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The picture on the cover shows Syrian liberation fighters.

Source: <https://ebaa-agency.com/>

Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Zambia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria. The RCIT has fraternal relations with the *Economic Liberation Association* (Zambia), the *Alkebulan School of Black Studies* (Kenya), the *Marxist Group ‘Class Politics’* (Russia) and *Sınıf Savaşı* (Turkey).

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Six Points for a Platform of Revolutionary Unity Today

A Proposal from the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), February 2018

We are living in a world of rapidly accelerating contradictions and sudden turns. As capitalism is decaying, the capitalist robbers try to raise their wealth by aggressively attacking the working class and the oppressed, by increasingly destroying the environment and, at the same time, by aggravating their rivalry against each other. The survival of humanity is endangered with the uncontrolled climate change and the accelerating rivalry between the Great Powers which creates the danger of an imperialist World War III. This is why we say that the alternative is “*Socialism or Stone Age!*”

This dramatic situation makes the organized struggle for socialism more necessary than ever. This means that the working class and the oppressed must have a party dedicated to the international struggle for a socialist future!

In our opinion, it is highly urgent that revolutionaries all over the world immediately start collaborating in laying the foundations for a principled unification, so that we drive forward the process of creating a new Revolutionary World Party with stronger forces. The starting point for the creation of such a party has to be agreement on the most important issues of the global class struggle. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* considers the following issues as such programmatic key-stones in the present political phase:

1) Recognition of the Accelerating Rivalry between the Imperialist Great Powers – the US, EU, Japan, Russia and China

It is *only* possible to understand the driving dynamic of the present period of capitalist crisis and to take a correct position if one recognizes the imperialist character not only of the US, EU and Japan but also of the new emerging powers, Russia and China. Only on such a basis is it possible to arrive at the only correct, anti-imperialist program

on this issue – *proletarian internationalism* and *revolutionary defeatism*, i.e., the perspective of consistent struggle of the working class independent of and against *all* imperialist powers. This means that revolutionaries refuse to lend support to *any* Great Power in inter-imperialist conflicts under the slogan “*The main enemy is at home!*”

A similar approach is necessary when India enters into a conflict with imperialist China, as India – a non-imperialist regional power – acts under such circumstances as a proxy for US imperialism.

Those who fail to recognize the reactionary and imperialist character of these Great Powers will inevitably fail to take a consistent anti-imperialist, i.e. Marxist, line and will end up, consciously or unconsciously, supporting one or the other imperialist camp as a “lesser evil”.

2) Consistent Struggle against Imperialism and for the Liberation of the Oppressed People

Revolutionaries stand for the *defeat* of imperialist states and their proxies in any conflict with forces representing oppressed people and for the *military victory* of the latter without, at the same time, giving any *political* support to the non-revolutionary leadership of the oppressed (e.g., petty-bourgeois Islamists, nationalists). This is true both in domestic conflicts (e.g., against an oppressed nation like the Chechen people in Russia or the East Turkestanis/Uyghurs in China) as well as in wars abroad (e.g., North Korea, Afghanistan, Syria, Mali, Somalia). Such an approach is not only valid in the countries of the South but also in cases of national oppression and discrimination inside the old imperialist states (e.g. Blacks and Native Americans in the U.S.; Catalonia’s struggle for independence against the imperialist Spanish State.)

Likewise, revolutionaries have to fight for *Open Borders* in the imperialist countries and for *full equality for national*



Delegates at the first part of the 2nd RCIT Congress in Lusaka (Zambia), November 2017

minorities and for migrants (e.g. citizenship rights, language, equal wages).

Furthermore, revolutionaries refuse to lend support to one imperialist camp against another in any given conflict (e.g., Brexit vs. EU; Clinton vs. Trump).

Those who fail to support the popular struggles against oppression, referring to their bad leaderships as an excuse, desert the class struggle as it concretely takes place today and hence leave the camp of the working class and oppressed.

3) Continuing the Revolutionary Struggle in the Middle East and North Africa against Reactionary Dictatorships, Imperialism and Zionism

The mass popular uprisings in Palestine, Tunisia, Iran, Syria, Egypt, Yemen, Sudan and other countries have been the most important and progressive class struggle development so far since the beginning of the new historic period in 2008. True, given the lack of a revolutionary leadership, the masses have suffered a number of terrible defeats – like the coup d'état of General al-Sisi in Egypt in July 2013, or the ongoing slaughter of the Syrian people at the hands of Assad and his foreign backers. However, the revolutionary process is continuing. This is reflected in the ongoing popular resistance in Palestine, Syria, Yemen, Egypt, etc as well as its spreading to new countries like Tunisia, Iran, Sudan and Morocco. The Palestinian and international mass movement provoked by Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital opens a new chapter of the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist powers and against the Zionist Apartheid state and for the creation of a single Palestinian state from the river to the sea (a "*Free, Red Palestine*"). The spontaneous popular uprisings in Tunisia as well as in Iran against the capitalist regime show that the revolutionary wave in the Middle East might be revived and spreads even to non-Arab countries. Authentic revolutionary forces must give unconditional support to these popular struggles against dictatorships and reactionary forces, without giving any political support to their non-revolutionary leaderships (e.g., petty-bourgeois Islamists and nationalists).

Those "socialists" who have failed to support the Arab Revolution since 2011 or who declare it as already finished and defeated, prove to be socialists and democrats only in words but not in deeds.

Revolutionaries oppose any reactionary war between regional power (e.g. Saudi Arabia, UAE, Iran, Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, etc.). They will determine their revolutionary tactics in any given war by analyzing the concrete character of the war and its political background as well as the role of imperialist powers (in particular the U.S., Russia, China) in it.

4) Revolutionary Struggle against Reactionary Attacks on Democratic Rights

Revolutionaries can only serve the interests of the working class and the oppressed if they are able to recognize the class enemy and to mobilize against it. Thus they must consistently fight against all reactionary dictatorships and corrupt and authoritarian pseudo-democracies (e.g. Syria, Togo, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe), against all forms of national and racial oppression (e.g. indigenous people in Latin America, Rohingya in Myan-

mar, African slaves in Libya), against all coup d'états (e.g. Egypt 2013, Thailand 2014, Brazil 2016) and against all authoritarian attacks (e.g. state of emergency in France since 2015).

All those who fail to recognize and to fight against these reactionary attacks but rather support them or take a neutral position, are traitors of the working class. Between them and us is a line of blood!

5) Application of the United Front Tactic in all Mass Struggles

Revolutionaries oppose *all* forms of sectarianism which refuses participation in mass struggles under the pretext of their non-revolutionary leaderships. Instead they apply the united front tactic in the struggles of the workers and peasants led by reformist or populist forces (e.g., trade unions, mass organizations of the peasants and the urban poor, but also political parties like PT, CUT, MST in Brazil; CGT, CTA, FIT in Argentina; MORENA in Mexico; Islamists in Egypt; rebels in Syria; EFF in South Africa; SYRIZA in Greece before 2015, PODEMOS, Basque and Catalan nationalists in the Spanish State). Such an orientation must be combined with a consistent struggle against all forms of popular-frontism and petty-bourgeois populism, and for the breaking of workers and peasants away from these non-revolutionary leaderships and to advance the formation of an independent and revolutionary Workers' Party.

Those who fail to apply the united front tactic in such mass struggles, render their support for these struggles to an abstract statement without any concrete meaning.

6) Start Building a Revolutionary World Party Now!

The struggle for repelling the reactionary offensive of the ruling class and for the liberation of the working class and the oppressed can only succeed if it is combined with the struggle for the socialist revolution. This means nothing less than taking power by the working class and the oppressed and the overthrow and expropriation of the capitalist class so that the road towards socialism will be opened. History teaches us that all struggles of the masses for liberation will ultimately end in failure if they are not led by a revolutionary party. Such a party should organize the most politically conscious and dedicated fighters of the working class and oppressed, it must be free of any bureaucratic degeneration; and it must exist as an international party in order to avoid the dangers of national-centeredness.

Hence we call upon all organizations and activists which honestly strive towards the creation of a new Revolutionary World Party to join forces on the basis of these programmatic keystones. Concretely, the RCIT proposes that revolutionaries constitute a *Joint Contact Committee* in order to politically prepare and organize an *International Conference* which will discuss concrete steps to advance the formation of a Revolutionary World Party. The RCIT is committed to serious discussions and the closest possible collaboration with all forces who share such an outlook.

Advance the Unity of Revolutionaries in Kenya, Africa and Internationally!

*Declaration of Fraternal Relations between the Circle "Alkebulan School of Black Studies" (Kenya)
and the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 19 February 2018*

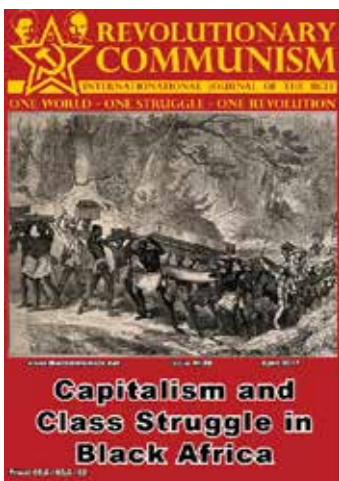
1. After a period of discussion and collaboration the Circle "Alkebulan School Of Black Studies" (Kenya), and the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) have decided to establish fraternal relations.

2. The programmatic basis for our fraternal relations constitutes the RCIT's "Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa" (<https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/manifesto-for-the-revolutionary-liberation-of-black-africa/>). Likewise the Circle "Alkebulan School of Black Studies" agrees with the analysis and conclusions of the RCIT's *Six Points for a Platform of Revolutionary Unity Today*". (<https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/6-points-for-a-platform-of-revolutionary-unity-today/>)

3. We consider Africa as a highly important region – both as a place for super-exploitation by the imperialist Great Powers (like the US, EU, China) and the local capi-

talists as well as a key area for the liberation struggle of the international working class and the oppressed people. We will therefore collaborate in order to advance the struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression in Kenya and the whole African continent. In particular we plan to jointly develop and fight for a revolutionary Action Program for the liberation of the workers, poor peasants and youth in Kenya. Likewise we will intensify our discussion in order to develop the basis for a fusion of our organizations.

4. We call upon revolutionaries in Kenya, Africa and internationally to join us in our struggle to rebuild a revolutionary World Party – an international party determined to fight for socialist revolution in Africa and around the world!



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

Theses on Capitalism and Class Struggle in Black Africa

*An Analysis of Imperialist Exploitation and Oppression
and the Perspectives of the Liberation Struggle*

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

Introduction * Some Background Notes on Black Africa's Modern History: How Colonial Plunder and Oppression Blocked Independent Development * Popular Struggles against Colonialism Led to Formal Independence * Formal Independence as Disguised Imperialist Dependency * The Reactionary Role of White Settlers * Is Capitalist Black Africa Rising? * Africa in the Grip of Imperialism * China as a new Imperialist Great Power Challenging the Western Domination * The Working Class and the Oppressed * Rising Class Struggle * Key Lessons for a Revolutionary Strategy in Black Africa * Imperialist Domination and Authoritarian Regimes Remain in Place despite Formal Changes * Breaking the Capitalist Chain – The Program of Permanent Revolution * The Revolutionary Struggle against Imperialism * Imperialist Chauvinism and the Anti-Imperialist Patriotism of the Oppressed * The Independence of the Working Class and the Struggle against the Popular Front * The Struggle for Pan-African Unity * The Revolutionary World Party and its African Sections * Footnotes

Syria: Turkey's hidden war against HTS in Idlib

On the character of the military offensive of Nour al-Din al-Zenki and Ahrar al-Sham against Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25.02.2018

The ongoing war in Syria is rightly in the centre of attention of the world public opinion. This is the case, first, because it is part of one the longest ongoing popular liberation struggles which started in March 2011. And, secondly, this is the case because it would be more accurate to speak about the ongoing *wars*, i.e. in plural, as there are currently several conflicts taking place in this war theatre. The imperialist Great Powers Russia and U.S. as well as regional powers like Iran and Turkey have launched military interventions in Syria both in order to defeat the popular liberation struggle as well as to expand their spheres of influence in the Middle East at the cost of their rivals. (1)

All of these powers, we remark as a side-note, are justifying their military interventions in Syria and their attacks against allies of their rivals by the notorious phrase of "war against terrorism". This show, as we have warned many times since 2001, that the so-called "war against terrorism" is a hypercritical phrases of the ruling class to legitimize and cover-up their imperialist and reactionary goals. (2)

In the last days and weeks most public attention has focused on Assad's merciless massacre against the 400,000 Syrians who are besieged in East Ghouta (3) as well as on Turkey's invasion in Afrin. (4) However another important conflict, which has began on 20 February, has received hardly any attention. We are talking about the civil war in Idlib – the last significant area under control of the liberation forces where two million Syrians are living. This civil war has been started by two pro-Turkish rebel factions – *Nour al-Din al-Zenki* and *Ahrar al-Sham* (5) - against *Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham* (HTS). (6) It takes place admits the siege of the northern enclave by the Assadist army, Iranian militias and the ongoing bombardment of the Russian Air Forces.

For those, like us, who continue to support the Syrian Revolution, this conflict is of crucial importance and it necessary to have a correct assessment of its nature. Hence, we want to briefly elaborate the RCIT's characterization of this conflict and which position revolutionaries should take.

Background: The Astana Deal aimed at Liquidating the Syrian Liberation Struggle

A correct understanding the nature of this civil war in Idlib can not start with looking at the specific ideologies of the combatants. As Marxists we do not judge political events or its participants by their ideologies. As Trotsky once formulated: "*Neither classes nor parties can be judged by what they say about themselves or by the slogans they raise at a given moment.*" (7)

Irrespective of different nuances, all parties are basically petty-bourgeois Islamist-nationalist forces in terms of their official ideology. However, as we have explained many times to all those "leftists" who are incapable of dialectical materialist thinking, *different* political and social roles can

hide behind *similar* ideologies. (8) To give a few examples we refer to the civil war between the social democratic-led governments in Germany 1918/19 and the communist workers uprising when formally both sides adhered to Marxism; the conflicts between various bourgeois statesmen like Kenyatta or Mugabe and oppositional movements who all adhered to the ideology of Pan-Africanism; or conflicts between the Chinese regimes and leftist dissidents where both sides formally adhere to the ideas of Mao Zedong.

No, the concrete political character of different rebel factions has to be linked to the major political questions in the current conjuncture and the political powers with which they are allied. As we have explained in past documents, the imperialist Great Powers Russia and U.S. as well as regional powers like Iran and Turkey basically agree to bring the liberation struggle which started in 2011 to an end. (9)

Of course there are conflicts between the robbers who will get which share but they agree in their hostility to the ongoing popular revolutionary struggle. This is the meaning of the numerous negotiations in Astana, Sochi and Geneva and agreements reached between these powers. In these agreements the powers have reached consensus about the desire to end the civil war, to keep the Assad regime in power and to transform the remaining liberated areas, currently are under control of the rebels, in so-called "de-escalation zones" which will be directly or indirectly controlled by foreign powers. As part of this Astana deal, the powers have agreed to try incorporating "moderate" rebel factions and to liquidate the "extremists" (denounced as "Al-Qaida terrorists"). At this place, we will not analyze the Astana deal in detail as we have done this in past documents. (10)

Turkey and Russia Cooperate to Squeeze, Split and Smash HTS

The main force in incorporating and pacifying the "moderate" rebels is Turkey's Erdoğan regime as it has traditionally links to several of them. It has systematically and relatively successful bought off a number of rebel factions. This is reflected in the participation of various FSA factions and other groups in Turkey's invasion in Afrin. In fact, with several thousand fighters participating (some sources give numbers of up to 25.000), these factions are the main infantry force of the invasion and bear most of the losses. This is, as we have said from the beginning, a scandalous desertion of these FSA factions from the liberation struggle in Idlib in order to serve as foot soldiers for Erdoğan's plan to suppress the Kurdish people in Afrin. (11)

Another expression of their willingness to capitulate to the Russian/US/Turkish/Iranian pressure is the fact that the leaderships of various factions (FSA, Ahrar al-Sham,

etc.) have participated in the Astana negotiations. Furthermore, we saw in the past few months a significant decline of their participation in the struggles against the Assad forces and Daesh in the past months in Idlib.

In addition, there has been a series of assassinations. 45 people were killed in assassinations in Idlib only within 12 days from 2–13 February – the majority of them fighters and leaders of HTS! We can take it for granted that many of these assassinations have been organized by the Turkish secret service MIT and their treacherous lackeys among the “rebels”. Just a few days ago, as the prelude to the Zenki/Ahrar offensive against HTS, Zenki fighters killed Abu Ayman al-Masri, a top HTS commander and his wife when they were driving in a car. (12)

However, as we also pointed out in the last 12 months, there has been also a massive and growing opposition of the Syrian people against the Astana deal and against the liquidation of the liberation struggle. This is reflected in the fact that the most important force which is openly opposing the Astana deal and which rejects the liquidation of the liberation struggle – *Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham* – has massively gained in popular support and has become the hegemonic force in Idlib, despite the massive military and financial aid of Turkey for their rivals. (13)

While there has been an opportunist tendency of the al-Julani leadership to avoid open political attacks against Turkey, the HTS is now forced to openly denounce the Ankara’s capitulationist policy. It denounces the factions allied with Turkey as “*Euphrates Shield Gangs*”. (“*Euphrates Shield*” is the name Turkey gave to its large military operation in Northern Syria in 2016/17.) (14) In a recent public

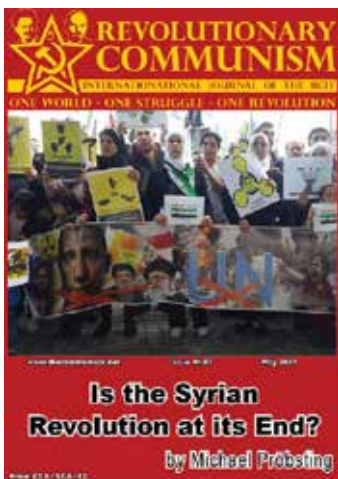
statement by Shaykh Abu Abdullah Shaami, HTS accuses Zenki of collaborating with the pro-American SDF militia and says: “*Zinki (has) recently expanding its foreign relations to a dangerous extent, as they entered a new project with the Americans, in addition to their arrangement with other countries.*” (15)

A key goal for HTS in the current struggle is to disable Zenki and other pro-Turkish factions to have a direct access from the Turkish “Olive Branch”-controlled areas in Afrin to the Idlib, i.e. HTS wants to keep a cordon around the Turkish army outposts in North Idlib and Western Aleppo to reduce its dangerous potential. (See the Map below)

However, the petty-bourgeois Islamist HTS movement is in a desperate situation. It is under constant attack by the Assadist army and its Iranian and Russian masters, by the counter-revolutionary Daesh forces (which collaborated repeatedly with Assad against HTS) (16) and it faces an assassination campaign by the Turkish-supported factions. And now, as the latest climax, the Zenki/Ahrar alliance has launched a military offensive in the back of the front.

Given these pressures, the disadvantageous relation of forces, and also because of the limitation of its petty-bourgeois Islamist outlook, the HTS leadership around Abu Mohammad al-Julani tries to avoid an open confrontation with the Turkish army. Until now it has limited itself to control its movements and to accompany their intruding military columns.

Turkey, in coordination with Russia, began the military invasion of Idlib in early October 2017, as we stated at that time. Against those who ignored the meaning of the Turkey’s army entry, we warned that it was aimed against



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

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

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2017

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

those forces, like HTS, who rejected the Astana deal. We warned: "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." (17)

In recent weeks the Turkish army has massively increased its pressure on HTS. Erdoğan himself is under strong pressure by Putin. In exchange for allowing the Turkish army to invade Afrin, Ankara promised to rapidly increase the number of their troops in Idlib so that they help to liquidate the liberations struggle. Turkey and Russia had agreed some time ago that the Turkish army will establish 12 outposts at the borders of the liberated areas in the north (encompassing most of Idlib, parts of Western Aleppo and Northern Hama). Each outpost is designed to accommodate one mechanized infantry company.

Following a phone conversation between Erdoğan and Putin on 31 January, Turkey intensified its efforts to set up these outposts. Until now six outposts are ready: in Salwa (north of Idlib), Tal-Tukan (the southern suburb of Idlib city), al-Ais (south of Aleppo), Qal'at Sama'an and Sheikh Aqeel (west of Aleppo), and al-Surman, near the strategic city of Maarat al-Numan. All in all, almost two Turkey mechanized brigades (nearly 1,400 troops) reinforced with tanks, engineer and construction units are already there, and more are expected. (18)

As part of its pacifying campaign, Turkey is trying now to organize various factions under its control so that it can bring Idlib under its control with their help. According to Charles Lister, the following factions in Idlib, Hama and Aleppo receive Turkey's financial and military assistance: Ahrar al-Sham, Faylaq al-Sham, Jaish al-Nasr, Free Idlib Army, Jaish al-Nukhba, Jaish al-Ahrar, Jaish al-Izzeh, Nour al-Din al-Zinki, Jaish al-Thani, Liwa al-Arba'in, and al-Firqa al-Owla Mushat. (19)

Character of the pro-Turkish Zenki/Ahrar Offensive in Idlib

In summary, Turkey is intensifying its efforts to bring Idlib under control in coordination with imperialist Rus-

sia. It aims on one hand to expand its influence in Syria and on the other hand to liquidate the liberations struggle and to pacify the situation so that it can send back the millions of Syrian refugees. (According to Turkey's Directorate General of Migration Management, the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey has reached 3,2 million at the end of September 2017.) (20)

This cooperation between Turkey and Russia aimed at the pacification of Idlib is no secret and publicly admitted by both sides. Russian state media openly claim that Turkey is dealing with the Syrian opposition. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan stated that Russia will provide security beyond Idlib while Turkey will take care of security matters in Idlib. (21)

This is the context in which the current offensive of Nour al-Din al-Zenki and Ahrar al-Sham, which are closely aligned with Turkey, against HTS takes place. STRATFOR, a renowned US think tank, made the following summary of the character of the civil war in Idlib from an imperialist point of view:

"While Turkish military convoys are streaming into Idlib to set up posts for monitoring the de-escalation agreement, a battle is raging between the various rebel groups. The militants in Idlib have never been unified, and at this point they fall mostly into two camps: those who are more closely allied with the Turkish military and those who are more independent and extreme. The largest rebel group in the first camp is Jabhat Tahrir Souriya, which formed after Ahrar al-Sham and Nour al-Din al-Zinki merged. The largest rebel group in the second category, meanwhile, is Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, which was previously linked with al Qaeda. Buoyed by the expanded Turkish military presence, and likely encouraged by Ankara, Jabhat Tahrir Souriya and smaller groups have begun to assert more control over Idlib, driving Hayat Tahrir al-Sham out of several important locations. The trend indicates that Turkish troops and their affiliated rebel forces will strengthen their control of the area." (22)

In other words: the character of the current civil war in Idlib is that Zenki/Ahrar act as allies of Turkey, as foot soldiers to implement Ankara's plan to pacify the region and to smash HTS as the most important obstacle for this goal. They are executors of the counter-revolutionary Astana

Order RCIT Documents in Arab Language

conspiracy which aims to liquidate the Syrian Revolution. HTS on the other side currently represents those forces which oppose the Astana deal and which stand for the continuation of the liberation struggle against the Assad tyranny and the imperialist occupation of the country, despite all its petty-bourgeois Islamist limitations.

Revolutionary tactic: Defeat the treacherous Zenki/Ahrar Offensive!

In such a conflict revolutionaries can not remain neutral. All those who reject the reactionary Astana conspiracy and who favor the continuation of the liberation struggle must defend HTS and its allies. Of course this does not include any political support for the program of HTS.

In past statements the RCIT has called for a united front of all anti-capitulationist liberation forces. By this we meant that all those factions – among which the HTS is the strongest one – which reject the counter-revolutionary Astana deal and which are determined to continue the struggle against the Assad tyranny should form a military bloc in order to defeat the attempts of Turkey and treacherous leadership factions among the rebels to liquidate the liberation struggle.

We are fully aware of the extraordinary difficult state of the Syrian Revolution. The enemy has nearly unlimited resources in terms of heavy weapons; the Syrian and Russian air force can wage one bombing campaign after the other without any serious challenge; Turkey is systematically pressuring the rebel forces to capitulate and has already bribed important sections of the rebel leaderships. In addition to military threats and attacks via its Syrian foot soldiers, Turkey also tries to break sections of HTS away. It can not be excluded that given its military inferiority and its petty-bourgeois nature, sections of the HTS leadership might capitulate in the future. However this has not been the case until now and HTS, as well as other militant factions like the *Turkistan Islamic Party*, have withstood the pressure and continue the liberation struggle. (23)

Despite all these dangers and difficulties, or rather because of them, it is urgent that the international workers'

movement and popular mass organizations defend the anti-capitulationist liberation forces which are continuing the struggle against the Assad regime and the Great Powers and their allies. This includes, but is not limited to, the defense of Idlib and the liberation forces deployed there (including HTS) against any assault of the US, Russian or Turkish armies or their local allies.

We repeat a conclusion which the RCIT stated in a past statement: *"Let's be clear: Without a defense of the limited achievements of the Syrian Revolution – like the liberation of Idlib – there can be no future for the liberation struggle! The RCIT calls upon Syrian revolutionaries to unite the defense of Idlib with a socialist perspective – the organization of the popular masses in independent councils and armed militias fighting for a consistent democratic and socialist program."* (24)

Footnotes

(1) The RCIT has covered the Syrian Revolution and the intervention of foreign powers in numerous documents and articles which can be viewed in a special section of our website <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>. Our latest comprehensive analysis can be read in the recently published book by Michael Pröbsting: *World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries*, Chapter V. Middle East and North Africa: Reactionary Offensive, Wars and Popular Uprisings, 10 February 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/chapter-v/>

(2) Such we wrote in September 2001, shortly before the start of the US invasion against Afghanistan: *"The war is not about terrorism or Islamism. It is about imperialism's determination to crush any opposition around the globe. Imperialism wants to have the right to dictate to any country in the world what type of government it should have. The USA wants the right to intervene within other states at any time on the pretext of a "war on terrorism". The USA also wants control of the central Asian region and to secure territory for its oil supplies. From the Afghan side this war is about the defence of the country's sovereignty against the imperialists' grip."* (LRCI: Questions & Answers on the Afghan War, 30/09/2001, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/q-a-afghan-war-2001/>)

(3) Our take on the current tragedy in East Ghouta: Michael



Armed and unarmed women demonstrate in Idlib City in support of the Syrian Revolution, 15.2.2018 (Source: Ebaa Agency)

Pröbsting: Syria: Assad's Massacre in East Ghouta and the Western Hypercritics, 23.02.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/assad-s-massacre-in-east-ghouta-and-the-western-hypercritics/>

(4) Our assessment of the Turkish invasion is summarized in RCIT: Syria: No to Turkey's Attack on Afrin! Defend the Syrian Revolution against Annihilation! The Syrian Revolution must reject sectarianism and strive to create multinational unity among Arabs, Turks and Kurds! Rally all forces against the Assadist-Iranian-Russian Aggression in Idlib! 22.01.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/no-to-turkey-s-attack-on-afrin/>

(5) Nour al-Din al-Zenki Movement and Ahrar al-Sham announced on 18 February that they have merged to form "Jabhat Tahrir Suriya" (Syrian Liberation Front). However, one has to wait and see if this alliance holds or if it is just another botched attempt of fusion between different factions. On the merger see e.g. Syria Direct: Two of the largest factions in Syria's northwest merge, challenge HTS dominance, Feb. 22, 2018, <http://syriadirect.org/news/two-of-the-largest-factions-in-syria%E2%80%99s-northwest-merge-challenge-hts-dominance/>; Nedaa Syria: Ahrar al-Sham and Nur al-Din al-Zenki movements merger into "Liberation Front of Syria", 18 Feb, 2018 <http://www.nedaa-sy.com/en/news/4371>; Qasioun News: Ahrar Sham And Nor Al-Din Zenki Factions Form A New Unified Body, 19 February 2018, http://qasioun-news.com/en/news/show/133198/Ahrar_Sham_And_Nor_Al_Din_Zenki_Factions_Form_A_New_Unified_Body

(6) For a more detailed analysis of HTS we refer readers to chapter V of the World Perspectives 2018 book mentioned above as well as to our pamphlet by 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/>. For a characterization of HTS and its history from a Western imperialist point of view (which nevertheless contain many useful information) we refer to the following books and essays: Charles R. Lister: The Syrian Jihad. Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State and the Evolution of an Insurgency, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015; Aymenn al-Tamimi: The Formation of Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham and Wider Tensions in the Syrian Insurgency, in: CTC Sentinel, Volume 10, Issue 2 (February 2017), pp. 16-20; Charles Lister: Al-Qaida's Complex Balancing Act in Syria, in: Perspectives on Terrorism, Special Issue on Al-Qaida, Volume XI, Issue 6 (December 2017), pp. 122-129; Aymenn al-Tamimi: Success for al-Qaida in Syria? In: ibid, pp. 130-138; Sam Heller: The Strategic Logic of Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, in: ibid, pp. 139-152; Charles Lister: How al-Qa'ida Lost Control of its Syrian Affiliate: The Inside Story, in: CTC Sentinel, Volume 11, Issue 2 (February 2018), pp. 1-9

(7) Leon Trotsky: An Analysis of the Slogans and Differences, in: Leon Trotsky: The Challenge of the Left Opposition 1923-25, New York 1975, p. 390

(8) For a Marxist analysis of the nature of Islamist movements see e.g. Michael Pröbsting and Simon Hardy: Theses on Islamism, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-on-islamism/>; Yossi Schwartz: The Marxist View of Religion in General and Islam in Particular, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/marxism-and-islam/>; ISL: Islam, Islamism and the Struggle for Revolution, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/islam-and-revolution/>.

(9) Contrary to the myth of the pro-Assad pseudo-"leftists", U.S. imperialism has no interest in supporting the Syrian liberation fighters and overthrowing the Assad regime. Washington's interest is rather to occupy a part of the country so that it can keep geostrategic influence in the region and to counter the rise of the Russian-Iranian bloc. All this takes place under the pretext of

the "war against ISIS". U.S. President Trump said recently in a speech: "We're there for one reason, we're there to get ISIS and get rid of ISIS and go home," Trump said of the U.S. role in and around Syria. "We're not there for any other reason and we've largely accomplished our goal." (Jennifer Epstein: Trump Criticizes Russia, Iran for 'Disgrace' in Syrian War, 23 February 2018, Bloomberg, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-02-23/trump-criticizes-russia-iran-for-disgrace-in-syrian-war>)

(10) On the RCIT's assessment of the Astana deal see e.g.: 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/>

(11) We stated in our above mentioned statement on the invasion of Afrin: "Furthermore, the RCIT strongly denounces those FSA factions which participate in the attack on Afrin. What are they doing in Afrin when the Revolution is threatened with annihilation in Idlib?! They fight the YPG in Afrin, from which no immediate danger for the Syrian Revolution has emerged, instead of fighting Assad's killers who are currently slaughtering the Syrian people in south Idlib! True, the YPG are Washington's merchants. But those FSA factions attacking Afrin are no longer fighting under the banner of the Syrian Revolution but, instead, under the banner of the Turkish state. They are Ankara's merchants; they are traitors of the Syrian Revolution!" (RCIT: Syria: No to Turkey's Attack on Afrin! <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/no-to-turkey-s-attack-on-afrin/>)

(12) Zenki admits this killing but states that this was "an accident". See e.g. AFP: Top Tahrir al-Sham commander killed by rival rebels: monitor, 2018-02-16 <https://en.zamanalwsl.net/news/article/32943/>; see also the HTS statement: About the transgression of Zinki and around the aggressor turn the alterations of misfortune, 21.2.2018, <https://al-maqalaat.com/2018/02/21/12/>

(13) There exist numerous reports about the attempts of Turkey and its local allies to squeeze, split and smash HTS. One of them has been published by Charles Lister: Turkey's Idlib Incursion and the HTS Question: Understanding the Long Game in Syria, October 31, 2017, <https://warontherocks.com/2017/10/turkeys-idlib-incursion-and-the-hts-question-understanding-the-long-game-in-syria/>. Lister is an U.S. expert on the Middle East who has given testimonies to the U.S. Congress.

(14) See e.g. https://twitter.com/badly_xeroxed/status/967457082415992832, <https://ebaa-agency.com/news/2018/02/4970> and <https://ebaa-agency.com/report/2018/02/4977>

(15) Shaykh Abu Abdullah Shaami responds to the court proposal of the scholars, 22.2.2018, <https://al-maqalaat.com/2018/02/22/13/>

(16) See on the repeated attacks of Daesh/ISIS against the liberation forces in the Idlib region: Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Assad opens once again a Corridor for ISIS/Daesh. Another instructive episode about the collaboration of Assad's Army and their Iranian and Russian Masters with ISIS/Daesh so that they can fight

against the Liberation Forces in Idlib, 09.02.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-assad-opens-once-again-a-corridor-for-daesh/>; 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/>

(17) 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/>

(18) Metin Gurcan: Turkey works to secure its future relevance in Syria, February 23, 2018 <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/turkey-syria-ankara-erecting-deescalation-outposts-idlib.html>

(19) https://twitter.com/charles_lister/status/961279302846369793?lang=de

(20) Daily Sabah: Number of Syrian refugees in Turkey reaches 3,2 million, October 4, 2017 <https://www.dailysabah.com/syrian-crisis/2017/10/04/number-of-syrian-refugees-in-turkey-reaches-32-million>

(21) Anton Mardasov: Al-Qaeda could stand to gain from changing Syrian situation, Al-Monitor, February 22, 2018 <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/russia-syria-eastern-gh-outa-future-hts.html>

(22) STRATFOR: Three Flashpoints in the Syrian Civil War, 23.2.2018, <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/syria-civil-war-turkey-aftrin-idlib-damascus-rebel-ypg>

(23) See e.g. Statement by the Turkistan Islamic Party concerning the infighting, 23.2.2018, <https://al-maqaalat.com/2018/02/23/14/>

(24) 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/>

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

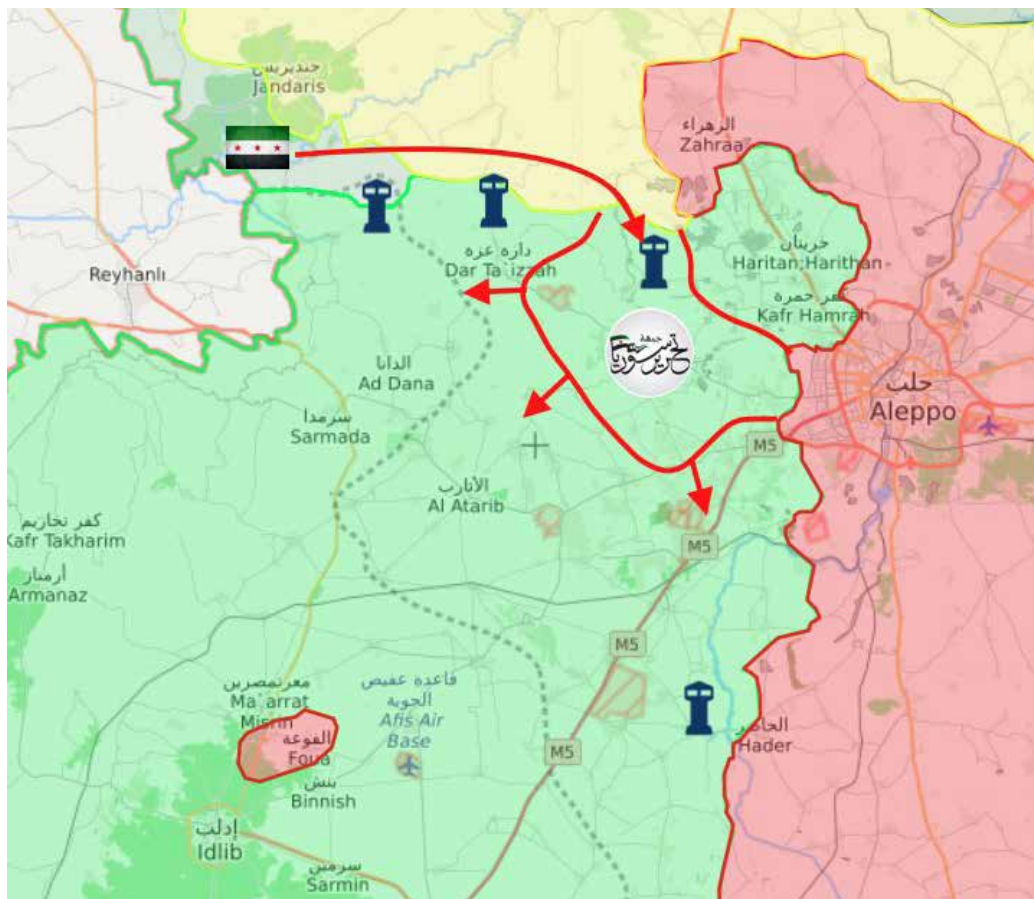
Furthermore we refer readers to the following documents:

Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, Chapter V. Middle East and North Africa: Reactionary Offensive, Wars and Popular Uprisings, 10 February 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/chapter-v/>

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/>

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

Map: Area in North-West Aleppo which Nour al-Din al-Zenki tries to bring under control



Hundreds Demonstrate in Vienna in Solidarity with East Ghouta

Report (with Pictures and Video) from the Austrian Section of the RCIT, 23.2.2018

Today, several hundred Syrian migrants demonstrated in front of the Russian embassy. They expressed their outrage about the ongoing massacre of the Assad regime with the support of the Russian Air Force against the Syrian people in East Ghouta.

The Austrian section of the RCIT was invited by the organizers to participate in the rally. Michael Pröbsting, the International Secretary of the RCIT, addressed the rally as the only speaker. In his speech, comrade Pröbsting sharply denounced the terrorist regime of Bashar al-Assad as well as Russian imperialism.

Comrade Pröbsting also condemned the hypercritical Western governments who currently cry crocodile tears about the tragic fate of the people in East Ghouta. But in all those years they have refused to send anti-aircraft missiles to the Syrian liberation fighters so that they could defend themselves against the Assadist and Russian killing ma-

chines. In fact, the Western imperialists don't like Assad, as he is a Russian puppet, but they prefer his regime to a victorious revolution of the Syrian people.

The RCIT and its Austrian section will continue to support the Syrian Revolution together with the Syrian brothers and sisters.

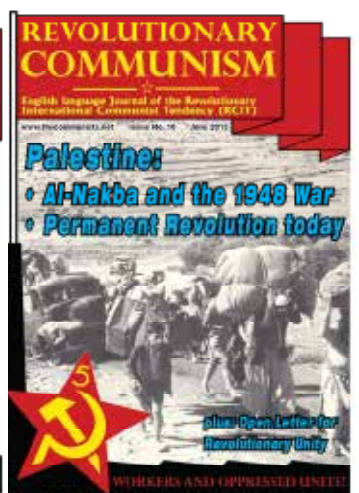
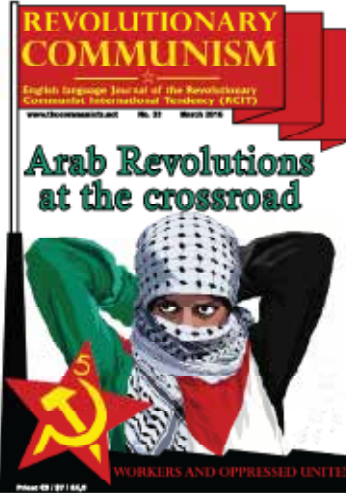
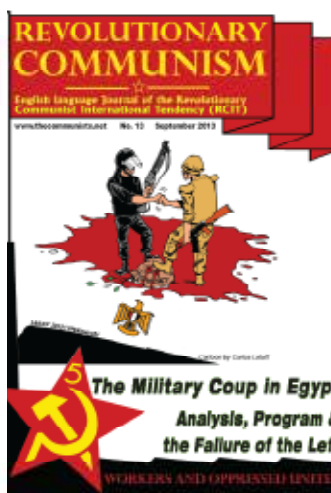
Pictures of the rally and the video of the speech of Michael Pröbsting (in German language) can be viewed here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/rally-in-solidarity-with-east-ghouta-23-2-2018/> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C5h8FCnYaGg&feature=youtu.be>

The RCIT has published numerous articles and documents on the Syrian Revolution which can be read on the RCIT's website at <https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/africa-and-middle-east/>.



Rally in Vienna in front of the Russian Embassy in solidarity with East Ghouta, 23.2.2018

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



Syria: Assad's Massacre in East Ghouta and the Western Hypercritics

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 23.02.2018

In the last days the ongoing massacre in East Ghouta at the hands of the terrorist regime of Bashar al-Assad has received global attention. The dictator's forces, supported by Iranian militias and Russian Air Force, have intensified the bombardment of about 400,000 Syrians who are besieged in the enclave at Damascus. At least 416 people have been killed in eastern Ghouta since Sunday night, according to the *Syrian Observatory for Human Rights* war monitor, with more than 2,100 wounded. The people, besieged since years, are starving and many have resigned to certain death. Meanwhile, the Syrian regime forces continue to use chlorine gas to shell residential areas.

In a symbolic act, the *United Nations Children's Fund* (UNICEF) published a one-sentence press release on 20 February, saying, "No words will do justice to the children killed, their mothers, their fathers and their loved ones." The rest of the statement was blank with a footnote at the bottom: "UNICEF is issuing this blank statement. We no longer have the words to describe children's suffering and our outrage. Do those inflicting the suffering still have words to justify their barbaric acts?" (1)

It is obvious that the Assad tyranny is determined to annihilate this enclave – one of the last remaining pockets of resistance.

The unspeakable massacre in East Ghouta has provoked outrage among people around the world. Solidarity demonstrations are taking place in many countries. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and indeed all forces around the world supporting the struggle for freedom denounce this bloodbath in East Ghouta and stand in solidarity with the resistance of the Syrian people against the Assad tyranny and its imperialist masters.

In a case of extraordinary cynicism, Western politicians are trying to exploit this situation to advance their own interest. In press releases and in public meetings of the UN Security Council they cry crocodile tears about the people in East Ghouta. Nikki Haley, Trump's hatchet woman to the UN, said: "It's time to take immediate action in the hopes of saving the lives of the men, women, and children who are under attack by the barbaric Assad regime." (2) The French foreign ministry said in a statement on 20 February that the massacre in East Ghouta "constitutes a grave violation of international humanitarian law." UK's Minister for the Middle East and North Africa Alistair Burt denounced "Assad regime's brutal siege of Eastern Ghouta, coupled with escalating bombardment and reports of chemical weapons use, is causing unprecedented levels of suffering". (3)

This is a prime example of hypocrisy! First, let us not forget: what Assad and Putin are doing now to the people in East Ghouta is not so much different from what the Americans did, with the help of their foot soldiers of the Kurdish Stalinist-nationalist YPG, some months ago in Raqqa. They even used the same label to justify these war crimes: "the war against terrorism"! When this unholy alliance of US imperialism and Öcalan bigots besieged and leveled the city in East Syria, no one of these politicians uttered a

word of protest. Neither did the Stalinist and semi-Stalinist champions of fake anti-imperialism which are cheering the YPG – even now when it marches hand-in-hand with pro-Assad troops in Afrin! (4)

Secondly, the current massacre in East Ghouta is just the latest escalation of a drama which is going on since years! East Ghouta is under siege since 2013! Since years do the Assad army, the Iranian militias and the Russian Air Force kill the Syrian people in this enclave! Where have these politicians been in all these years?!

If the liberation fighters in East Ghouta and in the rest of Syria would have modern weapons – in particular effective anti-air craft weapons (*Man-Portable Air Defense System* or *MANPADS* in military language) – they could have stopped the lethal air force long time ago!

Why did the US or the EU not send such weapons to the Syrian liberation fighters? The reason is very clear and we have said so since years: the Western imperialists never had any real interest to support a successful defense – or even victory – of the rebels. They don't like Assad because he is a puppet of Russian imperialism – a rival of the West in the global theatre of world politics. But they prefer his regime to any government resulting from a successful liberation war. (5)

As a result the Syrian people are more or less defenseless against the daily terror from the regime's air force. Only in exceptional cases when the liberation fighters manage to organize a MANPAD through bribery or smuggling are they able to bring down one of these killer machines. A few weeks ago, the HTS fighters fortunately succeeded to shot down a Russian warplane. (6)

No, the truth is that the Syrian Revolution has no and never had a friend in the Western imperialist governments. They are jockeying with Russian imperialism for spheres of influence in Syria. This is why Western politicians sometimes pretend to support the Syrian people.

But the only real friend of the Syrian liberation struggle are those without money and power; those who are suffering from dictatorship and misery like the Syrians; those who are also rising up against the reactionary regime like the Palestinian people, the Iranian people, the Tunisian people and all the others laboring masses who strive for freedom!

No alliance with any Western or Eastern imperialist power, no alliance with Turkey's Erdoğan, Saudi's Crown Prince or any other bigmouth will help the Syrian workers and poor peasants fighting for liberation. Only a perspective of building an international alliance with the workers and oppressed in other countries on the basis of a socialist program and led by a revolutionary world party will show the way forward!

We repeat once more our urgent call to all supporters of the just liberation struggle of the Syrian people to double their efforts in order to build international solidarity.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* will continue its support for the liberation struggle of the Syr-

ian workers and peasants. In this difficult hour when the Revolution is under attack from all sides – the Assad dictatorship, Russian as well as US imperialism, the Turkish and the Iranian regime – it is all the more important to maintain international solidarity with the struggle of the Syrian people!

Footnotes

(1) Reuters: U.N. issues blank statement on Syria, says it has run out of words, February 20, 2018 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-unicef/u-n-issues-blank-statement-on-syria-says-it-has-run-out-of-words-idUSKCN1G415A>

(2) Al-Jazeera: Haley: UN must end 'barbaric' attacks in Eastern Ghouta, 2018-02-22 <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/demands-halt-monstrous-campaign-syrian-town-180221183144792.html>

(3) The New Arab: #SaveGhouta: World leaders react to Eastern Ghouta bombardment, 21 February, 2018 <https://www.al-aby.co.uk/english/blog/2018/2/21/saveghouta-world-leaders-react-to-eastern-ghouta-bombardment>

(4) On the current conflict in Afrin see the RCIT statement: Syria: No to Turkey's Attack on Afrin! Defend the Syrian Revolution against Annihilation! The Syrian Revolution must reject sectarianism and strive to create multinational unity among Arabs, Turks and Kurds! Rally all forces against the Assadist-Iranian-Russian Aggression in Idlib! 22.01.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/no-to-turkey-s-attack-on-afrin/>

(5) 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/>; Michael Pröbsting: US Administration: "Rebels fighting the Assad regime wouldn't sup-

port American interests if they were to seize power", 22.8.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-opposes-syrian-rebels/>

(6) Michael Pröbsting: Syrian Liberation Fighters Shot Down Russian Warplane – A Small Victory, 4 February 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syrian-liberation-fighters-shot-down-russian-warplane-a-small-victory/>

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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 those leftist 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/>

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

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018 - A World Pregnant With Wars And Popular Uprisings

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – WORLD PERSPECTIVES 2018: A WORLD PREGNANT WITH WARS AND POPULAR UPRISINGS. The book's subtitle is: Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries.

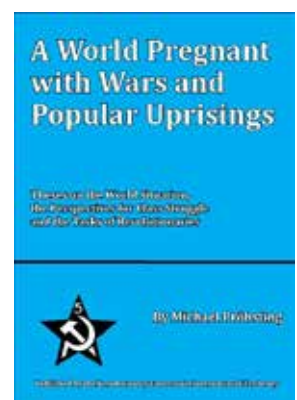
This book is a major contribution of our organization to keep the Marxists' analysis of the world situation and its accelerating contradictions updated. As we emphasize in the document, we consider it as crucial for revolutionaries to understand the nature and the inner dynamics of the current historic period. Without such an understanding it is impossible for socialists, indeed for all liberation fighters, to possess the necessary political compass on which they can base their program, strategy and tactics.

Since several years does the RCIT publish annual studies on the world situation in which it analysis its most important developments and changes. This book updates the Marxist analysis of the state of the world economy, of the relations between the Great Powers, of the struggle between the classes and the tactics of revolutionaries. We also deal in depth with new issues respectively extend our theoretical analysis on several questions. In particular we have deepened in this book,

among others, our understanding of the nature respectively the transitional character of the present world political phase, of the nature of different types of wars and the tactical conclusions arriving from this, of the complex nature of the conflicts in the Middle East, of the capitalist restoration in North Korea and, finally, we have elaborated a new proposal for an international platform for the unification of revolutionary forces in the present phase.

The book contains a preface, introduction and seven eight chapters plus an appendix (118 pages) and includes 23 figures, 9 tables and 2 maps. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>



Syria: Assad opens once again a Corridor for ISIS/Daesh

Another instructive episode about the collaboration of Assad's Army and their Iranian and Russian Masters with ISIS/Daesh so that they can fight against the Liberation Forces in Idlib

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 09.02.2018

Once more, Assad's killer army and their Iranian and Russian masters are collaborating with the counter-revolutionary ISIS/Daesh so that they weaken the besieged liberation fighters in their last remaining pocket in Idlib.

According to today's reports from *Reuters*, the *Syrian Observatory for Human Rights* as well as local sources, Assad forces had allowed the ISIS/Daesh fighters to leave a besieged pocket of territory at the intersection of Aleppo, Idlib and Hama provinces. They let the Daesh fighters cross a huge distance through Assad-controlled territory so that they could enter southern Idlib – the place of the last remaining large pocket under control of the liberation fighters. (1)

As we have reported in the past, this is not the first time that Assad and his Iranian and Russian masters are collaborating with ISIS/Daesh in order to defeat the Syrian Revolution. (2)

Naturally, the rebels are resisting by any means necessary against the intrusion of Daesh. Even the Assad supporters must admit that both the *Free Syrian Army* as well as *Ha'yat Tahrir al-Sham* are mobilizing all forces available in order to defeat the Daesh killers. (3)

However, as a matter of fact the liberation fighters are in a very difficult situation today given the massive offensive of Assad's army and the Iranian militias, the daily systematic carpet bombing by Russian warplanes and, now, another attack by Daesh. As a result the latter were able to occupy today the villages Umm Khalakil, Luwaybidah, and Musharifah.

This latest assault against the Syrian liberation fighters is another example of the arch-reactionary nature of the Assad regime. The Assad regime is certainly no friend of Daesh. Neither is it a friend of the Kurdish YPG. But both are closer to the Assad regime than the rebel factions which are continuing to fight against the dictatorship and its imperialist masters.

As a result they have collaborated in the past against the Syrian Revolution and they are doing so again today. The events of today are not the first example for collaboration between Assad's army and Daesh and most likely not the last. Likewise we saw the Kurdish YPG collaborating with Assad in the past before they became primarily foot soldiers of U.S. imperialism. And, again, just a few days ago, the Assad regime let a large convoy of Kurdish YPG fighters pass through so that they go to Afrin. (4)

The Assad regime has problems with Daesh as well as with the YPG. But the main enemy of Assad, Putin and Rouhani are those forces which are continuing to fight for the overthrow of the tyranny and for the goals of the Syrian Revolution. Against them, Assad is prepared to make dirty deals with everyone!

The foolish "left-wing" friends of Assad and Putin are

justifying their genocidal war against the Syrian people by claiming that this would be a struggle against the "fanatical jihadists" and "Islamic fundamentalists". This has always been a stupid lie. Facts speak louder than words: Assad and Putin are collaborating with the "fanatical jihadists" of Daesh against the Syrian Revolution!

Hence, we repeat once more our urgent call to all supporters of the just liberation struggle of the Syrian people to double their efforts in order to build international solidarity.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* will continue its support for the liberation struggle of the Syrian workers and peasants. When the Revolution is under attack from all sides – the Assad dictatorship, Russian as well as US imperialism, the Turkish and the Iranian regime – it is all the more important to maintain international solidarity with those who don't give up the struggle.

Footnotes

(1) See e.g. Reuters: Islamic State fighters move to Syria's Idlib, clash with factions: report, February 9, 2018 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-idlib/islamic-state-fighters-move-to-syrias-idlib-clash-with-factions-report-idUSKBN1FT1CZ>; <https://twitter.com/leventkema/status/961873540902371328>

(2) See on this e.g. 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/>

(3) Andrew Illingworth: Breaking: Syrian rebels in panic mode after ISIS assaults them in east Idlib from Hama, 09/02/2018 <https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/breaking-syrian-rebels-panic-mode-isis-assaults-east-idlib-hama/>

(4) This collaboration has been widely reported and is even confirmed by supporters of the Assad regime themselves. See e.g. Leith Aboufadel: Syrian Army allows massive YPG convoy to travel to Afrin from their lines, 06/02/2018, <https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/syrian-army-allows-massive-ypg-convoy-travel-afrin-lines/>; Large YPG/YBS Convoy Arrived Afrin Through Goerment-held Area To Combat Turkish Forces, South Front, 06.02.2018, <https://maps.southfront.org/large-ypg-ybs-convoy-arrived-afrin-through-goerment-held-area-to-combat-turkish-forces-photos/>

Syrian Liberation Fighters Shot Down Russian Warplane – A Small Victory

Comment by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, 4 February 2018

Syrian Liberation Fighters have scored a rare, albeit small, victory in this difficult time. They successfully downed a Russian warplane with a shoulder launched anti-aircraft missile on 3 February. (1)

This is to be welcomed by all supporters of the Syrian people's struggle against the Assad tyranny and its Russian and Iranian masters. In recent months, these reactionary forces have once again launched an indiscriminate campaign of terror against the Syrian people in Idlib.

The systematic carpet bombing by Russian warplanes plays a crucial role in the military advances of the Assadist army and Iranian militias. As a result, more than 210,000 Syrians have fled their homes since mid December 2017! In the area around Saraqeb for example, where the warplane was shot down yesterday in the afternoon, Russian bombers had carried out more than 25 raids since early morning.

The Russian army reacted in its well known manner to the loss of their warplane – like the U.S. did in Vietnam. They fired a salvo of cruise missiles into Idlib province from Russian navy vessels in the Mediterranean, killing at least 14 civilians and wounded dozen more.

Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS), a petty-bourgeois Islamist resistance movement which has become the dominating force in Idlib, claimed responsibility for downing the Russian warplane. They emphasized the importance of defending the Syrian people against the terrorist carpet bombing by the Russian Air Force. Mahmoud al-Turkmani, the commander of their recently formed *Air Defence Brigade*, stated: *"We were able to bring down the Russian warplane with a shoulder-fired missile above Saraqib in Idlib this afternoon (...) This work is the least we can do to revenge our people. Let the criminal invaders know that our skies are not a picnic and they will not pass through without paying a price, God willing"*. (2) HTS also published a video about the shooting down on their Ebaa Agency website. (3)

While the Turkish Erdoğan regime and the US Administration of Donald Dumb protest sometimes hypocritically against the mass killing of the Syrian people, they are in fact accomplices of this genocide. As we have pointed out many times, Turkey has reached an agreement in principle with Russia, Iran and Assad about the division of Syria, about keeping Assad in power and about the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution (Astana Deal, Sochi Conference).

And it is well know that the US Administration shares the same goals. It has only the intention to keep a share of Syria in the north east of the country under its control. Leading representatives of the Assad regime openly boast about Trumps consent to its goal to conquer Idlib and to liquidate the resistance. The Syrian regime envoy for Displacing Aleppo residents' agreement, Omar Rahmon publicly claimed that the Syrian regime forces will capture Idlib city with the consent of U.S. He wrote on his Twitter account *"Idlib will be liberated by the Syrian Army from terrorism and will return to Syria, with the back-up of Syria's allies and consent of oppositions' allies including U.S."* (4)

The shooting down of the Russian warplane is a major political blow for Russian imperialism. Putin pretends that his side has already won in Syria. Now Moscow has to face the reality that the resistance is still very alive and able to deliver embarrassing blows against the invaders. We can expect that imperialist Russia will now hasten its efforts to bring Idlib under its control with the help of the Turkish army as well as Assad's militias so that it can smash the last bastion of the Syrian Revolution.

The RCIT emphasizes once more that it is now more important than ever to show international solidarity with the Syrian liberation fighters! As we wrote in a recent RCIT statement: *"All supporters of the Syrian liberation struggle and all socialists around the world must rally their forces to aid the resistance against the Assadist-Iranian-Russian aggression in Idlib, East Ghouta and other places! We must not watch passively when the revolution is strangled by the aggression and betrayal of the imperialist Great Powers, the Assad dictatorship and reactionary regional powers."* (5)

Footnotes

(1) Russian Sukhoi fighter jet shot down in Syria's Idlib, 2018-02-03, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/russian-sukhoi-fighter-jet-shot-syria-idlib-180203182148377.html>; Syrian rebel group claim downing of Russian plane, 4 February, 2018 <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2018/2/3/syrian-rebel-group-claims-downing-of-russian-plane>; Syrian rebels shoot down Russian jet in Idlib, 2018-02-03 <https://en.zamanalwsl.net/news/article/32659/>; Asharq Al-Awsat: Syrian Factions Down Russian Fighter Jet, 3 February, 2018 - <https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1163666/syrian-factions-down-russian-fighter-jet>

(2) Syrian rebels shoot down Russian plane, kill pilot: Monitor, MEE and agencies, 3 February 2018 <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/opposition-rebels-shoot-down-russian-plane-and-capture-pilot-monitor-71630068>; Suleiman Al-Khalidi, Polina Devitt: Syrian rebels down Russian plane, kill pilot, Reuters, February 3, 2018 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-airplane/syrian-rebels-down-russian-plane-kill-pilot-idUSKB-N1FN0IU>

(3) <https://ebaa-agency.com/visuals/vid-military/2018/02/4314>

(4) Wissam Al-Ahmed and Talal Kharrat: The Army Will Liberate Idlib With The Consent Of America – Omar Rahmon, Qasioun Agency, 3 February 2018, http://qasioun-news.com/en/news/show/129717/The_Army_Will_Liberate_Idlib_With_The_Consent_Of_America_%E2%80%93_Omar_Rahmon

(5) RCIT: Syria: No to Turkey's Attack on Afrin! Defend the Syrian Revolution against Annihilation! The Syrian Revolution must reject sectarianism and strive to create multinational unity among Arabs, Turks and Kurds! Rally all forces against the Assadist-Iranian-Russian Aggression in Idlib! 22.01.2018, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/no-to-turkey-s-attack-on-afrin/>

Israeli Warplane Shot Down over Syria

Stop the Israeli aggression! In any conflict between imperialist Israel and Syria, Iran or Hezbollah: Defeat Israel! Continue to support the Syrian Revolution! Victory for the Palestinian Liberation Struggle!

Joint Statement of the International Secretariat of the RCIT and the ISL (Israel / Occupied Palestine), 11.02.2018

1. Yesterday an Israeli warplane was shot down during an Israeli attack on Syria. The Israeli army claims that it launched "large-scale" attacks inside Syria after intercepting what it said was an Iranian drone and the subsequent downing of an Israeli fighter jet, which crashed after it came under fire from Syrian air defense forces. The Iranian government denies that it had launched a drone. Unsurprisingly U.S. imperialism declares its full support for Israel. At the same time Russia's foreign ministry "urges all parties involved to exercise restraint and to avoid any actions that could lead to an even greater complication of the situation".

2. For us it is not relevant if Iranian forces launched a drone or not and who fired the first shot. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* and its section in Occupied Palestine / Israel call all socialists and supporters of the liberation struggle to take a clear and consistent position in such a conflict: In any confrontation between imperialist Israel and forces representing semi-colonial countries (like Iran, Syria or Lebanon), we stand for the military defeat of Israel and the military victory of the latter.

3. Such a position does not imply any political support for the Assad regime, the Iranian regime or Hezbollah's leadership. Quite the opposite, the RCIT supports the popular uprising against the Assad tyranny since the very first day and is continuing to do so. Likewise we supported the mass protests of the Iranian people against the Rouhani/Khamenei regime which took place a few weeks ago.

4. However, we take into account that any confrontation between Israel and Iran, Syria or Lebanon is not about the fate of the Syrian Revolution. In fact, the past years have demonstrated that Israel's ruling class prefers

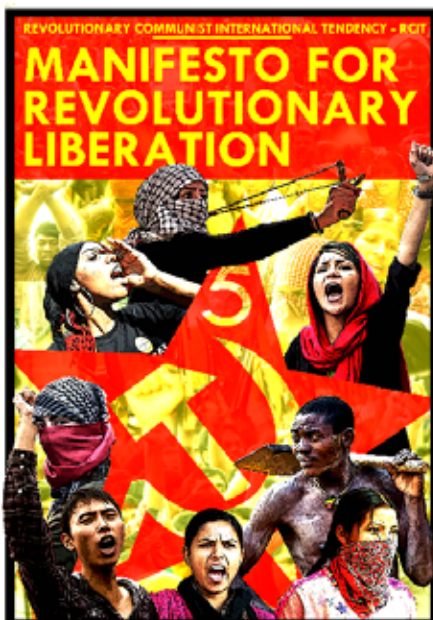
to deal with the Assad regime than to face a victorious uprising of the Syrian people. A confrontation between the Israeli army and Iran, Syria or Lebanon is about the status of Israel – an arch-reactionary imperialist and racist settler state built on the expulsion of the Palestinian people – in the Middle East. In such a confrontation we support those forces which could help to weaken Israel.

5. The only theoretical exception would be a situation where Iran, Syria or Lebanon acts as proxies for Russian imperialism. In such a situation we would take a defeatist position on both sides. However, while Iran and Assad are allies of Moscow there are currently no indications that in this conflict they are acting as Russia's proxies.

6. The RCIT repeats its call to all socialists and supporters of the liberation struggle to continue supporting the Syrian Revolution which is currently facing incredible awful conditions. Assad killer gangs and their Iranian and Russian masters are continuously bombing and massacring the Syrian people in Idlib and East Ghouta.

7. Likewise we call all socialists to redouble their solidarity with the just liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. We support the calls for a Third Intifada. In case of another Israeli attack against Gaza we will take the same position as we did in 2009, 2012 and 2014: Defend Gaza – Defeat Israel!

8. These tactics in possible conflicts in the coming weeks are an integral component of our program of permanent revolution in the Middle East and North Africa. We stand for the abolition of the Apartheid state Israel and for a free and red Palestine, for workers and peasant governments in the whole region and a socialist federation.



NEW RCIT PROGRAM!

Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

Adopted at the 1st World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format

Occupied Palestine: Break PA Collaboration with Israel!

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)*, 20.2.2018

Following Trump's declaration that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, many Palestinians hoped that the Palestinian Authority would cease all forms of collaboration with Israel, especially against Palestinians engaged in military actions against armed Zionist oppressors. The case of Jarrar has proven to many Palestinians that the PA continues to collaborate with Israel.

Ahmad Jarrar, a 22-year-old, who, according to Israel, killed an Israeli settler Raziel Shevah near a Jewish-only settlement near Nablus, in the West Bank, on January 9th, was killed by the Israeli military one week ago after he managed to escape them for almost a month. Raziel Shevah was not an innocent victim of terrorism, he was one of those right wing Zionists who actively steal Palestinian lands.

According to Al Jazeera a video posted on social media shows Azzam al-Ahmad, a senior member of Fatah, being expelled from the mourning tent for the Palestinians slain by the occupation forces. Israel claims that he was killed in act of self defense but it is more likely that he was killed like many other Palestinians - in cold blood.

The relatives accused al-Ahmad of complicity in Jarrar's death, because of the ongoing "security coordination" of the Fatah-ruled Palestinian Authority with Israel.

Under the Oslo agreement, the PA is committed to sharing information with Israel about any armed resistance to the Israeli oppression. Such is the role of a Quisling - a collaborator within occupied lands, a term that originated in Norway during the German occupation in World War II.

The anger over the PA's role in Jarrar's death is part of the discontent among Palestinians over the PA role in collaboration with Israel. According to a December 2017 poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, 70 percent of Palestinians want 82-year-old Abbas to resign.

An increasing number of Palestinians understand that Oslo agreement only allows Israel to steal more lands with the collaboration of the PA. Already one year ago a poll showed that 65% of Palestinians no longer believe the two-state solution is viable. *"The more people think the two-state solution is no longer viable, the more likely it is that they will shift and support a one-state solution"* explains Dr. Khalil Shikaki, Director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research. [1]

As socialist revolutionaries who understand that only a workers revolution supported by the Fellahin and other oppressed groups and classes, will lead to the liberation of the Palestinians, we do not support nor glorify individual terrorist actions against oppression. Behind this position is the realization that in spite of what may be perceived as heroism and at times, real and spectacular demonstration of the human spirit, such actions do not lead to a socialist revolution and are exploited by the Zionists to steal more lands.

We are not pacifists and we do understand the power of the armed masses at a time of a revolution. In a different situation, Ahmad Jarrar would likely have been a dedicated socialist revolutionary. The only solution is one red democratic Palestine from the river to the sea to replace

Zionist apartheid from the river to the sea.

Trotsky in his article: For Grynspan (1939) explained our attitude today towards individual terrorism:

"We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road. Our sympathy becomes intensified because Grynspan is not a political militant, but an inexperienced youth, almost a boy, whose only counselor was a feeling of indignation. To tear Grynspan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head to further serve capitalist diplomacy, is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class!" [2]

Despite many perceived similarities, Israel is not a Fascist or Nazi state, but a settler-colonialist society. It is a modern equivalent of white colonialism in North America, Australia, etc. and is most similar, although not identical, to the South African apartheid state. However, the path of individual terrorism yields the same misfortune everywhere where oppressed people struggle for freedom.

The heroic struggle of the Palestinians can win against the military might of Israel as part of the victorious Arab revolution and the Iranian revolution. It is only a question of time, that must be used to build a revolutionary leadership. The way forward is a mass Intifada as part of the world revolutionary struggle of the exploited and the oppressed.

Footnotes:

(1) <http://mondoweiss.net/2017/01/democratic-palestinians-solution/>

(2) Leon Trotsky: For Grynspan. Against Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels (1939), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1939/xx/grnszpan.htm>

For the analysis of the RCIT and its comrades in Occupied Palestine of the Palestinian liberation struggle, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/> as well at <http://the-isleague.com/>.

South Africa: Down with White Puppet Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC and the Entire Black and White Capitalist Ruling Class - Power to the People!!!

Joint Statement of the ELA Zambia and the Africa Secretariat of the RCIT, 20 February 2018

1. The resignation of President Jacob Zuma on Wednesday 14th February 2018 as South Africa's President, and his subsequent replacement by the ultimate puppet of South Africa's capitalist white settler community, Cyril Ramaphosa, is nothing more than a change of puppet-representatives of the white capitalist ruling class of South Africa. The regime change is also, and sadly so, the continuation of the super-exploitation of the landless and property-deprived black majority of South Africa's working and oppressed masses.

2. Therefore, all Revolutionary and progressive African liberation forces, and the oppressed black people of South Africa in particular, must be aware and alive to the fact that apartheid white South Africa continues to play a subtle but pivotal and dominant role in the social, economic and political affairs of South Africa. This they have managed to do by corruption and usurping the power of the people by infiltrating, influencing and hijacking the Africa National Congress party (ANC), whose puppet leaders they have sponsored and strategically placed at the helm of South African politics to do their bidding.

3. Furthermore, it must be observed that anytime the white-puppet leader of the ANC has tried to veer away from, or threatened to undermine the economic interests of the white South African and apartheid capitalist class, as Zuma did when he favoured the Indian capitalists of the Gupta family; or when the black puppet-leader falls out of favour with the poverty-stricken black masses who begin to look for a revolutionary alternative that threatens to undermine the white capitalist establishment, the white capitalist establishment quickly presents and conspires to

replace the puppet who has fallen out of favour with the masses, with another puppet of their choice who is sold to the masses as a better alternative. This was how former President Mbeki was hounded out and replaced by Zuma, and Zuma in turn hounded out and replaced by Ramaphosa. Meanwhile, the aim achieved through this game of thrones is that the ANC as a ship of the white and black privileged minority continues to sail its capitalist course, and as the masses are momentarily satisfied with the ousting of one leader, their poverty grows worse as the new leader runs his course for the next 5 or 10 years of his political life!

4. In the same vein, the replacement of Zuma with Ramaphosa serves only to reinforce and continue the domination and exploitation of the black people of South Africa by the apartheid white powers in South Africa. It is no secret that Ramaphosa, a man who serves on the board of, and defended the injustice of a Platinum mining company (LONMIN) that in 2012 massacred over 35 miners protesting for better wages, has been ever a faithful servant of apartheid white monopoly capital since his days as a corrupt Union leader. Furthermore, Ramaphosa, who served as a lead ANC negotiator during the CODESA talks held in the run up to the sham Independence of 1994, was instrumental in the sellout of the ANC's revolutionary-democratic demands enshrined in the 1954 Freedom Charter program. Suffice to say, the ANC caved into the demands of the FW De Clerk team which lobbied for the preservation and integration of so called white minority rights into the constitution of South Africa. Thus, the protection and preservation of apartheid and capitalist white



NEW RCIT AFRICA PROGRAM!

Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

Adopted at the 2nd World Congress of the RCIT in November 2017

Introduction * Foreign Exploiters – Out of Africa! * The Wealth to Those Who Create It! Economic Freedom Now! * Down with the Capitalist Dictatorships and Corrupt Pseudo-Democracies! * Organize the Workers and Oppressed for the Mass Struggle! * For a Government of Workers and Poor Peasants! For a Socialist Revolution! * For Pan-African Unity! For the United Socialist States of Africa! * For a United Front of Struggle! Overcome the Crisis of Leadership – Build a Revolutionary Party Nationally and Internationally! * Appendix

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

South Africa's ill-gotten and stolen wealth is guaranteed, and therefore the supremacy of white apartheid South Africa also guaranteed via the diabolical Sunset Clause.

5. It is thus the maintenance of this unjust order of white capitalist supremacy that all the leaders of the ANC political establishment, from Mandela to Ramaphosa, are appointed to serve and protect. To this day, the revolutionary-democratic demands of the Freedom Charter; namely the restoration of stolen land without compensation, to the majority black people of South Africa; and the nationalization of the mines and banks, have never been fulfilled, except through political rhetoric at times when it becomes necessary to appease the gullible masses during election times, as Ramaphosa recently demonstrated in his recent first address to parliament as President of South Africa and puppet of white monopoly capital.

6. In light of this political wizardry and sophistry being practiced upon the unsuspecting masses of South Africa, we wish to advise and caution our fellow brothers and comrades-in-arms in South Africa, not to be duped with the media lies and pronouncements of hope in Ramaphosa and his ANC stooges. For Ramaphosa is a liar, a dyed-in-the-wool capitalist and ultimate puppet-servant of white capitalist supremacy. Ramaphosa lives to serve and protect the economic interests of the apartheid white capitalist establishment that has made him one of the wealthiest black people in South African history; and all his wealth has been made at the expense of the poverty, dehumanization and super exploitation of the black laboring and suffering majority of South Africa.

7. Lastly, we call upon all the progressive revolution-

ary and liberation movements of South Africa not to relent in their struggle to overcome and overthrow the entire ANC establishment which is rotten to the core, and only responds to the dictates of the white capitalist minority. We call upon all the oppressed working classes, the land-dispossessed peasantry, the unemployed and exploited men, women and youths of South Africa, to unite under a common political front for a liberated Socialist South Africa, under the leadership of a revolutionary Party whose program is designed for the freedom and uplifting of the oppressed masses. The struggle must continue. Izwe Lethu!

* *Down with white puppet Cyril Ramaphosa!*

* *Down with the white owned and Controlled ANC!*

* *Down with White and Indian Capitalist exploitation!*

* *Expropriation of the super-rich – whether native or foreign, white or black!*

* *Nationalization of industries and the banks under workers' control!*

* *For a plan of public reconstruction – elaborated in detail by and under the control of the workers and poor – to build the necessary infrastructure (housing, electricity, transport, health sector, etc.)!*

* *Expropriation of white landowners and the nationalization of the land!*

* *For a government of the workers and poor, based on councils and defended by popular militias of armed masses!*

* *Forward with the Struggle for Black South Africa's Economic Freedom!*

* *Forward with a Socialist Revolution and a Workers Party!*

Books of the RCIT

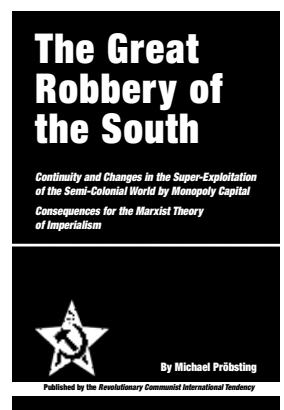
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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)



Ethiopia: Down with the State of Emergency!

For the overthrow of the reactionary capitalist EPRDF Dictatorship – puppet of the imperialist Great Powers! For a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly! For a Workers and Peasants Government!

Joint Statement of the Africa Secretariat of the RCIT and ELA (Zambia), 20 February 2018

1. The Ethiopian dictatorship is in a deep crisis. On 15 February Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn’s suddenly resigned. The next day, the regime imposed a state of emergency for the whole country which shall last for six months. Parliament - where the regime based on a four-party ruling coalition called *Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front* (EPRDF) controls all 547 seats – is expected to ratify it within two weeks.

2. This is only the latest highpoint of the explosive political process which started in November 2015. Since then, the regime has faced a series of mass protests as it is unable and unwilling to overcome widespread poverty and misery. It killed hundreds of people participating in anti-government protests demanding equality and democratic rights. In August 2017, the regime lifted a 10-month state of emergency. Continuing mass protests forced the regime to make concessions and it has freed more than 6,000 political prisoners since January. Now, after the surprising resignation of Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, the regime tries to violently suppress the outbreak of an open revolutionary situation by imposing a six month state of emergency.

3. The EPRDF regime follows the neoliberal capitalist agenda and serves the interests of the imperialist Great Powers as well as of the small domestic black capitalist elite. It rules with iron fist since coming to power in 1991. It is known for systematically terrorising and expelling poor peasants so that foreign corporations can buy up the land. The dictatorship has been a puppet of U.S. imperialism for a long time. However, with the global rise of China as a new imperialist power, a new master is rivaling for domination in Africa. Chinese corporations are increas-

ingly influential in the East African country which is the continent’s second most populous country with 102 million inhabitants.

4. Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic country with 10 ethnicities numbering at least one million people. However, social poverty and suppression of democratic rights is worsened by the fact that the regime is dominated by one of the small ethnic groups – the Tigrayans make up only six percent of the country’s population (here is a certain similarity with the role of the Alawites in the Assad dictatorship in Syria). This has fuelled mass protests particularly among the two biggest ethnic groups – the Oromo and Amhara people. Together, they make up over 61% of the population but are politically, economically and socially marginalised.

5. The regime’s position has been undermined also by increasing difficulties in foreign political matters. The construction of the controversial Blue Nile dam project, the so-called *Renaissance Dam*, provokes massive tensions with Egypt including the risk of a regional war. Furthermore its leading role in the AMISOM mission in Somalia – whose purpose is the occupation of country in service of the Great Powers to defeat the popular insurrection – has produced no lasting results. Despite huge costs and massive losses since the beginning of Ethiopia’s military intervention in 2006 (the AMISOM troops is said to have suffered losses of up to 2,000 fatalities) and despite full support by the imperialist powers, the occupiers proved unable to defeat the local rebellion and the imposed puppet regime would immediately collapse in case of an end of the AMISOM mission.

6. The *Economic Liberation Association* (Zambia) and

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- * Brazil: Presidential Elections 2018

the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* fully support the mass protests against the reactionary capitalist EPRDF dictatorship. We propose to revolutionaries in Ethiopia to work towards the formation of action committees in the workplaces, neighbourhoods, schools and universities in order to organise the workers and oppressed. Such committees should mobilise for the struggle and decide about the main demands, the forms of protests, the perspectives etc. They should also organize self-defence units in order to defend the demonstrations against the regime's repression apparatus.

7. Revolutionaries should fight for a program focused on democratic rights (like the right to assemble, to demonstrate, to organise, to strike, for freedom of press, etc.) as well as against any ethnic discrimination. Likewise they should fight against unemployment and poverty and call to establish a *public employment program under the control of mass popular organizations, financed by the expropriation of the super-rich*. They should also call for a *Revolutionary Constituent Assembly*. Such an assembly's delegates should be controllable by those who elected them and should be open to recall by their constituents. The assembly's role is to debate and decide on constitutional issue, and it should be protected by workers' and popular militias against any intimidation of reactionary forces.

8. Furthermore, ELA and RCIT demand an immediate end of Ethiopia's military intervention in Somalia. We denounce the AMISOM mission as a reactionary occupation of Somalia in the interests of the imperialist Great Powers (US, EU, China, Russia, Japan). Consequently, we support the national liberation struggle of the Somali people against the AMISOM occupiers.

9. Revolutionaries in Ethiopia should combine such demands with the perspective of fighting for an authentic *workers and peasants government*. Such a government would be based on workers' and popular councils and militias. It would *exclusively* serve the interests of the popular masses and would remove power and wealth from the hands of

the small corrupt elite of super-rich politicians and army generals. It would also expropriate the foreign imperialist corporations which are exploiting the country.

10. In our opinion, it is crucial to view the popular struggle in Ethiopia not in national isolation. It is part of an international wave of liberation struggles in neighbouring or relative nearby countries like Sudan, Somalia, Yemen, Palestine, Tunisia, Syria and Iran. Revolutionaries in Ethiopia should explain the necessity of international solidarity with the liberation struggles against foreign occupation and dictatorships. ELA and RCIT consider the popular struggle in Ethiopia as part of the liberation struggle of all African people. We emphasize that freedom can be achieved only if the workers and poor peasants succeed in liberating the continent from the grip of imperialist powers, overthrow the capitalist class and open the road to a socialist future! *Forward to the United Socialist States of Africa!*

Aluta Continua!

For our analysis of the Ethiopian regime and the resistance against it we refer readers to our article: Yossi Schwartz: Ethiopia: Down with the Dictatorship of Hailemariam Desalegn! 17 August 2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/ethiopian-dictatorship/>

We refer readers also to the new RCIT Manifesto:

RCIT: Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa. Economic Freedom and Political Power for the Workers and Oppressed through Socialist Revolution! Adopted by the 2nd Congress of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) in Lusaka (Zambia), November 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/manifesto-for-the-revolutionary-liberation-of-black-africa/>

For other documents on the class struggle in Africa see: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>

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UNITE!

Liberia: 'Liberated' But Looted! Only \$500,000 Left in Treasury, Weah Unable and Unwilling to Arrest Sirleaf!

By Mainda Simataa | ELA General Secretary | 8 January 2018 | Lusaka Zambia

Whereto with Weah? Nowhere! With Liberia broke beyond belief, and needing financial relief because of Sirleaf the thief; it is certain that the very first act of office for humble President-elect of Liberia, George Weah, will be to quickly run to Uncle Sam (*United States*) with a begging bowl – begging for yet another financial bailout (on top of what is already owed), thus plunging millions of Liberians into a deeper debt-trap which they, or their children's children will never escape until they find or found a Revolutionary Party of leaders armed with a Socialist program of Liberation! The future of Liberia cannot be sold to, or entrusted in the hands of already-rich-and-wanting-more opportunistic chancers like Weah, and intellectual American-made prostitutes like Weah's predecessor – Sirleaf Johnson!

Sirleaf the thief

Sirleaf, the handmaiden of American capitalism in Liberia, is the first African woman (President) to loot over \$2 billion dollars in 10 years, and stole millions more in the name of funding the just ended campaigns, and thus left Weah with only \$500,000 United States dollars in the national treasury to run Liberia for the next 10 years of his tenure (assuming he makes it past the first 5 years). But the curious thing is this: either by sheer ignorance, or criminal collusion, Weah has not firmly decided to prosecute and jail tricky miss Johnson despite the overwhelming evidence against Sirleaf! Weah's rhetoric on fighting corruption is just that – rhetoric! Most likely, behind the scenes, Weah and Sirleaf have already kissed and made up since it is common knowledge that Sirleaf is something of a political godmother or guru to Weah!

But we should not be surprised at this political prostitution that has come to plague African politics, for it has

always been the standard tendency of all outgoing and degenerate African pseudo-democratic Presidents and tin-pot dictators to loot as much as they can, however they can, and then rig the elections in favour of a gullible and pliable puppet-successor (which is what Weah is) who is both unwilling and unable to investigate their predecessors for crimes against humanity, or the economy. In the name of forgiveness, unity and forging ahead, or avoiding a resurgence of the bitter national sentiments that may culminate into internal strife, justice is sacrificed and former leaders are allowed to getaway with economic plunder in broad-day light!

Such is the relationship between outgoing Liberian President Sirleaf Johnson, and her man-friday, President-elect George Weah, the prolific football icon and now amateur politician who's inexperience and unwitting gullibility will cost Liberia more billions, not to mention more buckets of tears, sweat and misery! Weah simply has no balls to stand up to Sirleaf and fix her as any moral leader would; and it has nothing to do with his lack of articulation prowess, for Weah has always depended on millions to do the talking and winning for him! Its no secret that the purported degree Weah holds in God-knows-what field, was written for him online; all in an effort to prop-up his dismal academic profile, not to say that the best 'educated' are the best leaders. Question is, doesn't forging academic credentials and thus instilling a false sense of confidence in the Liberian electorate qualify as corruption?

Weah is in way over his head! Listening to the mediocre sub-substance of his Vice President; the oddly named 'Jewel' Howard Taylor, will tell you that Liberia is in trouble and racing to the bottom under a khakistocracy (leadership of the mediocre). Serving as senator, Weah was fine, he could do less damaged there! But as President, Weah is a ticking time-bomb; he as dangerous to the well-being

China's transformation into an imperialist power

A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power

By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

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of the Liberian people as he ever was to his opponents on the football field! But in football, when one loses, they lose only money and some pride, and these can be won back again. But in politics, to let political renegades like Sirleaf and co run-riot, ransack the Liberian economy to the tune of over \$2 billion dollars, and then let them walk free, is criminal. Weah will cost the Liberian people their lives and future prosperity while the looters retire safely to Washington or New York. Sirleaf and Weah are two sides of the same coin, cut from the same cloth. Though they cry crocodile tears for the poor, both are appointees of Washington, they represent the interests of the rich and comfortable middle-class!

The facts are that Sirleaf, who's blood relations presided over Liberia's key oil industry, looted a staggering \$2 billion US dollars in a span of corrupt scandals in a record 10 years! In addition, Sirleaf, in a bid to cover herself from prosecution, deliberately jeopardized and systematically decampaigned her own Vice President who promised to carry out a comprehensive audit on the utilization and misappropriation of state resources, and further vowed to punish the culprits! There would be no sacred lambs, he proclaimed. These proclamations, meant or not, obviously unsettled Sirleaf, who then made up her mind that the unsuspecting political novice, George Weah, was perhaps a safer bet for successor than her own VP. Mind you, Liberia has a history of executing Presidents accused of corruption, and that thought isn't lost to Sirleaf who also served in Samuel Oddo's regime! But Weah is a nice guy,

he won't shoot anyone!

These are the latest disturbing revelations coming out of Liberia, and they show that the celebrated and overrated election of George Weah as Liberia's President will, and can only end in tears! His election has come at a great cost to the Liberian public though they do not know it yet because the government is covering up the grossly corrupt practices of Sirleaf Johnson, who's corrupt escapades and looting of the Liberian treasury would make the Gupta's and Nkhandla scandal of South Africa's Jacob Zuma seem like Child's play!

The way Forward – Keep Looking!

Liberia has not found the Revolutionary Party and young radical Leaders that it needs to take them forward, and past the American intrigues of political domination and economic exploitation. Liberia needs a Socialist revolution, not one driven by guns, but one driven by brains! Weah is definitely good with his feet, no doubt; but is he good with his head? No. If Weah can't throw Sirleaf in jail, then how in Liberia can he throw off the Americans from profiting off the backs of Liberians? Liberians need to look elsewhere, not to Weah!

*Forward with the Liberian Revolution!

*Down with American Capitalism in Liberia!

*Down with the Sirleaf Regime!

*Down with the Weah Regime!

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today

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

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

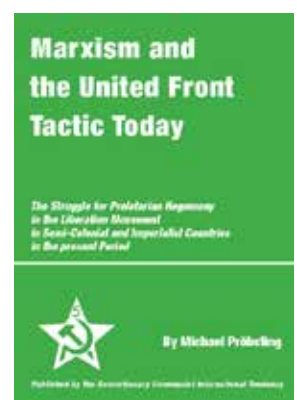
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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

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

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

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



Brazil: Presidential Elections 2018

The control of the electoral process by the judiciary and the conservative media is a fraud!

Statement by the Corrente Comunista Revolucionária-CCR, (Brazilian Section of the RCIT), January 28, 2018

The coup d'état of April 2016 opened a period of deep attacks on the historically fragile democracy in Brazil, materializing in loss of democratic and social rights. The notoriously corrupt and illegitimate government of Temer is spending billions of dollars to buy congressmen in order to stay in power and make neoliberal reforms. With regard to democratic rights, most of these attacks are expressed in attempts to further diminish the rights of citizens.

The prosecutors of the republic, who theoretically ought to ensure the compliance of the constitution, in a gesture of pure authoritarianism have even proposed the end of the right to *habeas corpus*. Suddenly, no further concrete evidence is required for the conviction of a suspect, now is enough to have the "conviction", that is to say, the judges began to make a *moral* analysis to give the verdict. The suspect becomes guilty, with very few rights to his own defense. From now on it is not the state that has to prove the culpability of the defendant; it is the defendant who has to prove that he is not guilty. This reminds us of the history classes on the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. Although some acts of corruption have been proven, there are countless convictions based exclusively on allegations, convictions, many of them without concrete evidence, and the most scandalous example is being the case against former President Lula da Silva. The crucial question we ask is: should the rule of law and the minimum guarantees in favor of the citizens be destroyed in the name of the supposed fight against corruption?

The Judiciary, either because it is acting like coward or because it has an ideological accomplice of this neofascism, with the Supreme Court having an important role in this process, is also active in advancing the agenda that restricts rights and stifles democracy, giving legal backing to the coup-d'état of this reactionary regime. The social class selectivity of the judiciary can be seen by the fact that it denies to put in jail Mr. Aécio Neves from rightist party PSDB, former presidential candidate against Rousseff-PT, and that it is protecting President Michel Temer

from losing his term. It has done so despite the fact that both of them were caught in audios with strong evidence of crimes, including with bags full of money! Contrast this with the fact that thousands of young people from the peripheries, blacks and poor whites, are suffering abuses by the police without any punishments. The mobilizations and demonstrations of the social movements in defense of their rights are being criminalized and brutally repressed.

Among the hundreds of people who are suffering from the abuse of arbitrary detention, coercive conduct, citizens anticipated considered guilty by the monopolized media, people condemned based on "moral convictions" and without evidences. The main target of this offensive is in the former President Lula da Silva. They are blocking Lula's candidacy because at this moment he has the support of 45% of the vote intention for the Presidential elections. By controlling the electoral process the judiciary and the conservative media is trying to have an election only with have their preferred candidates (Joao Dória-PSDB, Rodrigo Maia-DEM, Geraldo Alckmin-PSDB, Luciano Huck). This can only be called a **Fraud!**

But those who imagine that the only target is Lula and his *Workers party-PT* are mistaken about the reality. The target is the whole working class, the poor people salaried employee. If they succeed in arresting Lula, the path to repression will be open to all left-wing parties and organized social movements.

We are not discussing here about political support for the likely candidate Lula da Silva. We are discussing about democratic rights, in which all parties could launch their own candidates and that the Brazilian population can freely choose their candidates. We are also discussing the end of the regime of emergency which began with the destitution of President Rousseff and resulted in taking away the workers' historic rights, such as a formal contract (Labour Reform) and retirement (Pension Reform), as well as our political and civil rights. These are important rights despite the well-known limitations which exist for the poor and oppressed in the so-called bourgeois democracies.

O Comunismo Revolucionário Portuguese-language Journal of the RCIT

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On the other hand, we can not confuse the defense of *democratic rights* with the defense of the program of the Workers Party-PT or the candidature of Lula da Silva. The Workers' Party has always had a social democratic political program, so it was never revolutionary, but it always defended the humanization of the capitalist system (as if that were possible!). In large part, the Workers' Party is one of the main forces responsible for the present difficult situation of the Brazilian working class.

Because of their great influence with the masses, the PT governments guaranteed several social rights, always within the narrow limits of bourgeois democracy. At the same time President Lula once declared that "*entrepreneurs have never won as much as in my government!*" Conclusion: It is a lie of conservatives sectors and the right-wing group *MBL-Movimento Brasil Livre*, along with the monopolistic media (Globo-Band-SBT) to define the PT as a "radical revolutionary" ready to install the "Bolivarian dictatorship."

The CCR calls the PT, from CUT, MST, MTST, CTB, PCdoB, PSOL to leave their immobility and do more work to mobilize the working masses with the objective not only of fighting for truly democratic elections, but also for canceling the structural reforms made by this putschist Temer government such as: labor reform, total outsourcing, the

re-nationalization of the pre-salt oil basins, recovery and substantial increase of the minimum wage, the resumption of social public investments by canceling the law which permitted freezing social spending for 20 years, canceling the project for the pension reform, etc.

Above all, we understand the need to build a real workers' party with a revolutionary socialist program on a national and international level. Only such a party can give the necessary leadership for these struggles. Only such a party can transmit the socialist program to the masses. It is, therefore, the central task of all consistent revolutionary forces to focus on the construction of such a party. The CCR urges all fighters in Brazil to fight together for the founding of such a party.

** No to the interference of the judiciary and the monopoly and conservative media in the 2018 presidential elections!*

** Resist and Fight for Democratic Rights: Free, Direct and Secret Elections!*

** For the cancellation of neoliberal reforms: Labor; of High School, privatizations of Petrobrás and wells of Pre-Salt, outsourcing. No to the Destruction of Welfare disguised under the name of Reformation.*

** No to threats of military intervention!*

** For a true revolutionary workers party!*

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!

