



## **Afghanistan: A Historic Victory against U.S./NATO Imperialism!**

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# English-Language Journal of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), No. 123, September 2021

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Picture on the Cover: Mass protests in Teheran in 2009 (Source: Wikipedia, [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4f/Teheran\\_protest\\_%281%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4f/Teheran_protest_%281%29.jpg))

*Revolutionary Communism* is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, South Korea, Pakistan, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Russia, Nigeria, Britain, Germany, and Austria.

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## Argentina: Gabriela and Juan Carlos, CS Candidates for FITu

by *Convergencia Socialista* (Argentinean Section of the RCIT), 3 August 2021

**Note of the RCIT Editorial Board:** Below we publish the translation of an article from our Argentinean comrades in *Convergencia Socialista*. The comrades have decided to stand several candidates as part of the FITu list – an alliance of four large Trotskyist organizations (PTS, PO, IS and MST) – at the upcoming elections in autumn. They do so despite their criticism of the centrist policy of these organizations and present their independent program of which you can find a summary below. The RCIT strongly welcomes this initiative of the Argentinean section as it presents a great opportunity to reach a wider audience for the struggle for revolutionary socialism!

The original Spanish version of this article can be read here: <https://convergenciadecombate.blogspot.com/2021/08/hablan-gabriela-y-juan-carlos.html>

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**Who are Gabriela and Juan Carlos, what other colleagues are candidates and what are the axes of the campaign of Convergencia Socialista?**

As we have indicated in previous notes, we will be part of the electoral lists of the Frente de Izquierda (Left Front). This decision results from considering that, despite the differences, we agree to defend the political independence of the working class against the representatives of the ruling classes. For this reason, we will campaign to support the candidacies of the FIT led by **Del Caño, Del Pla and**

**Giordano**, along with colleagues from CS.

**Gabriela Capurro**, who is part of the leadership of our party, is one of the comrades who heads the *Defensorías de Géneros* (Gender Advocates), a feminist and classist organization. After heading the *Coordinadora de Barrios en Lucha* of Ezeiza, she founded the *Red List* of the Institute of Teachers 103 of Villa Urbana, winning four consecutive times the student center, which historically was in the hands of the Communist Party. As a History and Literature teacher, she is a member of the *Suteba Lanús Green List*.

**Hernán Centeno** is a leader of *Convergencia Socialista* and of the directive commission of the Suteba Escobar representing the *Red and Black list*. He was one of the main promoters in the organization of the Technical Schools Coordinator, which in 2019 mobilized thousands of teachers and students, stopping the reforms that the government of María Eugenia Vidal tried to implement.

In 2017 he was arrested and prosecuted for mobilizing against the presence of the World Trade Organization, a few days before the “Battle of Congress” against the Partido Justicialista and Macri’s Pension Reform. The campaign for his acquittal, which was taken by broad workers, popular and democratic sectors, resulted in the end of the case as soon as the oral trial against him and Natalia Pérez, tried for the same cause, began.

Before teaching as a Physics professor, he worked in several factories in the northern zone and on the Pan-American Highway. He was one of the main fighters who faced the bureaucratic mafia of Facundo Moyano, who heads the sector union.



May Day Rally in Buenos Aires: Juan Giglio speaking for *Convergencia Socialista*



**Juan Carlos Beica**, founder of *Convergencia Socialista*, began his activity in the PST in 1974. He joined the Roca Railroad in 1979. Years later, he was General Secretary of the 17 de Marzo section of the of the signaling union, the largest section, and in 1991 he was one of the main leaders of the 46-day strike that faced the government of Carlos Menem.

In 2001, as a delegate from the Suteba Esteban Echeverría, he led the self-organized strike against Governor Ruckauf's adjustment policies, a struggle that lasted more than 40 days. Now, with Gabriela Capurro, he is part of the Suteba Lanús Green Teachers List, and is a delegate from Secondary School 56, Villa Diamante Educational Pole.

He participated in the organization of the *Committee of Solidarity with Kurdistan* and the *Commission for the Freedom of the Oil Workers of Las Heras*, Santa Cruz. After traveling to Rojava, northern Syria, to show solidarity with the Kurdish guerrillas, he wrote *Revolución de Kurdistán y Medio Oriente* (Kurdistan and Middle East Revolution). He is currently the director of the CS media team, which publishes the newspaper "*El Trabajador*", a daily news blog and various programs that are broadcast on the party's YouTube channel.

**Alberto Maillie**, a rural doctor from the town of Las Marianas, in Navarro's party, is an old militant of the "Morenoite" current, which he joined in the early 1970s as a member of the PST. He is part of the group of scientists who from the beginning denounced the anti-health policies of the WHO, the government and the pharmaceutical companies.

Finally, it is important to highlight our special support for the candidacies of **Natalia Pérez and Layla Faistein**, from Luján and General Rodríguez respectively, two independent colleagues who are also part of the *Defensorías de Géneros* together with Gabriela Capurro and most of our CS comrades.

### Axes of our electoral campaign

As happened in previous elections, **we will be part of the FIT lists with our own candidates and political independence**. The main agreement we have with this electoral alliance is the defense of the independence of the working class against the capitalist or bureaucratic alternatives. For that reason, we are convinced that the votes for the Frente de Izquierda will help advance the consciousness of broad sectors of the working class and the people!

Beyond this loyal and principled position, which we will highlight in each of our interventions, we will propose the slogans that we consider appropriate to face the national and international situation, marked by the phenomenal crisis of the capitalist system, which pushes millions into poverty and super-exploitation. Our first proposal will be to explain that **there is no way out inside the "bourgeois democratic" regime, which exists to support the big monopolies!**

**The answer to this reality is Socialism, which can be accomplished if the mass movement organizes itself independently**, with assemblies and other democratic bodies, to build a revolution that will make true the slogan that resounded in the days of 2001 - "*Kick them all out and not a single one remains!*" - giving rise to a workers' government that rebuilds the national economy in the interests of all

and definitively liberates the country from the yoke of the big capitalists.

**Socialism has nothing to do with the Cuban regime, which is a capitalist dictatorship**, imposed by individuals who use the revolutionary "story" to cover by the "left" their plans for adjustment and repression, which benefit the bourgeoisie from Europe, China, Brazil and even the Yankees. Throughout the campaign we will promote solidarity with the heroic people of Cuba, who are rebelling against the government of Díaz Canel and the gravediggers of the revolution, delimiting us from the gusanos that conspire from Miami to recover their properties.

Our party, made up mostly of female militants, vindicates the **Gender Self-Defense practiced by Nancy Montiel and Karen Marín**, imprisoned for refusing to be victims of sexist violence. We will demand the freedom of our comrades and the deprocessing of thousands of fighters, persecuted by the capitalist and patriarchal justice, which defends the owners of the country and the world, fiercely attacking those below.

**We will promote the expropriation of the clinics and the pharmaceutical companies**, to make them work based on a National Plan, controlled by its own workers and financed with funds from the deny of payment of the foreign debt and from progressive taxes to large companies. There it will be necessary to develop the best products to put an end to all the plagues that make the working class sick, which, being savagely exploited and living in poverty, constitutes the most "vulnerable" sector of the population.

**The State must promote the use of alternative products to face the coronavirus**, several of which have been developed in the country, such as Soluble Ibuprofen or plasma, both human and equine. Vaccines, which are experimental in nature, cannot be mandatory, but rather the choice of those who decide to apply them. **We reject the implementation of the "health pass or passport"**, which stigmatizes people who do not want to be vaccinated, which is why thousands in Europe are taking to the streets to protest!

We will call to support and defend the vote of the Frente de Izquierda, always explaining that getting some legislative positions will not solve any of the evils that afflict the majorities. Those seats, if they are won, will have to become a trench from where the need to destroy Capitalism will have to be agitated, organizing a new and more forceful Argentinazo, which shall be in line with the rebellions that are exploding all over the world!



## Brazil: New Demonstration “Bolsonaro Out!”

Report by *Corrente Comunista Revolucionária* (Brazilian section of RCIT), 26 July 2021

The new demonstration called “Bolsonaro Out!” gathered around 600,000 people in many events held in Brazil and abroad.

On the streets, the main flags present were in defense of democracy and in defense of the holding of presidential elections in 2022, threatened by the president himself, against corruption related to the purchase of vaccines by the federal government and for the guarantee of vaccines for all. Statements have been made in honors of the more than 540,000 COVID-19 victims killed so far.

The movement gained amplitude with the increase of the number cities where the demonstrations took place and showed how important and massive this mobilization is. In fact, it is already the fourth act since May 29th.

In São Paulo, tens of thousands took to the streets calling for the overthrow of President Bolsonaro. All parties on the left were present, as well as trade union federations such as the CUT, CGT, Conlutas, etc. There was a noticeably significant increase in people from humble origins, common workers, most likely from social movements such as the homeless, land occupations, etc. The eminently middle class and union character of the movement is changing, which means a considerable political advance.

In São Paulo the demonstration occupied Avenida Paulista, the main meeting point for demonstrations in the city, with around a dozen sound trucks from various parties and social organizations.

In addition to all the left-wing parties, the MST, MTST (*Homeless Workers Movement*), MSTC, Uneafro (*Union of Popular Education Centers for Black people*) high school and

university students, various anti-fascist organized football fans attended, and also anarchists militants.

Although the demonstrations were peaceful throughout the country, it was the São Paulo police who suddenly decided to end the act when it was almost over, throwing tear gas at the protesters, an act which rather reflects the aggressive approach of the police against any kind of left-wing demonstrations than any provocations by radicals.

Even with the significant presence of the humblest workers, it is worth noting the absence in all of these acts, since the first act on May 29, of the workers’ unions in the São Paulo industry, for example, the ABC metallurgists. The tendency is for the next acts to maintain this quantity and quality, however, if there is no adhesion of the working class and a much more significant increase in the public, there is a risk of stagnation or even retrogression and everything will be directed to the purely electoral campaign plan and for the construction of the so-called *Frente Ampla* – an electoral alliance with traditional right-wing parties aiming at the presidential elections in October 2022.

We from the *Corrente Comunista Revolucionária-CCR*, the Brazilian section of the RCIT, reject the formation of this *Frente Ampla* with traditional right-wing parties and, on the contrary, we defend a Left Front of Workers. We call for the cancellation of all ultra-neoliberal economic measures of recent years, just as we stated about the previous acts. We can’t waste any more time with electoral illusions pointing to 2022. We need to further strengthen street fighting now. To pressure the big left parties for a great mobilization to overthrow the Bonapartist regime of Bolsonaro/Mourão.

## Books of the RCIT

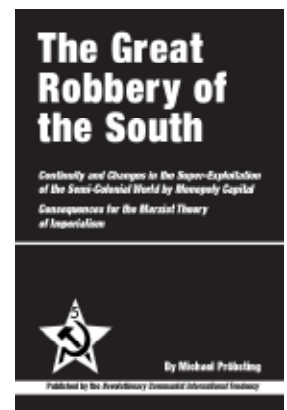
### Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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)



## War Drums in the Middle East, Once Again

### Israel, with US and UK support, threatens Iran and its allies with military attacks: defeat the imperialists but no political support for the Mullah regime!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 5 August 2021*

1. Today, in an interview with the news website *Ynet*, Israel's defense minister Benny Gantz responded to whether Israel was prepared to attack Iran with a blunt "yes." He said: "We are at a point where we need to take military action against Iran. The world needs to take action against Iran now." At the same time, Israeli aircraft and artillery bombed Lebanese villages – for the first time since 2014. The U.S. and UK – leading powers in the Western imperialist camp – have announced their support for Israel.

2. This latest escalation of tensions in the Middle East has been triggered by a drone attack on the oil tanker *Merger Street* in the Arabian Sea last week. This attack killed two people (including a British mercenary). The tanker is managed by a firm owned by an Israeli billionaire. Israel, the U.S. and Britain have blamed Iran for the attack, albeit without any evidence or intelligence to support their claims. Iran has denied being involved.

3. As widely known, Israel has launched an ongoing shadow war since 2019 in which it repeatedly attacked Iranian ships on Mideast waterways. Iranian resp. pro-Iranian forces have occasionally responded with similar attacks on Israeli ships. In addition, Israel and the US have waged a number of military and cyberattacks on Iran, including the killing of nuclear scientists and, most prominently, the assassination of the Iranian General Qassem Soleimani – one of the most influential leaders of the ruling elite in Teheran – in January 2020.

4. The general background of this development is the historic decline of U.S. imperialism which has been the hegemonial force in the Middle East for decades. Within this American regional order, Israel has been Washington's most important regional gendarme with a powerful army (including 200 nuclear weapons). However, with the decline of the U.S., Israel's position is also increasingly undermined which opens space for new regional powers like Iran.

5. Israel tries to halt its decline by an escalation of its militaristic and chauvinistic policy. It waged wars in Lebanon (in 2006) as well as against the Palestinian people in Gaza (in 2008/09, 2012, 2014 and 2021). However, it failed to win any of these wars.

6. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and all authentic socialists have always supported the resistance of oppressed people – in Lebanon, Palestine and other countries – against the Zionist aggression. Any defeat for the Zionist Apartheid state is a step forward as it weakens a historic pillar of the imperialist-colonialist order of the region. Marxists characterize Israel as a racist settler state which has become a junior imperialist state. It is an illegitimate entity based on the expulsion of the native Palestinian population. Socialists call for the destruction of this state and the creation of a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea (in which Jews will to live as a minority population with full religious and cultural rights).

7. In any military confrontation between Israel, the

U.S. or the UK versus Iran resp. its allies, the RCIT stands for the military defeat of the imperialists and for the military defense of Iran. However, such defense of Iran does not imply any political support for the Mullah regime. This is a thoroughly reactionary dictatorship which oppresses the working class and the oppressed people in Iran. As we have repeatedly stated, socialists support the popular uprisings in Iran as well as the right of national self-determination of the Arab, Azeri, Kurdish and other minorities. Likewise, we denounce Iran's reactionary role in Iraq and Syria where it helps the regimes in suppressing the popular liberation struggles. Our military defense of Iran against the imperialists does not alter our support for popular struggles against the Iranian regime or its regional allies. At the same time, we also continue to support the war of defense of the Yemeni people against the Saudi-UAE invasion.

8. There is no shortage of people who will accuse Marxists of deploying a contradictory policy. They will say: "How can you defend Iran against Israel but side with the workers and oppressed against the Iranian regime. Either you side with the one or with the other camp." We reject such accusations. Our policy is as "contradictory" as the reality is. It is not the first and not the last time that a reactionary regime of a capitalist semi-colony is engaged in oppression of its people and – at the same time – faces aggression by foreign imperialist powers (e.g. Iraq under Saddam Hussein 1990-2003, Serbia in 1999). We want the Little Satan to be brought down by the popular masses – not by the Great Satan. To give an analogy of daily life: any decent person will sympathize with a child trashed by a brutal mother. But one will also defend the very same woman against an attempted rape by a male scum. One needs to know who the main enemy in each concrete situation.

*International Bureau of the RCIT*

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For the RCIT's analysis of Iran and the imperialist aggression we refer readers to our numerous articles and statements that are published on our website at: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>



## Egypt: Rally on the 8th Anniversary on the Rabaa Massacre

*Report (with Photos and Videos) from a Rally in Vienna on 14 August 2021, Austrian Section of the RCIT*

**D**ozens Egyptian migrants assembled in the centre of Vienna to commemorate the 8th anniversary of the horrific Rabaa massacre. On 14 August 2013 the Egyptian army, under the command of General Sisi, brutally suppressed popular protests against the military coup which took place a few weeks before. This bloody crackdown resulted in the murder of up to 2,600 demonstrators on a single day! Since then, the military dictatorship has dominated the country with an iron fist and with the support of all imperialist Great Powers.

Ibrahim Ali, the long-standing leader of the Egyptian migrant community, who has been victimized – together with dozens other brothers – by the Islamophobic campaign of the conservative-led Austrian government, made a speech.

He sharply denounced the brutal regime of General Sisi. He pointed out that the West closely collaborates with the military dictatorship.

Activists of the Austrian section of the RCIT participated in the rally. Our comrade Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, addressed the rally three times – twice in German and once in English language. He condemned the military regime as well as the imperialist Great Powers in West and East – including the European Union.

See photos and video clips of Michael Pröbsting's speech here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/egypt-rally-at-anniversary-of-rabaa-massacre-14-8-2021/>



Pictures from the rally in solidarity with the Egypt people; on the right: Michael Pröbsting (Vienna, 14.8.2021)

## Rally in Solidarity with the Ahwazi Arab People in Iran

*Report (with Pictures and Video) from a Rally in Vienna on 31 July 2021, Austrian Section of the RCIT*

About 50 migrants assembled in Vienna in front of the Iranian embassy to show their solidarity with the current uprising of the Ahwazi Arab people in Iran. They denounced the brutal repression of the Mullah regime and called for international solidarity. Most participants were Ahaz Arabs as well as Iraqi and Syrian demonstrators who have been active in protests against their respective regimes.

Comrades of the Austrian section of the RCIT participated in the rally. We sold a number of copies of the latest issue of *THAWRA* - the RCIT's Arab-language paper. Our comrade Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of

the RCIT, was asked to address the rally. In his speech, comrade Pröbsting stated our unconditional solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Ahwazi people. He also said that it is necessary to link this struggle with those of other oppressed nations in Iran (e.g. the Azeri people, the Kurds) as well as the oppressed masses among the Persian population.

See pictures of the rally and a video clip of Michael Pröbsting's speech here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/rally-in-solidarity-with-ahwazi-in-iran-31-7-2021>



Pictures from the rally in solidarity with the Ahwazi people (Vienna, 31.7.2021)

## Israel: Are Current Green Taxes Proposals Progressive?

By Adam Smith, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), 06.08.2021

The Israeli Treasury has proposed a congestion tax of 37.5 shekels per day for those entering Tel Aviv starting in 2024, as well as eliminating discounts on tickets for public transport.<sup>1</sup> This proposal (for the congestion tax) has received support from many “left-wing” supporters, therefore it is important to take a closer look at its effects.

Firstly, Liberman the finance minister has said that the cuts would not affect commuters, which is out of touch with reality as the discount of charging money on the transport card (as opposed to using a monthly pass) is such that for somebody who uses it for 2 rides a day 5 times a week inside Tel Aviv area or even three days a week for someone commuting from further, the monthly pass barely saves any money.

This is on top of deteriorating service due to Covid. And even before, there were serious problems with the public transport system, as it doesn't work on Shabbat (Saturday) or Friday afternoon. In addition, most trains don't run on the weekends at all, and after 22:00 or even 20:30 at night. You can see why many people would prefer to use a car (renting a car is not realistic either as the only branch to open on Shabbat is in the airport), and if they already have a car they will use it on the weekdays as well. Even if there is a way to use public transport, because of the fact virtually all neighborhoods and suburbs that were designed after 1948 (aka in the Car Age), were designed in such a way that they require a car, as public transport takes way longer and is unreliable. This is also tied with Zionist ideology of occupying as much land as possible and not creating an urban core.

The Tel Aviv metropolitan is one of the largest in the world without a metro system (which is a problem as buses get stuck in traffic with cars). Construction has started on rail lines, but it is still supposed to take years and in the meanwhile, it has put further stress on the network.

All of this leads to the fact that the official purpose of the congestion toll is to encourage public transport use, but if the alternative of public transport is not effective, then one will have to continue to use a car, and it will essentially become just a tax. While congestion charges have reduced traffic, they have also led to a gentrification of the city (for example in London), with high income workers in the core of the city who can afford the rents there and everybody else outside. This is portrayed as a tax on the rich but the reality is that a rich person uses the car to get to work as much as a poor person, but earns a lot more, so this tax, like the VAT, is highly regressive (a classic example in Israel was the “luxury” import charge on TVs over 50 inches). Owning a car today is hardly a marker of great wealth (more of “lower middle class” or higher), it is a necessity to get to work, and no doubt most people would prefer using other modes of transport if presented with a better option. Those issues come into play when more urban left wingers meet more sub-urban working-class populations, like in the *Yellow Vests* movement. Also, this congestion system will have a cost of its own to set up and maintain and it will be a surveillance system of its own.

Another great example of a “green” policy helping a cer-

tain segment of the bourgeoisie is direct subsidies for big corporations invested in EV, like Tesla.<sup>2</sup> Also, green cap and trade schemes in Australia or the green car credits in the US have made Tesla more money (from trading its green credits) than from selling cars.<sup>3</sup> Those market-based mechanisms, such as buying carbon credits or reforestation credits are highly problematic as there is a strong incentive to cheat, e.g. to get the money for planting the trees to offset CO2 emissions but not to actually plant them. Michael Moore had a movie on those fake “Green” policies (like the promotion of biomass energy instead of growing corn and other foods) called *“Planet of the Humans”* in 2019 which was censored by YouTube for a few seconds of alleged copyright infringement.

The new budget also includes further attacks against the working class such as raising the pension age, increased budget for the military to prepare for further attacks against Iran and Gaza, a cut to unemployment benefits for those under 45, as well as proposals to strengthen the “Green Pass” system. Those proposals are often tied to the vote on the budget, in an anti-democratic mechanism called the *“Economic Arrangements Law”*, similar to the Spanish *Ley de Acompañamiento*, and found in many other “democratic” countries such as the U.S. or Belgium.

*“One of the main arguments against the Arrangements Law is that it is passed in a procedure that “circumvents democracy”. In debates in the Knesset plenum since 1986 concerning the Arrangements Law as a phenomenon, dozens of statements in this spirit were made by Members of the Knesset from all sections of the House. This is what MK Maxim Levy (Gesher) said on December 23, 1997: “For many years this law turned into an anti-democratic law, which empties the Knesset Committees of any content... The Government cancels laws that were legislated in the Knesset Committees after much toil - they heard various publics, listened to them, initiated by means of this House laws that gave solace to thousands of people, and here comes the Government one night and asks this coalition machine to erase and run over laws...”. In all the countries in which we found laws similar to the Arrangements Law we found similar statements regarding the anti-democratic procedure by which they are approved.”<sup>4</sup>*

*Down with the new budget!*

*For a usable mass public transport system!*

*Down with the “Green Industrial Complex” and “green” corporate welfare - for a real plan to combat climate change!*

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### Footnotes

1 <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/congestion-tax-ray-kav-charges-ahead-of-massive-transport-budget-plan-675826>

2 <https://newrepublic.com/article/160500/elon-musk-big-government-grift>

3 <https://www.autoweek.com/news/green-cars/a36266393/tesla-made-more-money-selling-credits-and-bitcoin-than-cars/>

4 <https://m.knesset.gov.il/EN/activity/mmm/me01237.pdf>



## Israel: The Real Face of the Left-Wing Zionists

By Yossi Schwartz, the ISL (RCIT in Israel / Occupied Palestine), 11.08.2021

**M**eretz is considered in Israel a very left-wing party. In this party Mossi Raz is considered the left of the left. Yet this party joined the government of Bennett, an ultra-nationalist. In April this year the leader of this party stated that Meretz will not join a right-wing government (read: he will join).

*"The leader of the left-wing Meretz party, Nitzan Horowitz, rules out joining a right-wing government led by Yamina leader Naftali Bennett. In an interview with Channel 12, Horowitz says: Bennett will have to drop his demand that a government formed by parties in the anti-Netanyahu bloc be politically right-wing. "We will not form a government in which the right rules. We want partnership, not a takeover," says Horowitz." (1)*

Then on August 8, Meretz Palestinian female, citizen of Israel, MK Ghaida Rinawie Zoabi, said that in case Israel will decide to act military, Meretz will topple the government. Immediately she was attacked by MK Mossi Raz.

*"MK Mossi Raz (Meretz) was interviewed on Monday morning on 103FM. Raz was asked to respond to his party member MK Ghaida Rinawie Zoabi's claim on Sunday, that if Israel begins a military campaign Meretz and Ra'am will topple the government." She may be speaking in her own name, but I do not accept what she said. We want to strengthen the government, not topple it," Raz said. "We obviously want all of Israel's citizens to be safe, and they will not be threatened," He added...."Raz addressed the option that the government might at some point become embroiled in a military conflict and claimed, "Even though we should avoid military conflict when it is necessary the government must respond. We did this two days ago [in response to Hezbollah rocket attack], and it was a proper response to an unnecessary provocation." (2)*

Another Arab MK of Mertz Issawi Frej who acts as Israel's Regional Cooperation Minister said on Tuesday August 7, that Israel works with the Gulf States to confront Iran. *"When it comes to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, there's direct communication and understandings" regarding how to confront Iran, Frej said in an interview with Al-Hurra, an Arabic-language channel funded by the US government." (3)*

Thus, unlike Ghaida Rinawie Zoabi, who suffers from political delusion, he is a simple servant of the Zionist apartheid state. The colonialists have always found servants who helped them to repress the native people. In the colonialists' literature they were the good natives while those who opposed the colonialists were the evil characters. Think about Gunga Din of Rudyard Kipling, Winnetou of Karl May and think about Issawi Frej.

An old joke about Israel is the following: *A left wing European visitor to Israel heard on the radio a speech of a left-wing Zionist. He tells his Israeli friend "Do not be worried we also have in Europe extreme right wingers."*

Meretz was formed in 1992 by the merger of Ratz, Mapam and Shinui, and reached its peak between 1992 and 1996 when it had 12 seats in the racist Zionist parliament. Mapam was a Zionist pro-Russian Stalinist party that stole Arab lands in 1948. It was based on the Kibbutz, that some idiots and hypocrites claimed that they were examples of a real democratic socialism. Of twelve new settlements created during May and June 1948 in the lands allocated for an Arab state in the partition plan, six were Mapam-related groups. It promised

to keep the lands for the Palestinian refugees, but at the same time opposed the right of return of the Palestinian refugees on the ground that only after a peace accord between Israel and the Arab states the refugees will be permitted to return. Ratz, which was led by Shulamit Aloni, was considered in Israel a Civil Rights Movement. In 1965 she joined the Alignment (Labor Zionists party) and was a leading member of this party in the 1967 war. The Zionist feminist movement that Aloni was a leading member of, supported the Zionist reactionary wars of 1948 and of 1973.

Zionist feminists are very proud of the military role Zionist women had in the war of 1948 that was in reality an ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians. *"The same women who led the Jewish Resistance Movement served in key roles, including combat positions, during the earliest stages of Israel's War of Independence. Once the IDF was established, those visionaries created the Women's Corps of the Israel Defense Forces—a Corps in which women served in settlement defense, professional, administrative, and ancillary positions, but not in combat positions." (4)*

*"Thus in 1973, women were excluded from the three major role systems of the war effort: the military leadership, the civilian administration, and war production. Many women reported a feeling of helplessness during the war. However, the feelings of anger and frustration were soon channeled into areas of activity that are considered legitimate for women: concern for the soldiers and helping to treat the wounded, the widows, and the orphans. Women baked and knitted for the men at the front, inundated the hospitals that cared for the wounded, and of course looked after family members who remained at home. The longer the hostilities persisted, the greater became the number of caring and integration roles that were added to female tasks.*

*As hostilities died down, the mobilized reservists began returning home. First to be released were those who held key positions in various sectors, so that the civilian economy could be revitalized. The war had been relatively short in terms of social change. Unlike World War II, which lasted for several years and in the aftermath of which many women entered the workforce, in Israel the war of 1973 only intensified the traditional role division between men and women. However, the war did have the effect of creating an awareness of what that role division meant in terms of women and their place in society and also in relation to society as a whole. The waste of human capital that occurs in a gender-stratified society was fully manifested in the first three weeks of full hostilities, before the cease-fire took effect." (5)*

### Women and war

While we fight against all forms of discrimination and we support that, of course, all military roles will be open for women in just and revolutionary wars, we do not support military roles for women (or men) in imperialist wars to oppress the men and women of the oppressed nation or class. At the same time, we support the Proletarian Military Policy in so called democratic states, namely when the workers are called to serve in the army, we support the idea that workers choose their officers, trained under elected officers, have the right to organize to defend the rights of the soldiers, but not the imperialist war itself and we oppose the budget for such a war.

In the case of a settler colonial society, such as Israel, we oppose the enlisting of men and women to the army. It is a killing machine of the Palestinians. To clarify we give two examples: In the American civil war white women of the confederation supported the south and slavery. *"In her book, They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South, Jones-Rogers makes the case that white women were far from passive bystanders in the business of slavery, as previous historians have argued. Rather, they were active participants, shoring up their own economic power through ownership of the enslaved...."* (6)

*"The experience of running a household was put to good use for those elite women who lived on plantations. The absence of fathers, husbands, and sons left them in charge of all decisions regarding crops, slaves, and food and clothing supplies, not only for their families and slaves but also for the Confederate soldiers. Women actively participated and organized groups that made clothing, tents, flags, and food which supported their army. Mary Jones of Savannah, Georgia, held a fair in May 1861 through which she raised several thousand dollars. Thread and cloth were purchased so that she and her wealthy friends made three hundred uniforms in one week. As the need for more assistance arose, Southern ladies abandoned their respectable sphere to meet the needs of the Rebel soldiers. Felicia G. Porter in Nashville, Tennessee founded the Women's Relief Society. She also served as president of the organization as it grew to encompass the entire Confederacy. Her relief work filled the need for a profusion of medical supplies, including artificial limbs for disabled veterans. Mrs. Porter was honored at her death with a burial in the shadow of the Confederate Monument in Nashville."* (7)

In that case we oppose the support given by the white women of the South to the army of the South.

When women supporting the counter revolution during the Bolshevik revolution served in the death battalions, it was necessary to fight against them. Women were enlisted to the Red Army during the civil war. Unfortunately, there is not a lot of material dealing with the heroic role of workers and peasant women as fighters during this period. However, it is clear that women fought the imperialist invasion in support of the Reds in spite of the male comrade's bias.

*"The writer Boris Lavrenyov described in his 1924 novel The Forty-first, described how Mariutka, a future machine-gunner, enlisted in the Red Army during the Civil War. When they announced, in the towns and the country, the recruitment of volunteers for what was still at the time the Red Guard, Mariutka planted her fish knife in the bench, got up in her stiff pants and went off to register among the Red Guards. At first, they sent her away, then, seeing that she had the firm intention of returning every day, they joked and accepted her as a Red Guard, with the same rights as the others, but they made her sign a paper renouncing a 'woman-y' way of life and among others, having a child, until the final victory of labor over capital."* (8)

Since the Israeli working class has privileges, when compared with the Palestinian workers, in the existing conditions it remains Zionist, namely racist, like most white workers in South Africa during the apartheid. However, these conditions can be changed either by a devastating military defeat of Israel and/or the victorious Arab revolution. For this reason, the labels "left Zionism" and "right Zionism" is misleading. The real difference is the phrases used, not an actual difference of policy and action. This was also the case of the South African labor party that was a racist to the core.

### For a red free Palestine from the river to the sea

The Arab Palestinians who join a Zionist party and a Zionist government have illusions that doing so somehow will bring some real benefits and equal rights to the Palestinians. They put themselves in the same position of the Palestinians Authority that collaborates with the repression of the Palestinians. Today most Palestinians have reached the conclusion of Palestine free from the river to the sea and oppose the PA.

*"Few still support a two-state solution. Ironically, while some attribute Palestinian rejection of Trump's plan to its new limits on the traditional two-state paradigm, most Palestinian respondents now reject that model as well. Asked to choose "the top Palestinian national priority during the coming five years," two-thirds (66%) of West Bankers in this poll pick "regaining all of historical Palestine for the Palestinians"; a mere 14% choose "ending the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, to achieve a two-state solution." Gazan respondents, surprisingly, are a bit more moderate: 56% want all of Palestine, while 31% opt for the two-state solution..."* *"These maximalist long-term aspirations are also reflected in responses to other survey questions. For example, when asked about next steps "if the Palestinian leadership is able to negotiate a two-state solution," just 26% of West Bank respondents say that it "should end the conflict with Israel." In Gaza, that figure climbs to 40%. Around 60% in both areas say "the conflict should not end, and resistance should continue until all of historic Palestine is liberated."* (9)

Most Palestinian activists who raise the slogan "Palestine free - from the river to the sea" are ready to live with the Israeli Jews as equals. Whether this will be the solution depends on the development of revolutionary working-class leadership that will lead to a socialist revolution and the possibility of a large section of the Jewish worker to break with Zionism.

*Down with the right-wing government of Bennett-Mertz!*

*For the victory of the Arab Revolution!*

*For a socialist revolution of the Middle East!*

*For Palestine red and free!*

*Build the Fifth International!*

***(The article has been shortened for reasons of space. Read the complete article in the RCIT website here <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/israel-the-real-face-of-the-left-wing-zionists/>)***

### Footnotes

- 1) [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/meretz-says-wont-join-bennett-led-government-if-its-dominated-by-right/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/meretz-says-wont-join-bennett-led-government-if-its-dominated-by-right/)
- 2) <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/internal-criticism-in-meretz-over-mk-zoabis-threat-to-topple-government-676238>
- 3) <https://www.timesofisrael.com/minister-israel-holds-direct-contacts-with-saudis-others-in-gulf-to-fight-iran/>
- 4) <https://www.idf.il/en/minisites/idf-activity/the-history-of-women-in-the-idf/>
- 5) <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/feminism-in-contemporary-israel#pid-18546>
- 6) <https://www.vox.com/2019/8/19/20807633/slavery-white-women-stephanie-jones-rogers-1619>
- 7) <http://people.loyno.edu/~history/journal/1997-8/Matherne.html>
- 8) <https://www.politika.io/en/notice/women-at-war-in-the-red-army>
- 9) <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/palestinian-majority-rejects-two-state-solution-backs-tactical-compromises>
- 10) <https://internationalsocialist.net/en/2021/08/israel-palestine>
- 11) <https://www.marxist.com/israel-new-government-same-rotten-politics.htm>
- 12) Leon Trotsky: Letter to South African Revolutionaries (April 1933)

## Syria: Glory to the Dignified Uprising in Daraa!

**This is the time to renew the Syrian Revolution!  
Down with the Assad tyranny and its imperialist masters!**

*Statement by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 30 July 2021*

1. Since yesterday, the people in Daraa have, once more, risen up in arms against the Assad tyranny! The situation is evolving by the hour, but the following is clear. Since the defeat of the liberated enclaves in 2018, the Assadist gangs tried to pacify the region. But over time, the local people and the resistance fighter reorganized. In the past weeks, a fragile equilibrium emerged as the local people re-took control step by step. However, the situation exploded when the Assadist militias brutally bombarded parts of Daraa al-Balad (the southern half of Daraa city) with Elephant missiles, killing a number of civilians including children. In reaction, the reorganized rebels launched a surprise offensive and overran a number of Assadist checkpoints. Dozens of Assadist soldiers have been captured. A video is circulating of soldiers of the Assadist army who desert and join the rebels. According to the latest information, the rebels have liberated until now the cities of Jasim and Tasil, the Zayzoun camp (the largest stronghold of the Fourth Division in the province), the Al-Sa'iqa camp, and the Al-Kansarwa checkpoint. They also claim to have captured the Nasib Border Crossing, thus reaching the Jordanian Border for the first time since 2018!

2. Of course, we can not foresee the developments of the next hours and days. It is not excluded that the Assadist army, with the help of the Russian Air Force and Iranian militias, will brutally smash the uprising. It is also possible that the struggle will be sold out (as it happened in 2018). But there can be no doubt that this is the most important offensive of the liberation fighters since years! This uprising opens the chance to renew the Syrian Revolution which has suffered – despite superhuman efforts by the liberation fighters – many setbacks and defeats in the past years. The brothers and sisters in the liberated areas in the North (Idlib, West Aleppo and North Latakia) – heroes who have continued the struggle and kept the flame of the Syrian Revolution alive with the utmost efforts – are rejoicing. Surely, today many thousands will march all over Idlib to greet their brothers and sisters in the South!

3. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) sends it warmest greetings to the heroic people of Daraa who have given so many sacrifices in the struggle for freedom! Together with millions of Syrian people we say: glory to the dignified uprising in Daraa! As it is widely known, Daraa has a historic significance for the Syrian

Revolution as it was the place from which the revolution in March 2011 began. As the popular masses of Daraa regain the initiative with a new uprising, they might help to open a new chapter of the revolutionary offensive to finally bring down the Assad tyranny!

4. The RCIT has always emphasized that the Syrian Revolution is not dead, contrary to the cynical claims of the cowards and renegades. We have always stressed that the Assad regime only *appears* as strong. But in reality, it is weak and totally depends on the support by Putin and the Mullahs. In the end, what has the tyrant to offer to the people? Nothing but hunger, corruption and repression!

5. Brothers and sisters, you have taken the initiative to restart the liberation struggle in the South! It is important that all decisions are not taken by some self-proclaimed but uncontrolled “leaders”. All decisions should be taken by the people organized in councils and militias resp. their elected (and accountable) leaders. It is urgent to appeal to the ordinary soldiers of the Assad militias (who often have been pressed into service) to desert and to join the liberations struggle.

6. Finally, it is important to understand the new uprising in Daraa and the Syrian Revolution as part of the glorious Arab Revolution which started in 2011. The liberation struggles against the tyrants, against the imperialist Great Powers and against Zionism – from Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, to Ahwaz, Iran and Palestine – these are all part of one and the same ongoing revolutionary process in the region. These need to be *united to a single Intifada!* Furthermore, it is urgent to build an *international solidarity movement* in support of the Syrian Revolution.

7. We call revolutionary activists to join forces in an authentic revolutionary party – nationally and internationally – which can lead the liberation struggle to victory! Join the RCIT!

*Victory to the liberation struggle against the Assad tyranny and its imperialist masters!*

*For an international solidarity movement with the ongoing Syrian Revolution!*

*For a free Syria, a socialist Syria – a Syria which respects the national and religious rights of all people!*

*Long live the Arab Revolution!*

*Unity – Struggle – Victory!*

## The Rise of Russia as an Imperialist Great Power

**Three Pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)**

**Order the pamphlet via our contact address: [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net)**



# Tunisia: Kais Saied's Coup Aims at Return to Dictatorship!

## Mobilize against the state of emergency and the closure of the parliament by the army!

*Statement by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 29 July 2021*

1. Tunisia's President Kais Saied – in collusion with the heads of the army – has staged a coup attempt by a series of authoritarian measures decreed on 25 July resp. the next day. He suspended the parliament for a 30-day period that can be extended if needed *"until the situation settles down"* and lifted the immunity of parliamentarians. He assumed total executive authority and deployed the military to the parliament and the government palace in Tunis. Saied announced that if anyone shoots a bullet, *"the armed forces will respond with bullets"*. Since then, soldiers have prevented parliamentarians and government workers from entering the buildings. Saied also imposed a nationwide curfew from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. for one month and a ban on gatherings of more than three people in public places. He also dismissed Prime Minister Hichem Mechichi as well as the justice and defense ministers. Making clear his intention to continue the state of emergency indefinitely, Saied said: *"We have taken these decisions ... until social peace returns to Tunisia and until we save the state."*

2. Furthermore, heavily armed police officers raided the offices of broadcaster *Al-Jazeera* and ordered it shut down. This step shall reduce critical coverage of the coup and intimidate journalists. The global TV channel *Al-Jazeera* is despised by Israel and the Arab tyrants as it has given broad coverage to the Arab Revolution and the Palestinian resistance against the Zionist state.

3. This is a coup both in form as well as in substance. Saied claims to base his decision on Article 77 resp. 80 of the constitution. The first supposedly gives him total supremacy over the security forces and the latter article shall allow him to assume executive power for an unspecified period of time in cases of *"imminent danger threatening the institutions of the nation and the independence of the country and hindering the regular functioning of the public powers."* As a matter of fact, these claims are nothing but a smoke-screen to cover the coup. The constitution does not give him such total executive powers – a fact that Saied himself criticized in the past. Likewise, the economic and the political crisis of the country is no new phenomenon but exists since years. To make sure that he does not face a constitutional challenge, Saied has stopped a constitutional court from being formed. Anyway, the violation of the constitution is so obvious that the *Tunisian Association for Constitutional Law* said the president's interpretation of Article 80 was illegitimate and *"could open the door to constitutional deviations."*

4. The coup is not a response to a new crisis but has been prepared for some time by Saied and his conspirators. Two months ago, the renowned journalist David Hearst reported in *Middle East Eye* reported on a leaked document (dated 13 May) that came from the office of Saied's chief of staff, Nadia Akacha, proposing the establishment of a *"constitutional dictatorship"*. In order to combat what it called a *"national emergency"*, the document said that in *"such a situation it is the role of the President of the Republic to combine all powers in his grip so as for him to become the centre of authority that enables him to exclusively hold... all authorities*

*that empower him."* (See <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/tunisia-exclusive-top-secret-presidential-document-plan-constitutional-dictatorship>) Saied also made public hints about the direction he wants to lead the country. Earlier this year, he described the presidential role – in contradiction to the constitution – as the *"supreme commander of the military and civilian armed forces"*. In addition, the pandemic crisis has been utilized by the ruling class to increase the role of the repression apparatus and deploy the army on the streets. Cities such as Kairouan and Sousse have been put under the control of the army to enforce confinement. This demonstrates once more the fact that the pandemic is utilized by the ruling class in order to attack democratic rights and to create an authoritarian-bonapartist state – something which the RCIT has called the COVID Counterrevolution. The arch-reactionary nature of Saied is also demonstrated by his recent statement that France had nothing to apologize for during its colonial rule of his country. Saied declared that Tunisia had been under French *"protection"* not colonial rule – despite the fact that the Tunisian people suffered from colonial oppression since 1881!

5. The recent events bear strong similarities with General Sisi's military coup in Egypt on 3 July 2013 which destroyed the limited achievements of the 25 January 2011 Revolution. Since then, the regime has arrested tens of thousands and killed thousands of people (including the notorious Rabaa massacre on 14 August 2013 when soldiers murdered 2,600 demonstrators on a single day!) It is no accident that Saied praised Sisi's dictatorship in unambiguous terms after paying a visit last April. Another similarity to the coup in Egypt is the utilization of Facebook. In recent weeks, a Facebook group called *"July 25 Movement"* has been formed and is said to have 550,000 members (which includes without doubts many bots). This group has been central to mobilize for countrywide demonstrations which shall provide a *"popular"* legitimacy for the coup. Similar to the weeks and months before the 3 July 2013 in Egypt, the conspirators of the Saied camp have exploited legitimate discontent and mass protests against the government in order to provide the pretext for the coup.

6. The real background of the coup is the deep crisis of the capitalist system in Tunisia. Against the backdrop of the Great Depression of the capitalist world economy, the country's GDP shrank 8.6% in 2020, and another 3% in the first three months of this year. The official unemployment rate had risen to 17.4% by the end of last year with youth unemployment at a staggering level of 36%. Tunisia, a semi-colonial capitalist country, is heavily dependent of imperialist Great Powers and monopolies. Government debt reached 88% of GDP by the end of 2020, compared with 72% the year before. Negotiations with the IMF about a reported \$4bn loan have stalled as this imperialist institution demands the imposition of drastic austerity programs aiming at a slash of public sector wages, as well as fiscal support for state-owned firms and general subsidies.

7. Against this background, Tunisia has experienced a number of mass protests in the last years including militant youth uprisings in reaction to extreme police brutality. The ruling class has been unable to pacify the situation. One reason for this is the fact that it is deeply divided. The old elite from the days of the Ben Ali dictatorship sees a copy of the Egypt model as the only way out of the crisis – i.e. the creation of a dictatorship and the liquidation of the democratic rights which are an achievement of the unfinished revolution in January 2011. In contrast, the strongest party in parliament – the bourgeois-Islamist *Ennahda* party which was brutally suppressed before 2011 and has therefore been excluded from the traditional elite – prefers some form of parliamentary democracy (similar to Egypt under President Morsi in 2012-13 who was arrested and later killed in prison by the putschists).

8. It is therefore no accident, that the coup has been enthusiastically welcomed by the most counterrevolutionary forces in the Middle East – the axis of Israel, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt and their allies. The Emirati news outlet *20FourMedia* reacted with the headline, “*A brave decision to save Tunisia*”, while on Twitter the hashtag “*Tunisia revolts against the Brotherhood*” circulated around Saudi and Emirati accounts, a reference to *Ennahda*’s links to the Muslim Brotherhood. Libya’s warlord Khalifa Haftar, a puppet of General Sisi and the Emirates, also welcomed Saied’s actions. No doubt, Tunisia’s ex-president Moncef Marzouki is right when he decries the latest development as a “*clear coup*” which has been “*an Israeli-Emirati regional decision*”.

9. Tellingly, the imperialist Great Powers also refuse to call the coup in Tunisia by its name. Instead, they limit themselves to call for a return to “*constitutional order as quickly as possible (!)*” (Germany), to ask to “*maintain (!) open dialogue with all political actors and the Tunisian people*” (U.S.), to call for “*respect for a state of law and the return, as soon as possible (!), to the normal functioning of institutions*” (France) or to ask for the restoration of “*democratic legitimacy soon*” (Italy). A spokesperson for Germany’s foreign ministry even said explicitly: “*We don’t want to speak of a coup d’etat*”.

10. In contrast to the axis of the Arab tyrants and Israel, most parties represented in Tunisia’s parliament have denounced the coup. This is not only true for *Ennahda* and its allies *Qalb Tounes* and *Karama*, but also for bourgeois-secularist *Qalb Tūnis* (the second-largest party in parliament), the social democratic party *Attayar* and the centrist liberal party *Al Joumhour*. Likewise, the largest left-wing party *Hizb al-Ummal*, which comes from the Stalinist-Hoxhaist tradition, denounced the move as a coup that could lead to “*a cycle of violence and civil strife, or lead [Tunisia] to fall again under tyranny*”. Only the bourgeois-Nasserist *Harakat al-Chaab* welcomed Saied’s actions, describing them as a “*correction of the revolution’s path*”. Shamefully, the bureaucratic leadership of the UGTT – Tunisia’s powerful and largest workers union with more than one million members – did not reject the measures, only emphasizing the need to adhere to constitutional legitimacy.

11. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) strongly denounces the coup of Kais Saied. Make no mistake, Saied is General Sisi in waiting, aiming for a copy of the tyranny which we see in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Emirates and Syria! If the coup is successfully, it

would represent the annihilation of the last remnants of democratic rights resulting from the Tunisian Revolution in January 2011. Defeating the coup by any means necessary is the main task of the hour!

12. Our unreserved opposition against the coup does not imply any political support for the government or for *Ennahda* (a junior party in the government). While *Ennahda* has not dominated the government for years, it was often either part of it or supported it. Hence, it is fully co-responsible for the bourgeois policy of the last years which caused mass unemployment and misery. One can summarize the difference between Saied and *Ennahda* in the following formula: *Ennahda* represents the bourgeois-democratic counterrevolution resulting in the stalling of the revolutionary process and the reduction of the achievements of the revolution to a few democratic rights. In contrast, Saied represents the complete annihilation of all democratic achievements of the revolution, it represents the bonapartist-military solution, the General Sisi model. In such a situation, revolutionaries recognize without hesitation that the main enemy is Saied and the putschists.

13. It is urgent for the vanguard of the workers, youth and popular masses to mobilize against the coup. The must pressurize the UGTT to take a clear stance and to organize a general strike against the coup. All parties opposed to the coup must call for mass demonstrations on the streets. It is necessary to form *action committees in the workplaces, neighborhoods, schools and universities* in order to better organize the struggle. Furthermore, the movement needs to create *self-defense units* so that it can defend itself against the attacks of the repression apparatus.

14. Revolutionaries will combine the struggle against the coup with social demands. Among such is the call for a *public employment program under the control of the UGTT and other mass organizations, financed by the expropriation of Tunisia’s super-rich*. It is also crucial to call for the *expansion of the public health sector under workers and popular control* and of the abolition of all bonapartist measures decreed under the pretext of the pandemic. Such demands should be combined with the struggle for a *workers’ and popular government based on popular councils and militias*. Such a government would 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, businessmen and army generals. It would also expropriate the foreign imperialist corporations which are exploiting semi-colonial Tunisia.

15. The RCIT calls activists in Tunisia to work for the formation of a *revolutionary party*. Without such a party, any struggle will lack a clear perspective and direction. Such a party should be built as part of a new *revolutionary world party* as political and economic developments in Tunisia are closely interrelated with international capitalism. We call upon revolutionaries to join forces on the basis of an unambiguous socialist program of action. Join the RCIT!

*International Bureau of the RCIT*

## Nigeria: Free Sunday Igboho and Nnamdi Kanu!

### The Southern Governments Have Betrayed The Struggle For Liberation of The Region! They Must Be Brought Down!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard, 22nd July, 2021*

Chief Sunday Adeyemo alias Sunday Igboho has been arrested in Republic of Benin the south-western border country with Nigeria after he was branded a fugitive by the Department of State Services. He is one of the main leading figures of the agitation for self-determination of the Yoruba people of southwestern Nigeria. His arrest comes weeks after his house was raided upon planning to hold what would seem as the last lap of a rally for Oodua/Yoruba nation throughout the south western states. The raid left two civilians dead and at least 40 arrested with total destruction of his property.

While leaders of southern secessionist groups like Nnamdi Kanu and Sunday Igboho are being hunted down, the spate of kidnappings by Boko Haram/ISWAP subsidiaries now commonly called "Bandits" show no sign of abating. A recent report shows that in Kaduna, a state in the north-eastern part of the country, alone at least 700 people have been kidnapped; 220 people killed and 20 others raped by terrorists in the last 3 months.

However the arrest of Nnamdi Kanu and Sunday Igboho signifies a period of setback respectively defeat for the nationalist movements of the south. Without surprise, such a period comes with denunciations from petty bourgeois activists who now berate the arrested agitators for "advocating violent means". When in real sense the southern people have only taken up arms in self-defense. Members of the traditional left are also not playing second fiddle in this trope as we shall see later on. This is not to say that

the leaderships of the secessionist movements are above criticism only that such criticism must not be used to in anyway to justify their arrests.

#### THE SOUTHERN RULING CLASS AND THE LEFT TRAITORS

The Southern Governors' Forum (SGF) have dissociated themselves from the mass mobilisations for self-determination and agreed to the return of Nigeria to a regional system of government in a meeting last month. Other members of the ruling class call for "true federalism" and/or "restructuring". At present there is a tussle between the southern ruling class especially groups in the Niger Delta region of the country and their northern masters over the derivation formula for oil revenues in the new Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB).

Thus, while the conflict between the southern ruling class and the northern hegemony has taken conciliatory forms because of the temporary defeat of the southern nationalist movements, the southern ruling class are not ready and will never be willing to pursue the liberation of their regions from northern dominance through and through because of their vested interests. Moreover, they fear that such a struggle may lead to their own deposition from power. So they repress and collaborate with the attack on the growing participation of the people in fighting northern oppression. If anything the southern ruling class has

## Books of the RCIT

### Yossi Schwartz: The Zionist Wars

#### A History of the Zionist Movement and Imperialist Wars

In *The Zionist Wars* Yossi Schwartz gives an overview about the process of Zionist colonialization of Palestine as well as the resistance of the indigenous Arab population. He deals in detail with the popular struggles of the Palestinians against their expulsion by the Zionists. *The Zionist Wars* elaborates in detail the character of Israel's military campaigns in 1948 and the following decades which resulted in the expulsion of large parts of the Palestinian population. These wars were also crucial to implement the imperialist subjugation of the Arab countries.

However, as Yossi Schwartz elaborates, the Zionist state has passed its peak already some time ago which has been demonstrated by its failed military campaigns in Lebanon as well as in Gaza.

In *The Zionist Wars* the author also discusses in much detail the program of the communist movement on the Palestinian question. He shows the adaptation and finally capitulation of Stalinism to the Zionist project – culminating in massive arms shipments for the Israeli forces during the War of 1948.

In this book Yossi Schwartz elaborates the analyses and conclusions of Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International for the libera-

tion of Palestine. He also discusses the strength and weakness of his successors in dealing with the Zionist state and the Arab liberation struggle against it.

In *The Zionist Wars* Yossi Schwartz defends the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and outlines a socialist perspective.

The book contains an introduction and 20 chapters (136 pages) and includes 2 Tables and 4 Maps. The author of the book is Yossi Schwartz, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency and its section in Israel / Occupied Palestine.

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





now become an impediment to the liberation of the southern masses from northern subjugation.

Large sections of the left in Nigeria and so-called intelligentsia fall into this category by their duplicitous equation of the petty bourgeois leaderships of the nationalist movements to the movements themselves. They also criminally substitute the southern ruling class for the southern people agitating for secession.

Worse still are their positions at the time of arrest of Nnamdi Kanu and the invasion of Sunday Igboho residence:

*"First, due process should have been followed to extradite Nnamdi Kanu, or any alleged fugitive for that matter, in the form of legal authorization from the host country of the fugitive and an arrest warrant issued for an arrest to take place legitimately. However, it would appear that Nnamdi Kanu was abducted and probably drugged before being brought to Nigeria. Similarly, the Gestapo raid on Sunday Igboho's residence and the avoidable killing of several people during that raid was a reprehensible violation of due process. An arrest warrant to facilitate the arrest of suspects and search of their residence was the least that would have been expected, rather than a needless violent raid on Sunday Igboho's residence."* (Coalition for Revolution, CORE)

*"We of the SPN faults this kind of approach and holds that at least there should have been prior attempts by DSS to invite him for interrogation over the allegations after which it can then go ahead and declare him wanted if he fails to honour the invitation without any cogent reasons."* (Socialist Party of Nigeria, SPN)

In other words, these comrades are only interested in the "process" of oppression not in ending it. Only rebranding

it and making it more appealing, essentially acting as special advisers to the regime.

They cannot see that their campaigns for the release of these persons becomes meaningless since they have justified the incarceration of the agitators.

Now that the southern governors have betrayed openly the national liberation movements in this time of temporary defeat what excuse can these leftists still claim to make them refuse support for this genuine campaign.

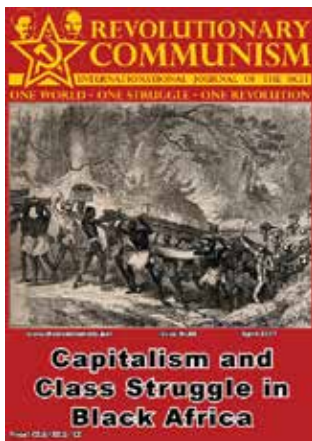
Unlike various reformists, Marxists appreciated the initial struggle against the northern ruling class, for this was just a step to fighting the bourgeoisie as a whole. The recognition of the northern ruling class as the enemy could only be expanded to their southern counterparts. Our stance was to support the southern nationalist movements as part of a transitional demand without giving any political approval to the southern ruling class or the reactionary leaderships of these movements.

*Freedom for Nnamdi Kanu and Sunday Igboho! Drop all charges against all secessionist agitators! Free El Zakzaky!*

*Down with the Southern Governments! They have proven to be internal enemies to the liberation of their own nations! Workers must defend the IPOB/ESN (but such bodies must be run democratically) and join the fight for secession of the southern ethnic nationalities!*

*Form armed self defence militias in communities, schools, workplaces to combat Boko Haram/ISWAP!*

*Northerners must defend the right of the southern ethnic nationalities to secession! For an indefinite general strike to bring down the Buhari regime!*



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

# 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**

# Afghanistan: The Rats Are Fleeing!

## The fall of Kabul is a historic defeat for Western imperialism and a victory for the oppressed peoples!

*Statement by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 17 August 2021*

1. The chaotic scenes at the airport of Kabul are symbolic for the defeat, or let us better say, the comprehensive humiliation of Western imperialism and its treacherous collaborators. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and all socialists join the oppressed masses in Gaza, Idlib and many other places who are rejoicing this historic defeat of the Western Great Powers. This is a defeat for the oppressors and a victory for the oppressed of no less significance as the desperate flight of the rats last time in Saigon in 1975!

2. For twenty years the Western imperialists occupied Afghanistan which did cost the lives of about 241,000 people. The U.S. – the main force of the NATO occupation troops – stationed up to 110,000 soldiers including modern air force in the country. According to the *Costs of War Project* at Brown University, Washington has spent about \$2.26 trillion in Afghanistan since 2001, in order to finance the occupation, to build the so-called “Afghan” army, and to maintain a colonial administration which called itself “Afghan” government. Nearly a quarter of that sum (\$530bn) is interest payments on the money the US government borrowed to fund the war. (You see, war is big business for financial capitalists!)

3. Western politicians and media tried to sell the occupation as something progressive, aimed at finally bringing civilization to the “backward Afghan people”. We were told that Afghans were happy with the colonial administration, that it would have liberated women, etc. This was always a charade which only fools and pro-imperialist lackeys could believe! The RCIT and all authentic Marxists have said from the beginning that this is an *imperialist occupation imposed against the will of the people*. The developments of the recent months totally confirm our assessments. From the moment the American announced their retreat in April, the “Afghan” army – in fact, the auxiliary troops of the occupation force – stopped fighting, joined the Taliban or went home. One city after the other fell to the Taliban, mostly without a single shot fired! Kabul even fell so quickly that the Taliban were surprised and, initially, did not have enough forces on the ground to secure the city! Symbolizing the collapse of the corrupted colonial regime, “President” Ashraf Ghani fled from Kabul with four cars and a helicopter full of cash, according to Russia’s state news agency RIA Novosti.

4. So, we ask the right-wing, liberal and “left-wing” supporter of the imperialist occupation in Afghanistan: if the 20 years of occupation really brought progress, if life under the Yankees was really better than under the Taliban, why on earth does no Afghan defend this supposedly more advantageous conditions? Why was an “Afghan” army of 300,000 soldiers, with the support of tens of thousands of Western troops with the most modern military equipment, incapable to defeat an insurgency force?! How could such peasant guerrilla movement armed only with AK-74 and sandals, with no air force, no helicopters, no tanks, no artillery, without any military support from any other power – how could they successfully resist such ex-

tremely superior imperialist forces?!

5. There is only one explanation: the imperialist occupation forces only had the support of small circles of the local bourgeoisie and urban middle class but no real base among the popular masses. This is hardly surprising as the Afghan people had no benefit whatsoever of the trillions of US-Dollars spent by the occupation forces. Last year, President Ashraf Ghani was forced to admit that 90 percent of the population was living on less than \$2 a day! 11 million people – one third of the total population – have been made refugees! The only “industry” which flourished under US occupation was the production of opium (By 2014, Afghanistan was producing three times as much opium as it did in 2000 when the Taliban were still in power!) The US occupation was beneficial for women? But why is a destructive occupation with corrupted bureaucrats and soldiers who are brutalizing women better for women than wearing the burqa?!

6. In summary, the treacherous collaborators of the Yankees – who have already fled the country with boxes of cash or who are now crowding Kabul’s airport – they have only been in power because of American guns and money. They never represented the Afghan people – they only represented the interests of Western imperialism. In contrast, the Taliban – despite their reactionary social policy – have been seen by many as legitimate representatives of the Afghan people, defending the homeland against the Western crusaders. This is why the Taliban won and this is why the imperialists and their Quislings lost.

7. The RCIT (resp. our predecessor organizations) has characterized the struggle against the US/NATO occupation from the very beginning in 2001 as a *national liberation war*, i.e. a just popular resistance against imperialist aggression which deserves the unconditional support of all socialists. Hence, we immediately raised the slogan “*Defend Afghanistan! Defeat Imperialism!*” after the 9/11 events in 2001. In such a struggle, socialists support the popular resistance irrespective of the ideology of the leadership of this struggle. This is because the struggle was not one between “Islamist” and “liberal” ideas but one between forces representing the biggest imperialist Great Power and forces based among the popular masses in a poor, semi-colonial country.

8. Naturally, socialists could never lend any *political* support to the Taliban, a petty-bourgeois Islamist movement. They promote a reactionary agenda concerning women’s rights, they oppose any genuine democratic society, and they have no anti-capitalist agenda. It is quite possible that they will collaborate in one way or another with Chinese and Russian imperialism which are less discredited in Afghanistan than the Yankees and their European friends. Nevertheless, socialists should be careful not to parrot Western propaganda which portrays the Taliban as a kind of sub-human, medieval people. Let them be judged by their deeds and not by reports published by CNN and BBC!

9. What will be the international consequences of the

disastrous defeat of the Yankee imperialism and the Taliban's victory? At this early stage, we can only make some preliminary prognoses based on first reactions. However, the following is clear. Saigon 2.0 weakens the Biden Administration in domestic politics as all critics will blame it for the humiliation. This is even more the case as Biden himself expressed publicly confidence in the survival of the Ghani regime and called a victory of the Taliban "very unlikely" – only a few weeks ago!

10. This is a gigantic blow to the prestige and the global position not only of the U.S. but also of Western European powers which are part of NATO. The president of Germany's conservative party – which leads the government and which is the traditional main party of the bourgeoisie – expressed the demoralization in the camp of Western imperialism: "This is the biggest fiasco in the history of the NATO alliance." As a result, it will massively reduce the appetite of Western imperialists to invade countries in the South, at least in the foreseeable future.

11. However, it is likely that U.S. imperialism will continue to launch military strikes against adversaries. Biden himself vowed yesterday that he will continue his counterterrorism policy. They are doing so currently in Somalia and they might do it again in Afghanistan. Such a policy of attacks with air force, drones, and missiles avoids the danger of losses of soldiers. However, Somalia – and Yemen before – shows that it is not a very successful model to dominate a region.

12. The disaster of Kabul will also dramatically undermine the confidence of Western allies that they would stand with them in critical hours. Spengler (David P. Goldman), a well-known bourgeois commentator in the U.S.,

wrote yesterday: "Spectacle at Kabul Airport will serve as a warning that it is dangerous to be a friend of the United States." And *Global Times* – the mouthpiece of the Stalinist-capitalist regime in China – warns the government party of Taiwan that it should not rely on U.S. support in case of a war but voluntarily agree "to return to the motherland". One article is titled "Afghanistan today, Taiwan tomorrow? US treachery scares DPP" and another editorial warns: "From what happened in Afghanistan, they (Taiwan, Ed.) should perceive that once a war breaks out in the Straits, the island's defense will collapse in hours and the US military won't come to help. As a result, the DPP authorities will quickly surrender, while some high-level officials may flee by plane."

13. By its very nature, the dramatic blow for Western imperialism will consequently further strengthen the global position of their Chinese and Russian rivals as they refrained from participating in the occupation. This is even more the case as both Beijing as well as Moscow have established relations with the Taliban in the past years. And from what can be said from the most recent reactions, China and Russia seem to be much more willing to establish official relations with the new Afghanistan than Western powers are.

14. Finally, there is no doubt that the victory of the Afghan people against the biggest imperialist power encourages the oppressed people all over the world. Congratulations coming from Hamas, the Syrian HTS and the National Liberation Front, and from other countries reflect that popular movements fighting against oppressor power view the victory in Afghanistan also as a victory for themselves! And so it is!

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry

The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan.  
A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective

In *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* Michael Pröbsting analyses the accelerating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers – the U.S., China, EU, Russia, and Japan. He shows that the diplomatic rows, sanctions, trade wars, and military tensions between these Great Powers are not accidental or caused by a mad man in the White House. They are rather rooted in the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system. This rivalry is a key feature of the current historic period and could, ultimately, result in major wars between these Great Powers.

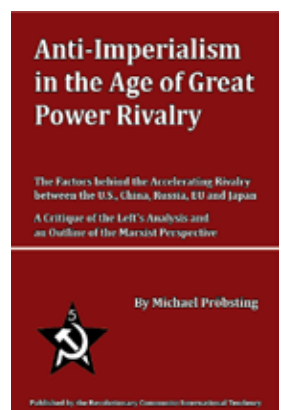
*Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* demonstrates the validity of the Marxist analysis of modern imperialism. Using comprehensive material (including 61 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that a correct understanding of the rise of China and Russia as new Great Powers is crucial for assessing the character of the current inter-imperialist rivalry.

In *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* Michael Pröbsting critically discusses the analysis of modern imperialism by a number of left-wing parties (left social democrats, Stalinists, Trotskyists and others). He demon-

strates that most of these organizations fail to understand the nature of the Great Power rivalry and, consequently, are not able to take an internationalist and revolutionary stance.

The author elaborates the approach of leading Marxist figures like Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg to the problems of Great Power rivalry and imperialist aggression against oppressed peoples. He outlines a Marxist program for the current period which is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future.

The book contains an introduction and 29 chapters plus an appendix (412 pages) and includes 61 figures and tables. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.





# Afghanistan: The Hypocrisy of Western Imperialism

By Yossi Schwartz, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 17 August 2021

There is no doubt that thousands of Afghans are trying to escape from Afghanistan as the Taliban is taking over Kabul. Who are these people? Why do they believe that they are going to suffer under the Taliban's government? At this time, it is not clear, but we should not be surprised if these are people who served America's puppet government as civilians or in military roles. The USA claims that it built an army of 300,000 strong. It is clear first that this army collapsed as if it was made out of paper and no doubt some of them would like to escape to the USA for fear, not necessarily from the Taliban, but fear from the Afghani poor villagers.

*"The defense official said the United States aims get tens of thousands of at-risk Afghans who worked for the US government out of Afghanistan and was looking at temporarily housing them at Fort McCoy in Wisconsin and Fort Bliss in Texas."* (1)

*"Hundreds of Afghan soldiers have fled to Uzbekistan with 22 military planes and 24 helicopters last weekend, including one aircraft that collided with an escorting Uzbek fighter jet causing both to crash, Uzbekistan said on Monday."* (2)

An American who was in Afghanistan and now teaches in the University of Iowa writes: *"After 20 years of direct U.S. support — including the deaths of 2,373 American service members and the wounding of another 20,320 — the Afghan government has failed to build the legitimacy and domestic support necessary to survive. How did this happen? The multifaceted answer includes one very salient fact: Afghanistan is the world's premier narco-state, and its government is one of the most corrupt in the world (12th most corrupt to be exact). Afghanistan's economy is based on drugs.*

*When the Taliban ruled Afghanistan, they became anti-poppy. In 2001, opium production was near zero. After the American invasion and the establishment of the Karzai government, opium poppies sprouted across the country. The United States began to press Kabul to reduce opium production by crop substitution, demand reduction and the eradication of poppy fields. With President Karzai's home region and even his brother up to their eyeballs in the narcotics trade, the effort was half-hearted. The subsequent Ghani administration is perhaps even more corrupt... Afghan officials take kickbacks, steal money intended for development projects and brazenly solicit bribes. High government officials buy their way into senior posts — senior customs positions in Jalalabad were the most expensive to buy, given the lucrative narcotics and regular trade passing through that city to the Khyber Pass and Pakistan.... While the Taliban probably won't take over the whole of Afghanistan this month, the country could very easily fall into a multi-sided civil war featuring warlords and drug lords battling the Taliban and each other as central administration crumbles."* (3)

Under the American puppet government most Afghans have suffered from harsh poverty: *"It is noteworthy that three decades of continued war in Afghanistan has caused widespread poverty in the country. All the country's infrastructure destroyed by war has caused poverty in the country. Poverty has spread to such an extent that people do not have access to even basic needs". Approximately 9 million Afghans are not able to meet their basic needs. On average, the poor are only able to consume at a level equal to 78 percent of the estimated cost of basic needs. While 36 percent of the population cannot meet basic consumption needs, there are many more people who are highly susceptible to becom-*

*ing poor (Ministry of Economic MoE, 2010). Poverty in Afghanistan exists in accordance with different dimensions such as low income, unemployment, illiteracy, disabilities, lack of basic public services, and security problems."* (4)

The corrupt Afghani government and the American air force killed more civilians than the Taliban. *"Between January 1 and September 30 2019 Civilian deaths from Afghan government and US operations exceeded those caused by the Taliban for the first time during the first six months of 2019, largely due to a sharp increase in US airstrikes"... The government made progress in reducing torture in some detention facilities, but failed to hold security forces members and prominent political figures accountable for abuses, including sexual assault"... The Taliban targeted civilians who worked with the Afghan government or foreign forces. On May 8, Taliban fighters attacked the Kabul headquarters of Counterpart International, a US nongovernmental organization (NGO) that implements USAID projects. Three civilians in the adjacent premises of Care International were killed. The Taliban killed and injured hundreds of civilians in attacks on Afghan government and foreign military facilities. A Taliban suicide attack on September 17 near the Afghan Defense Ministry in Kabul killed 22 civilians and wounded 38. A September 5 suicide bomb attack targeting NATO soldiers killed at least 10 civilians."* (5)

Thus, Afghanistan is almost the mirror of Syria but where in Syria it is Russian imperialism and Assad the Butcher, in Afghanistan it is American imperialism and its puppet government. In Syria the regime and its supporters claim that Assad is an anti-imperialist, while in Afghanistan the propaganda is the defense of human rights.

Afghan Ambassador to the United Nations Ghulam M. Isaczai said during Monday's Security Council meeting that the UN must call for an end to violence in Afghanistan. *"There is no time for a blame game anymore. We have an opportunity to prevent further violence, prevent Afghanistan descending into civil war, and becoming a pariah state. Therefore the Security Council and the UN Secretary-General should use every means at its disposal to call for an immediate cessation of violence and respect for human rights and international humanitarian law,"* Isaczai said." (6)

*"United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres opened the UN Security Council meeting on Afghanistan on Monday by expressing his concern about reports of human rights violations, particularly against women and girls. "I call upon the Taliban and all parties to respect and protect international humanitarian law and the rights and freedoms of all persons. We are receiving chilling reports of severe restrictions on human rights throughout the country," Guterres said, "I am particularly concerned by accounts of mounting human rights violations against the women and girls of Afghanistan who fear a return to the darkest days. It is essential that the hard-won rights of Afghan women and girls are protected,"* he added." (7)

We can expect that the Taliban will enforce traditional clothes, the burqa, on women which we oppose of course. But to speak about systematic human right abuse while forgetting the misery of most women under the puppet government is a hypocritical statement of an imperialist politician.

The right-wing leader of the British Labor party Keir Starmer, a truly social-imperialist, said: *"the situation in Afghanistan is "shocking, and it's tragic."* Starmer told journal-

ists on Monday the world is seeing “the unravelling of 20 years of progress, and of huge sacrifice.” (8) What he calls “progress” is torture, bombing and raping!

“While Biden apparently made no calls, Secretary of State Antony Blinken was on the phone with his Australian, French, German and Norwegian counterparts about efforts to bring “citizens to safety and assist vulnerable Afghans,” according to a State Department spokesperson”. (9) By “vulnerable Afghans” he means the servants of US imperialism.

The picture the Russian imperialists are painting is very different: “Russia is closely following the developments in Afghanistan, the Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement Monday. The foreign ministry added the transfer of power to the Taliban occurred “as a result of the almost complete absence of resistance from the national armed forces trained by the United States and its allies.” “According to the available information, the situation in Kabul and in Afghanistan as a whole is stabilizing,” the statement read. “The Taliban started to restore public order, confirmed the guarantees of the safety of local residents and foreign diplomatic missions.” ... “We expect that the Afghan military forces, prepared by the Americans and NATO, will last at least some time and will control at least part of the country which will allow us to hold negotiations on a coalition transit government. Apparently, we overestimated the talents of our American colleagues, and this army gave up without a fight,” Kabulov said. “When the Soviet Union left Afghanistan, the regime they supported held up for three years. The regime that the Americans had been creating for 20 years, did not even last until the Americans left completely,” he added.” (10)

What we can expect of the Taliban in power we can learn more or less from the period the Taliban was in power. “During their earlier rule, the Taliban barred women from working outside the home or attending school. Women were required

to wear the burqa and had to be accompanied by a male relative whenever they went outside. These days, the Taliban leadership says it is open to women’s education, but rights groups say the rules vary depending on local commanders and the communities themselves. Afghanistan remains an overwhelmingly conservative country, especially outside major cities.” (11)

Short of a socialist revolution Afghanistan will remain a semi-colony that will be controlled by China and maybe be Russia as well. We do not give the Taliban political support, but the defeat of American imperialism is a good thing as it will encourage the popular classes of the oppressed nations to fight the imperialists.

#### Footnotes

- 1) <https://www.jpost.com/international/us-halts-kabul-evacuations-as-afghans-attempt-to-flee-country-676850>
- 2) Ibid
- 3) <https://www.press-citizen.com/story/opinion/2021/08/10/collapse-narco-state-may-bring-misery-afghanistan-and-iowa/5556158001/>
- 4) Farid Ahmad Farzam Rahimi Ritsumeikan: The impact of security and regional integration on poverty reduction in Afghanistan, Asia Pacific University (APU), Japan 2015
- 5) <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/afghanistan#>
- 6) <https://edition.cnn.com/world/live-news/afghanistan-taliban-us-news-08-16-21/index.html>
- 7) Ibid
- 8) [https://edition.cnn.com/world/live-news/afghanistan-taliban-us-news-08-16-21/h\\_b8dea5f151f399a1c1963d0c081a4278](https://edition.cnn.com/world/live-news/afghanistan-taliban-us-news-08-16-21/h_b8dea5f151f399a1c1963d0c081a4278)
- 9) Ibid
- 10) Ibid
- 11) <https://apnews.com/article/afghanistan-taliban-13304940ec709865ca52aae2d832b963>

## Changes in RCIT Publication Policy

Announcement by the Editorial Board of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25 August 2021

Dear readers,  
The substantial growth of the RCIT in the past period has resulted in a massive increase of the documents which we publish every day. Most importantly, we could extremely increase the number of Spanish-language articles as the comrades of *Convergencia Socialista* (our new section in Argentina) publishes about two articles every day. However, we could also substantially increase the number of English-language articles.

Naturally, this is a very good thing in itself and we are glad to see such growth. It enables us to follow all important world political events and to respond to them with serious analysis and revolutionary programmatic answers. In addition, we are able to produce deeper studies on key issues of world politics and Marxist theory.

However, it also makes certain changes necessary in our

policy concerning the RCIT’s printed journals. If we would continue to print all material which we publish in English language, we would have to publish four or more journals (with 20-24 pages) every month! Obviously, this is too much for an organization which is still relatively small, and which has only modest resources.

We will therefore no longer put all documents which we publish on our website also in the journals. Instead, we will print only a selection of this material in “*Revolutionary Liberation*” resp. “*Revolutionary Communism*” (our theoretical magazine). Naturally, all statements and articles remain accessible as they will continue to be published on our website.

As always, we appreciate comments, criticism and feedback from our readers!

# Comunismo Revolucionario

## Spanish-language Journal of the RCIT

Order the journal via our contact address: [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net)

# Cambodia: Hun Sen Orders Lockdown under Pretext of COVID

By Laurence Humphries, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 13 August 2021

**H**un Sen, a former commander of the *Khmer Rouge*, became de facto leader of Cambodia after the fall of the Pol Pot regime. He is a hardened Stalinist who has remained in power for over 40 years. The new variant of the Covid 19 virus has hit countries in South East Asia badly, including Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia. With the fall of the Soviet Union in the 1991, the Hun Sen Stalinist Bureaucracy like many former Stalinist states including Vietnam, Laos, Cuba and North Korea reverted to a capitalist mode of production. There was never an attempt to introduce Socialism. China and Russia are the two main emerging imperialist powers openly competing with the imperialist powers of Japan, Europe, the USA and South Korea.

*"Prime Minister Hun Sen late on July 28 instructed the municipal and provincial authorities nationwide to strictly enforce Covid-19 measures including curfew for two weeks from July 29 midnight through August 12 to stem the new coronavirus Delta variant. The instruction came shortly after he issued a directive mandating lockdowns in eight provinces bordering Thailand – Koh Kong, Pursat, Battambang, Pailin, Banteay Meanchey, Oddar Meanchey, Preah Vihear and Siem Reap – from July 29 midnight through August 12."* [1]

*"The government has decided to place several border provinces in lockdown for two weeks in a bid to prevent the new coronavirus Delta variant spreading further into community. According a directive signed by Prime Minister Hun Sen late on July 28, the provinces include Koh Kong, Pursat, Battambang, Pailin, Banteay Meanchey, Oddar Meanchey, Preah Vihear and Seem Reap."* [2]

Hun Sen runs Cambodia as a Bonapartist dictator locking people up as prisoners in their own homes with no attempt at medical supervision. It is a further means to conduct surveillance on the population and particularly amongst the urban poor and poor peasants who are prevented from leaving their houses even to visit family members. The global phenomena of the Covid 19 Virus have been used all over the world to create social inequality, austerity, poverty and degradation for the mass of the people living in Cambodia.

## Human Rights Abuses in Cambodia

Hun Sen's Government is notorious for its human rights abuses. It is probably one of the worst for locking up opponents particularly bourgeois politicians who are campaigning for democratic rights and basic Freedoms. Hun Sen narrowly won the 2019 Election by jailing and arresting democratic campaigners. Many of these bourgeois democratic leaders are in exile in the United States.

There are a number of poor migrants who work in Thailand and could only use one river crossing to move back home to Cambodia. Thailand has closed the border because it has large an epidemic of the Delta variant. After issuing the orders for lockdown and curfew health officials in Cambodia have now contradicted themselves by saying that any migrant who was working in Thailand and tested positive must not stay at home but be admitted to several makeshift treatment centres.

*"Minister of Health Mam Bun Heng has advised all health-care institutions and hospitals throughout the country to refrain from letting Covid-19 patients infected with the Delta variant convalesce at home. The decision came after the government set up quarantine and treatment centres in the capital and interior provinces to receive Cambodian workers returning from Thailand who had been quarantining in the border provinces, with some of them testing positive for the Delta variant. Bun Heng, who is also head of the Inter-ministerial Committee to Combat Covid-19, said in a letter dated August 9 that the decision was based on the need to manage the treatment of Covid-19 based on the epidemiological data on the spread of the Delta variant as well as on studies on the possibility of infections. "Covid-19 patients with the Delta variant – confirmed by the laboratory or suspected cases and whether they are imported or from community transmission – are not allowed to recover at home Treatment is required at a Covid-19 treatment centre or in Covid-19 hospitals as determined according to the actual health of those patients," the letter stated".* [3]

*"Some neighbourhoods in Phnom Penh with a particularly high number of COVID-19 cases have also been locked down and sealed off with roadblocks crewed by police and military police. Cambodia has one of the region's most underfunded healthcare systems. The most recent World Bank figures show that only 5 percent of government spending goes on healthcare, compared with 9 percent in Vietnam and 15 percent in Thailand. The burden is borne by Cambodians themselves: 57 percent of the country's health expenditure comes "out of pocket" – only Myanmar, at 76 percent, is higher. Cambodia also has the lowest reported figure in the region for hospital beds per 1,000 people – at 0.9. Access to healthcare is also particularly difficult for poor Cambodians in rural provinces, studies show".* [4]

## Revolutionary Demands

What this shows is that instead of improving the health-care system in Cambodia, the Hun Sen government is desperately looking around for vaccines from Britain, Japan and China hoping that this will cure or stop the Delta variant. This, of course, is nonsense. The bourgeois regime is concerned to make pharmaceutical companies rich but at the same time it refuses to help the poor peasants in the outlying villages in Cambodia. In Indonesia and Vietnam there is the same response. What it needs is a socialist planned healthcare system controlled and run by workers and popular councils.

The RCIT has been the only socialist organisation to recognise the dangers of the COVID 19 Counter Revolution carried out by global capitalist powers in response to the continuing social unrest and struggles of the working class in many countries all over the world. The Lockdown and curfews were not about healthcare or consciously helping the masses and urban poor recover from the virus but a counter-revolutionary attack to introduce a bonapartist state and to attack basic democratic rights. We analysed the historic period from the start of the Great Recession in 2008-09 and the consequences on this drift towards dictatorship and war. The continuing inter-imperialist rivalry between Russia, China and the Western imperialist pow-



ers like the USA, Japan and Europe. The Covid Counter-revolution is being used in South-East Asia to lockdown its population, to prevent social unrest and make use of high-tech surveillance techniques like drones and high-tech weapon ware. This also ensures that the billionaires remain rich and multinational corporations will see their profits soar. As we have analysed, the worst virus is the capitalist system!

*"A recently published report by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reveals the devastating consequences of the capitalist Lockdown policy. The reports analysis the effects of the anti-pandemic policy of the governments in South Asia – a region which is home to 1.96 billion people or nearly 25% of the world population.*

*It is well-known that the draconic mass curfew imposed by the right-wing Modi governments in India had horrendous consequences for the popular masses. People – many of them day laborer – could no longer go to work. Slums were cordoned off and many millions of rural migrants were forced to leave the cities and to walk (as transport was closed) to their native villages. Likewise, the capitalist Lockdown policy resulted in severe disruption of social and health service. Other governments in the region imposed similar measures. It is impossible to ignore the cynicism of the imperialist governments and their media. They shed crocodile tears when a pandemic results in the death of people mostly in their 70s, 80s or older living in rich countries. But it hardly makes it into the news when the Lockdown policy, which supposedly shall save lives, kills hundreds of thousands of children who, under other circumstances, could have had a whole life ahead of them! You see, the lives of old white people are much more worth than those of children living in the South!*

*These tragic developments demonstrate, once more, that the official policy of capitalist government which supposedly should help fighting the pandemic, in fact is incapable to combat the pandemic, causes many unnecessary deaths, destroys the future for large sectors of the world population, and attacks democratic rights. These tragic developments demonstrate, once more, that the official policy of capitalist government which supposedly should help fighting the pandemic, in fact is incapable to combat the pandemic, causes many unnecessary deaths, destroys the future for large sectors of the world population, and attacks democratic rights. Shamefully, the opportunist left-wing parties deny*

*this elementary truth. In order to ensure themselves a place in the institutions of the capitalist state or in the ranks of the labor bureaucracy (or at least in hope for such), the Lockdown Left supports more or less all pillars of the bonapartist government policy (like lockdowns, banning of mass events under the pretext of "social distancing", mass vaccination, etc.). [2] In consequence, while Marxists have fought the COVID-19 Counterrevolution from the very beginning, these crawling capitulationists have become its social-bonapartist servants." [5]*

The RCIT puts forward the following programme of demands. We call on all workers and the rural poor in Cambodia to read our programme for revolutionary change and to take up arms to rid Cambodia of the Hun Sen bonapartist clique like the masses in Myanmar.

\* For a proper nationalised health system under workers and popular control. The private pharmaceutical companies must be nationalised under workers control, their profits to be redistributed for research into the virus.

\* A massive public works building programme to build more hospitals, care centres and recruitment and training of health professionals through proper use of test and trace and proper PPE equipment to protect workers.

\* Oppose the lockdown and curfew as a basic attack on democratic rights, a move towards bonapartism by the Hun Sen Government. Prepare for a general strike and an uprising to remove the Hun Sen administration.

\* Form self-defence battalions to fight and protect the masses and urban poor from provocations and state arrests.

\* For a workers and poor peasants government based on popular councils and militias.

*Build a Revolutionary World Party and join the RCIT!*

#### Footnotes

- 1) [PM imposes nationwide Covid restrictions, curfew over Delta scare | Phnom Penh Post](#)
- 2) [Provinces on Thai borders put in lockdown amid Delta fears | Phnom Penh Post](#)
- 3) [Delta patients 'can't stay home' | Phnom Penh Post](#)
- 4) [COVID variant pushes Cambodia to brink of 'national tragedy' | Coronavirus pandemic News | Al Jazeera](#)
- 5) [COVID-19: The Capitalist Anti-Pandemic Policy Kills More People than the Pandemic Itself - International Revolution \(thecommunists.net\)](#)

# 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)**

**Order the pamphlet via our contact address: [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net)**

# COVID-19 Counterrevolution in Australia: Boots on the Ground

## Authorities deploy 300 troops in Sydney to aid police in imposing draconic Lockdown

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, 3 August 2021

Since yesterday, 300 troops of the Australian army have joined the police in western Sydney in imposing a draconic lockdown for the sixth (!) consecutive week. Residents are only allowed to leave their homes for essential reasons including buying groceries and exercising. Helicopters are warning people exercising at Gordons Bay and on Bondi beach in the city's east not to linger.<sup>1</sup>

One might believe that Sydney is close to a collapse or an alien invasion. In fact, it is a far cry from it. According to NSW Health Minister Brad Hazzard, there are 198 people in the hospital, 53 of them in intensive care and 27 requiring ventilation. There was also one (!) death reported in Sydney, bringing the total number of deaths in the outbreak to 14.<sup>2</sup>

Tellingly, the deployment of soldiers comes only one week after Australia experienced its largest and most militant mass protests against the authoritarian COVID-19 policy of the right-wing government. Sydney has been a center of these protests. This coastal town in New South Wales (NSW) is the largest city of Australia with 5.3 million people. 44% of the population have been born outside of the country. Particularly, the western part of the city is a melting pot of the lower strata of the working class, migrants, refugees as well as of the Indigenous Aboriginal community.<sup>3</sup>

Even the British newspaper *Guardian* – a liberal broadsheet which has enthusiastically backed the COVID Counterrevolution from the very beginning – feels obliged to point to the danger of the deployment of troops in Australia's largest city. The workers and oppressed communities in western Sydney are poor and have been harassed by the police for long. Karly Warner, chief executive of the NSW Aboriginal Legal Service "said it was 'disturbing' that the government was using the military and giving police additional powers over communities with a high Indigenous population, who are already overpoliced. 'There is a significant Aboriginal community in western and south-west Sydney. (...) Our community is targeted by police day in and day out – this will only get worse if police are given additional powers and backed up by army troops.'" <sup>4</sup>

The paper also quotes a resident who said: "It's a sign of a continuation of the militarised and policed response to this entire outbreak," he said. "It continues the way western Sydney is policed, the way movement and recreation is policed, but at the same time it amplifies it and marginalises people. It just makes it worse (...) Their deployment is such a statement about the nature of the problem, and the problem is us, the people who live in western Sydney. They're saying the problem isn't the vaccine rollout or their failure to support people, the problem is our compliance. (...) It looks like an invasion, it looks like an occupation, is that the message they want to send? That western Sydney is occupied? Because that's the message they're sending."

While the people interviewed by the *Guardian* are certainly no Marxists, they understand the fundamental nature of the militarized attack by the capitalist state. In fact, the development in Sydney is only the latest highpoint of a global process. All over the world, the ruling class has ex-

ploited the pandemic since the beginning in spring 2020 for their political and economic interests.<sup>5</sup> It has massively expanded the police and surveillance state – resulting in a shift from parliamentary democracy to *Chauvinist State Bonapartism* resp. an expansion of authoritarian state regimes. On the other hand, the big corporations have utilized the crisis for creating gigantic profits and advancing the process of monopolization.

The RCIT and all authentic Marxists have denounced this offensive of the ruling from the very beginning in spring 2020. We call it the *COVID-19 Counterrevolution* and advocate a program of revolutionary mass struggle in order to defeat this reactionary attack.

It is remarkable albeit not surprising that ordinary people understand the political and reactionary nature of the governments COVID policy much better than most of the Lockdown Left. As we have demonstrated with a number of examples, nearly all social democratic, Stalinist, populist, and pseudo-Trotskyist organizations have shared the public campaign of intimidation which has terrorized people since spring 2020. These organizations also support the Lockdown policy, which includes mass curfews, banning of public meetings, the liquidation of large parts of social life, etc.<sup>6</sup>

It is particularly worth noting that Australia has been hailed as a model by the counterrevolutionary COVID liberals and the Lockdown Left. They praised the draconic Lockdown policy as an example which should be implemented all over the world. This was particularly the case for those forces which support the so-called *ZeroCOVID* campaign – an unprincipled alliance of liberals, Stalinists and pseudo-"Trotskyists" (e.g. the Cliffite SWP/IST, the ex-revolutionary L5I). In a model resolution they praised Australia, China and other states as models: "There is a simple alternative to this chaotic policy of 'living with the virus', with its on-off lockdowns, ineffectual testing programme and constant economic insecurity. The alternative is the strategy currently in place in Australia, China, New Zealand, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam, who have almost entirely eliminated the virus and whose citizens enjoy life without the need for draconian lockdown restrictions. This means full lockdown and safe working conditions in essential workplaces until community transmission is near to zero, then suppression of small outbreaks via local public sector Find, Test, Trace, Isolate and Support, and 100% protection of livelihoods."<sup>7</sup>

In reality, all this has been ultra-reactionary and brainless nonsense. We suggest these fools tell the citizens in Australia the news that they can "enjoy life without the need for draconian lockdown restrictions"! Or the citizens in China's province Jiangtsu and parts of Beijing who are currently living under another mass curfew!

The recent developments in Australia, not to speak about China, demonstrates that "ZeroCOVID" is not capable of eradicating the pandemic. However, this policy is highly convenient as a pretext to expand the bonapartist repressive state machinery and to impose mass curfews and comprehensive surveillance tools.

It is not without irony that China's regime – which has been in conflict with Australia's government for some time as part of the Cold War between the Western and Eastern Great Powers – is making sarcastic comments on Canberra's militaristic response. *Global Times* – the English-language mouthpiece of the Beijing regime – commented last Sunday: “In Australia, a so-called liberal democracy, some of the public tend to be anti-intellectual. They ignore the common sense of public health, refuse to wear masks and object to taking vaccines. In a bid to effectively handle the pandemic, Australia has to take drastic measures. Canberra has been critical of China's effective response to control the disease. For example, ABC News in April 2020 published an article, which indicated that the Chinese government's efforts to track some of its citizens through software that analyzes their personal data to identify their health status and level of risk for COVID-19 “alarmed” human rights advocates. (...) Now, quite ironically, it turns out that Canberra plans to send its military personnel to help enforce social lockdown.”<sup>8</sup>

Surely, the motivation of the Beijing paper, which is a key advocate of the counterrevolutionary policy of the Stalinist-capitalist regime, is totally hypercritical. However, it is not without justification that it points to the similarities of Australia's militarized policy with its own methods!

Let us conclude by stating that the capitalist regimes in West as well as in East, their media, their liberal supporters and the Lockdown Left – they all support the policy of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution. In contrast, it is not only revolutionaries who energetically oppose it but also increasing sectors of the popular masses – even in the old imperialist heartlands. Why else do the Australian authorities need the support of the army in order to impose the lockdown in the working-class districts of Sydney?! And look to France where hundreds of thousands of people demonstrate every weekend against the *Green Pass* and mass vaccination. Today, the “communist” CGT – the largest trade union federation – has publicly stated their opposition against the “*Green Pass*” system and against the obligation of workers to get vaccinated. The left-wing SUD railway has done the same before.

The backward Lockdown Left clings to the coattails of the ruling class. In contrast, the masses are marching forward. The RCIT calls all socialists opposing the COVID Counterrevolution to join forces and to build a revolutionary leadership!

### Footnotes

1 Elias Visontay: Sydney anti-lockdown protest blocked as organisers vow to regroup in August, 31 Jul 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2021/jul/31/sydney-lockdown-protest-police-claim-victory-as-organisers-vow-to-regroup-in-august>

2 Australia's third-largest city of Brisbane enters COVID lockdown, 31 Jul 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/7/31/australias-third-largest-city-of-brisbane-enters-covid-lockdown>

3 Mostafa Rachwani and Lorena Allam: Troops enforcing western Sydney lockdown will alienate community, advocates warn, 30 Jul 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2021/jul/30/troops-enforcing-western-sydney-lockdown-will-alienate-community-advocates-warn>

4 Ibid

5 The RCIT has analysed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February 2020 we have published nearly 90 pamphlets, essays, articles and

statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>. In particular we refer readers to the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/>. See also a new RCIT Manifesto: “Green Pass” & Compulsory Vaccinations: A New Stage in the COVID Counterrevolution. Down with the chauvinist-bonapartist police & surveillance state – defend democratic rights! No to health policy in the service of the capitalist monopolies – expand the public health sector under workers and popular control! 29 July 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/green-pass-compulsory-vaccinations-a-new-stage-in-the-covid-counterrevolution/>; In addition, we draw attention to our book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, RCIT Books, April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/>. See also our very first article on this issue by Almedina Gunić: Coronavirus: “I am not a Virus”... but WE will be the Cure! The chauvinist campaign behind the “Wuhan Coronavirus” hysteria and the revolutionary answer, 2 February 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/wuhan-virus/>

6 For our critique of the Lockdown Left see e.g. chapter V of our above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It; see also by the same author the last chapters in the above mentioned essay: The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution; COVID-19 and the Lockdown Left: The Example of PODEMOS and Stalinism in Spain, 24 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-lockdown-left-podemos-and-stalinism-in-spain/>; Social-Bonapartism in Argentina. The Partido Obrero (Tendencia) of Jorge Altamira supports the State of Emergency, 29 April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/social-bonapartism-in-argentina/>; When Ultra-Leftism marries Social-Bonapartism and Gives Birth to “Post-Marxist” Obscurantism. A reply to the CWG/ILTT, 5 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-when-ultra-leftism-marries-social-bonapartism/>; Brazil: Social-Bonapartism of the Lockdown Left in Practice. How the leaderships of the trade unions, PT, PCdoB, the pseudo-Trotskyist PSTU and PSOL sabotage the struggle against the Bolsonaro government, 10 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-social-bonapartism-of-the-lockdown-left-in-practice/>; COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the “ZeroCOVID” campaign. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and “Trotskyists” call for a “total and indefinite lockdown”, 22 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-zero-socialism-in-the-zero-covid-campaign/>; COVID-19: The Current and Historical Roots of Bourgeois Lockdown “Socialism”. Police State and Universal Basic Income are key elements of the new version of reformist “War Socialism” of 1914, 19 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/covid-19-the-current-and-historical-roots-of-bourgeois-lockdown-socialism/>

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