"* and that *"the Armed Forces have mandated to make [a military intervention] in the imminence of chaos"*. In fact, the Brazilian constitution approved in 1988, has an article that allows the Armed Forces to intervene if, in their opinion, what is called *"chaos"* occurs.

Such a declaration by General Mourão suggesting a new military coup should make all parties and social movements to react to the situation. They should already begin making intense mobilization against any military intervention and organization in the workplaces and neighborhoods.

But the reaction of the legalized left parties such as the *PT*, *PCdoB*, *PSOL* were extremely bureaucratic, asking for explanations from *Temer's* putchist government and demanding *respect for the laws in the name of democracy*. The websites of the *CUT* and the *MST* do not makes any comment on the subject.

The *PSTU* contradictorily states that there is no danger of coup *"because US imperialism does not want it"*, so they don't feel it is necessary to alert and mobilize the population. Instead, the *PSTU* says that *"If there is a military coup, a general strike is necessary!"* Obviously, they are foolish to ignore the fact that, first, mass resistance against a military coup must be organized *before* such a coup in order to prevent it. It might well be too late to organize such a general strike *after* such a coup because the military will be than in a favorable position to suppress it. Secondly, such a general strike can not be organized out of the blue

but needs sufficient time and prior organization.

A rare, and positive, exception is the *Partido de Causa Operária-PCO*, which calls on all organizations to at least alert the population to organized resistance.

There is a part of the workers who support this speech for the return of the military, instilled by the intense criminalization of politics by much of the media and right-wing organized groups. Anti-communism and hatred of the parties and leftist movement has resurfaced with great force in the last four years. The institutional coup against the government of *Dilma Rousseff-PT*, with the endorsement of US imperialism, put the most reactionary and conservative forces in power. The so-called structural reforms (labor, outsourcing, social security, etc.) are being practiced with little or no resistance from social movements. The leadership of the mass movement organized, instead of calling for an indefinite general strike against such reforms, only one or two alternate days of general strike, which did not change the intensity of the attacks.

It is by no means fixed if there is a military coup. The ruling class will not make such a decision light-mindedly given the risks involved in such a maneuver. But the mere threat of the return of the military should make us all alert.

It is urgent to mobilize and to create workers' and popular committees at workplaces, in factories, in neighborhoods to organize the resistance. Such committees should immediately begin to organize the struggle against the reactionary reforms – on the streets with mass mobilizations, with general strikes, etc. In order to be able to defend the masses against the inevitable repression by the regime it is crucial to organize self-defense units.

Finally, the military threats demonstrate once more the reactionary character of the army's constitutional right to intervene in domestic politics. This clause in the constitution allows for such coups. The working class and the popular masses must fight against this and enforce the congregation of a *Revolutionary Constituent Assembly*. Delegates of such a body should be controllable by those who elected them and should be open to recall by their constituents. It must not be controlled by the ruling class which would only manipulate it in its interests but instead it should be convened and protected by workers' and popular militias against any intimidation of reactionary forces. The task of such an assembly should be to work out a new constitution. Revolutionaries would advocate a consistent democratic, socialist constitution in such an assembly.

** For the creation of committees of action in factories, unions, neighborhoods, favelas and peripheral regions in defense of our rights and against the putchist government and against any military intervention! For the creation committees of self-defense of the workers and poor in the neighborhoods and peripheries!*

** For the cancellation of the Pension and Labor Reform, privatizations and outsourcing!*

** Down with the army's constitutional right to intervene in domestic politics! For a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly!*

** For a revolutionary workers' party – a new world party of the socialist revolution! The Fifth International*

Long live the Catalan Republic!

Stand with Independent Catalunya against the Imperialist Spanish State!

Emergency Statement of the International Secretariat of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 28 October 2017,

The Catalan people have spoken! On 1 October, they succeeded in holding a popular referendum which resulted – despite the brutal repression of the Guardia Civil thugs – in a clear mandate for independence. On 27 October, the Catalan parliament voted by majority to declare the foundation of the independent *República Catalana* (Catalan Republic). On the same day, the senate of the Spain state decided to grant the right-wing government of Mariano Rajoy unprecedented powers to impose direct rule on Catalonia under article 155 of the constitution. This article allows Rajoy to sack the Catalan government and assume control of Catalonia's civil service, police, finances and public media. In other words, this decision constitutes the plan of the imperialist Spanish state to begin the occupation of the independent Catalan Republic.

In the wake of these historic events, the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) makes the following declaration to the workers, youth and oppressed in Catalunya (the Catalan word for Catalonia), the Spanish state and Europe:

Brothers and Sisters of the independent República Catalana!

We send you our warmest greetings and congratulate you to your achievements! You succeeded in organizing a legitimate popular referendum on self-determination on 1 October despite the desperate attempts of the Spanish state to repress it. After this, you managed as well to resist the threats of the Spanish state which wanted to silence you. Likewise, you succeeded to organize mass popular pressure on the vacillating and coward bourgeois leadership around Puigdemont so that, finally, the Catalan parliament voted for independence.

These are excellent achievements as they constitute a step towards national self-determination and popular

sovereignty! Your victories are our victories! The RCIT repeats once more: Your struggle deserves the unlimited solidarity of the international working class movement! All socialists and anti-capitalists, all honest supporters of democracy and national self-determination must unconditionally support your struggle for freedom!

As you are surely aware, the imperialist Spanish state will do everything in power to smash the desire of the Catalan people for independence. Article 155 in fact legitimizes the foreign occupation of Catalunya by the Spanish state. The central task now is to organize the resistance against such an occupation, to continue the march towards independence and to understand this struggle as part of the liberation struggle of all workers and oppressed in the Spanish state as well as in Europe.

The first task, in our opinion, is to continue and to broaden the mass movement and to ensure that the majority – the workers, youth and oppressed – have the say in it. For this it is necessary to extend and coordinate the *Comitès de Defensa del Referèndum* (Committees in Defence of the Referendum). The CDRs need to be built in all neighborhoods, workplaces, schools and universities as democratic popular assemblies.

The RCIT considers it as urgent to organize a congress of delegates representing the CDRs, those sectors of the trade unions which defend the democratic rights and national self-determination, the militant school student and university student mass organizations, women's, migrants and youth organizations, etc. Such a congress must decide about the next steps in the struggle for liberation.

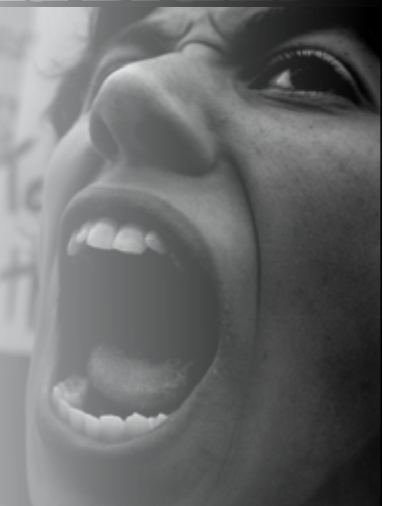
Clearly, the aggression of the Spanish state and its Article 155 regime must be answered in the most powerful way! We need to organize a general strike to paralyze the country and the economy. We need to take over the government buildings, municipal institutions, public media, etc. to stop their intended occupation and subjugation to the

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*Written by Michael Pröbsting
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imperialist Spanish state.

We desperately need to organize popular Self-Defense Units to successfully resist against the aggression of the regime. The heroic *bombers* (firefighters) have played an excellent role on 1 October as well as during the *vaga general* (general strike) on 3 October. They could constitute the core for such a popular militia together with the workers of the transport sector, militant migrants respectively refugees. We should have no illusions in the reactionary and imperialist post-Francoist state: it will mobilize all available means to smash the independent *República Catalana*. The outrageous arrest of Jordi Sànchez, president of the ANC, and Jordi Cuixart, president of *Omnium Cultural* (“the two Jordis”) in Madrid was just the beginning. We demand the immediate release of “the two Jordis” and the stop of any prosecution against them and all other activists of the independence movement. Hence, the defenders of democracy and national self-determination must be prepared to fight against a violent state.

Organizing the mass movement in a militant and democratic way is also important in order to save our struggle from the demoralizing and sabotaging policy of the bourgeois faction of the PdeCAT leadership around Puigdemont. They feared to confront the Spanish state and wanted to avoid the creation of the independent republic. They were looking for independence ... with the permission of Madrid and Brussels! What a comical and tragically illusion! The mass mobilizations on the streets of Catalunya have forced Puigdemont and others to declare the independence. It was therefore *you* and *your unbreakable will*, brothers and sisters, who gain the independent Republic of Catalunya!

However, the PdeCAT leadership around Puigdemont will continue to play a negative and reactionary role in the movement. This is no accident since the Catalan big capitalists don't want independence and side with the regime in Madrid. It has been therefore absolutely wrong of the ERC and CUP to constitute a coalition government with PdeCAT respectively to support it.

The mass movement must control its leaders so that they implement the will of the people and that they not betray or undermine the liberation struggle! The leaders of ERC, CUP, ANC, *Omnium Cultural* and other mass organizations should be pushed to organize the popular resistance which must focus not on parliamentary games but on the resistance on the streets and the workplaces.

In our opinion, the strategic goal of the struggle should be to prepare for a popular uprising to defeat the Article 155 regime and to drive out the occupation forces of the Spanish state! For a revolutionary *Assemblea Constituent* (Constituent Assembly) to elaborate the constitution for the *República Catalana*! The RCIT is convinced that the perspective of the independence struggle should be the formation of a *República Obrera Catalana* (Catalan Workers Republic) as well as the creation of an *Iberian Socialist Federation* and the *United Socialist States of Europe*!

Brothers and Sisters in Euskadi (Basque Country), Galicia, and other parts of the current Spanish state!

The reactionary Rajoy government wipes up Castillian imperialist chauvinism against the Catalan people. Don't believe their hysteric denunciations! Just bear in mind

which crimes the representatives of the Catalan people are accused of: they should be put on trial for ... letting the people vote on national self-determination! If voting, if exercising democracy is a crime, ask yourselves: do you live in a democratic or in an authoritarian state?! Think how ridiculous and hypocritical the Spanish state acts if people like Mister Felipe – who likes to be called *Felipe VI* and *King of Spain* – can lecture the Catalan people about democracy while he, as a monarch, was never elected nor does he face any democratic control!

Rojoy and his criminal gang leaders like to justify their repression by referring to the constitution of 1978. But this constitution is simply undemocratic because it denies the minority nations in the Spanish state the right to exercise national self-determination. This constitution was the product of a shameful compromise of the conservative, the social democratic and the Stalinist parties with the remnants of the Franco dictatorship which oppressed the country for many decades. How can such a constitution serve as a reference point for any supporter of democracy?!

The recent weeks have been very instructive. They have shown the arch-reactionary character not only of the conservative PP but also of the social democratic PSOE as well as the neo-liberal *Ciudadanos*. All of them voted on 27 October for the imposition of Article 155!

However, the RCIT also warns of the so-called left-wing leaders of petty-bourgeois populist *PODEMOS* and the reformist *Izquierda Unida* (IU). To their credit, they voted against the imposition of Article 155. But neither are they consistent defenders of the Catalans right of national self-determination! Pablo Iglesias (PODEMOS general secretary) said that any declaration of Catalan independence would be “*illegal and illegitimate*”! Alberto Garzón (IU's national coordinator) is not better as he equates the declaration of independence with the imposition of Article 155 (“*Neither DUI nor 155. Dialogue and politics is the way forward.*”). Ada Colau, mayoress of Barcelona and leader of *Barcelona en Comú*, shares such an approach. As if the right of self-determination of the oppressed and discriminated is the same as the brutal repression of the oppressor! Various bureaucrats of the two trade union federations CCOO and UGT – who shamefully did already try to sabotage the Catalan general strike on 3 October – take a similar position and demand simultaneously the withdrawal of the Catalan declaration of independence and the Article 155.

Let's speak the truth: these populist and reformist bureaucrats act as “left-wing” lackeys of the Castillian-dominated imperialist Spanish state and defend its reactionary constitution!

Brothers and sisters! If Rajoy succeeds in smashing the Catalan independence movement, it will constitute a serious defeat not only for them but also for you! It would strengthen an authoritarian regime! The Spanish state would use Article 155 against all peoples resisting his domination. Likewise it would accelerate its aggressive stand against the workers movement and against social rights. We have seen the fascist forces like *Democracia Nacional*, *VOX*, *Falange* and many others participating at the reactionary pro-Castillian demonstrations. They even physically attacked activists of the independence movement! These reactionary fascists will be massively strengthened by a successful implementation of Article

155 and are a severe danger for the working class and oppressed as such!

It is urgent that all socialists, anti-capitalists, anti-fascists and all consistent democrats rally now against the Article 155 regime and the Rajoy government! They must pressurize the PODEMOS; IU, CCOO and UGT leaders to organize protests against the repression which can be launched every day.

For mass demonstrations and solidarity strikes with the struggle of the Catalan people and for the right of national-self-determination of discriminated nationalities in the whole of Spain! For the immediate release of the political prisoners Jordi Sànchez and Jordi Cuixart! Support the struggle of the Basque people for independence!

Brothers and Sisters in Europe!

The current developments in Catalunya and in Spain have revealed once more the reactionary character of the imperialist European Union as well as of its dominating political parties. European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker claims "*Catalans are not oppressed by Spain*" and expresses his unlimited support for the Rajoy and his Article 155 regime. So did the German, French and other governments immediately after the Senates decision.

The RCIT states once more that the European Union has always been an undemocratic, anti-working class and imperialist institution. This is its nature as an organ of the big bourgeoisie and the Great Powers.

The recent developments have also revealed the appalling and reactionary nature of the conservative, social democratic and liberal parties. When progressive deputies demanded to have a discussion in the European Parliament about the fate of the imprisoned "two Jordis", the majority, composed of the parliamentary factions of these three parties, refused to have even a discussion

about it! So much for the democracy of this "democratic" institution!

We call the workers movement and all mass organizations of the oppressed not to stand aside in this crucial hour! Rally in defense of the Catalan people! Organize mass protests and solidarity strikes!

Brothers and Sisters in Catalunya, in the Spanish state and in Europe! This is a decisive hour! The courageous resistance of the Catalan workers and youth and the shameless brutal repression of the Spanish state have provoked a revolutionary crisis. In this crisis, the broadest unity of action is necessary. At the same time, the recent events have demonstrated that the workers and oppressed in Catalonia and Spain lack a revolutionary leadership with a clear strategy and program. It is therefore highly urgent for all authentic revolutionaries to join forces and to form a revolutionary party of the workers and oppressed. If such a party will not be created in time, serious setbacks and defeats are inevitable.

The RCIT calls all authentic revolutionaries to join us in the struggle for a Catalan Workers Republic and a socialist program!

Larga vida a la República Catalana! Long live the Catalan Republic!

Build the CDR as popular councils of action! For a congress of delegates of all mass organizations to coordinate the resistance!

Build self-defense units against the Guardia Civil thugs!

Organize a general strike!

Prepare for a popular uprising against the threat of foreign occupation by the Spanish state!

For a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly!

For a República Obrera Catalana (Catalan Workers Republic)

For a Socialist Iberian Federation! For the United Socialist States of Europe!

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Greece - A Modern Semi-Colony

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

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

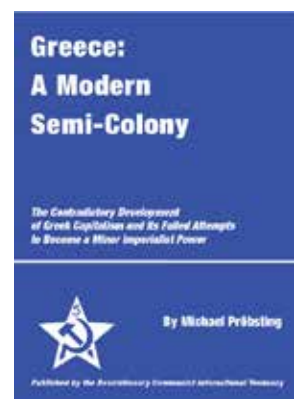
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which gives an overview of its content.

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

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

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

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



Catalonia's Leaders fear Consistent Struggle for Independence

After postponing the Declaration of Independence by the Catalan Government – Only Mass Actions of the Militant and Self-Organized Working Class and Oppressed can open the Road to Victory!

Fight for an Independent Workers Republic of Catalonia!

Emergency Statement of the International Secretariat of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 11.10.2017

1. Millions of people in Catalonia expected the declaration of independence on the eve of the 10th October. More than 30.000 activists gathered in front of the parliament of Catalonia in Barcelona, as well as in Girona. Banners were held saying “*Defensem la República Catalana*” (“We defend the Catalan Republic”) and “*No Passaran*” (the famous anti-fascist slogan “They will not pass”). Militant activists were mobilized to form self-defense units in order to stop police forces storming the parliament after the declaration of independence. The anarcho-syndicalist trade union *Coordinadora Obrera Sindical* (COS) practically coordinated the mobilization and argued for self-defense units of the working class to defend independence. On the other side the police forces were mobilized with armored cars and heavy firearms. However, nothing happened in the end of the day. Puidgemont signed the declaration of independence together with the MPs of the *Candidatura d'Unitat Popular* (CUP) and the *Together for the Yes* (JxSí) campaign, but postponed its implementation to an unknown future date. Any illusions in the Catalan government as well as in Puidgemont are dangerous as they hinder the class-independent organization of the workers and oppressed. Authentic revolutionaries need to warn the workers and oppressed not to trust Puidgemont and the bourgeois Catalan government, which would like to have an independent imperialist Catalan state but is also willing to suppress any militant struggle for independence in order to keep control over Catalonia.

2. In this very moment, important decisions are made. The imperialist Spanish state still evaluates the implementation of the article 155 which means the dissolution of the Catalonia's government as well as its autonomy rights. Although it is not certain that the Spanish state will escalate the situation after Puidgemont withdrew the plans for immediate independence, it is still on the table. The reactionary Spanish state has demonstrated once more its arrogance and determination to oppress any attempt towards Catalan independence. It might see Puidgemont's decision to postpone independence as a sign of weakness and therefore an invitation to solve the matter once and for all. The Spanish state might also be furious about the signed declaration irrespective of the postponed date of its implementation. However, any aggressive strike by the Spanish state will lead to a massive escalation as millions of people might be mobilized in defense. It is therefore highly urgent to prepare self-defense units of the workers and oppressed on a broader scale in order to be ready to defend the Catalan people against the aggression of the Spanish state.

3. The CUP is also discussing in this very moment how to proceed with their MPs as they are considering

resigning from parliament. They are under strong pressure by their militant rank and file to protest against the Catalan government's rejection to immediately declare independence. Indeed it would be a vivid act of protest to turn away from parliamentary work and to focus on mobilizations on the streets. However, it is not likely that the CUP will resign and it is even less likely that the CUP will take all the necessary steps after resigning from parliament. These steps should be to organize mass mobilizations including an indefinite general strike in order to defend Catalonia against the aggression of the Spanish state and to organize the vanguard of the working class independently of the bourgeois nationalists. An indefinite general strike is the nightmare of the Catalan government as it wants to have the ultimate control over the independence movement.

4. Furthermore, public popular meetings in the districts and neighborhoods, the workplaces and schools must be held in order to build action committees of the workers and oppressed. These committees should decide on the next steps on the road to independence. Authentic revolutionaries need to argue in favor of an independent Workers Republic of Catalonia as well as for the support of the Basque people, the Galician, the Valencian people and others in their struggle for self-determination. Joint forces of the working class and the oppressed together with all discriminated people in Spain will shatter the reactionary imperialist Spanish state. The time has come to organize a constitutional assembly in order to elaborate new laws of an independent Catalan state irrespective of the plans of the current bourgeois parliament. If the CUP really wants to fulfill the will of the working class and oppressed in Catalonia, they need to implement all of these steps now. Otherwise they are just the more radical, stuffed animals of the bourgeois Catalan government.

5. The weekend of the 7th and 8th October has shown the right-wing threat against the independence movement. A huge demonstration with more than 350.000 people took place in Barcelona on Sunday. Although it was declared as a Catalan protest, many participants were mobilized from other parts of Spain. The organizing force was the *Societat Civil Catalana* (SCC), a platform of supporters of Spanish unity against the independence movement. Although the SCC received in the past support by the one or the other politician from the social-democratic PSOE respectively its Catalan branch PSC, this support never lasted long. The reason for this is that the SCC has been dominated by right-wing and even semi-fascist forces since their foundation in 2014. Their leaders came from political traditions like the *Fuerza Nueva* (supporters of the Franco dictatorship) and the *Movimiento Social Republicano* (an openly Neonazi group). No wonder, that the SCC was the main sponsor

of a book presentation by the publishing house Galland books (named after Adolf Galland, a Nazi pilot who served also Franco), which is also currently promoting to commemorate of the *División Azul*, the fascist *Blue Division* of voluntaries from Spain serving the Nazi regime in WWII.

6. The biggest demonstration on Sunday the 8th October was therefore unsurprisingly supported by a dozen of right-wing and fascist organizations like *Democracia Nacional*, *VOX*, *Falange* and many others. The PP also supported the mobilization officially. Likewise, no trade union respectively workers organization called for the participation at the demonstrations of the SCC. However, smaller demonstrations (approx. 5.000 people) were held by the initiative "*Parlem-Hablemos*" (Let's Talk) which want to mediate between the Catalan state and the Spanish state on the matter of autonomy and independence. All in all it became very clear that there is a clear polarization between an active and progressive pro-independence camp and an active, right-wing, bureaucratic centralist, pro-Spanish unionist camp. Authentic revolutionaries need to support the pro-independence movement as well as to defend it against the repression apparatus and the (semi-) fascists. All authentic revolutionaries should struggle for a revolutionary perspective inside the independence movement and therefore argue in favor of an independent Workers Republic of Catalonia. Such a republic must not be part of the imperialist European Union. Instead revolutionaries fight for such a republic being part of a *Socialist Federation of Iberian Workers Republics* as well as a *United Socialist States of Europe*.

7. The *Vaga General* in Catalunya (general strike in Catalonia) on the 3rd October was an impressive signal of the militant working class. Although the bureaucratic leaderships of the biggest trade unions CCOO and UGT didn't support the strike and even tried to demobilize it, more than 700.000 people participated in Barcelona alone according to police estimations (which are always way smaller than the real number of participants). Additional 60.000 people participated in Girona (population of approximately 98.000), more than 30.000 in Terragona (population of approximately 131.000), and others. The firefighters were mobilized to defend the general strike in case of police attacks as they have also defended the mobilizations at the referendum on 1st October. The 3-O strike has shown the potential but it was not enough to really challenge the Spanish state.

8. As important as the *Vaga General 3-O* has been, more is necessary. Another, and for this time *indefinite*, general strike is urgent in order to drive forward in the struggle for independence. Hence, the trade union *Intersindical-CSC* called for a general strike between the 11th and 16th October, but the call was declared illegal by the *Supreme Court of Justice of Catalonia* (TSJC). Furthermore, the pro-independence and left-wing *Alternative Interunion Committee of Catalonia* announced a general strike for 18th October. All authentic revolutionaries should demand from the leaderships of the trade unions, including the CCOO and UGT, to organize an indefinite general strike irrespective of any prohibition by the bourgeois state. Such a general strike must be based on strike committees and workers assemblies. Self-defense units must be active in

Books of the RCIT

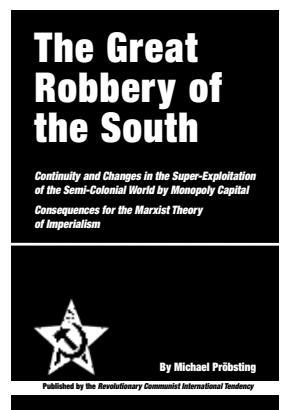
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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

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

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

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



order to protect the general strike. Given recent experience, such self-defense units should be led by the firefighters, the dockers and other workers of the transport sector. The latter are able to obstruct the paramilitary *Guardia Civil* to enter Catalonia during such an indefinite general strike. However, at a certain point the self-defense units will need to arm themselves to be able to really defend the general strike against the repression apparatus. Authentic revolutionaries need to explain the importance of such a step, to actively participate in the self-defense units and to warn against pacifist illusions.

9. The right-wing and fascist forces are an additional threat to the independence movement. It is more than obvious that the polarization goes on between two main camps of which one is progressive, in favor of independence and the other one reactionary, against independence. All workers and oppressed in the whole of Spain need to take side with the Catalan independence movement and to defend it against both the Spanish state as well as fascist forces. Otherwise the attacks of the fascists against progressive forces like it happened in Valencia at the reactionary mobilizations on Monday, 9th October will increase massively. The reactionary forces are mobilized nationwide, so the anti-fascist forces need to answer with nationwide mobilizations. It should be clear to everyone: A victory of the Catalan independence struggle will weaken the most reactionary, militarist and imperialist forces. A defeat of the Catalan independence

struggle, on the other hand, is a defeat for the working class and all discriminated people in the whole of Spain. In addition, the people of Catalonia need to join forces with all other oppressed and discriminated people in Spain like the Basque people, the Galician, the Valencian people and others. The working class in Spain needs to fight for the unity of our class and the solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed and discriminated people. Our unity is not the bureaucratically enforced unity of the Spanish state on the ground of territorial lines but rather the class unity of the workers and oppressed on the ground of joint struggle against oppression and exploitation. All authentic revolutionaries must fight for the right of self-determination including the right of separation.

10. All above mentioned tasks are both important and urgent. They must be implemented if the people of Catalonia should have a chance to succeed in their struggle. For this the workers and oppressed in Catalonia and all other parts of Spain need a revolutionary leadership. It is therefore highly urgent for all authentic revolutionaries to join forces and to form a revolutionary party of the workers and oppressed. Only such a party is able to elaborate a revolutionary strategy to lead the masses in a successful fight for independence of Catalonia on a socialist base. This is what the RCIT is fighting for! We call all authentic revolutionaries to join us in this struggle!

International Secretariat of the RCIT

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

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

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

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

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

25 years.

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

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

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

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

This revolution must be carried out and led by the working class, for she is the only class that has nothing to lose but their chains.

The revolution can not proceed peacefully because never before has a ruling class voluntarily surrendered their power. The road to liberation includes necessarily the armed rebellion and civil war against the capitalists.

The RCIT is fighting for the establishment of workers' and peasant republics, where the oppressed organize themselves in rank and file meetings in factories, neighbourhoods and schools – in councils. These councils elect and control the government and all other authorities and can always replace them.

Real socialism and communism has nothing to do with the so-called "real existing socialism" in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba or Eastern Europe. In these countries, a bureaucracy dominated and oppressed the proletariat.

The RCIT supports all efforts to improve the living conditions of workers and the oppressed. We combine this with a perspective of the overthrow of capitalism.

We work inside the trade unions and advocate class struggle, socialism and workers' democracy. But trade unions and social democracy are controlled by a bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is a layer which is connected with the state and capital via jobs and privileges. It is far from the interests and

living circumstances of the members. This bureaucracy's basis rests mainly on the top, privileged layers of the working class - the workers' aristocracy. The struggle for the liberation of the working class must be based on the broad mass of the proletariat rather than their upper strata.

The RCIT strives for unity in action with other organizations. However, we are aware that the policy of social democracy and the pseudo-revolutionary groups is dangerous and they ultimately represent an obstacle to the emancipation of the working class.

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

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

In a war between imperialist states (e.g. U.S., China, EU, Russia, Japan) we take a revolutionary defeatist position, i.e. we don't support neither side and advocate the transformation of the war into a civil war against the ruling class. In a war between an imperialist power (or its stooge) and a semi-colonial country we stand for the defeat of the former and the victory of the oppressed country.

The struggle against national and social oppression (women, youth, sexual minorities etc.) must be led by the working class. We fight for revolutionary movements of the oppressed (women, youth, migrants etc.) based on the working class. We oppose the leadership of petty-bourgeois forces (feminism, nationalism, Islamism etc.) and strive to replace them by a revolutionary communist leadership.

Only with a revolutionary party fighting as its leadership can the working class win. The construction of such a party and the conduct of a successful revolution as it was demonstrated by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in Russia are a model for the revolutionary parties and revolutions also in the 21 Century.

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

