



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE RCIT

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Issue Nr.72

September 2017

Zambia: Down with the Exploitation by Foreign Powers!

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- * EU: Hands Off Africa!
- * Afghanistan: Drive US Occupants Out!

- * Syria: Defend Idlib against Great Powers!
- * Myanmar: Solidarity with the Rohingya!
- * Brazil: Temer Escapes Impeachment

Price: €3 / \$3,5 / £2

English-Language Journal of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), No. 72, September 2017

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The picture at the cover is taken from a rally of ELA (Zambia). The second from the left is Mainda Simataa (General Secretary of ELA) and the second from the right is Matomola Likwanya (Vice President of ELA)

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

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The Political Situation in Zambia and the Revolutionary Way Forward

Joint Statement of the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia) and the RCIT, 01.08.2017

1. Zambia is currently under a state of emergency that has been for all purposes and intents, designed, declared and calculated to stamp-out and suppress decent on the growing oppression of the *Patriotic Front* (PF) government on the people. The leader of the opposition *United Party of National Development* (UPND) is currently over 110 days in prison on trumped-up charges of treason - a mere traffic offense that was crafted by the state security apparatus no doubt, to induce and entrap the opposition leader Hakainde Hichilema.

2. Powers of the police and other security wings has been increased without limits as provided for under Chapter 112 of the laws of Zambia - *Preservation of Public Security Act* which is a carry-over law from the colonial era when it was used by the British to oppress freedom fighters and suppress meetings of the nationalist movement. Today, it is being used to stamp out opposition rallies, meetings, processions and even press briefings.

3. President Edgar Lungu has been declared as sole candidate for the 2021 coming general elections by his party central committee. This declaration is in direct conflict with the Zambian constitution which limits the tenure of a president to TWO TERMS, and Lungu is in his second and final term after he finished the last term when he took on from late president Sata Michael who died in office, leaving Lungu to serve the final year and half. However in January 2016, an amended constitution was enacted, and in it, is a clause which could have justified a

third term, but it cannot apply in retrospect since Lungu was already serving at the time it was enacted. What is at play is a possible manipulation of the constitution should the constitutional court rule in favor of Lungu and his party to allow a third term, and under the dictatorial regime of Lungu, the court which has his appointees serving as judges is almost certain to rule for a third term. The population is opposed to a third term due to the PF's brutality and mismanagement of the economy which has led to more hardships.

4. Zambia is in massive debt. Official figures put it at 7.2 billion dollars, which represents roughly a 200% increase from the 3 billion that was inherited from the MMD regime when PF took power in 2011. However our independent figures put the debt at over 12 billion dollars, and this keeps rising. The country is currently negotiating a 1.2 billion dollars economic rescue package from the IMF which of course has come with its own conditions of austerity, among them the removal of fuel and agricultural subsidies, increase in all sorts of taxes and levies, a sharp rise in electricity tariffs by 75%, wage and employment freezes, and reduced budgets to social services. Still on the cards is the privatization of the Nations electricity supply company ZESCO, to be unbundled and sold off to private foreign investors as generation, transmission and commercial operations. Negotiations are still underway, and the IMF keeps stalling over the loan until the conditions are met, plunging the country further into poverty.



A rally of ELA (Zambia) with Mainda Simataa (General Secretary of ELA) in the middle

5. Over 86% of Zambians live in abject poverty – on less than a dollar a day. Government statistics put the figure at 56%, and OXFAM reported 66% in 2016, clearly, the discrepancy is meant to cover a shocking and shameful reality. Unemployment and dependency levels stand at over 80%, the doctor to patient ratio is 1 - 100,000. Majority of Zambians have no access to decent food, education, healthcare or shelter. 70% of the population is composed of youths. Improvement in the social welfare of workers and the population at large is that of the working poor – leaving on pay-check to pay-check, and hand to mouth. Loss of employment spells starvation and poverty.

6. Such is the summary of the situation in Zambia as affects the people's lives. Only a revolutionary movement with a revolutionary agenda can save the day. The socialist program for the revolutionary liberation of the Zambian popular masses includes the following demands:

* *Expropriation of Land without Compensation!* Reclaim and repossess all Zambian lands owned and/or controlled by foreigners/foreign investors. Our land is ours, and as such must be re-distributed to our people as a matter of right, and economic empowerment. Sale of land to foreigners is criminal.

* *Nationalization of Our Stolen Mines!* We must take over our oldest and biggest billion dollar industry - Mining. All Zambian mines stolen by so-called foreign investors through dubious deals must, and shall be retaken. In order to ensure that the mines are operated in the interest of the people and to avoid corruption by managers, the nationalized mines should be put under the control of the workers employed.

* *For a Public Employment Program, discussed and controlled by the workers and the poor!* Such a program should ensure that the country's wealth is utilized for the needs of the country and that all people in need will get a job.

* *Free Quality Education and Healthcare for All!* We must guarantee free education and healthcare as a human right and reality for all Zambians. Government must and will bear the full cost of such critical social services from the hefty taxes it imposes and collects from citizens, and those that it lets slip out in form of tax evasion & 100% profit externalization by foreign multi-national companies.

* *Decent Wages and Pensions for All!* We must protect our people and workers from destitution, poverty and employer exploitation by updating out-dated labour laws, upgrading the minimum/living wage, guaranteeing full employment and job security for all as a human right, complete with decent wages, good conditions of service and guaranteed pensions for all workers.

* *The Right to Decent Food, Housing and Social Protection for All!* We must ensure that no Zambian starves and lives in pathetic slum conditions. Access to decent and affordable food, housing units, clothing, water, sanitation, clean energy and social protection must be made available by the state and affordable to all Zambians as a human right.

* *Cancellation of IMF and World Bank Loans!* Debt is slavery! It is an instrument of the imperialist financial institutions to exploit semi-colonial countries like Zambia and the whole of Black Africa. We must cancel unnecessary borrowing and burdensome loan repayment conditions to the IMF and World Bank which currently make it impossible for us to allocate resources to poverty reduction and national development. We must endeavor to make ours and future

generations debt-free.

* *Down with the Imperialist Domination!* Zambia, as well as Black Africa as a whole, is dependent on and exploited by the imperialist monopolies and the Great Powers. European, American and Chinese corporations are enriching themselves at the back of the Zambian workers and oppressed. We fight against these imperialist powers and support all measures which help to gain full national independence (expropriation of foreign corporations, expulsion of foreign colonialist settlers, cancellation of foreign debts, stop of cheap imports which are ruining local peasants, etc.). Zambia shall be free again!

* *For a Workers and Poor Government!* As long as Zambia is ruled by governments which serve the capitalist class and the imperialist powers, the people will continue to live in poverty and exploitation. Zambia will only be free if these servants of the imperialist masters are no longer in power. Hence we fight for a democratic and socialist revolution which brings a government of the workers and poor to power – a government based on organs of workers and popular power. Such a government will expropriate the super-rich, expel the imperialist corporations and nationalize the key sectors of the economy so that these can serve the interests of the people. It will open the road towards socialism.

* *Internationalize the Revolution! For a Free and Socialist Black Africa!* We are aware that liberation can not be long-lasting secured if the revolution remains isolated in a single country. Hence we support the liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters in other countries who are fighting like us against capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination!

Long Live the Revolution! Aluta Continua!

Economic Liberation Association (Zambia): <http://www.elazambia.org>

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



Zambia: Down with the Exploitation by Foreign Powers!

Joint Statement of the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia) and the RCIT 18.08.2017

1 . We regard the conflict between China and India as a dispute between two emerging and reactionary capitalistic oppressive powers in the political and economic sense. While their development as capitalist powers are at different stages, they both act as oppressors against the Zambian people. Both China and India have carved out a significant part of the Zambian economy between themselves. Indeed, the rivalry between China and India goes beyond the localized border disputed in the Sikkim region (which we roundly condemn bearing in mind that the people of that region have interest in such disputes which only divide and deprive them). The China-India rivalry is also being waged, perhaps more viciously in their economic territories and markets abroad, and Africa and Zambia in particular, is one of those battle grounds as follows:

2. HISTORIC BACKGROUND: EMERGENCE OF THE INDIAN PETTY BOURGEOISIE IN ZAMBIA.

India, and very small Indian minority in general have been in Zambia longer than their Chinese rivals; having been in Zambia since 1905 when they once served the British colonial establishment mostly as skilled artisans or businesspeople. Indeed, the Indians did suffer from British oppression too, though their suffering was more on economic grounds than racial grounds. However, what is important to note is that the Indians were always a petty-bourgeoisie class, a separatist class more inclined to be a merchant trading clan with very strong motherland allegiance, caste, social, economic and racial and religious ties.

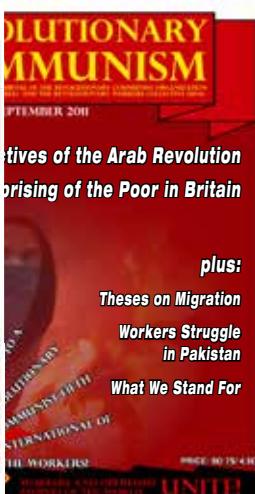
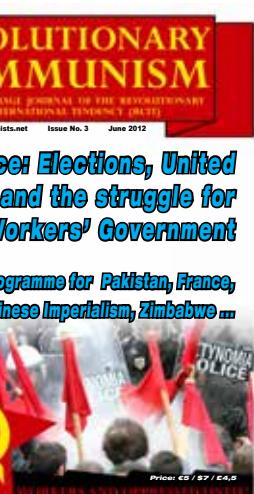
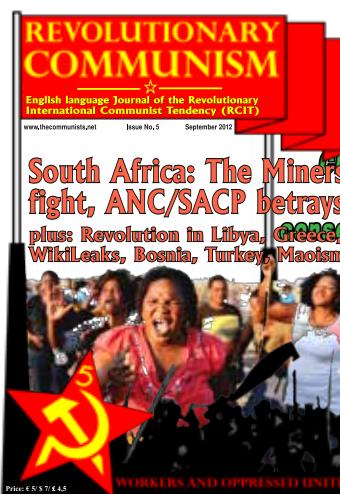
The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Indian Diaspora have always preferred financial independence from the early days, to be self-reliant merchants than to serve as employees in the British colonial bureaucracy as the Africans did, and still do today. As a result, when the British ceded power in 1964 (politically that is) not economically, the Indian

capitalists' instinct was unleashed as the economic fetters and trading restrictions that were once imposed on them by British white supremacy were greatly diminished. Though their numbers were quite negligible at the time, their dominance in trade was immediately felt by the new UNIP regime, and therefore, limits on capital holdings, land acquisitions and industries in which private capital could enter were limited to protect the Zambian state from being overrun by capitalists both from within and from abroad.

3. DOMINATION OF THE ZAMBIAN ECONOMY BY THE INDIAN MERCHANT CLASS: 1991 was the year when global Stalinist bloc fell, and with it all the protectionist measures that had curtailed capitalism in independent African states for a long time. The door was open to full throttle capitalism, and while the British and Americans (Anglo-America Corporation) won back and retained their monopoly and domination of the largest share of the Zambian economy and foreign exchange earner - the mining industry, the Indians captured their share of whatever was left of the local manufacturing and import/export trade.

4. INDIA IN MANUFACTURING, TRADING AND FINANCE: with the fall of the UNIP regime which strived to advance Zambia's independence, the Indian bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie seized the initiative with the capital reserves they were notoriously known to launder outside the existing banking system which had restrictions of the socialist regulated monetary system. Thus with the entry of liberalization, the Indians quickly graduated from inconspicuous law-abiding shop keepers, to major untouchable and unmatchable economic players in the local consumable products manufacturing and import-export trade (a sector they hold a monopoly over to this day). Overnight, they literally became the new 'Trade Kings' (real Indian company) and undisputed super-

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grocers/merchants with interests in the Finance industry were they established the Indo-Zambia Bank and Finance Bank; banks which still serve Indian commercial interests to this day.

5. INDIANS IN MINING: The Indian bourgeoisie did not stop with manufacturing and commerce. With the mining privatization program reaching its climax in the period 1997 - 2001, the Indians secured for themselves a copper mine which the Anglo American giants left over, and thus Indians entered the mining industry by acquiring Baluba Mines in Zambia's Copperbelt province. It was at Baluba mines where Indian capitalism and exploitation first exposed its ugly head when Zambian workers went on strike because of poor wages and lack of safety equipment. The mine was later shut down and declared not viable by Indian management. But that was not the end of India in mining.

In 2002, Anglo-American Corporation withdrew its investment from its copper mining asset, Konkola Copper Mines KCM, and it was some Indian venture capitalist named Anil Agarwal, owner of Vedanta Holdings India Inc. who bought KCM for a pittance - 20 million US dollars when the mine was worth far much more. Since then, KCM, more than any other mining company has always been embroiled in and associated with worker abuse, tax evasion, water and air pollution scandals as the mine continues to make year-on-year profits while the Indian owners claim it is making losses to avoid taxes.

6. INDIANS IN TELECOMMUNICATIONS: Today there is no doubt that India and the Indian community are an exclusively wealthy class with many Indians streaming into Zambia to set up shop in many sectors. The most recent sector to fall to the Indian bourgeoisie is telecommunications, with two of the three largest telecoms companies virtually under Indian control (Bharti Airtel and MTN Zambia). In addition many of the telecoms operations have been subcontracted out to exploitative Indian companies like ISON BPO and Tech Mahindra which are all in the embroiled labour abuses as ELA reported in its press statement only two weeks ago. Indian corruption of course has silenced the matter, but the exploitation of the working class in Zambia continues to heighten tensions between the Indians community and Indigenous Zambians.

7. INDIANS IN REAL ESTATE, PHARMACEUTICALS, AGRICULTURE AND MOTOR INDUSTRY: Indians have dominated the real estate housing and property business. The irony and paradox is that Zambians tenants to a foreign class; they are now renting homes which have either been bought off them in the first place, or built by Indians on land bought off from Zambians again. The largest and luxurious homes in Zambians are not owned by Zambians, but are owned by Indians! Pharmaceutical Industry: 9 out of every 10 medical wholesale and retail stores is owned by the Indians. With many drug products and medical equipment being imported from mainland India. Textiles, Motor vehicles (Tata Motors) and even the lucrative maize growing business have witnessed an influx of Indian commercial interests. In addition, the first ever copper processing plant has been established in Zambia and it is built by and owned by Indian capital (and Zambian exploited labour of course).

8. SUMMARY OF INDIANS: THE RICHEST MINORITY CLASS IN ZAMBIA: It is not clear how much wealth the Indians possess collectively, but it can be said for sure that the Indian capitalist class in Zambia, though being less than 0.1% of the population, do possess far much more money and assets than the entire Zambian population of 17 million plus people put together, and the gap of this inequality continues to grow unabated.

ENTER CHINESE IMPERIALISM/CAPITALISM

9. CHINA IN MINING: China as an economic power in Zambia came to the fore after the acceleration of the deregulation and liberalization of the Zambian economy during the privatization of the mines in which China became the second largest player in the mining industry. China acquired Chambeshi Copper Mines (CCM) and China Non-Ferrous (NFC); including an explosive manufacturing company (Bilgrim International) which catastrophically exploded in 2009 killing over 50 Zambian workers. The cause was obviously the well-known Chinese poor safety record; of which that same poor record of safety and worker abuse continues today with the most recent scandal being exploitation of Workers at Mamba Coal Mines in which one Zambian was shot by a Chinese foreman. The issue? Workers protested over six months of unpaid wages! China has steadily continued to push its investments in mining, but still plays second place to the western mining cartel led by American, British, Canadian and Australian mining investments.

10. CHINA IN CONSTRUCTION/INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT: China totally dominates the construction industry in Africa, and Zambia in particular. Much of the road construction and infrastructure expansion programs for schools, hospitals, airports, bridges etc is dominated by China. The biggest building material suppliers and suppliers of Agricultural equipment are undisputedly Chinese.

11. CHINA IN MEDIA AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS: China recently acquired a majority (52%) stake in the nation's public broadcaster ZNBC (Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation) at a cost of over 220 million US dollars. All revenue flows from the broadcaster will go to China and the deal is valid for the next 20 years subject to renewal. In addition, China has been awarded the contract to manage the digital migration from analogue to digital TV through a 'TOPSTAR AGREEMENT', where the Chinese subsidiary of Chinese state media company CNBC will supply all equipment and technological support for the transition while reaping millions of dollars in the process...for the next 20 years. The public broadcaster has been privatized to China!

In addition Chinese telecoms giant Huawei, is also making inroads in the telecom industry as it is the major support and technical service provider to the Zambian owned telecoms company ZAMTEL. Further, 99% of Chinese mobile telecoms products have a market in Zambia.

12. CHINA IN AGRICULTURE: Probably the second largest commercial land owners for agriculture purposes at the moment in Zambia are the Chinese settlers who closely follow the traditional white settler farming community. An immigration report of 2015 indicated an entry of over

2,000 Chinese workers, on top of the already resident 20,000 plus. The result is that many Zambian farmers, in poultry and vegetable products etc. have been driven out of business and the market, and relegated to retail sellers of Chinese farm products. Supply of Agriculture equipment and heavy industry machine tools has also been dominated by China, and the workers record in these farms is just as bad as ever.

13. CHINA IN BANKING AND FINANCE: Aside from the IMF, World Bank and EU money lenders, China has extended the biggest loans to Zambia; most of them being in infrastructure development. It is chiefly due to these China loans that the Zambian political elite have been captured, swallowed and hopelessly susceptible to Chinese corruption, to the extent that when over 20 Chinese were caught carrying out illegal copper smelting activities these year, the government promptly released the culprits and never brought legal proceedings against them. All Chinese commercial export/import trade and lending to Chinese entrepreneurs is facilitated by the Bank of China which has branches in Zambia. It must be mentioned that Zambia has literally no commercial bank of its own participating in the banking industry. The Zambian banking industry is dominated by foreign capital - all of it, with the lone exception of the Central Bank...which in many ways is still beholden to external IMF dictates.

14. All said, China's investment portfolio in Zambia which is estimated to be above 5 billion US dollars (a little over the Zambian 2017 National Budget) can very easily put the Chinese capitalist class ahead of their

Indian counterparts in terms of wealth comparison, notwithstanding that the Indians have been trading in Zambia for decades before China ever entered the fray.

15. ELA and RCIT denounce Chinese imperialism and Indian expansionism as enemy forces for the working class and the poor peasants in Zambia and the whole of Africa. We will continue to fight for the liberation of the workers and oppressed in Zambia, in Africa, in China and India as well as globally!

* *Long Live the Socialist World Revolution!*

* *For the liberation of the oppressed workers and peasants everywhere!*

* *For the establishment of workers socialist states everywhere!*

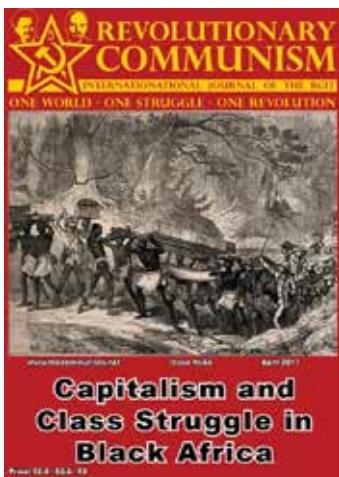
* *For the achievement of an economically liberated Africa and Zambia! For a new, and better world for all!*

We refer readers to another joint statement of ELA (Zambia) and the RCIT which deals with the conflict between China and India in Asia:

RCIT and ELA (Zambia): There is No Progressive Camp in the China-India Border Conflict! Neither Beijing nor Delhi! Down with Chauvinism and Expansionism! 18.08.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/china-india-conflict/>

Furthermore, the RCIT has published an extensive pamphlet about the China-India Border Conflict and its background:

Michael Pröbsting: The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences. What are the background and the nature of the tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region? What should be the tactical conclusions for Socialists and Activists of the Liberation Movements? 18 August 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-india-rivalry/>



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Interview: Zambia is a Neo-Colonial Capitalist State Dominated by Foreign Great Powers

Interview with Mainda Simataa, General Secretary of the Economic Liberation Association

Below we publish an interview with the *Economic Liberation Association*, a socialist organization in Zambia. Their website is www.elazambia.org.

Question: How do you view the present political situation in Zambia under the Lungu government?

Answer: The current political situation under President Lungu (whom it should be mentioned that his legitimacy is still being contested by the opposition United Party for National Development UPND following the massive electoral manipulation during the elections of 11 August 2016) is tense, as we are currently under a virtual state of emergency as of June 6. The Patriotic Front (PF) regime has basically turned into a dictatorial, authoritarian, tyrannical regime hiding behind a thin veneer of democracy. Under the current state of emergency, the police and other security wings have been given unlimited powers to search without warrant, arrest, and detain indefinitely anyone deemed to be risking 'public security'. Abduction of suspects, usually those opposed to the regime is underway and such suspects are being held in secret locations. basic individual and political rights of expression and free speech have come under heavy attack, with most independent media resorting to self-censorship. Other print media like THE POST NEWSPAPER has been shut down all together on the pretext of tax evasion.

Question: What is your opinion on the role of Hakainde Hichilema and his opposition party – the "United Party for National Development" (UPND)?

Answer: Our position as ELA on Hakainde Hichilema is that he and his party, the UPND, are a counter-revolutionary, neo-liberal party that is there to maintain the capitalist status-quo in Zambia. The party was founded and funded by a capitalist agent - late Anderson M. Mazoka who was an executive employee of Anglo-American corporation, itself an imperialist corporation that had a stake in the Zambian copper mines until 2001 when they sold out. The successor to Mazoka is the current incarcerated UPND leader Hichilema, who himself is yet another agent of international industrial and finance capitalism. Hichilema personally had a hand in the scandalous privatisation of the mining industry during the period 1997 to 2001 when all mines were sold off cheap to multinationals. Hichilema and his fellow compradors personally benefited from the looting of the nation. Their own manifesto is totally capitalist inclined, filled with the usual promises of a better life, jobs, low taxes, free education etc but without a fundamental shift in the economic capitalistic structure and mode of production. Hichilema and UPND are not opponents of the IMF's austerity measures, they are not opponents of exploitation of workers by capital. They simply ride on popular discontent to propel their own power agenda.

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

Answer: The trade union movement in Zambia is dead.

There has been a systematic obliteration and bashing of unions by capitalistic unions. Labour laws are outdated and ineffective. Labour unions are virtually non-existent and dysfunctional in the private sector where unionism is perceived as a hostility by employers and treated as such. Enforcement of labour laws that are alright in principle is another matter; corruption has so infiltrated the Ministry of labour that employers are able to sabotage or circumvent labour provisions which allow them to get away with abuse. Further, the labour courts are totally overwhelmed with labour cases, many of which are never heard nor resolved. Mostly corrupt judges and lawyers conive to frustrate workers justice. The labour movement is dead and has been killed by capitalist labour brokers and other union bashers!

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

Answer: Zambia's capitalism is a fully fledged neo-colonial state, and it bears both a class and race character. The nation's economic and trade policies are basically determined by external forces who hand down policies to the government owing to our heavy debt estimated to be 7.2 billion dollars U.S, but it can be triple that in reality. The country's major resources - mining, is mostly and traditionally dominated by foreign western corporations who still view Zambia as an extractive mineral rich territory. But the Chinese are coming in fast in mining, construction and even farming, with an investment portfolio of over one billion US dollars. Domestically, in terms of local manufacturing and food processing, the Indian community exert great influence with nearly all household consumables monopolized by them from manufacturing right through to wholesale and retail trade.

Question: Which Great Powers exert substantial influence in Zambia?

Answer: The greatest power over Zambia is the industrial-finance combination of the IMF and Mining corporations. With the IMF being major funders of the Zambian budget, and the mines being the biggest contributors to mining export revenue, these two combinations have been collusion with the puppet capitalist regime of the PF to throw-wide open new avenues of exploitation of our resources and our people. CHINA is the next biggest foreign influence, with a lions share in construction projects which are overpriced and financed by Euro-bonds. China has also funded multiple government projects in various sectors, and the PF regime looks beholden to them. Chinese imperialism is very much on the march in Zambia. The third biggest influence is the INDIAN exploiting influence, though not frequently and adequately explored due to considerations that the Indians are also Zambians. But in reality, the Indian community sees itself as a separate economic class, with huge control in manufacturing, processing and real estate. The Indian community alone has more wealth than all Zambians put together, and they account for less than

1% of the population of Zambia.

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

Answer: Rising levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality remain the biggest and most pressing issues. At individual level the nations youths are pressed by a high cost of education, then faced by high levels of unemployment and underemployment, not to mention wage slavery. We have poor health service provision, lack of decent housing and other social amenities. At national level the biggest issue is rising debt, and rising taxes and inflation which reflect itself in high cost of living and doing business. The economy is basically geared to serve capitalist interests, foreign and local elites.

Question: How do you see the possibility for the creation of a new Mass Workers Party which would fight for the interests of the workers and the poor?

Answer: The possibility exists, and ELA's strategic objective is to transform itself into the political vanguard of the working people once it is strong enough on the ground. Our objective is political, and all things being equal, 2021 elections should be our entry point at which we hope to contest. We are at present, the only truly socialist outfit in existence in Zambia both in theory and practice. We have reached out to workers and students and communities, and we are convinced that we are the best suited to propel the Zambian people's socialist revolution. Others may claim to be socialist, but they are only political

opportunist trying to ride on the appeal of socialist values which always strike a cord among the oppressed masses.

Question: What are, in your opinion, the main issues of a revolutionary program for the class struggles in the coming period?

Answer: Liberation of the national economy and its resources from foreign/local private control and ownership via socialization of the state economy. Debt elimination and industrialization of the Zambian economy via an agrarian revolution. Scaling up of policies to attain full employment, better wages and conditions for workers, free education and healthcare, housing and infrastructure development.

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

Answer: ELA was founded in 2015 by a few revolutionary minded young Zambians who are determined to overthrow the capitalist hold on our country's resources. We are not funded by anyone, for the obvious reason that no capitalist will fund a revolutionary agenda. Within ourselves and our ability, we continue to agitate for socialist principles via radio, TV, symposiums, community meetings, publications and many other avenues. Our reach of course is constrained by resources, but we determined that with continuous building of structures on the grassroot, we can gather the revolutionary impetus to move us forward no matter the hardships.

Thank you for the interview!

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)

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

Zambia: ISON Workers Reject 7% Salary Increment: It's a Mockery, Unrealistic and Unacceptable

Statement of the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia), 3 August 2017

On behalf of our affiliates, the oppressed workers of ISON BPO (Business Process Outsourcing), an Indian multi-national company that was sub-contracted to handle all call centre services of MTN Zambia in 2015; ELA wishes to totally reject the 7% salary increment that has been awarded.

1. The increment is contrary to the expectations and demands of the workers who have long stood firmly for nothing less than a 100% increment, of which ISON had agreed to earlier.

2. This reduction from 100% to 7% can be best described as a betrayal, an insult, and a slap in the workers faces. 7% is unrealistic, insignificant, inadequate, and therefore unacceptable given the hostile economic situation where workers can barely afford to provide food on their tables and a roof over their heads for their families.

3. We equally condemn similar deplorable conditions of service currently obtaining at Tech Mahindra, and Allied Mobile Telecommunications; Indian and South African companies that were outsourced by Airtel Zambia to manage its call centre services and retail outlet stores throughout Zambia respectively.

4. Therefore, ELA wishes to categorically reject the 7% increment on the following grounds:

(A) 7% was not what was agreed. 100% was agreed.

(B) 7% is meaningless considering that the current cost of living (food basket), just in Lusaka alone, stands at K5,000 per month for a family of five; workers are asking for a salary ranging between K3,000 and K5,000.

(C) At 7%, the salaries of ISON workers will remain static at no more than K1,070, from an initial K1,000. 7% is nothing except day-light robbery and scandalous exploitation of hardworking workers by ISON.

(D) The said 7% hasn't been applied to all workers, as demanded initially. Instead, an attempt to avoid any wage increments by ISON management has made them opt to award the 7% based on A+ worker performance levels which are practically unattainable. With this condition, the net effect of the said increment will go to no one since few, if any, ever reach the set performance levels.

Such a devious condition for salary increment is not only illegal, but it is also unethical, and therefore rejected.

5. Therefore, ELA has officially written to ISON Global CEO, Pravin Kumar to express our displeasure at the maltreatment of Zambian workers. We further demand that Mr. Kumar explain, among other things:

(A) Why ISON workers in India, Nigeria, Kenya and other countries where ISON has operations, are being paid far much more, and have considerably better conditions of service than their Zambian counterparts.

(B) Why ISON India pays its workers five-times more than Zambian workers despite the fact that ISON Zambia makes more profit per head in Africa. Such racial and wage discrimination will not be tolerated!

6. We further urge ISON management to stop the intimidation, and indiscriminate hiring and firing of

workers who threaten to strike. All workers have the right to strike if and when management refuses to listen to workers' just demands.

7. The workers' demands still remain the same: that is 100% increment across the board, better conditions of service, and permanent jobs, not three-month slave contracts. ISON workers reject racist conditions of work.

8. ELA wishes caution the Ministry of Labour - corrupt, compromised and ineffective as they are, to stop contributing to the exploitation of Zambian workers by their deliberate or unwitting failure/unwillingness to revise the statutory minimum wage Act which has remained stunted at K700 since 2012.

9. The Patriotic Front Government, through its Labour Ministry, owes every working Zambian a duty of care to periodically review and updated the minimum wage laws in line the state of the economy, so that workers wages are not diminished or rendered worthless altogether by the ever-rising cost of living.

10. Labour must update and enforce labour laws to ensure unscrupulous investors do not use the current wage loopholes as justification and license to exploit Zambian workers for their own profit; failing which, Minister of Labour Joyce Nondé owes the workers of Zambia two things: an apology letter and a resignation letter from her portfolio to make room for others better able to address the concerns of workers.

Issued by: Mainda Simataa

ELA General Secretary

For and on behalf of ISON, TECH and Allied Mobile workers,

Lusaka, Zambia



Democratic Republic of Congo: Military Arrests Youth Activists

**For the immediate and unconditional release
of Jean-Marie Kalonji and Sylva Kabanga Mbikayi!**

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 03.08.2017

The Congolese military has detained the Coordinator of the youth group *Quatrième Voie/Il Est Temps*, Jean-Marie Kalonji. When fellow attorney and Quatrième Voie spokesperson, Sylva Kabanga Mbikayi went to see about his colleague, the military arrested him too. The two Quatrième Voie leaders are currently being held by the Congolese armed forces at the *Military Detection of Unpatriotic Activities* (DEMIAP) without charge or cause.

These arrests are just another example for the thoroughly reactionary character of the Kabila regime in the Democratic Republic of Congo. President Joseph Kabila, who has been in power since 2001, is clinging to office in defiance of Congo's constitution as his constitutional term limit expired in December 2016. His regime bears a chief responsibility for civil wars and conflicts that killed over 5.4 million Congolese people and caused numerous mass rapes of women between 1998 and 2008.

Kabila unconstitutional attempt to stay in power provoked mass protests at the end of last year during which his repression forces killed over 200 demonstrators.

As a dictator serving the interests of the imperialist monopolies and their allied local capitalists, Kabila has received until now the direct or indirect support of various imperialist powers like France, the U.S. and China. Consecutive regimes have ensured that these old and new colonial powers can profitable exploit DRC which is one of the richest countries in resources on earth. Furthermore, the numerous dictators on the continent support him since they fear that Kabila's fall by a popular uprising could inspire the black workers and poor throughout Africa.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) demands the immediate and unconditional release of Jean-Marie Kalonji and Sylva Kabanga Mbikayi. We also call for the release of all other political prisoners in DRC.

We fully support the struggle of the Congolese workers, poor and youth for democracy and social justice. Historic experience has demonstrated that freedom and equality can only be secured if the workers, poor peasants and youth combine the overthrow of the reactionary regime with the expulsion of the imperialist monopolies and the Great Powers and the expropriation of the ruling capitalist class so that they create their own government which can open the road towards socialism.

International Secretariat of the RCIT

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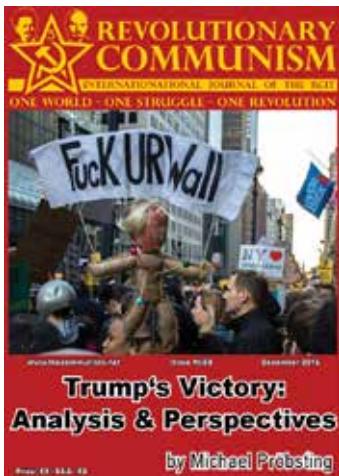
For the RCIT analysis of the liberation in Black Africa, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. In particular we refer readers to the following documents:

RCIT: Theses on Capitalism and Class Struggle in Black Africa, 13 April 2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/africa-theses/>

Platform of the Socialist League of Zimbabwe (Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency), <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/rcit-zimbabwe-platform/>

RCIT: Zambia: Down with the State of Emergency! Everyone Out to the Streets to Fight for Democratic Rights and against the IMF-Imposed Austerity Attacks! 09.07.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/zambia-state-of-emergency/>

The Political Situation in Zambia and the Revolutionary Way Forward, Joint Statement of the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia) and the RCIT, 01.08.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/political-situation-in-zambia/>



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump's Victory

By Michael Probsting, November 2016

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 40 pages, A4 Format

Togo: Down with the Gnassingbé Dictatorship!

Solidarity with the mass protests! No illusions in the official opposition party of Tikpi Atchadam! All power to the workers and poor peasants!

Joint Statement of the ELA (Zambia), SLZ (Zimbabwe) and the RCIT, 22.08.2017

The mass upheaval in Togo against President Faure Gnassingbé is a sign that the days of his dictatorship are numbered!

Last weekend, hundreds of thousands of people marched for an end of the rule of the Gnassingbé dynasty which has been in power in the West African nation for 50 years! In Sokode, 338 km north of the capital, police opened fire on protesters with live ammunition and killed seven of them. However, the demonstrators retaliated, attacked the security forces and took seven hostages.

For decades the Gnassingbé regime has helped imperialist corporations exploit the country's valuable phosphate deposits (Togo is the world's fourth-largest producer of phosphates) as well as its agricultural products (e.g., coffee, cocoa beans, peanuts).

Togo is also a member of regional pro-imperialist political institutions like the *Economic Community of West African States* (ECOWAS) of which Gnassingbé is currently the chairman. ECOWAS serves the imperialist powers not only as an economic institution but also by providing troops for imperialist interventions (e.g., in Mali in 2013 against the uprising in the North).

The Gnassingbé regime is part of the numerous dictatorships and pseudo-democracies which are ruling the peoples of Africa in the service of the imperialist Great Powers and their monopolies (like France, US, and China). It is via such regimes that the imperialist bourgeoisie are able to economically suck dry the African workers and poor peasants under the cover of political (pseudo-)independence.

We send revolutionary greetings to the popular masses in Togo who are rising up for democracy and freedom!

We warn against the political games of the opposition leader Tikpi Atchadam and his "*Pan African National Party*." ("Anti-African Anti-People's Party" would be a more appropriate name!) Atchadam is trying to limit the protests to calling for a reinstatement of the 1992 constitution – i.e., the constitution when Gnassingbé the father was in power. But today's task is not simply a limited constitutional reform but the overthrow of the Gnassingbé dictatorship!

We fully support the struggle of Togo's workers, poor and youth for democracy and social justice. Historic experience has demonstrated that freedom and equality can only be secured if the workers, poor peasants and youth combine the toppling of the reactionary regime with the expulsion of the imperialist monopolies and the Great Powers and the expropriation of the ruling capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to create their own government which can open the road towards socialism.

Such a revolution could play a crucial role in inspiring the liberation struggle of the black workers and poor throughout Africa as well as beyond!

A new wind of revolution of the workers, youths, peasants, and oppressed masses is on the rise, and we would like to caution that the Togolese people must be

careful not to let opportunists hijack the revolution and hand back the peoples victory to the capitalists.

There is need to give the Togolese revolution a programmatic political formation, with a revolutionary leadership, program of action and structure. Hence, the construction of a revolutionary party which is leading the Togolese workers and poor peasants is of crucial importance for the future of the liberation struggle!

* *Solidarity with the Togolese masses!*

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

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

* *Long Live the Revolution! Aluta Continua!*

Economic Liberation Association (Zambia), <http://www.elazambia.org>

Socialist League of Zimbabwe (Section of the RCIT), <https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=socialist+league+of+zimbabwe>

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

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For our analysis and perspectives of the liberation struggle in Black Africa, see, among others, the following documents:

The Unstable Political Situation in Zambia and the Revolutionary Way Forward, Joint Statement of the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia) and the RCIT, 01.08.2017, <http://www.elazambia.org/index.php/2017/08/02/rcitela-joint-statement-unstable-political-situation-zambia-revolutionary-way-forward/> and <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/political-situation-in-zambia/>

Zambia: Down with the Exploitation by Foreign Powers! Joint Statement of the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia) and the RCIT, 18.08.2017, <http://www.elazambia.org/index.php/2017/08/18/zambia-exploitation-foreign-powers-chinese-indian-capitalism-expansionism/> and <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/china-india-in-zambia/>

Manifesto of the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia), <http://www.elazambia.org/index.php/be-a-member/>

Platform of the Socialist League of Zimbabwe (Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency), <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/rcit-zimbabwe-platform/>

RCIT: Theses on Capitalism and Class Struggle in Black Africa, 13 April 2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/africa-theses/>

For more articles and documents visit our websites listed above.

Imperialist EU: Hands Off Africa! Open the Borders to Refugees!

The EU's Intervention in Africa is a Blow against Refugees as well as against the Sovereignty of African Nations!

Joint Statement of ELA (Zambia) and the African and European Section of the RCIT, 31.08.2017

1. At a summit that took place in Paris on 28 August, the heads of state of France, Germany, Italy and Spain agreed to "help" Chad and Niger with border controls in an attempt to prevent refugees from leaving their countries to head to Europe. Libya's UN-imposed government and the presidents of Chad and Niger, who were also present at this conference, submissively agreed to this interference in their countries' respective sovereignties. They also announced that they would accept asylum claims from refugees who apply for protection while in Africa instead of their original destination countries in Europe.

2. This initiative is related to the creation of internment camps in the aforementioned African countries. The EU has also stepped up its Mediterranean naval mission – in collaboration with the so-called "costal guard" of Libya – in order to prevent African refugees from crossing the Mediterranean. Towards the same goal, the EU is increasingly making it impossible for NGOs to assist African refugees who put their lives at great risk to flee war and misery on their home continent.

3. There are three primary motives behind this EU initiative:

a) The imperialist ruling class of the EU is determined to keep refugees out of Fortress Europe. Europe's capitalists are only too happy to exploit migrants as cheap sources of labor without rights. However, they want to control the influx of refugees so that they can cynically select only the most skilled and fittest among those fleeing war and misery.

b) Europe's imperialists greatly fear the unrest and rebellions which have broken out and spread throughout the Arab world and black Africa since 2011. This is

the reason they imposed Fayed al-Serraj as the head of Libya's UN-backed government while at the same time they continue to collaborate with General Haftar, an ex-Gaddafi military commander, who is the strong man in the east of the country. This is also the reason they support the military dictatorship of General al-Sisi in Egypt; why they have close relations with a number of corrupt dictators in black Africa like Kabila in the DRC, Kagame in Rwanda and Gnassingbé in Togo; why they have deployed troops in Mali; and why they support colonial troops – like the so-called AMISOM mission – in Somalia.

c) Europe's corporations are greedily determined to acquire an advantage in the African market where they must compete against their imperialist rivals from the US and China. In the conditions of a crisis-ridden world economy characterized by accelerating inter-imperialist rivalry, the EU leaders are forced to intensify their political and military intervention in Africa in order to enhance their competitive position.

4. We unequivocally condemn as barbaric and colonialist the decisions and dictates of the EU towards the African states. The European colonial powers have been exploiting Africa's resources and peoples for centuries. They continue to do so down till today even though, during the last five decades or so, this economic colonialism has been hidden behind the fig leaf of formal political "independence" of the African states. But when Africans flee their home countries in an attempt to escape the dreadful conditions which the imperialists have created there, the EU sends warships to police the Mediterranean! As a result, according to official figures, 2,410 Africans have already died at sea in the Mediterranean since the start of 2017 (the real figures are certainly higher)!

Two Pamphlets on the EU and Brexit

- * **Marxism, European Union and Brexit**
- * **The British Left and the EU-Referendum**

*Written by Michael Pröbsting
(International Secretary of the RCIT)*

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5. Particularly rife with cynicism and racism is the imperialists' purposeful promotion of fear among their own citizenry about the 121,000 African refugees who have successfully crossed the Mediterranean between January and August 2017 in their attempt to find refuge within the European Union – a geographical area which is home to 511 million citizens and which enjoys some of the highest standards of living on earth!

6. We emphasize that the roots of the mass exodus from Africa to Europe are to be found in the utter poverty and misery on the continent which are, in turn, the legacy of centuries of enslavement and super-exploitation by the imperialist Great Powers. Today's barbaric conditions explain why we are now witnessing a new type of "slavery," in which the Africans are selling *themselves* into the hands of the slaver. Ironically, now the new African slave negotiates for and pays his or her own transportation costs to the slave markets in Europe, with the hope that conditions there will be far better than those which he or she is leaving behind.

7. The only means to overcome this horrible social decay lies in the fundamental change of the political and economic conditions in Africa. Only when the workers and poor peasants expropriate the imperialist monopolies and the local capitalist class, take power and open the road towards a socialist society, only then will it be possible to create the conditions to employ the rich natural and human resources of Africa for the well-being not of the capitalist bosses but of the popular masses.

8. At the same time it is the duty of all socialists in Europe to support all efforts of the workers and oppressed in resisting the ruling class while providing them with a revolutionary and internationalist perspective. Part of this perspective is the struggle against the super-exploitation of migrants which pushes down the wages of European workers and leads to the de facto enslavement of migrant workers. Similarly, it is crucial to fight against racist and fascist forces and to advance the struggle for full democratic rights and equality of migrants. Rising unemployment and poverty, as well as national divisions and racist hatred, can only be eradicated in Europe if the capitalist class is overthrown by a socialist revolution of the workers and oppressed.

9. Centuries of imperialist enslavement and super-exploitation have led to profound deformations in the economic and political structure of Africa. They have also helped the ruling class in Europe create a social-imperialist mentality among sectors of the European working class.

It is, therefore crucial for socialists in Europe, as well as in other parts of the world, to fight for a comprehensive plan of reparation payments by imperialist Europe to the African peoples in order to compensate them for centuries of enslavement and super-exploitation.

10. As revolutionaries, we emphasize that internationalism is the basis of our struggle for socialism. Hence, it is the task of all socialist forces in Europe and Africa to support each other and to support the struggle of the workers and oppressed not only on their own continent but in all parts of the world.

11. The foreign policy of the EU is increasingly becoming openly colonialist. Eva Ottavy, of the French charity *Cimade*, correctly observed: "*We're extending the European border farther and farther away.*" Indeed, the deployment of troops to Mali, of warships to Libya's coast and, most recently, ground forces to the border between Libya, Chad and Niger are undisguised steps intended to strengthen the EU's political and military control of African countries.

12. We call upon all socialists and anti-imperialists to strive towards unity in the struggle for the following demands:

- * *No European troops in Africa or navies in the Mediterranean!*
- * *Stop the repression of NGOs which are attempting to help refugees in Mediterranean!*
- * *Down with Fortress Europe! Open Europe's borders to refugees!*
- * *Support the resistance of Arab and African peoples against imperialist corporations and troops!*
- * *Stop racist oppression and social dumping! For equal wages and equal rights for migrants in Europe! European and migrant workers and youth – fight together against the bosses!*
- * *Expropriation and nationalization of all imperialist corporations in Africa! No to the "free trade" agreements which only make the African countries even more subservient!*
- * *For a comprehensive plan of reparation payments by imperialist Europe to the African peoples as compensation for centuries of enslavement and super-exploitation!*

Economic Liberation Association (Zambia): <http://www.elazambia.org>

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

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Syria: Defend Idlib against the Great Powers!

Down with the reactionary Astana Deal! Defend the Revolution against the butcher Assad, against Russian and US Imperialism and the local Allies!

Victory to the Struggle of the Workers and Oppressed!

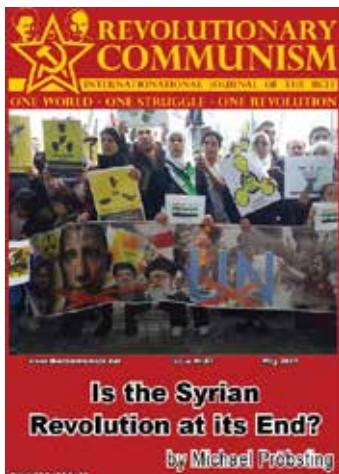
Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 04.08.2017

1. The US has released a statement concerning the recent take-over of Idlib by *Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham* (HTS). In this statement, the biggest imperialist power threatens the Syrian liberation fighters in that province ("Al-Qaida", "Jolani and his gang", etc) in ill-concealed language with military intervention: "It will be difficult for the United States to convince international parties not to take the required military action. We advise everyone in the free north to take the necessary steps to move away from this gang and reject their terrorism." (<https://twitter.com/BaytAShaamNews/status/893214426085675010>; see also: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia-casualtie-idUSKBN1A10HG>). Furthermore the U.S. has again increased its military drone activity over the province. At the same time, the Pentagon has released a directive telling its Syrian allies to exclusively fight against Daesh and not to fight the Syrian regime. When the *Shohadaa al-Qraiteen Brigade* in the Southeast of the country broke with the US-led coalition in protest against this directive, the American army command threatened to bomb their positions. Likewise there has been accelerated and, unfortunately successful, pressure by Russia on the leaderships of so-called "moderate" rebel factions in the

enclaves of East Ghouta and Homs to accept a truce.

2. The RCIT warns that the US threats against Idlib may very well constitute a clear alarm that a coordinated military assault by the Great Powers and their local allies against the remaining areas under control of Syrian liberation forces is imminent. At the very latest, such an attack is most likely to occur after the pending Great Power victory over Daesh in the east of the country.

3. Along with the arch-reactionary Assad regime, the Great Powers as well as regional powers like Turkey, reacted with horror to recent developments in Idlib in which HTS emerged as the dominant military from a power-struggle between different rebel factions. HTS is not only the strongest force militarily among the liberation fighters, but is also the most determined enemy of the Astana deal. As stated in the treaty of 4 May, the explicit goal of the Astana deal is to finish off the Syrian Revolution by transforming the areas still held by the rebels (primarily Idlib, Deraa, the enclaves in East Ghouta and Homs) into territories occupied by foreign troops (mainly Russian, Iranian and Turkish). At the same time, the deal commits its signatories to continue their war against the so-called "terrorist," which, in particular, include the strongest,



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

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

By Michael Probsting, April 2017

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

best organized and most committed force in the ongoing liberation war against the Assad regime – the petty-bourgeois Islamist *Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham*.

4. As we have stated in earlier documents, we in the RCIT unexceptionally oppose the political ideology of HTS. It is a petty-bourgeois nationalist Salafist force which promotes a sectarian and socially-conservative agenda. The working class and the oppressed in Syria need a completely different perspective – the organization of the popular masses in independent councils and armed militias fighting for a consistent democratic and socialist program.

5. However, revolutionaries have to develop their tactics on the basis of the given relation of forces as it is and not as it should be. In the present situation, it is crucial to defend those forces which refuse to capitulate to the pressure of the imperialist powers and their regional allies to lay down their arms and to liquidate the heroic Syrian Revolution. We share the support for the Syrian Revolution expressed by the Palestinian popular masses in the al-Aqsa Mosque last week, when they celebrated their victory against the Zionist occupiers. Sharing this spirit of the Palestinian masses, the international workers' movement and all progressive and democratic forces must also rally to support the Syrian Revolution. They must defend the anti-capitulationist liberation forces which continue the struggle against the Assad regime as well as the Great Powers and their allies. This includes, but is not limited to, the defense of Idlib and the liberation forces deployed there (including HTS) against any assault of the US, Russian or Turkish armies or their local allies.

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

* Defend Idlib against the Great Powers and their allies!

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

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

For the RCIT's analysis of the Arab Revolution in general and the Syrian Revolution in particular, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents which can be accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. In particular we refer readers to the following documents:

Michael Pröbsting: Syria: The Astana-Deal Struggle Intensifies. Some Notes on Recent Developments in the Syrian Civil War and the Dangers for the Liberation Struggle, 28 July 2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syrian-revolution-28-7-2017/>

RCIT: Syria: Condemn the Reactionary Astana Deal! The so-called "De-Escalation Zones" are a First Step towards the Partition of Syria and a Conspiracy by the Great Powers to Defeat the Revolution, 7 May 2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/astana-deal/>

RCIT: Syria: No to Trump's Missiles Strike! Drive all Great Powers out of Syria! Victory to the Syrian Revolution! 7 April 2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-air-strike-in-syria/>

RKO BEFREIUNG: Press Conference on Assad's Chemical Weapons Attack and the US Air Strike, Report (with video) on a press conference of the Syrian Community and the Austrian Section of the RCIT on 7 April 2017 in Vienna, <https://www.thecomunists.net/rcit/press-conference-syria-7-4-2017/>

Yossi Schwartz: Raqqa: Defeat the US Imperialist Offensive! An assessment of the US/SDF/YPG war against Daesh, April 2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-offensive-in-raqqa/>

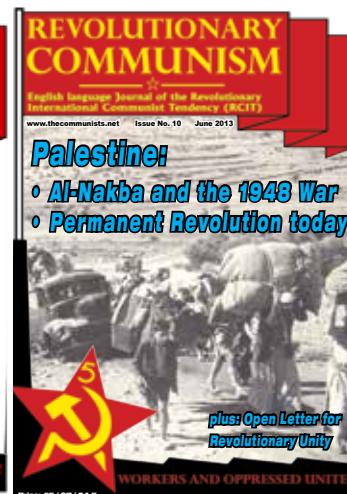
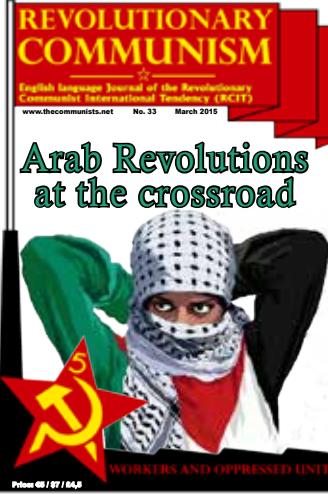
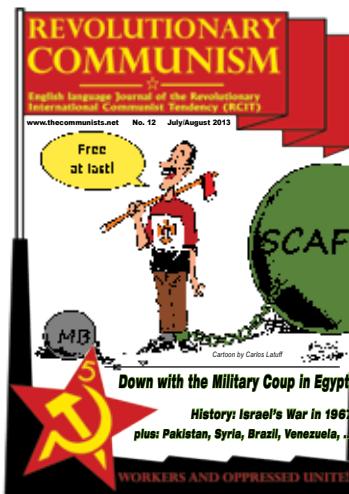
RCIT: Down with the Assad Tyranny! Victory to the Syrian Revolution! For a Workers and Peasants Republic! Draft Platform of Syrian Revolutionaries in Political Solidarity with the RCIT, April 2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/draft-syria-platform/>

RCIT: Defeat the Imperialist Invasion in Syria – Victory to the Revolution! Down with the American and Russian interventions! No to the imperialist plan to divide Syria! Down with the butcher Assad and his imperialist allies! 13.03.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/imperialist-invasion-in-syria/>

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

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Israel - Hands Off Sheikh Ra'ed Salah!

Condemn Nethanyahu, Father and Son for Siding With the Nazis in the US Against the Anti-Fascists!

By Yossi Schwartz (*The Internationalist Socialist League - Israel / Occupied Palestine*), 24.8.2017

In November 2015, based on the 1945 British Defense (Emergency) Statutes, the Israeli Security Cabinet declared the northern branch of the *Islamic Movement* in Israel, an illegal organization. These statutes have been used by Israel since the founding of the state, mostly against Palestinians.

These regulations grant extraordinary powers of various types to the Executive Authority, that does not have to prove in court any allegations it made against a person or organization. When these regulations were initiated as response to the Jewish revolt against the British for refusing mass immigration of Jews to Palestine, the Zionists "reacted with fury and very determinedly. This reaction is understandable in light of the extreme impact on human rights issuing from them. The regulations contain no provisions for balancing security needs against human rights. They grant the regime nearly total, unaccountable discretion (even though the position of the Supreme Court on this point was subsequently softened when it determined that any discretion is by its nature limited) and they have no critiquing mechanism against misuse of authority". (1)

In January 2017 Ra'ed Salah was released from prison after serving nine months following his conviction for defending the Mosques in alQuds (Jerusalem), the Zionist kangaroo court convicted him for inciting violence and racism in a sermon he delivered in East Jerusalem in 2007.

In his sermon in the Wadi Joz neighborhood of east Jerusalem he said "Now we are in this blessed and pure place, a place of blessing and purity, if not for the disturbances and obstruction that has befallen us by the Israeli conquest which will be removed, please God, just as other such occupations were removed in the past." (2)

Sheikh Ra'ed Salah, was arrested again on early Tuesday morning on suspicion of inciting terrorism. According to the police "on several different occasions – all of them taking

place after the (Islamic Movement's) northern branch was outlawed the Sheikh made public comments relating to the movement's worldview, and some of his statements were published in the media as well. An examination of all the material raises suspicion of (security) offenses that were carried out and, as a result, an investigation was authorized." (3)

The police asked for an 8 day extension of his detention for further investigation, but the Rishon Lezion Magistrate's Court at first extended his remand by three days.

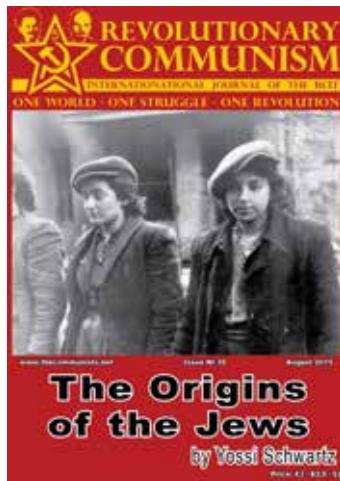
The specific allegation is that Sheikh Ra'ed Salah's remarks delivered in a speech last month at the funeral of three Israeli Arab gunmen who killed two police officers at the alAqsa compound. In the speech, the police claim he praised the attackers and asked others to follow their example.

Denying that he called for killing policemen Salah said during his court hearing: "I told the investigators I teach at mosques, and I told them (my remarks) were Islamic insights we got from the Sunni Quran".

There is no reason to doubt the Sheikh. The real reason behind his arrest is obviously the pressure of the Israeli government on the police following its defeat over the struggle in defense of the Mosques where Sheikh Ra'ed Salah was a leading figure of the Palestinian resistance to the Israeli actions.

In Court Salah also said: "You are not prosecuting me, you are prosecuting the Quran. What you're doing is an expression to the continued persecution of our public by the Israeli government. This is political persecution. This is an attempt to get the media to talk about my arrest."

Jamal Zahalka of Balad Party (Joint List) said the arrest was "vengeful" and "political" in nature and "meant to silence (Salah) in an effort to limit and minimize the Arab public's freedom of political activity."



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution: Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

"I call on all those who oppose fascism to wake up and protest. These arrests won't deter us and we will continue with our just struggle to defend the Al-Aqsa Mosque from an insane government that supports actions meant to harm the mosque," Zahalka added.

On Friday an Israeli court in Rishon LeZion extended his detention to four days, on grounds that it is necessary to question him on suspicion of inciting terrorism and violence and supporting a banned organization.

We support Zahalka's call and we have to demand from *Hadash* and the *Southern Islamic Movement* to join the call: **Israel - hands off Sheikh Ra'ed Salah!**

The detention of Ra'ed Salah takes place in Israel at a time that its prime minister did not condemn for three whole days the Nazi march in Virginia - a march aimed at spreading terror in the hearts of people of color, Muslims, Jews and many others.

As Bradley Burston on Aug 17, 2017 wrote in Haaretz:

"This is the message of Netanyahu's silence: I am not the prime minister of the Jewish people. I am the prime minister of all of the Jewish people who are right-wing, pro-settlement, anti-Palestinian, pro-Me.

"In truth, there should be nothing more straightforward for a prime minister of Israel than to condemn Nazism and overt, unvarnished explosions of anti-Semitism wherever and whenever they appear.

"But for three solid days, Netanyahu, Mr. Holocaust himself, who has something to say about just about everything, had nothing whatsoever to say about Nazis in Charlottesville. He posted about the death of the world's oldest man, he posted about his "week of works," he compared Israel's economy favorably with that of Venezuela.

"And when, at long last, he decided to post something about Charlottesville, he and his staff managed to compose a tweet so mealy-mouthed, that it far surpassed Trump's outrageous original statement for sheer opacity and intentional lack of focus." (4)

Israel is a state where while the police is persecuting Sheikh Ra'ed for allegedly supporting terrorism, Ya'ir Netanyahu, the son of the prime minister, echoed Trump and his father's disgusting statements on the Nazi march, saying that the real danger are the Anti-Nazis who hate Israel, while the Nazis are a thing of the past. Like his father who a few months ago claimed that it was the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin alHuseini was the one to convince Hitler to exterminate the Jews, distorting history in what can be only interpreted as aiding Nazi propaganda.

Canada, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, South Africa, Australia and India all have laws or have signed international conventions banning hate speech. Israel and France forbid the sale of Nazi items like swastikas and flags. But it is a place where the Prime Minister and his son, instead of calling to fight the Nazis when they are still small in numbers, tell the Jews to fight the Anti-Nazis instead.

Anyone who follows Benjamin Netanyahu's ties to the fascist movements in Europe cannot be surprised by the possibility that the Netanyahus are motivated by the notion that Anti-Semitism is good for Israel as it will force Jews to emigrate and perhaps even join the settlers. It is also possible that their statement reflect their sympathy to Trump but it certainly is motivated by racist Islamophobia.

Footnotes

- (1) The Israeli Democracy Institution, <https://en.idi.org.il/publications/7591>
- (2) The Jerusalem Post January 17, 2017 <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Northern-Islamic>
- (3) https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0_7340_L-5003036.00.html
- (4) <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/1.807005>

For our analysis of the latest mass protests in Palestine, we refer readers to various documents:

Adam Smith & Boris Hammerschlag: Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia - Hands Off AlJazeera! 13.8.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/hands-off-aljazeera/>

Yossi Schwartz: Occupied Palestine: In the Aftermath of the alAqsa Clashes, 29.07.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/aftermath-of-alqaqa-clashes/>

Yossi Schwartz and Boris Hammerschlag: Palestine: Lessons of the alQuds Clashes, 26.07.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/report-al-aqsa-26-7-2017/>

RCIT: Al-Aqsa Uprising: Solidarity with the Palestinian Resistance! For an International Solidarity Campaign with the Palestinian People! For an Immediate End to the Blockade against Gaza! For a Free Red Palestine! 25.7.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/statement-al-aqsa/>

ISL: Al-Aqsa Uprising: Zionists Provoke Global Clash with Muslim World, 25.07.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/report-al-aqsa-25-7-2017/>

Boris Hammerschlag: Israel - Hands Off Al-Aqsa! Revolutionaries - Defend the Rights of Muslims! 22.07.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/defend-al-aqsa/>

For the RCIT analysis of the liberation in Palestine, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. In particular we refer readers to the following documents:

ISL: Support the Demands of the Palestinian Freedom Fighters in Israeli Prisons! Free All Palestinian Political Prisoners! 21.4.2017, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/palestinian-hunger-strike/>

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

RCIT: Israel Starts Ground Offensive: Defend Gaza! Defeat Israel's War! Support the Palestinian Resistance! For a Workers' and Popular International Campaign to Boycott Israel! Down with the Regimes which Collaborate with Israel! For a Free, Red Palestine! 22.7.2014, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-defend-gaza/>

Yossi Schwartz: Israel, Hands Off Al-Aqsa! Down with the Israeli Apartheid State! 5.11.2014, <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/hands-off-al-aqsa/>

Israel / Occupied Palestine: Summary of the Program of the Internationalist Socialist League, February 2014, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/summary-of-isl-program/>

Yossi Schwartz: Israel's War of 1948 and the Degeneration of the Fourth International, May 2013, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1948/>

Michael Pröbsting: On some Questions of the Zionist Oppression and the Permanent Revolution in Palestine. Thoughts on some exceptionalities of the Israeli state, the national oppression of the Palestinian people and its consequences for the program of the Bolshevik-Communists in Palestine, May 2013, <https://www.thecomunists.net/theory/permanent-revolution-in-palestine/>

Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia - Hands Off AlJazeera!

By Adam Smith & Boris Hammerschlag, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT in Israel / Occupied Palestine), 13.8.2017

Last week, it has been announced by Israel's Minister of Communications, Ayoub Kara, that a legal process has begun to shut down the Qatari-based media outlet's offices in Jerusalem, following similar measures taken by other reactionary regimes in the region, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Kara, a known puppet minister of Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu, could not have carried out this crackdown on his own. Netanyahu began his latest term forming an unprecedented ultra-right wing government with him concentrating direct control over 5 ministries, including Foreign Affairs, and of course, Communications. He also forced all of the coalition parties to sign a 'non-intervention' clause regarding any decision he might make in the future concerning communications and media.

An appeal, by Zionist opposition parties, against this unprecedented concentration of power has been handed to the Israeli Supreme Court, which in turn forced Netanyahu to relinquish control over the Ministry of Communications in favor of a minister of his own choosing.

This brings to mind the shortcomings of bourgeois perverse judicial system where the letter of the law takes precedence over justice in practice. A good example of this could be demonstrated by Putin who placed his lap-dog, Dmitry Medvedev, as Russian president when Russian law, designed to prevent over-concentration of power, would not have allowed Putin to run for presidency once again.

Such practices are exactly the direction the Israeli government, under Netanyahu's leadership, is pushing towards - one-man Bonapartism, similar to Putin's Russia, Erdogan's Turkey, al-Sisi's Egypt, etc. Whatever has remained of the formal democratic facade of the Israeli Apartheid regime, is being gradually but rapidly gnawed at for the past decade - the attempts to shut down alJazeera being yet another step.

AlJazeera had been accused of incitement against Israel, recently during the alAqsa clashes, as well as support for terrorism. However, Israel already has laws against both incitement and support for terrorism. What could have prevented simply sending the police in to arrest and prosecute any alJazeera lawbreakers? The answer is easy - the Israeli court system, that's what - the only authority left to keep Israel in the ultra-hypocritical club of the so called western "free world".

Knowing it would be nearly impossible to prove any incitement or open support for terrorism on alJazeera platforms has ever taken place, Kara has instead begun to pressure the Israeli Satellite and Cable companies (YES and HOT respectively) to remove alJazeera from their available channel list. It should be noted that Kara has the power to introduce or prevent the introduction of new competitor companies into an extremely monopolistic market of TV content of a relatively small nation.

Kara also approached Lieberman, the Minister of Security, who has formal authority over the 67 occupied territories,

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

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

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

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

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

25 years.

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

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

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

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

to crackdown alJazeera activity under his jurisdiction. However, Israel has been placing Palestinian journalists under administrative arrests (without trial) long before this specific targeting of alJazeera.

Bypassing the Israeli justice system has become the modus operandi of Zionist Bonapartism and right-wing populism. Such was case of the shutting down of the Islamic Movement - Northern Branch. Knowing that incitement and support for terrorism would be impossible to prove in court, Erdan, the Minister of Internal Affairs chose to invoke the "Emergency Statutes" - leftovers from the British Mandate rule over Palestine.

It should be noted at this point, that by no means would we wish to absolve the racist Zionist courts from their role as a central element of the Apartheid and occupation apparatus as a whole. However, understanding this trend of treating it as excess baggage, is crucial in shaping any future anti-Zionist uprising.

The Zionist left, ideologically bankrupt with its dead-end "two state solution", demoralized by its inability to defeat Netanyahu, now places its hopes in him being thrown in jail or at least deposed over one or more of his several corruption scandals, being investigated by the police.

However, the shrewd politician that is Netanyahu, he has a keen understanding of the mechanisms of Israeli media and is consistently able to divert its attention by throwing yet another right-wing populist jab at the expense of the Palestinians and their supporters, whenever it manages to pick up on any accusations over his corruption. With the lack of any charismatic alternative, such allegations only serve to further rally support behind him (both willful and through intimidation), demonize the media and centralize even more power.

So far, Netanyahu has shown extreme skill, treading carefully, pushing the boundaries just enough to create the desired public effect, but not too much as to accidentally start a 3rd Intifada. Such things, however, are of an extremely volatile and unpredictable nature - all the while, the policy of slowly-creeping settler-colonialism and careful preparations for a full annexation - i.e. open apartheid, continues - relying on Islamophobia to keep the rest of the world paralyzed.

Another accusation made against alJazeera revolves around its alleged hypocrisy - being a relatively progressive media outlet with favorable coverage of environmental, LGBT and women's liberation issues, the Palestinian liberation struggle, the Arab Spring, the Syrian Revolution etc. (I personally witnessed an alJazeera reporter being physically attacked by several supporters of the Stalinist Communist Party of Israel during a Nakbah Day rally a few years back for their favorable coverage of the uprising against Assad in Syria - B.H.) all the while having its headquarters in Qatar, that has a reactionary Islamist monarchy for a regime - which it is careful to never criticize.

To that we say that it is indeed a sad reality that regimes like the one in Qatar still exist. What we fail to understand is how banning somewhat progressive outlets would hasten the regime demise? The way we see it, any reactionary regime toppled over by the masses, whether it butchers and oppresses its own people like Assad's regime in Syria or a-Sisi's regime in Egypt, or is does so to other nations like the Zionist, US and EU regimes, is a positive development. It doesn't really matter if being exposed by alJazeera led to this or something else.

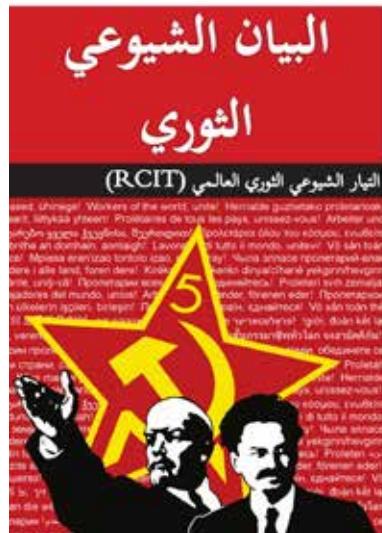
Any victory by the masses emboldens and gives hope to all of the oppressed and exploited people around the world, that ultimately - all oppressors and exploiters, no matter how strong, could be defeated, including their own. If by backing alJazeera, the Qatari regime thinks it could escape such fate - then history has taught it nothing. If alJazeera is acting hypocritically by not biting the hand that feeds it, then a much greater hypocrisy lies with those who had zero concern over the rights of Qatari women, LGBT or the fate of those who struggle for democracy anywhere in the Arab world, until it was the repressive regime they support which was next in line to be exposed by alJazeera.

Those who support genuine freedom and social justice for our region, would join us in our call:

For the Victory of the Arab Revolution and a Socialist Federation of the Middle East

We believe this is the *only* solution!

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الشيوعي الثوري الدولي

الثورة والثورة المضادة في
العالم العربي:
اختبار للثوريين



Afghanistan: Drive the US Occupants Out!

US President Trump escalates the imperialist crusade against the Afghan people! Support the resistance against the occupiers and their stooges!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 23.08.2017

1. In his first speech as commander-in-chief, US President Trump announced on 21 August a substantial increase of US troops in Afghanistan and an intensification of the military aggression against the Afghan people. Arrogant and crude as always, Donald Trump announced: "We are not nation building again. We are killing terrorists." He added, ignoring the fact that the Afghan resistance against the US occupation is stronger than ever in this longest military conflict of the US: "In the end, we will win." (Reuters, 21 August 2017)

2. Nearly 13,500 NATO troops are currently deployed in Afghanistan, 8,400 of them are Americans. They are supported by more than 25,000 contractors (of which 2/3 are foreigners). Together they are continuing the US-led occupation of the country which started in October 2001 in order to keep the pro-imperialist puppet government of Ashraf Ghani in power. According to the *UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan*, the war has cost the lives of about 25,000-30,000 Afghan civilians. Probably, the number is even higher. About 2,400 U.S. troops have died as well as an unknown number of Afghan resistance fighters. On 13 April this year, the American war mongers dropped, symbolic of their inhuman imperialist nihilism, the largest non-nuclear bomb in its arsenal – the so-called "*Mother of All Bombs*" – in the Nangarhar Province of eastern Afghanistan. This 16-year long war and occupation have devastated the country which was already one of the poorest in the world.

3. While Trump gave no details about the concrete nature of the intensified US war top military personnel provided some information to the media. The US army plans to send additional 4,000 troops to aid the occupation forces against an ever-strengthening resistance. According to Air Force Chief of Staff General David Goldfein, American bombers will intensify its strikes against the insurgents. Air Force Secretary Heather Wilson indicated an escalation of US aggressiveness. She described Trump's decision as a "*strategic correction*" in the war effort and stated in an interview with the news agency Reuters: "I think the guidance was pretty clear from the president last night, and we're going to go on the offensive and destroy these terrorist networks." (Reuters, 22 August 2017)

4. The main force of the Afghan resistance, the petty-bourgeois Islamist *Taliban*, spokesman Zabiullah Mujahid said: "If America doesn't withdraw its troops from Afghanistan soon Afghanistan will become another graveyard for this superpower in the 21st century." Another Taliban commander added: "He is just wasting American soldiers. We know how to defend our country. It will not change anything." (Al-Jazeera, 22 August 2017) And a commander from the Taliban-allied *Haqqani* network told the AFP news agency that Trump's speech was proof of "*a Crusade*". (DAWN, 22 August 2017) In an "*Open Letter*" to Trump, issued on 15 August, the Taliban made clear that their insurgency is a national liberation war: "Everyone now understands that

the main driver of war in Afghanistan is foreign occupation. (...) The Afghans have no ill-intention toward the Americans or any other nation around the world but if anyone violates their sanctums then they are mighty proficient at beating and defeating the transgressors." (Al-Jazeera, 15 August 2017)

5. Reflecting the wide-spread opposition of the Afghan people against the US-led occupation, even a long-time ally of the US like former Afghan President Hamid Karzai publicly stated that he "*very strongly*" opposes the new US strategy, saying it was "*against peace and the national interest of Afghanistan*". (Al-Jazeera, 23 August 2017)

6. The US President also issued in his speech various threats against Pakistan, a traditional close ally of China. "*We have been paying Pakistan billions and billions of dollars at the same time they are housing the very terrorists that we are fighting,*" he said. He stated, arrogantly: "*It is time for Pakistan to dedicate to civilization and order and peace.*" Leaving aside the irony of such words coming from the most illiterate and uncivilized US President history has ever seen, Trump's assertions are interesting as they represent another indication of the ongoing creation of an alliance of the US with India against the background of the accelerating rivalry between the US and China as well as between China and India (see the current stand-off between troops of these two powers in the Sikkim border region). It is no accident that Trump also called in his speech for Pakistan's great rival India to play a bigger role in Afghanistan.

7. Contrary to the wide-spread image in the capitalist media, the US-led occupation of Afghanistan has nothing to do with combating "*terrorism*". It has a geostrategic background and is part of the desperate attempt of US imperialism to keep its hegemonic role in world politics. Furthermore, Afghanistan is a strategically important country located at the interface between the Middle East and Asia in particular. Finally, Washington and its NATO allies like the British government are highly reluctant to accept defeat in their longest military conflict as they correctly fear that this would boost national resistance struggles all over the world – and in the Islamic world in particular. This is also the reason why all imperialist Great Powers – US, EU, Japan, Russia and China – support the occupation irrespective of their rivalry between each other.

8. As Marxists and anti-imperialists, we unambiguously denounce the US occupation as a reactionary war of aggression. On the other hand, we characterize the resistance struggle of the Afghan people – which includes an armed guerilla struggle – as a legitimate war of defense which deserves the unconditional support of all consistent democrats, anti-imperialists and socialists all over the world. Therefore the RCIT has supported the Afghan resistance against the imperialist aggression from when the first US bombs were dropped on Kabul on 7

October 2001.

9. Naturally, this does not minimize our political opposition against the reactionary program and ideology of the Taliban as the currently strongest force of the Afghan resistance. The task of Afghan socialists is to combine resistance against the occupation with an independent program fighting for a workers' and poor peasants' republic as part of a region-wide socialist federation.

10. The RCIT strongly denounces the cowardly Stalinists, left-reformists and centrists who ignore the ongoing national liberation struggle in Afghanistan and who refuse to support the ongoing resistance against the occupation. This demonstrates once more that irrespective of their wordy opposition to "imperialism" in abstract, they fail in their anti-imperialist tasks in practice!

11. The RCIT calls on socialists from around the world to fight against the imperialist crusade which the US Administration of Trump is waging against the Afghan people with the help of the British and other governments for 16 years. We call for an international campaign to support the struggle of the Afghan people to drive the imperialist occupiers out of their country!

International Secretariat of the RCIT

For our analysis and perspectives of the liberation struggle in Afghanistan, see, among others, the following documents:

Defend Afghanistan! Defeat Imperialism! October 2001, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/afghan-war-lrci-ft-ks/>

Questions & Answers on the Afghan War, 30.09.2001, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/q-a-afghan-war-2001/>

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Stop the Invasion of Afghanistan! 30.09.2001, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/afghanistan-invasion-2001/>

The History of Afghanistan (2001), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/history-of-afghanistan/>

Michael Pröbsting: Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference, Autumn 2012, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism/>

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, chapter 12 and 13, 2013, <http://www.great-robery-of-the-south.net/>

On the acceleration of the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers, you can find numerous documents here:

<https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>

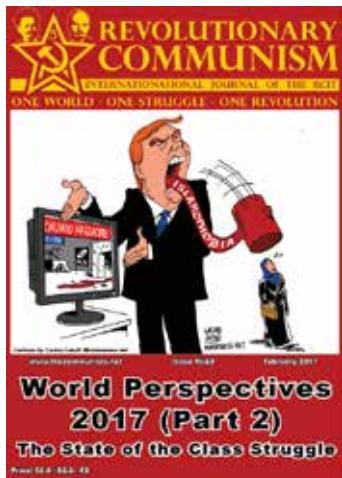
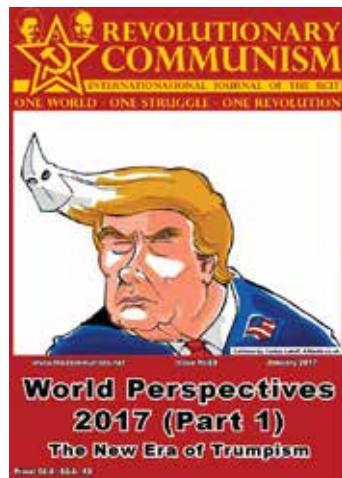
See also Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South

Our latest assessment of the Great Powers rivalry can be read viewed in:

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, 18 December 2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/>

On the current China-India border conflict and its background, see our latest pamphlet:

Michael Pröbsting: The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences. What are the background and the nature of the tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region? What should be the tactical conclusions for Socialists and Activists of the Liberation Movements? 18 August 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-india-rivalry/>



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism

Introduction * I . A New Political Phase Has Opened: The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class in the Era of Trumpism * II. Some Theoretical Question about the New Political Phase * III. The Great Power Rivalry and Its Consequences for World Politics * IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution * V. Class Struggle in the US after Trump's Victory * VI . The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class and the Resistance in Latin America * VII. Imperialist Interference and the Struggle for Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa * VIII. Europe in the Era of Chauvinism, Militarization and Brexit * IX. Russia: Victorious Outcome of NATO's Cold War * X. China: Strengthened as a Great Power but Before a Serious Recession * XI. The Class Struggle in Asia * XII. Perspectives for Building of the Revolutionary World Party Today * Footnotes

Published as two special issues of RevCom with altogether 56 pages, A4 Format

Myanmar: Solidarity with the Uprising of the Rohingya Muslims!

No to the Regime's Buddhist Chauvinism! For the Rohingya's Right of National Self-Determination!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 27.08.2017

1. More than 1.000 armed fighters of Myanmar's persecuted minority of the Rohingya Muslims have launched a wave of attacks against the military and police posts in more than 25 different locations. The *Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army* claimed responsibility for the attacks. It stated that these attacks were in reaction to "a blockade [of the township of Rathetaung in northern Rakhine, Ed.] for more than two weeks which is starving the Rohingya people to death. (...) As they prepare to do the same in Maungdaw ... we had to eventually step up in order to drive the Burmese colonising forces away." (Al Jazeera, 26.8.2017) At least 77 Rohingya Muslims and 12 members of security forces were killed during these attacks, according to the regime.

2. These guerilla actions are the result of the horrible mistreatment of the Rohingya Muslims who have been described by the United Nations "as the world's most persecuted minority". The Rohingya Muslims are an ethnic minority of about 2 million people who have experienced systematic persecution by the Myanmar's regime since many decades. Mostly located in Arakan (now called Rakhine State by the regime) in the north-west of country, they demanded independence or at least autonomy since the beginning of Myanmar (Burma) as an independent state in 1948.

3. Myanmar is a highly multi-national state with 135 distinct ethnic groups officially recognized by the government (and numerous more which are not recognized). Together, these minorities constitute at least 32% of the population (the biggest minorities are the Shan, Karen, Mon and the Rohingya Muslims). However, the regime – which has always been capitalist irrespective of its pseudo-socialist ideology in the past – has pursued a policy of chauvinist oppression against national and ethnic minorities ("Burmanisation") which it based on the ultra-nationalist ideology of racial "purity".

4. In October 1982, the military dictatorship introduced the *Burmese Citizenship Law* which officially denied the Rohingya Muslims Burmese citizenship. They are effectively denied access to university education and to jobs in the public sector. The Rohingya are living under extremely impoverished conditions and 60% of them are landless. They have a child mortality rate of up to 224 deaths per 1000 live births, more than 4 times the rate for the rest of Myanmar! The regime denies their existence as an ethnic minority and claims that the Rohingya Muslims are illegal migrants from Bangladesh. As a result, the army implements a policy of systematic ethnic cleansing resulting in the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya Muslims who are currently living as refugees in Bangladesh and other countries. Today, only 1.1-1.3 million Rohingya Muslims are still living in Myanmar. They constitute about 90% of the population in the north of Rakhine State.

5. It is important to point out that the brutal persecution of the Rohingya Muslims is not only implemented by the military bureaucracy who ruled the country for decades but also by Aung San Suu Kyi, a bourgeois politician who has been hailed by the Western media as a democrat and who is the de facto Prime Minister since April 2016.

6. Officially the United Nations protest against the brutal persecution of the Rohingya Muslims. In August 2017, former UN General Secretary Kofi Annan released an official report which criticizes (in diplomatic language) the situation of this ethnic minority. However, as both Chinese and US imperialism are battling for influence in Myanmar, neither is willing to undermine their position for the sake of a small und poor ethnic minority.

7. The RCIT unconditionally supports the struggle of the Rohingya Muslims for national self-determination. It is the task of socialists, indeed every consistent democrat,

China's transformation into an imperialist power

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

By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

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to support the wish of this oppressed minority to decide freely if they wish to gain autonomy inside Myanmar, if they wish to join Bangladesh or if they wish to constitute an independent state. As the Rohingya Muslims face brutal persecution by the Myanmar state, they have every right to launch an armed struggle for freedom. Indeed, history teaches the oppressed that they can never achieve freedom and justice without an armed struggle against the ruling class!

8. As revolutionary communists we oppose the petty-bourgeois Islamist and nationalist ideology to which the *Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army* (ARSA) – as well as most of its predecessor organizations since 1948 like the *Rohingya Liberation Party*, the *Rohingya Patriotic Front* or the *Rohingya Solidarity Organization* – adheres. However, this does not alter the fact that the uprising of the Rohingya Muslims – which is currently lead by forces like ARSA – is profoundly legitimate and deserves the full support of all socialists and consistent democrats!

9. The RCIT draws the attention of the Rohingya Muslims and all supporters of their liberation struggle to the fact that historic experience has demonstrated that freedom and equality can only be secured if the workers, poor peasants and youth take power in their own hands. Any other solution will result in the usurpation of power by small elite which will sell their people to the imperialist monopolies and the Great Powers. This is why authentic revolutionaries fight for the creation of a workers' and poor peasants' government which can open the road towards socialism.

10. The RCIT calls all socialists and revolutionaries in Myanmar and around the world to join forces in order to build revolutionary organizations as part of a new revolutionary world party!

* *Solidarity with the uprising of the Rohingya Muslims!*
 * *For the right of national self-determination of the Rohingya Muslims – including the right to secede!*
 * *Immediate grant of full citizenship rights for the Rohingya Muslims and all ethnic minorities in Myanmar!*

* *Down with the capitalist Buddhist chauvinist regime of Myanmar!*

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

* *Long Live the Revolution! Aluta Continua!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

For our analysis and perspectives of the liberation struggle in Asia, see, among others, the following documents:

The China–Pakistan Economic Corridor is a Project of Chinese Imperialism for the Colonialization of Pakistan! Joint Statement of the International Secretariat of the RCIT and the Revolutionary Workers Organization (Pakistani Section of the RCIT), 22.1.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/pakistan-cpec/>

After the Killing of Burhan Wani: Long Live the Kashmiri Intifada! Statement of the International Secretariat of the RCIT and the Revolutionary Workers Organization (Pakistani Section of the RCIT), 21.07.2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/kashmir-uprising/>

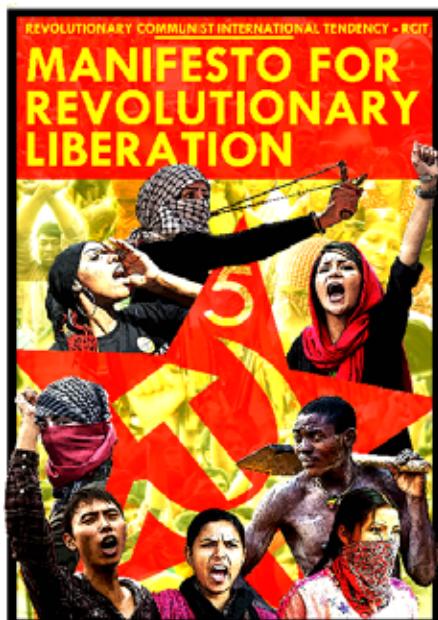
Michael Pröbsting: The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences. What are the background and the nature of the tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region? What should be the tactical conclusions for Socialists and Activists of the Liberation Movements? 18 August 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-india-rivalry/>

RCIT: Thailand: Smash the Developing Military Coup! 21.5.2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/thailand-coup/>

Theses on capitalism and class struggle in Bangladesh. Joint Theses of the International Secretariat of the RCIT and the Revolutionary Workers Organization (RCIT Section in Pakistan), November 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/theses-on-bangladesh/>

Revolutionary Workers Organization (RCIT Section in Pakistan): Action Program for Pakistan, April 2012, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/pakistan-action-program/>

Michael Pröbsting: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, 2012, www.thecommunists.net/theory/why-china-is-imperialist. See also numerous other documents on China as an imperialist power here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>



NEW RCIT PROGRAM!

Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format

Brazil: Temer Escapes Impeachment by Buying Legislators for 4.5 Billion Dollars: It's the Workers Who Will Pay the Bill

**For a United Front of Struggle! Organize a General Strike
and Popular Uprising Now! No to the proposal of parliamentarism!
For a Workers' and Popular Government!**

Statement of the Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (Section of the RCIT in Brazil), 22 August 2017

At the beginning of August President Michel Temer was able to obtain enough votes in the Chamber of Deputies to stop the proceeding of the complaints against him to the Federal Supreme Court. Such a "victory" was only possible with the government's releasing more than 4.5 billion dollars to parliamentarians, creating a huge chest fund to buy votes to save the presidents. The possibility that the denunciation against Temer would be referred to the Federal Supreme Court was ruled out when votes opposed, to the move, in addition to those of absent legislators, prevented the opposition from obtaining the required 342 votes (two-thirds of the House). Had the complaint been accepted, the Federal Supreme Court would have had to examined the case, which could have led to Temer's removal from office until the final decision. In a recording of a conversation between Temer and JBS owner Joesley Batista, the president seems to endorse the pay-off to ex-deputy Eduardo Cunha, who is in custody, in exchange for his silence. The video shows the then Deputy Rodrigo Rocha Loures, one of Temer's trusted cronies, carrying a suitcase with 500 thousand reais. The money is alleged to be a donation by the owner of the refrigeration company JBS to Temer, part of a bribe offered to the latter to favor doing business with this company.

The following week the Temer government announced that it needed to revise the fiscal budget forecast. The new target foresees a shortfall of R\$ 159 billion (reais) in public accounts for 2017 and 2018. This deficit is a bigger than what was previously expected, from R\$ 139 billion in 2017 and R\$ 129 billion in 2018. Among the measures announced to reduce the budget deficit is the increase in taxes on fuel prices that will generate an additional R\$10 billion of income for the government, exactly the sum alleged to have been spent to purchase the votes the deputies of the deputies who kept the president's case away from the scrutiny of the Federal Supreme Court. Or, in other words, every time citizens fuel up their vehicles

at the gas station, they will be paying to retain in power a president came to office in the wake of a parliamentary coup.

The Temer government has already approved, without the consent of the workers, the complete outsourcing of labor contracts; the 20-year freeze on public investments in essential areas such as health and education and housing; the elimination or reduction of historical labor rights, such as vacations, working hours, overtime, etc. But there remains what is considered the final cherry on the cake, the pension reform, which if approved, in practice will make it impossible for most workers to retire before they die.

The sum of the proposals of the pension reform project is so damaging to workers that part of the rank-and-file government deputies fear losing votes for their own re-election if they vote in favor, exactly one year before the next general elections of 2018, and therefore are threatening not to vote for the reform.

In practice, the Temer government, while having managed to get rid of the threat of impeachment by buying off the parliament, is now in the hands of the same parliament itself. Today, Brazil is witnessing a weak presidency combined with conservative, parliament of vagabonds.

The current political crisis, in which the bourgeoisie cannot agree on who among the most reactionary sector should actually run the country should be the opportunity for the left sectors of the political spectrum, the parties and social movements, to conduct a head on confrontation with the bourgeoisie. But the leftists (PT, PCdoB, PSOL, PCB, PSTU, MTST, MST, etc.) are doing just the opposite, throwing all their hopes into the illusion of bourgeois democracy by betting on their hopes for the outcome of the general elections in October 2018. There are no guarantees what will happen in the elections next year. The political, economic and social crisis is intensifying every day. The sectors that engineered the coup against the government

O Comunismo Revolucionário Portuguese-language Journal of the RCIT

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of Dilma and those who collaborated with it, such as the public prosecutor's office, the press in general, the Federal Supreme Court, the National Congress, the big farmers, the conservative parliamentarians from evangelical and Catholic groups, did not carry out a coup in order to place power back in the hands of Lula da Silva or any other leftist name associated with the struggles for democratic and social rights. The bourgeoisie is openly talking about the possibility of installing the parliamentary system in place of the presidential one, accompanied by the setting up a district vote. If such a proposal materializes, the working and oppressed people of Brazil will be in the hands of the most conservative, reactionary, anti-worker and most corrupt parliament in history. As Marx said: History repeats itself, the first time as a tragedy and the second as farce.

The Revolutionary Communist Current reaffirms the need to:

1) Use to our advantage the crisis of this corrupt government! We can and must strengthen the power of the working class and the popular masses! No to the parliamentary!

2) Block the conspiracy of the ruling class with its obscure parliamentary maneuvers. We must overthrow Temer's corrupt government! For the organization of a general strike and a popular uprising!

3) Call upon the CUT, the MST, the MTST, the Popular Brazil Front, the Front of the People Fearless, the PT and all popular mass organizations to constitute a united front of struggle. We call upon these organizations to organize a general strike! We must force the conservative and hesitant bureaucrats in charge of these organizations to organize resistance. But at the same time we should not put our trust in them! These bureaucratic leaders

have proven in the past that they are willing to subordinate the struggle for our interests in exchange for participation in the institutions of bourgeois power. We must impose demands upon these leaders, but we must observe and control them carefully.

4) Build committees of popular action. These committees are to be elected in popular assemblies in which all workers participate in workplaces and all persons in popular neighborhoods. They should discuss the most important issues of the fight and elect their delegates. These delegates should meet at a national congress that should discuss how to advance our struggle. These committees of action must also control the leadership of mass organizations and lead the fight against the Temer government if the bureaucrats hesitate and betray us. In addition, such action committees should also create popular self-defense units in order to defend the people against the inevitable attacks by the police and the army.

*5) Due to the fact that many people currently follow the leadership of CUT, MST, MTST, FBP, FPSM and PT, we call upon these grassroots organizations to take power into their own hands in the wake of a general strike and a popular uprising. For a government that encompasses organizations and movements such as CUT / INTERSINDICAL / CTB / MST / MTST / FBP / FPSM / CMP / PCO / PT * and all popular mass movements! This could be a first step towards the creation of a people's and workers' government.*

6) In order to advance this strategy and put it into practice, we must create an authentic revolutionary party. We call on all activists to share such a perspective of the struggle to join the CCR in our efforts to build such a party as part of a new revolutionary workers' international!

7) Onward to a revolutionary constituent assembly!

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today

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

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

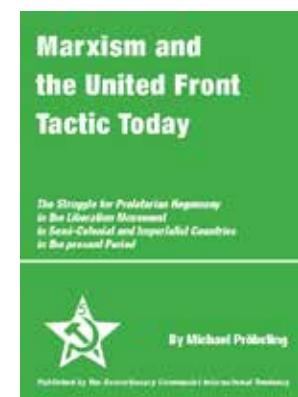
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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

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

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

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



What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

