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Issue Nr.86

October 2018

## **Sochi Deal is Treason to the Syrian Revolution!**

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# English-Language Journal of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), No. 86, October 2018

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*Revolutionary Communism* is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria. Furthermore, the RCIT has fraternal relations with the *Alkebulan School of Black Studies* (Kenya), the *Pan-African Consciousness Renaissance* (Nigeria), *Courant des Jeunes Penseurs Congolais* (Democratic Republic of Congo), the *Marxist Group 'Class Politics'* (Russia) and *Smif Savaşı* (Turkey).

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Tel/SMS/WhatsApp/Telegram: +43-650-4068314**

# Nigeria: “Stalinism is an Obstacle in Building an Authentic Marxist and Internationalist Organization!”

## On the Background of the Recent Split in the Pacesetters Movement and the Plans of the RCIT Supporters in Nigeria

Interview with Sanyaolu Juwon, former Organizing Secretary of the Pacesetters Movement and long-time National Coordinator of the Student Movement ‘Alliance of Nigerian Students Against Neoliberal Attacks’, 4.9.2018, published by the RCIT

**Q**uestion: Hi, comrade, good to have you with us! Could you first tell us a bit about yourself?

**A**nswer: My name is Sanyaolu Juwon. I am 26 years old. I have been a revolutionary activist since 2011. That’s close to 8 years now. I was the National Coordinator of the Students Movement ‘Alliance of Nigerian Students Against Neoliberal Attacks’ (ANSA) for close to two years before handing over to a new leadership about two months ago. I have been the Organizing Secretary of the Pacesetters Movement since February 2017 till September 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018.

**Q**: Could you tell us about the meeting of the *Pacesetters Movement* on 2 September?

**A**: At this meeting, a split took place between the Trotskyist wing of the organization and the old Stalinist guard. We wanted to put forward a resolution about the political and organizational reorientation of the organization. But before we could do so, the bureaucratic apparatus took disciplinary actions against us (they already tried to do the same against me inside the leadership body for several months). As a result we had a separate meeting where we decided to launch a new organization as part of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT).

**Q**: What has been the background of this development?

**A**: The *Pacesetters Movement* exists already for decades. For a long time, it has been a purely Stalinist organization. In the last years, it formally broke with Stalinism. This is why I and a number of other young activists joined it. However, we found out that the organization had only formally broken with Stalinism but not in substance. As a result, a number of comrades including myself, have fought for a real change since some time. While we have been able to push back the Stalinist influence, we could not break their hold over the apparatus.

**Q**: What have been the main points of your proposal for a political and organizational reorientation of the organization?

**A**: Concretely, we proposed, first, a full break with Stalinism. Secondly, we demanded a break with national isolationism and a turn to consistent working class internationalism. As a consequence we proposed to join the RCIT as a sympathizing section. Thirdly, we demanded an end of passive routinism and a turn to an activist orientation building the organization among the working class.

**Q**: Can you explain this a bit more in detail?

**A**: Yes, of course. We have collaborated closely with the RCIT in the past few months. We have discussed the RCIT’s Africa Manifesto (<https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/manifesto-for-the-revolutionary-liberation-of-black-africa/>) and agreed with the comrades two important international joint statements (Global Trade War: No to Great Power Jingoism in West and East! <https://>

[www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-on-the-looming-global-trade-war/](https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-on-the-looming-global-trade-war/); Warmongering in the Middle East: Down with all Imperialist Great Powers and Capitalist Dictatorships! <https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-warmonger-ing-in-the-middle-east/>). As a result, we have established fraternal relations between our organizations (<https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/fraternal-relations-between-rcit-and-pacesetters-nigeria/>). For us it has been clear that we want to draw the organisational conclusions from this by becoming the Nigerian section of the RCIT. We are convinced that it is crucial to fight for the socialist revolution as part of an international organisation.

**Q**: And this was opposed by the old Stalinist guard?

**A**: Yes, Stalinism believes in the possibility to build socialism isolated in one country and, consequently, to build a revolutionary party isolated in a single country. We consider the method of Lenin and Trotsky superior – the socialist society and the party fighting do such a society will be built by internationalist methods or not at all. This has been understood by the young activists and this is why we broke with the old Stalinist guard of the Pacesetters. It is clear for us that Stalinism is an obstacle in building an authentic Marxist and internationalist organization!

**Q**: You have been a leader of the student movement ANSA for several years. Can you tell a bit more on this?

**A**: When we began our work in the *Pacesetters Movement* this organization was pretty isolated among the youth.



Sanyaolu Juwon, speaking on Nigerian TV

It had a presence only on one campus. We began an energetic campaign of building ANSA as an authentic student movement which is fighting for the interests of the working class youth. Today we have a presence on 31 campuses. (See e.g. <https://punchng.com/closure-lautech-students-set-mass-protest/>; <https://punchng.com/video-tasued-students-with-gov-amosun-during-protest-on-fees-hike/>; <https://socialistworkersleague.org/2017/06/16/education-is-a-right-ansa-protests-at-lsha-students-attacked-by-thugs/>) We have also been a leading force in the Save UNILAG Coalition of which I have been the secretary. (See e.g. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/04/coalition-demands-release-detained-13-unilag-students/>; <http://saharareporters.com/2017/02/28/save-unilag-coalition-announces-mass-action-demand-reinstatement-rusticated-students/>; <http://thenationonlineng.net/students-protest-colleagues-rustication-unilag/>) As a result of our revolutionary activities, a number of young activists, including myself, have repeatedly been suspended from schools and universities. (For a recently published ANSA statement see e.g. <https://www.thecommunists.net/forum/ansa-statement-on-reinstatement-of-9-student-activists-in-nigeria/>)

**Q:** Did this cause conflicts inside the *Pacesetters Movement*?

**A:** Yes. One point of our resolution at the General Meeting on 2 September was: *"That the organization puts an end to*

*reducing it cadres to campus tigers and build the movement as a genuine working class international organization."*

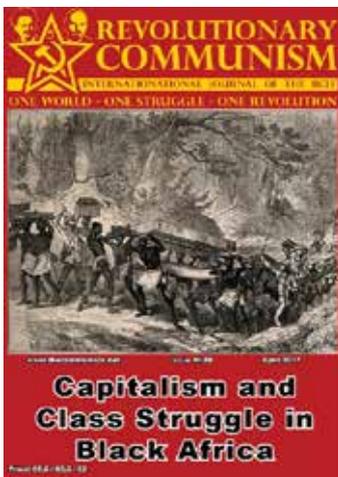
**Q:** What are "Campus Tigers"?

**A:** A "Campus Tigers" is a figurative speech used to describe cadres whose best days as revolutionary activists starts and ends on campus. The Stalinists orientated to this kind of people. But we Trotskyists are totally opposed such an approach. In our opinion, it is crucial to build an organization which is based on serious activities among the working class in general and the working class youth in particular.

**Q:** So what are your plans for the future?

**A:** Nigeria is a very big country with 190 million people and a strong proletariat! The capitalist society is full of explosive contradictions and we expect sharp class struggles in the near future. Our task as revolutionaries is to prepare for these developments and to build a revolutionary internationalist party! After our split with the Stalinist *Pacesetters Movement* we are currently building a new, internationalist and authentic Marxist organization as a section of the RCIT. It will be active, strong amongst the youth and orientated to the working class and its struggles! You will hear soon more from us!

**Q:** We look forward and wish you all the best, comrade!



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

# Theses on Capitalism and Class Struggle in Black Africa

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

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

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

## Interview: The Revolutionary Student Movement in Nigeria

*Interview with Obafemi Sodunola, a leader of the "Alliance of Nigerian Students Against Neoliberal Attacks" (ANSA) as well as a leader of the sympathizing section of the RCIT in Nigeria, September 2018*

**Question:** Hello, comrade, thanks for taking the time for this interview! Could you first tell us a bit about yourself?

**Answer:** I am Sodunola Obafemi Trotsky. I study philosophy at Obafemi Awolowo university, Nigeria. I have been a political activist for the past 5 years. I was the coordinator of ANSA, Osun State, Nigeria. I am currently the National Secretary of ANSA.

**Question:** As you are a leader of the Alliance of Nigerian Students Against Neoliberal Attacks (ANSA), can you tell us a bit about the history of your organization?

**Answer:** ANSA was born out of the broad meeting of the Left organizations (Socialist organizations) at Obafemi Awolowo university in 2015 to provide a platform for the Nigerian students to organize and kick start aggressive campaigns against the commercialization and privatization of public education and other neo liberal policies of the Nigerian government. It has become a mass movement of students in Nigeria that is restless in engaging the government to provide free and qualitative education to the people through public funding and management.

**Question:** How many members approximately does ANSA have and how widespread is its presence at universities?

**Answer:** ANSA as of today is in control of 31 campuses (Universities, Polytechnics, Colleges of Education etc). It has become a mass movement so it's impossible to give actual numbers of members in it but through our NEC meetings we know we have 31 campuses.

**Question:** What are the main demands of ANSA?

**Answer:** The main demands of ANSA are:

- 1) Free, qualitative, fully funded and publicly managed education.
- 2) Democratization of all decisions making organs of schools to include elected representatives of academic and

non academic staff, students and parents.

3) For abolition of all forms of fees or charges on students e.g. acceptance fees in Universities, Polytechnics, Colleges of education etc.

**Question:** What have been the main activities of ANSA in the last 12 months?

**Answer:** ANSA organizing Symposia, Summits and Press conferences to sensitize students and the public on the need to reject fees in all schools.

ANSA has been fighting against Victimization of Students activists, Students Union leaders, and for the right of students to independent students unionism.

It also lent its voice to the struggles of Workers/Labour Unions struggle for the increment in National Minimum Wage and other earned allowances.

**Question:** What are ANSA's plans for the coming period?

**Answer:** We are planning to intensify our campaigns against all these neo liberal policies and win more campuses. We are also planning to hold another summit that would witness not only Nigerian students but West Africa as a whole for internationalist connection of all issues patterning to imperialists hold in Africa.

**Question:** You did recently join the RCIT. What have your reasons to make this decision?

**Answer:** I joined RCIT because I am a Trotskyist and want to attain the internationalist tendency part of Marxism. I support its goals because it is organizing to bring about 5th International directed to have a revolutionary world party. That's the ideal of scientific socialism (Marxism).

**Question:** What do you think about the role of the RCIT for your work in Nigeria?

**Answer:** RCIT's role will further broaden our struggles and make it have international outlooks through reports and publications of ANSA activities in relations to the material supports.



Activists of ANSA (Nigeria), Obafemi Sodunola is the second from the left (on the right picture)

## Supporting Education of Women in Zambia

*Report from the RCIT Zambia (with Videos), 24 September 2018*

Comrades of the RCIT Zambia visited the *George Community School* in the George Compound of Lusaka on 21 September. There are classes of women who are striving to learn English. Given the poor economic conditions, the schools often lack the most elementary material conditions. Often there exist only inadequate toilets, no running water and hardly any text books. In order to improve the conditions for women to improve their education, comrade Ngombo Ngombo, a leader of the RCIT

section in Zambia, and other comrades took the initiative to support the efforts of these women. They organized various education materials and brought it to the school.

Below are two video clips from the ceremony where comrade Ngombo Ngombo addressed the women and handed over education material.

View the videos here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/solidarity-activity-with-zambian-women/>



Ngombo Ngombo (right) and other activists

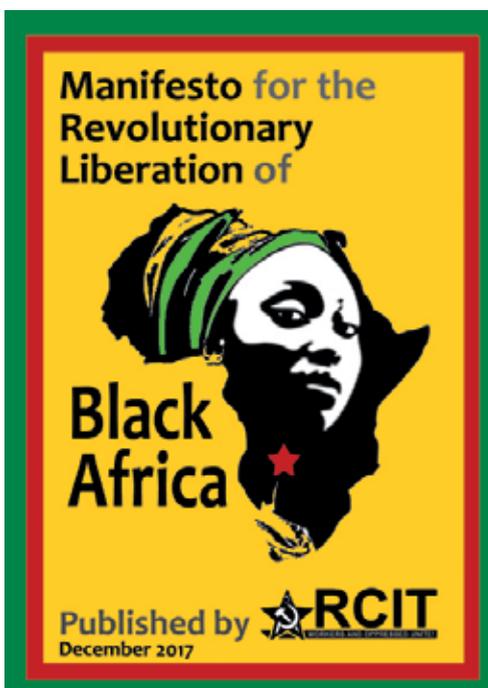
### *RCIT Africa Program*

## Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

*Adopted at the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress of the RCIT in November 2017*

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

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format*



## Brazil: The Shadow of the Military in the Putschist Regime!

**For a United Front of Struggle of PT, CUT, MST, MTST,  
and all other Mass Workers and Popular against the looming Dictatorship!  
For Critical Support for the PT Candidate at the Presidential Election!**

*Statement of Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (Section of the RCIT in Brazil), 12 September 2018*

In an interview with *O Estado de Sao Paulo* newspaper last week, army commander General Eduardo Villas-Bôas put the cards on the table about how the military thinks about the current electoral process. Lula can not be candidate, period!

It is necessary to clarify that the military of the Armed Forces and of all Brazilian military organizations are prohibited, by constitutional law, from expressing themselves on political and party issues. The decree 4346, of 2002, specifies the prohibitions to military on the following political manifestations: 1) The military in activity is forbidden to publicly manifest, without being authorized, on matters of political-partisan nature. 2) To take part, using military uniform, in manifestations of political-partisan nature. 3) To discuss or provoke discussion, by any means of communication, on political or military matters, unless duly authorized.

However, the current reality in Brazil after the parliamentary coup that toppled President-elect Dilma Rousseff as well as placing Michel Temer's ultra-reactionary government in office with its ultra-liberal economic measures in the presidency put back the role of the military as political protagonists. It began with the intervention of the army in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In practice Brazil is already, to a certain degree, under the tutelage of the military, the semi-dictatorship in disguise!

It is in this context that General Villas Boas affirmed that the decision of the United Nations Humans Rights Committee, which favors the right of former President Lula to participate in the campaign, even while imprisoned "is an attempt to invade our national sovereignty." The general also stated that "the worst case scenario is to have someone in a sub-judice situation, facing both the Constitution and the Clean Sheet Law, removing legitimacy, hampering the stability and governance of the future government and further dividing Brazilian society." The statements of General Villas Boas are added to the joint aberrations putschists of the judicial system, the media, the Public Ministry, and the Federal Police, etc. As we denounced in our previous articles, the country is sinking more and more into the regime of exception, and the demoralization of Brazil at an international level is becoming increasingly evident.

Today is September 11, the bloody anniversary of the mil-

itary coup of Chile in 1973, a date never to be forgotten by the Chilean and the Latin American people. The history of Brazil is no different from our Latin American brothers and sisters. It is 500 years since the discovery of the region by the Portuguese and only in 1945 the first presidential elections took place with direct secret vote and from these elected governments two suffered impeachment (Fernando Collor and Dilma Rousseff). In total, the bourgeois democracy in the country did not exceed 50 years, from 1945 to 1964 (military coup) and from 1989 to 2016 (Parliamentary coup).

That is why General Villas Boas' speech should not be minimized. We even consider that the threat is not restricted to Lula da Silva as a candidate, but to any leftist leadership or party that eventually wins the elections and dare to oppose the interests of the market and imperialism.

What strikes our attention in the speech of Villas Boas is that when speaking of the decision of the *UN Human Rights Committee* and denouncing a supposed "invasion of national sovereignty" he does not say a word about the policy of total and complete delivery of the national patrimony carried out by the illegitimate government of Michel Temer.

Temer and his putschist gang have been delivering the national industry and the wealth of the country to the international vultures, the Great Powers (USA, China, Europe, etc.). The list is huge: Petrobras, pre-salt oil wells, Embraer, Eletrobrás, Guarani Aquifer (1), not to mention US military operations in the Amazon. Were not these facts a clear violation of national sovereignty?!

### **Only Mass Struggle Can Stop the Counterrevolution!**

The political instability coupled with economic instability after the coup continues to grow. The coup regime is not willing to abandon the attacks on the workers and poor. A new coup within the coup is not ruled out, i.e. the undisguised military intervention for what they call "re-establishing law and order."

The only way to defeat the right is the revolutionary mobilization of the masses in the streets and via mass strikes and general strikes. It's necessary to ensure not only the elections without interference from the military, but with the firm determination to revoke the harsh economic and

## **O Comunismo Revolucionário** **Portuguese-language Journal of the RCIT**

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social measures against the workers already made by Temer, to cancel the so-called structural reforms and privatizations, to end the monopolistic domination of the mass media which are controlled by a few families. According to survey of the German government-funded *Media Ownership Monitor* (MOM) conducted jointly by the Brazilian NGO *Intervozes* and *Reporters Without Borders* (RSF) based in France, five families control 50% of the communication means with the largest audience in Brazil!

We of the CCR reaffirm the call to the reformist and socialist parties, trade unions and mass organizations (e.g. PT, PCdoB, CUT, MST, MTST) to immediately establish a united front of struggle to organize a massive fight against reactionary attacks. We need the creation of action committees in factories, unions, favelas, peripherals neighborhoods to organize the masses and to plan democratically the struggle. We need a national congress of delegates from all parties and mass organizations, as well as the action committees to organize the struggle. We call for the creation of self-defense committees that are essential for resisting fascist bandits and state repression.

Let us be clear: only such a mass united front of struggle can halt the reactionary attacks! Only the overthrow of the ruling elite, the smashing of the bourgeois armed forces and its replacement by a workers and popular army and the expropriation of the capitalist class, in other words, only the creation of a workers government, in close alliance with the urban and rural poor, can remove the danger of a military dictatorship!

#### Electoral tactic

We have no illusions about the limitation of bourgeois democracy and the corrupt parliamentary system. However, we unconditionally defend all democratic rights against the putschists, military or institutional. We combine this

defense of democratic rights with a call by a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly with delegates elected by the workers and popular sectors that can debate and build proposals to solve the great problems of the Brazilian people.

It would be a fatal mistake if revolutionaries would be indifferent towards the upcoming elections. It is obvious that the ruling elite want to avoid another PT-led government at any costs. That would render ineffective all their efforts since 2015 to overthrow the PT-led government of Dilma Rousseff and to imprison Lula da Silva.

In the past the CCR didn't call for critical support for Lula or Rousseff because their candidature always had a popular front character symbolized by the fact that the Vice President was from the PMDB, an open bourgeois party. This time this is different as they have a Vice President from the PCdoB which is clearly a smaller reformist, bourgeois workers party.

At the same time, there exists a massive polarization among the Brazil people with the huge majority of the working class and poor rallying behind the PT. In such a situation, it is important for revolutionaries to call for a critical vote for Fernando Haddad, the PT candidate. It is true that he is a right-reformist politician. But this election reflects a significant class polarization and the PT reflects – in a reformist way – the aspirations of the working class and all anti-putschist segments of the society. Revolutionaries stand in their camp and have to patiently explain why the reformist policy of the PT inevitably leads to failure and why a revolutionary program fighting for a workers government, in close alliance with the urban and rural poor, is the only way forward!

(1) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guarani\\_Aquifer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guarani_Aquifer)

(2) <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/sociedade/cinco-familias-controlam-50-dos-principais-veiculos-de-midia-do-pais-indica-relatorio>

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?

#### The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new book. It's called *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?*. The book's subtitle is: *The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism*. The book is in English-language. It has 5 chapters plus an appendix, 108 pages and includes 19 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who is the International Secretary of the RCIT.

In *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* Michael Pröbsting analyses the character of the Cuban Revolution 1959-61, its bureaucratic degeneration, and the recent march of the Castro leadership towards capitalism.

The author demonstrates how the Cuban Revolution, despite the initial modest intentions of its leaders, was spurred forward to more radical policies by grass roots struggles of Cuban workers and peasants. In fact, the very abolishment of capitalism by the Cuban regime was no part of the original game plan of either Castro's Movimiento 26 de Julio or of the official Cuban communist party (PSP), but rather was a product of precisely such pressures from below.

*Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* describes in detail how a number of relatively recent political, economic, and social measures were

purposely taken by the Cuban government to open the road back to capitalism. Pröbsting elaborates the key role of the world's new great imperialist power, China, in Cuba's state policy as exemplified in the June 2011 Sino-Cuban agreement for a first Five-Year Plan of cooperation between these two states.

*Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* examines these developments from the viewpoint of Marxist theory, the nature of the ruling bureaucracy in Stalinist states, and the process of restoration of capitalism under such regimes.

In conclusion, the book proposes a socialist program for political and social revolution in Cuba to halt the advance of capitalism and to eradicate the country's bureaucratic dictatorship.

Price: 8 Euro / 12 US-Dollars /  
7 British Pound  
(plus delivery charges) ■



# Russia: Mass Arrests at Protest against Putin's Pension Reform!

## Free all arrested Activists! Drop all Charges!

*Joint Emergency Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)  
and Marxist Group 'Class Politics' (Russia), 12 September 2018*

On Sunday, 9 September, thousands of people went on the street to express once more their protest against the reactionary offensive on pension reform and other austerities policies of the Putin-Medvedev government. Despite the leading role of Navalnists in these protests, various activists including Marxists joined together to march in more than 80 towns and cities. People chanted slogans like "Putin is a thief" and "Russia without Putin." They also held up signs that read: "These aren't reforms, this is robbery" and "Billionaires are robbing pensioners."

Despite the prohibition of holding the mass rally at Lenin Square in Saint-Petersburg by bureaucratic maneuver with "pipe break", masses participated at the rally in this place and disagreed to go into the sanctioned location (Udelny Park). Udelny park is so called "forest type park" on the very border of the city. Mass demonstration there just little bit more effective than demonstration in the forest. Hence, this protest was against the bourgeoisie state lawlessness.

The demonstrators at Lenin Square were met with brutal force by the police. According to OVD-Info, a human rights group which regularly monitors protests, at least 1,195 people were arrested throughout the country, at least 623 of them in Saint Petersburg alone. This is an unprecedented brutality towards the working masses! Some of the arrested, including senior citizens, have been beaten. The detained were forcible put at buses, where some of them were thrown into buses by their head on the floor. The Russian guard even brought the barbed wire to protect Lenin square to stop the determination of people to makes rally where they desire! Among the arrested have been also activists of the *Marxist Group 'Class Politics'* (MGKP) with whom RCIT has fraternal relations.

Such brutal repression against peaceful protests demonstrates once more the thoroughly reactionary character of the Bonapartist Putin regime. While the Russian govern-

ment is repressing toilers and cutting social welfare, Russian imperialism is waging a bloody war of oppression against the Syrian people fighting against the reactionary Assad tyranny, makes deals with Erdogan and Rouhani to sell-out the oppressed masses! At the same time, the Putin regime supports the adventurist policies of Haftar in Libya and tries to intervene in several African countries like Sudan and the Central African Republic! All of these is happening at the time, when Russia is doing the most massive military exercise "East-2018" since the collapse of USSR and is preparing with China to challenge the World Order!

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and MGKP express their full solidarity with the protests against the pension reform and demand the immediate release of all arrested activists! All charges against them must be dropped!

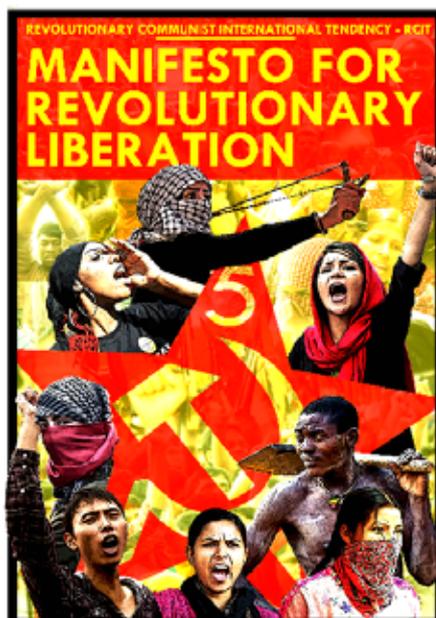
*International solidarity with the Russian workers and youth protesting against the pension reform!*

*International solidarity with the Syrian people fighting against Assad and Russian imperialism!*

*International solidarity with oppressed people around the globe!*



Banner of the MGKP comrades at a rally against the pension reform: "No to shelling Syrian Idlib! Money for pension, not on war!"



## Program of the RCIT

# Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

*Adopted at the 1<sup>st</sup> 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*

# Britain: Boris Johnson Instigates Racial Hatred!

## Defend Muslim Women from Racist and Islamophobic Attacks!

By Joseph Adams, RCIT Britain

**B**oris Johnson, the former foreign secretary in the May government, recently launched a vicious racist attack on Muslim women who wear the niqab or hijab. Johnson is a hard brexiteer in the Tory party and much admired by the racist and misogynist Donald Trump. He used his comments on Muslim migrants and refugees to stake his claim to be Prime Minister and help to depose Theresa May.

*"Boris Johnson is at the centre of a Tory race row after Theresa May urged him to apologise for "offensive" comments claiming that Muslim women in burkas look like letterboxes and bank robbers. He said it was "weird and bullying to expect women to cover their faces" and described the burka as "ridiculous". He added that women wearing them looked like letterboxes or bank robbers". [1]*

*"Boris Johnson's comparison of women to inanimate objects such as letterboxes betrays a kind of misogyny that has become an all too familiar feature of his alpha-male politics. And in March this year, he was forced to apologise to Emily Thornberry (Shadow Foreign Secretary) for misrepresenting her as "the learned lady, the Baroness, whatever it is, of Nugee" in a dismissive reference to his rival's husband, Christopher". [2]*

These attacks on migrants and refugees are symptomatic of British imperialism which is in a crisis. Because of this the Tory government is always seeking to divide the working class on racial grounds. The debate around Brexit shows the extreme chauvinism inherent in the ruling class

and the bourgeoisie always seeks to shift the blame from themselves onto other people. The working class in Britain has always had a section in the upper sector – the labour aristocracy – which is heavily influenced by bourgeois ideology and therefore very conservative. It displays the most reactionary and racist views. Leon Trotsky referred to what he called the most backward layer.

Johnson and others are merely fuelling this racism and extreme chauvinism. This is even reflected amongst the police force in Britain which displays every sympathy towards the fascists and racists. When masses of youth and workers protested against Donald Trump's visit to Britain the police sought to protect fascists of the *English Defence League*. There are many cases of attacks on Muslims by extreme right wing fascists who are often lauded in the capitalist press.

Sajid Javid the Tory Home secretary meanwhile is deporting plenty of migrants and refugees and refusing them a visa in Britain. This is similar to Donald Trump in the United States who imprisons migrants, separates parents from their children and also deports American nationals who have lived in the country all their lives.

Many Muslim women have spoken out against this racist attack explaining why they wear the hijab or niqab.

*"That person is not educated. Part of British values is trying to respect and embrace the norms of all the faiths. Even if we don't understand it, we honour common ground. Every individual has*

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: Greece - A Modern Semi-Colony

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

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

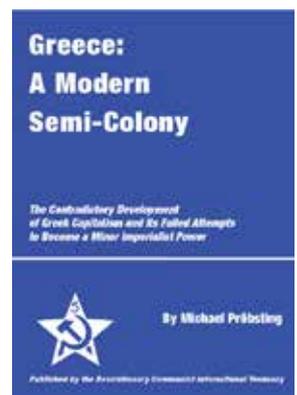
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which gives an overview of its content.

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

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

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

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



a choice to live their life the way they want to, and we should respect that." Women have spoken of feeling vulnerable, and some have been abused. The anti-Muslim hate-crime monitoring group Tell Mama has reported a spike in abuse against Muslim women since Johnson's column appeared. In the week before the column was published, five women reported incidents against them (all were wearing the hijab, and none wore the niqab). In the week after the column, 14 women wearing the hijab and seven who wore the niqab reported abuse to the organization". [3]

Rupa Huq, a Muslim Labour MP for Ealing in West London, has been the recipient of hate mail denouncing Muslims and particularly Muslim women who choose to wear the hijab or the niqab.

The RCIT in BRITAIN has always fought against racism and Islamophobia amongst sections of the working class. We live in a multi-cultural society and as such should respect customs and practices of all peoples. Migrants and refugees are the most exploited section of the working class often working in low paid employment and bad housing conditions. The RCIT campaigns for Open Borders and for migrants to have the right to wear their own dress and speak their own language. We emphasize the importance of supporting the organizing of such layers and of winning them to the revolutionary party (resp. pre-party organization).

In the RCIT's book on the united front tactic we stated our position quite clearly.

*"We think that, in principle, revolutionaries should encourage and support the formation of new political forces which reflect the struggle of migrants against racism and for their rights. Furthermore, revolutionaries should contribute to such a process a revolutionary perspective, focusing on the most burning issues of the struggle of the oppressed. They should also try to widen the list to integrate progressive sectors of the workers' movement who are prepared to accept migrants as equal partners.*

*All these experiences demonstrate that it is truly possible for communists to engage in systematic united front work with migrant organizations. Furthermore, our orientation to these sectors of the working class has also helped us to recruit a substantial share of migrants to our organizations.*

*Such an orientation is crucial for us as Bolshevik-Communists*

*since we consider it of utmost important to build an organization which is not solely fighting for the working class interests but which is also fighting together with the workers and through the workers. Naturally, when we speak about the workers, we don't mean the upper, privileged strata – the labor aristocracy – but rather the class' huge majority, i.e., the "mass proletarian elements" as the Comintern called it.*

*In other words, an authentic revolutionary organization must orientate itself to the lower and middle strata of the working class among which the migrants constitute a crucial sector in imperialist countries." [4].*

The RCIT in Britain calls on all workers and youth and the oppressed to join us in a concerted campaign to root out all forms of racism and Islamophobia in the working class and put forward the following demands to unite all sections of the working class.

*\* Muslims must have the right to wear their own dress and speak their own language!*

*\* Protect Muslim communities with self-defence guards against fascist or police provocation!*

*\* For Open Borders and free movement for all throughout imperialist countries!*

*\* Form Action Committees as a precursor to the formation of a Constituent Assembly where issues on racism and Islamophobia can be discussed!*

*\* For a General strike to bring down the May government!*

*\* For a Revolutionary Workers Government!*

*\* Build the 5<sup>th</sup> International in order to unite all sections of the working class and the oppressed!*

#### Footnotes

(1) <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/boris-johnson-apologise-burka-comments/>

(2) <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/10/boris-johnson-burqa-misogyny-bigotry-eton-oxford>

(3) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/14/unsafe-muslim-women-fear-abuse-boris-johnson-burqa>

(4) <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/book-united-front/chapter-8/>

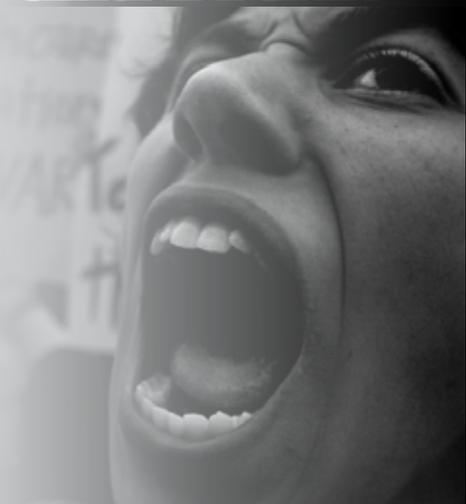
## Two Pamphlets on the EU and Brexit

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

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## Syria/Idlib: Down with the Sochi Surrender Deal!

**Brothers and Sisters in Idlib: Reject the Deal between Putin and Erdoğan!  
Do not Hand over Weapons! Turkey's Army is not your Ally!  
Continue the Struggle against the Regime and Russia!**

*By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, 18.09.2018 (6.30 UTC Time)*

The latest meeting of Russian President Vladimir Putin and Turkish President Tayyip Erdoğan on 17 September resulted in a new deal concerning Idlib, the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution. If this deal is successfully implemented, it would represent a devastating blow for the liberation struggle against the Assad tyranny. All supporters of the Syrian Revolution must recognize the meaning of the Sochi Surrender Deal and draw the necessary conclusions! (1)

While some details of this deal are still unclear at this point, we already know several key elements: (2)

\* Russian and Turkish troops will enforce along the contact line between the armed opposition and government troops a demilitarized zone of a depth of 15-20 km. (See Map 1 below.) This should be implemented until 15 October.

\* By 10 October, all heavy weapons (e.g. tanks, rockets systems and mortars) of all rebel groups must be withdrawn.

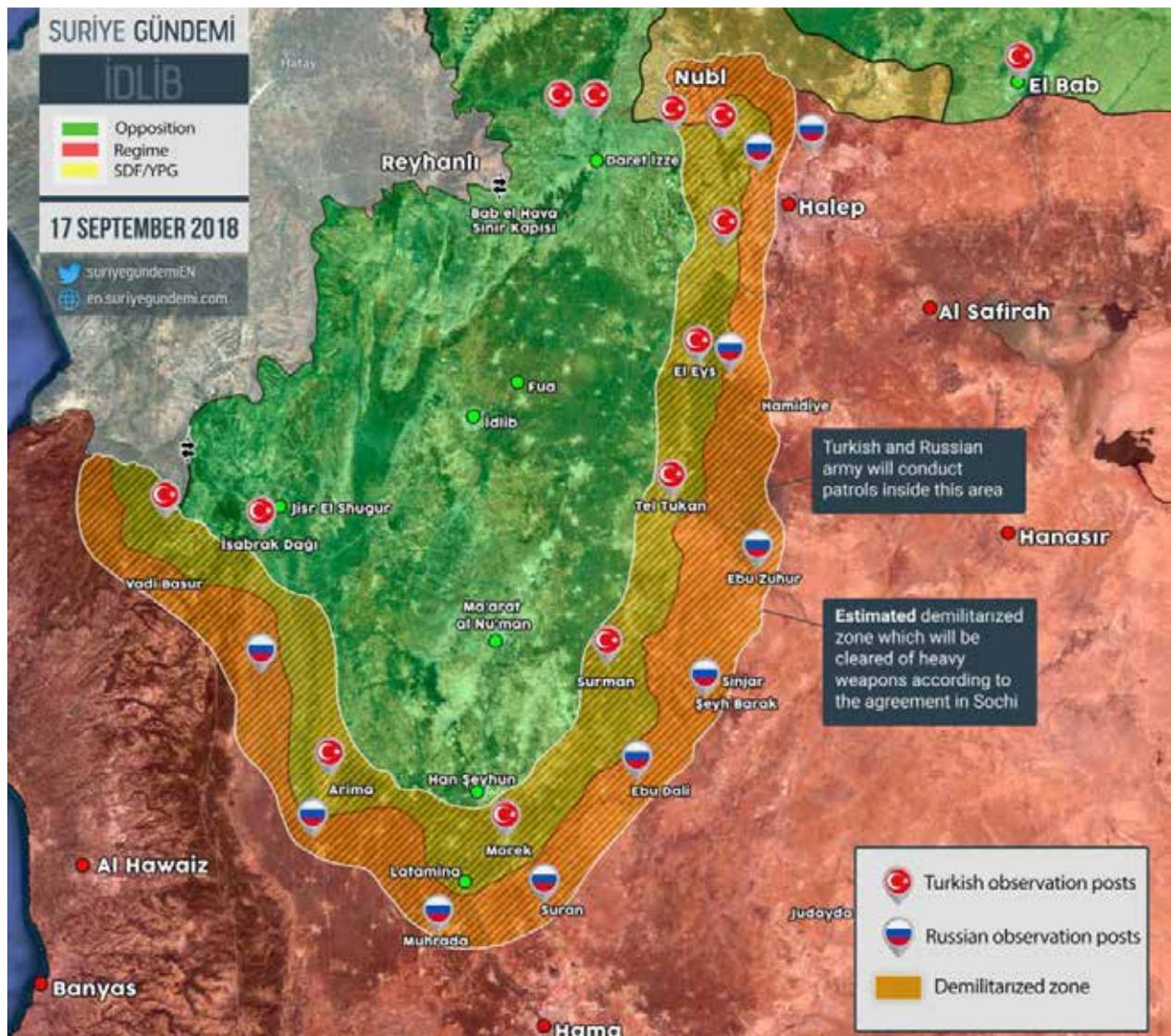
\* Reuters reports that the Sochi deal even includes that "heavy weapons held by Syrian rebels in Idlib city would be handed over by 20 October." However, this information has not been confirmed by other sources until now.

\* While rebels allied with Turkey can stay inside this so-called Demilitarized Zone, all "radical factions" (i.e. those who are determined to continue the struggle against the Assad tyranny like HTS, TIP, HaD) must withdraw.

\* The demilitarized zone will be monitored by "mobile patrol groups" of the Turkish as well the Russian army.

\* At the joint press conference with Putin, Erdoğan announced: "The opposition will continue to remain in the areas where they are. In return, we will ensure that the radical groups,

### Map 1: Possible Location of the Demilitarized Zone in the Greater Idlib Region



which we will determine with Russia, will not operate in the area under discussion." This means that Russia will decide which rebel factions can stay and which must be expelled. Only those rebel groups will be allowed to stay which are willing to execute Russia's decision to expel the "radical" groups.

\* Putin announced at the same press conference that both sides agreed to "resume transit traffic along the Aleppo-Latakia and Aleppo-Hama highways by the end of 2018."

\* Finally, Russia and Turkey also agreed to advance the so-called "political process" by continuing "the efforts to form the constitution committee from among the members of Syrian leadership, opposition forces and civil society." This is a meaningless point and reflects the project, born at the Astana negotiations between Russia, Iran and Turkey, to create the illusion of a political reform process under Assad's regime with the purpose of integrating the "moderate opposition".

### What is the Meaning of the Sochi Deal?

No one should have any illusions about the meaning of the Sochi Deal. If implemented, it means a huge counter-revolutionary blow against the liberation struggle of the Syrian people!

The implementation of the demilitarized zone of a depth of 15-20 km, the withdrawal of all heavy weapons, and the expulsion of the determined forces willing to continue the struggle against the regime would mean effectively that the following:

\* The rebels will lose their most fortified lines which they have built in order to defend Idlib against the looming assault of the Assadist, Iranian and Russian forces. In other words, it will weaken their possibility to avoid the annihilation of the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution. It makes them dependent on the goodwill of Assad, Putin, Rouhani and Erdoğan.

\* The rebels can no longer (or will have much more difficulties to) strike against the Russian military base at Hmeimim and other important military bases from which the Assadist forces have launched their artillery and air strikes against the Syrian people. At the same time, the Russian and Syrian air force can continue to operate from their bases. Remember, Putin and Assad can always claim that they attack so-called "terrorists" in Idlib to which they are formally entitled to by the Astana agreement (signed also by Erdoğan).

\* The removal of HTS and other forces from the demilitarized zone will make it easier for Assad and Putin to attack the last liberated region at a later point. DEBKAFfile, a usually well informed Israeli military intelligence website, made the consequences of such a retreat very clear: "This will suit Putin, because it removes the most effective force of resistance from the path of the prospective Russian-Iranian-Syrian offensive to recover Idlib. It moreover places the rebel militia, which has been plaguing the Russian Khmeimim air base with drone attacks, at a safe distance." (3)

\* In fact, the Sochi Surrender Deal plans the elimination/withdrawal of the determined liberation forces from much wider areas than the so-called demilitarized zone. Putin's announcement that both sides agreed to "resume transit traffic along the Aleppo-Latakia and Aleppo-Hama highways by the end of 2018" has profound implications. As Map 2

below shows, the only existing highways between Aleppo-Latakia and Aleppo-Hama run through major towns like Jisr al-Shughur, Saraqib, Khan Sheikhoun and Maarat al-Numaan. This means that the liberation forces are obligated, under the Sochi Deal, to hand over control of strategic towns and effectively the whole south and east of Idlib to Turkish/Russian control. In effect, the Sochi Deal is in fact a major reconciliation agreement putting an end to the liberation struggle.

\* The Sochi deal also means that the Turkish army will operate together with the Russian forces against the determined sections of the rebels (the so-called "terrorists"). Media outlets which are enthusiastic supporters of Assad and Putin are justifiably rejoicing. Russia's *Sputnik* titles: "Turkey to Cooperate With Russia on Eliminating Terrorists in Idlib – Erdoğan" (4)

### Does the Sochi Surrender Deal Save Idlib?

Erdoğan supporters defend the deal by claiming that it saves Idlib from a full-scale military assault. This is nonsense! Such claims can be made only by people who have learned nothing from the devastating defeats of the Syrian Revolution in the past few months. Have these people forgotten what happened to the so-called "de-escalation zones"?!

As it is well known, Russia, Iran and Turkey formally agreed in Astana in September 2017 to create four so-called "de-escalation zones" – in Ghouta, northern Homs, Deraa, and Idlib. In fact, these were agreements to pacify the liberation struggle and to allow the Assad regime to prepare its aggression. When Assad had finished his preparations, his army – with the military support of the Russian and Iranian forces and with the tacit agreement of Erdoğan – attacked and smashed one liberated enclave after the other. Ghouta was defeated in April this year. The Rastan pocket in Homs collapsed in May. And in June came the turn of Deraa. Anyone who trusts Assad or Putin that they will honor an agreement this time is a hopeless idiot! (5)

DEBKAFfile claims that "the Idlib offensive planned by Russia, Iran and Syria has been postponed. (...) The Putin-Erdogan deal is unlikely to hold back rebel attacks on Syrian and Russian targets for long. In a couple of months, the trilateral Idlib offensive will most likely take place after all."

Naturally, we can't know about the exact date of a future Assadist/Russian offensive. But it is obvious that the Sochi Deal, if implemented, is a major capitulation and opens the road for the liquidation of the heroic Syrian Revolution.

### No One Should Be Surprised!

All these developments do not come as a surprise. The RCIT has warned many times about the treacherous role of the Erdoğan government and the Astana process. We wrote in May 2017, immediately after the agreement of Russia, Iran and Turkey about the creation of the so-called "de-escalation zones":

"The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency calls upon all forces supporting the Syrian Revolution to unconditionally condemn the Astana agreement and openly refuse any cooperation with the Assad regime or the so-called "guarantors"! This deal is nothing but a dangerous conspiracy aimed at

*liquidating the Syrian Revolution by force of arms and placing the still-liberated areas under foreign occupation."*

We made already at that time clear that Putin, Rouhani and Erdoğan have agreed to bribe a section of the rebel leadership and to use them in order to attack the most determined forces of the liberation struggle like HTS:

*"Finally, a crucial, if not the most important, goal of the deal is to split the rebel forces and to encourage the leadership of several factions to become accomplices in the liquidation of the liberation struggle. Behind the scenes, Russia, Iran, and Turkey, as well as the US and EU, are actively attempting to bribe the leaderships of various rebel forces into directing their struggle away from the forces of Assad and towards Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham."* (6)

We have repeated this warning many times since then. In an article from 4 August, we warned:

*"In short, Putin, Rouhani, Erdoğan and Assad, with the support of the pro-Astana rebel leaders, have reached an agreement to pacify Idlib as the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution. While Assad's army will take some sectors, Turkey and its pro-Astana "rebels" will assault the remaining liberation forces from within. The goal is to liquidate any meaningful opposition against the Astana process so that the Syrian Revolution can be liquidated. Turkey and its lackeys would administer Idlib in a way that it would no longer serve as a launching platform for attacks against the Assad regime. If the province will be handed over to Assad later or not, will be subject of future negotiations and dirty deals."* (7)

### What Is To Be Done?

It is crucial that all supporters of the Syrian Revolution – in Idlib as well as internationally – strongly reject the Sochi Surrender Deal. Brothers and sisters, it is not too late! This sell-out can still be stopped!

We urge all factions of the liberation struggle to come out and to openly reject the deal between Putin and Erdoğan! Do not hand over any weapons! Do not voluntarily hand over any area to the Turkish-Russian troops! Continue the struggle against the Regime and Russia!

It is crucial to mobilize the masses on the streets and to show the world that the Syrian people reject the Sochi Surrender Deal! There are already reports about protest rallies. People spontaneously assembled in Binish on 17 September and protested against the Sochi surrender deal. They shouted slogans like *"Our sons did not die in vain, our revolution against Assad will never stop."*

There are also reports that HTS forces are determined to act against treacherous pro-Turkish factions. It is said that they took over the Deir Balout village controlled by Faylaq Al-Sham on 17 September.

On the other hand, no one should have any illusions. The pro-Turkish forces will fully mobilize to manipulate the people and make them believe that the Sochi Deal would benefit the Syrian people. These forces will help Turkey to implement the deal. They are certainly ready to disarm, expel and (if necessary) kill the determined liberation fighters. They have done this in the past and there is no reason to assume their loyalty to Erdoğan, instead of the Syrian people, has diminished. (8)

The next days will show how strong is the popular protest against the Sochi Surrender Deal and how much are forces like HTS, TIP and HaD willing to openly defy Turkey and to enter in confrontation with their troops. (9)

Furthermore, there are also other factors which can disrupt the deal. While both Iran as well as the U.S. have already indicated their support for the Sochi Deal (10), there are developments which could have unintended consequences. For example, as we are writing these lines, the Russian defense ministry announced that one of its military aircraft, an Il-20 turbo-prop plane used for electronic reconnaissance, with 14 people on board disappeared from radar screens over Syria. This happened at the same time as Israeli and French forces were mounting aerial attacks on targets in Syria. While the cause of the incident has not been announced until now, it is clear that this is a highly explosive issue! (11)

The RCIT repeats its call to the workers and popular mass organizations around the world to rally in support of the Syrian people!

*\* Down with the Sochi Surrender Deal!*

*\* Defend Idlib! Defeat the Assadist, Russian and Iranian forces!*

*\* Russian, Iranian, U.S. and Turkish troops – out of Syria!*

*\* For a single Intifada from Idlib to Jerusalem, Basra, Cairo and Teheran!*

*\* For a Workers and Poor Peasants Government!*

*\* Build a Revolutionary Workers Party – nationally and internationally!*

### Footnotes

(1) The RCIT has supported the heroic Syrian Revolution from the very beginning. Our articles and statements are collected in a special section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>.

(2) See on this: Maria Tsvetkova: Russia and Turkey agree to create buffer zone in Syria's Idlib, September 17, 2018 / <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-putin-erdogan-hope/russia-and-turkey-agree-to-create-buffer-zone-in-syrias-idlib-idUSKC-N1LX1BU>; Idlib assault on hold as Russia, Turkey agree on buffer zone, 2018-09-18 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/erdogan-putin-agree-de-militarised-zone-syria-idlib-180917142241897.html>; Ayla Jean Yackley: Turkey, Russia agree to buffer zone in Syria's Idlib, September 17, 2018 <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/09/turkey-russia-agree-buffer-zone-syria-idlib-putin-erdogan.html>; Russia Says Syrian Idlib Offensive Off the Table, Erdogan and Putin Agree on Buffer Zone, Sep 17, 2018 <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/syria/russia-and-turkey-agree-to-buffer-zone-in-syria-s-idlib-offensive-off-the-table-1.6489477>; 'No new offensive' on the Syrian rebel-held Idlib, says Russia, 17 September 2018 <https://www.middleeasteye.net/Erdogan-Putin-Sochi-Idlib-demilitarised-zone-rebels>; Maria Tsvetkova: Russia, Turkey agree to create buffer zone in Syria's Idlib, September 17, 2018 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-putin-erdogan-hope/russia-turkey-agree-to-create-buffer-zone-in-syrias-idlib-idUSKC-N1LX1BU>; Russia, Turkey agree to create demilitarised zone in Idlib, 17 September, 2018 <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2018/9/17/russia-turkey-agree-to-create-demilitarised-zone-in-idlib>; David Kenner: A Temporary Reprieve for Syria's Last Rebel-Held Province, 2018-09-17 [https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/idlib-assad-syria-putin-russia-turkey/570463/?utm\\_source=fb&utm\\_medium=share](https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/idlib-assad-syria-putin-russia-turkey/570463/?utm_source=fb&utm_medium=share); Russia, Turkey agree to establish demilitarized zone in Syria's Idlib — Putin, September 17, 19:44 <http://tass.com/world/1021965> Putin and Erdogan agree to call off Idlib offensive, buffer zone instead, Sep 17, 2018 <https://www.debka.com/mivzak/164306/>; Putin meets Erdogan at Sochi to cut a separate deal for Idlib, Sep 17, 2018, <https://www.debka.com/putin-meets-erdogan-at-sochi-to-cut-a-separate-deal-for-idlib/>

(3) DEBKAFfile: Putin meets Erdogan at Sochi to cut a separate deal for Idlib, Sep 17, 2018, <https://www.debka.com/putin-meets-erdogan-at-sochi-to-cut-a-separate-deal-for-idlib/>

(4) Sputnik: Turkey to Cooperate With Russia on Eliminating Terrorists in Idlib – Erdoğan, 17.09.2018 [https://sputniknews.com/middleeast/201809171068090843-turkey-russia-syria-idlib-terrorists/?utm\\_source=https://t.co/8JxWVD4716&utm\\_medium=short](https://sputniknews.com/middleeast/201809171068090843-turkey-russia-syria-idlib-terrorists/?utm_source=https://t.co/8JxWVD4716&utm_medium=short)

[url&utm\\_content=j8aW&utm\\_campaign=URL\\_shortening](#)

(5) On the RCIT's assessment of the Astana deal see e.g.: Michael Pröbsting: Syrian Revolution: The Moment of Truth is Approaching! Rally to defend the Syrian Revolution against the Imperialist conspiracy called the "Astana Deal"! 20.09.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-moment-of-truth-approaching/>; RCIT: Syria: Defend Idlib against the Great Powers! Down with the reactionary Astana Deal! Defend the Revolution against the butcher Assad, against Russian and US Imperialism and the local Allies! Victory to the Struggle of the Workers and Oppressed! 04.08.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/defend-idlib-against-great-powers/>; Michael Pröbsting: Syria: The Astana-Deal Struggle Intensifies. Some Notes on Recent Developments in the Syrian Civil War and the Dangers for the Liberation Struggle, 28 July 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syrian-revolution-28-7-2017/>; RCIT: Syria: Condemn the Reactionary Astana Deal! The so-called "De-Escalation Zones" are a First Step towards the Partition of Syria and a Conspiracy by the Great Powers to Defeat the Revolution, 7 May 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/astana-deal/>; Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstemionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/> and chapter V of Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, February 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/worldperspectives-2018/chapter-v/>

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

(7) Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Towards the Final Battle in Idlib. Assad, Russia, Iran and Turkey prepare for the final onslaught on the last Citadel of the Syrian Revolution, 04.08.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-towards-the-final-battle-in-idlib/>; see also: Michael Pröbsting: Erdoğan Offers "My Dear Friend" Putin to Disarm the Syrian Revolution.

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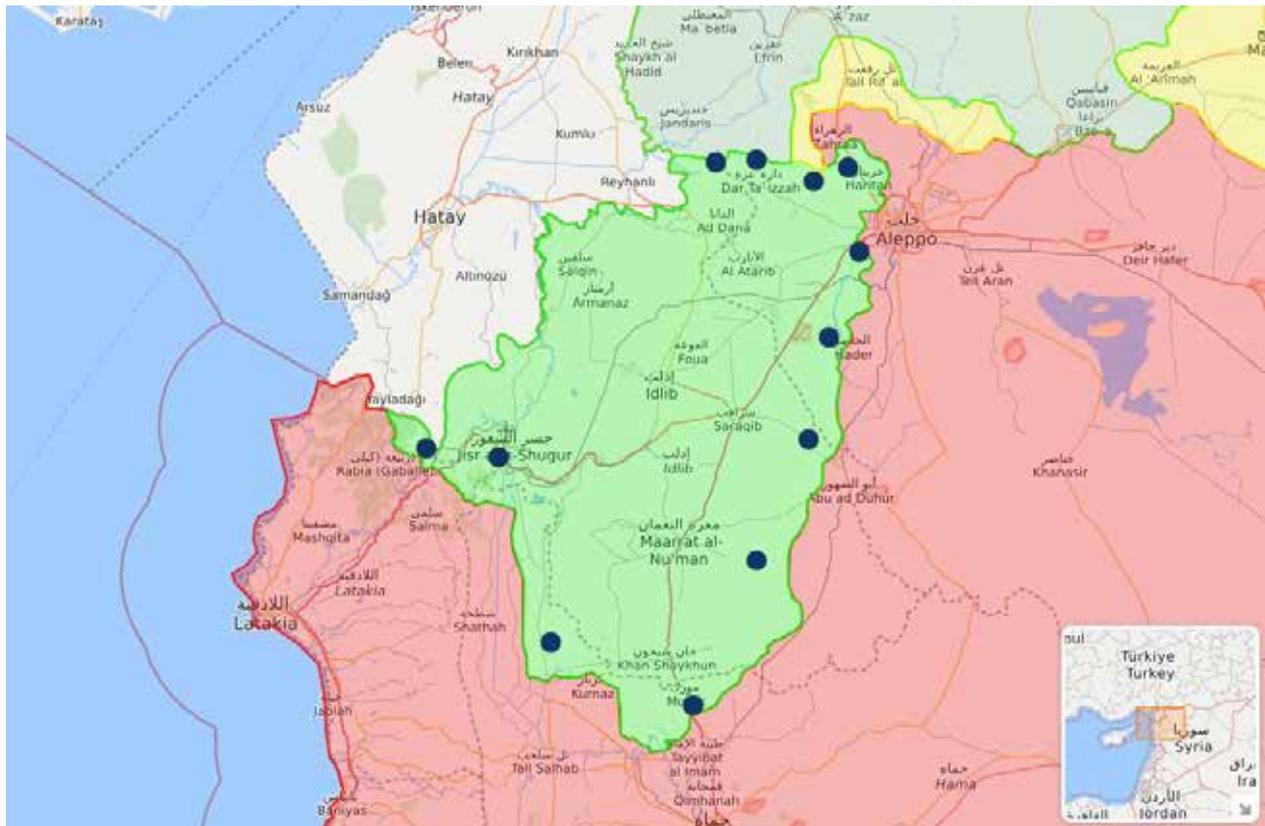
(8) See on the role of the pro-Astana factions Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Turkey's hidden war against HTS in Idlib. On the character of the military offensive of Nour al-Din al-Zenki and Ahrar al-Sham against Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, 25.02.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/turkey-s-hidden-war-against-hts-in-idlib/>; Michael Pröbsting: Syria/Idlib: The Attack of the Astana Conspirators could be repelled thus far. Turkey's allies Nour al-Din al-Zenki and Ahrar al-Sham continue their aggression against Hayat Tahrir al-Sham. This represents a mortal danger for the Syrian Revolution! 05.03.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-idlib-the-attack-of-the-astana-conspirators-could-be-repelled-thus-far/>

(9) We have elaborated our characterization of HTS in a number of articles and statements. In particular we refer to RCIT: Denounce the US terror listing of Syria's Hayat Tahrir al-Sham! The Trump Administration delivers another blow to the Syrian Revolution. Continue the Solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Syrian people! 03.06.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/denounce-the-us-terror-listing-of-syria-s-hts/>; Michael Pröbsting: Syria/Idlib: The Attack of the Astana Conspirators could be repelled thus far, 05.03.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-idlib-the-attack-of-the-astana-conspirators-could-be-repelled-thus-far/>; chapter V of Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/worldperspectives-2018/chapter-v/>

(10) See e.g. David Gauthier-Villars and Raja Abdulrahim: Russia, Turkey to Create Buffer Zone in Syrian Opposition Stronghold, Sept. 17, 2018 <https://www.wsj.com/articles/russia-turkey-to-create-buffer-zone-in-syrian-opposition-stronghold-1537208165>; Iran foreign minister says diplomacy averted war in Syria's Idlib, September 18, 2018 <https://www.yenisafak.com/en/world/iran-foreign-minister-says-diplomacy-averted-war-in-syrias-idlib-3441324>

(11) Russia says a military aircraft vanishes near Syria during Israeli, French strikes, September 18, 2018 / <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-security/iran-says-u-s-pullout-from-nuclear-deal-threatens-regional-peace-idUSKCN1LX11W>

## Map 2: Highways through the Area of Greater Idlib



## Syria: News Confirm that the Sochi Deal Means Surrender!

### An additional Analysis: What are the Assadist and Russian Plans behind the Sochi Deal? What has been the Reaction until now of the Rebel Leaders to the Sochi Deal?

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, 18.09.2018 (19.30 UTC Time)

**Note of the Editorial Board:** The following article is an addendum to another article which the RCIT published earlier today ("*Syria/Idlib: Down with the Sochi Surrender Deal!*"). (1)

Given the importance of the Sochi Deal between Putin and Erdoğan as well as given several up-to-date information, we publish here some additional comments and conclusions which should be read in conjunction with our previous article on this issue.

First, in the last 12 hours it has become more and more clear that the Sochi Deal, as we warned from the beginning, is a surrender and sell-out of the Syrian Revolution. We do not intend at this point to repeat our analysis which we already outlined in our first article. Here are just some additional information.

There should be no doubt that the main goal of Sochi deal is to expel or to liquidate all liberation forces which are determined to continue the struggle against the Assad tyranny and its Russian and Iranian masters. Of course, the Turkish government, the frogs and Astana whisperers all deny it. They claim that Idlib will remain liberated. We already pointed out that one of the official goals of the Sochi Deal to bring the Aleppo-Latakia and Aleppo-Hama highways under their control by the end of 2018. This can only be done by bringing the whole southern and eastern half of Idlib under their control which means nothing else but the expulsion the liberation fighters at least from these parts of the region.

As several new sources confirm, the real purpose of Sochi Deal is to bring the whole region back under regime and Russian control. This has been made unambiguously clear both by regime as well as Russian sources.

The regime newspaper *al-Watan* "quoted Russian diplomatic sources as saying that the Russian-Turkish agreement on Idlib will be implemented in three stages, adding that the first stage will go into effect by mid October to create a 15 sq/km weapons-free zone near Idlib city. Also, in the second stage monitored by Moscow and Ankara, the heavy weapons will be collected from the region until November 10 and the terrorists will leave the civilian areas, they said, adding that in the third stage which lasts to the end of this year, state bodies will resume operation in Idlib. The sources said that if the terrorist groups do not accept this agreement, they will be considered as enemy of the Turkish army and will be fought." (2)

This announcement of the real intention of the Sochi Deal by the Assadist regime is not an isolated case. In fact, it has been confirmed by Russian media itself. *Russia Today*, the official international organ of the Putin government, published an article which makes the interpretation of the Sochi deal by Russian imperialism pretty clear.

"Russian Defense Minister Sergey Shoigu supported the buffer zone deal, saying it will help to create "a new security structure" in the existing Idlib de-escalation zone. The deal implies that Russia and Turkey will join forces to clear Idlib of "radical" and terrorist groups, including the Al-Qaeda affiliate Hayat

*Tahrir al-Sham (formerly Al-Nusra Front). Moscow says that terrorists are using Idlib as a base for launching attacks against the Syrian and Russian troops, as well as civilians."* (3)

Hence, as the article states explicitly, the goal of the Sochi Deal is to expel or kill the determined liberation forces not only from the 15-20km demilitarized zone but from the whole region of Idlib!

This interpretation is repeated in another article published by *Russia Today*. This article summarizes the analysis of Huseyin Bagci, a Turkish professor who teaches international relations at the Ankara-based Middle East Technical University. He is quoted as saying "*The demilitarized zone in Syria's embattled Idlib Province will help Russia and Turkey to clear out radical militants, as both sides will be patrolling the area, a professor of international relations told RT. The deal to create a demilitarized zone in Idlib is "best military and diplomatic solution today" for Russia and Turkey, since they can remove the radicals from the province and avert mass civilian casualties. (...) Bagci (...) emphasizes that the agreed DMZ is not an "everlasting" solution, but a temporary measure. "In the coming weeks, we will see how the radical groups will find the opportunity to leave the area, and the government forces will later fill in and control it with Russian help." The scholar believes the new framework will make it easier for Turkey and Russia to control Idlib Province. It, likewise, will be easier for Moscow to clear the area of radicals because there will be room for better cooperation with the Turkish army. "The Turkish and Russian military will be patrolling together, like the Turkish and American troops do it in Manbij." Bagci also hopes that, once the radicals are gone, the deal will motivate the local moderate pro-Turkish opposition to seek renewed negotiations with the Syrian government."* (4)

In summary, the Assadist and Russian media are very clear about the real goals of the Sochi Deal. They are confident that it will serve to utilize the Turkish army in order to crush the liberation fighters and to sell the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution to the Assad regime. It is impossible to believe that this would have been not discussed, agreed and coordinated with the Erdoğan government in Sochi!

In other words, these new information strongly confirm our analysis of the Sochi Deal as surrender. They also confirm our analysis of the Erdoğan regime which serves its own capitalist interests and which has no interest in honestly supporting the Syrian Revolution

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We have also received several information about the interpretation of the Sochi Deal by pro-Turkish FSA/NLF commanders. It is very unfortunate that they praise both the deal as well as the Erdoğan government (which, coincidentally, pays their salary).

*Syria Direct* reports: "*On the ground in Idlib province, rebel commanders speaking to Syria Direct on Tuesday reacted with optimism that a confrontation with pro-government forces appeared to have been averted—while acknowledging that they*

were unsure of what the agreement could actually mean in practice. "Within the general framework of this agreement, we see a success for Turkish diplomacy and our Turkish brothers," said Captain Naji, a spokesperson for the Turkish-backed National Liberation Front, a constellation of 11 different factions formed with heavy guidance and funding my Ankara in May of this year.

Another rebel commander from a Turkish-backed faction in northern Syria, speaking on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak to press, said Monday night's agreement would avoid bloodshed without fundamentally threatening rebel control in northwestern Syria. "We won't give up defending ourselves," the commander told Syria Direct on Tuesday. "Weapons won't be taken from any particular faction...although factions will have to commit to the provisions in the agreement, which means keeping weapons out of [the buffer zone]."" (5)

Another source also reports about the optimism among FSA leaders. "A Syrian rebel official said Tuesday a deal between Russia and Turkey to create a buffer zone in Idlib had ended Syrian President Bashar Assad's hopes of regaining full control of his country." "The Idlib deal preserves lives of civilians and their direct targeting by the regime. It buries Assad's dreams of imposing his full control over Syria," Mustafa Sejari, a Free Syria Army (FSA) official, told Reuters. Sejari said the deal reached in Sochi on Monday between Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Russian President Vladimir Putin led to de facto control by the opposition of a "geographic area" that would be a springboard for a political transition that ends Assad's "authoritarian" rule. "This area will remain in the hands of the Free Syrian Army and will force the regime and its supporters to start a serious political process that leads to a real transition that ends Assad's rule," Sejari said." (6)

What a tragic combination of frog mentality and idiotic naivety! (7) The Russian imperialists, with the help of Turkey, are implementing what has been called salami tactics. Step by step are they pushing back and disarming the liberation fighters. This has been the whole purpose of the

Astana deal as the RCIT has pointed out so many times! One enclave after the other was declared to be a de-escalation zone so that the rebels stop any offensive actions. Meanwhile the Assadist forces assembled their troops and attacked one enclave after the other. In the end, all "de-escalation zones" became "de-revolutionized zones", i.e. they were conquered by the Assad regime and the resistance was smashed, killed or expelled.

Now they are doing the same in Idlib. As we quoted above, the Assadist and Russian media are openly bragging with these plans. And these idiotic FSA leaders still claim that Sochi is a victory! How tragic, how ridiculous!

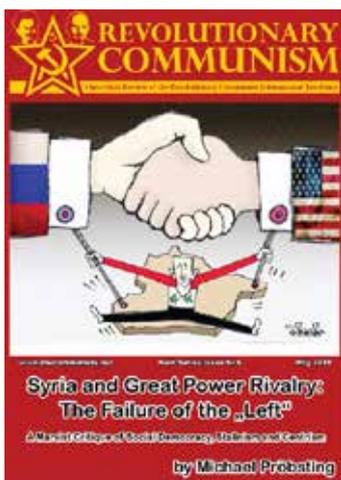
No, Sochi serves to disarm the determined sections of the liberation fighters with the help of the Turkish army. Once, they will have succeeded in this, they will take over the Idlib province step by step. How much will the FSA than be capable to offer resistance? Look to Daraa a few months ago and you have the answer!

However, there are also different, positive examples. Mohamed Hamadeen, who has been the official spokesman of the FSA National Army, resigned from his position. Albeit he did not go into detail, he indicated that this has been a protest against the Sochi Deal since he justified his resignation by saying that he "will stay loyal to the principles of the revolution" (8)

\* \* \* \* \*

However, there have been also a number of encouraging reactions from the most determined sectors of the liberation fighters which, unfortunately for us as revolutionary socialists, fight under the banner of petty-bourgeois Islamism.

In a statement published on its *Ebaa News Agency*, HTS strongly denounced the Sochi Deal and compared it with Srebrenica. As it is well known, Srebrenica has been a Muslim town where the defenders were convinced resp.



## Publications of the RCIT

# Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2018

*The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation  
of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia –  
A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism*

**Introduction** \* The liberation struggle of the Syrian people against Assad retains its just character \* Against all imperialist aggressors! \* Old and new Great Powers \* The Ex-Stalinist turned social democrats: "God save the United Nations" \* The Stalinists (and some caricatures in Trotskyist camouflage): social-imperialist servants of Assad and Putin \* The Morenoite LIT, UIT and FLTI: the heart on the right place but not their brains \* CWI and FT: failure to understand the imperialist nature of China and Russia \* CWI / SWP(UK) / FT: refusing to support the Syrian Revolution \* Conclusion \* Footnotes

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

pressurized to lay down their weapons and to rely on the protection of Dutch UN forces. Weeks after they did so, the Serbian chauvinist militias stormed the enclave and massacred about 8.000 men! The UN soldiers didn't lift a finger in defense of the Muslims but drank champagne with the mass murderers! (9) In this context, HTS is absolutely right to say that "as Turkey positions itself for its own interests, what residents of [Syria's] liberated north fear most is that [Turkey] will play the role of the UN in the Srebrenica case." (10)

Abu al-Yaqadhan al-Masri, a leader of Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS) has sharply denounced the Sochi Deal. He wrote on his Telegram post: "Sham the Revealer. For the continuation of the jihad and the rule of shari'ah, the way forward is striking necks. Whoever asks you to surrender your weapons, he deserves most to be fought, ahead of others. Whoever retreats from his slogans of 'continuing the fight until the regime is toppled' and surrenders his weapon, he is a hypocrite #frog. Whoever manufactures problems to eliminate the mujahid factions to advance the Sochi agreement, he is a traitor [intelligence] agent. The coming days are pregnant with surprises, so prepare for epic battles." (11)

Another HTS leader, al-Zubeir al-Ghazi also warned against a demilitarized zone in Idlib as this will mean that the rebel areas are ill-defended and vulnerable to attack. He also referred to the tragic events in Srebrenica. (12) In summary, all HTS leaders, who made a public comment until now, have strongly rejected the Sochi deal.

Similarly, Bilal Khreisat Abu Khadija al Urduni, a high scholar figure in *Tanzim Hurras al Din*, published an article condemning the Sochi Deal. (13)

\* \* \* \* \*

We finish this article by repeating the RCIT's warning. We appeal to our brothers and sisters in Idlib: Reject the deal between Putin and Erdoğan! Do not hand over weapons! Turkey's Army is not your ally! Do Not trust the Frogs and Astana Whisperers! The Sochi Deal prepares for the capitulation of Idlib! Continue the struggle against the Regime and Russia!

We also call the workers and popular mass organizations around the world to rally in support of the Syrian people! We must not let our brothers and sisters alone!

**Footnotes**

- (1) See the article before
- (2) Syrian Media: Damascus to enter Idlib in third phase of Sochi agreement, September 18, 2018 <https://theiranproject.com/blog/2018/09/18/syrian-media-damascus-to-enter-idlib-in-third-phase-of-sochi-agreement/>; see also Reuters: Pro-Assad newspaper: Syrian state will return to Idlib under Turkish-Russian deal, September 18, 2018 / <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-mideast-crisis-syria-idlib-report/pro-assad-newspaper-syrian-state-will-return-to-idlib-under-turkish-russian-deal-idUKKC1N1Y0Z4>
- (3) Turkish drones & extra troops to patrol Idlib after deal with Moscow – FM, 18 Sep, 2018 <https://www.rt.com/news/438724-turkey-patrol-idlib-drones/>
- (4) Idlib buffer zone will help Russia & Turkey clear area of radicals – analyst to RT, RT, 18 Sep, 2018 [https://www.rt.com/news/438717-idlib-dmz-deal-analysts/?utm\\_source=browser&utm\\_medium=application\\_chrome&utm\\_campaign=chrome](https://www.rt.com/news/438717-idlib-dmz-deal-analysts/?utm_source=browser&utm_medium=application_chrome&utm_campaign=chrome)
- (5) Russian-Turkish agreement stalls anticipated Idlib offensive 'for the time being,' civilians, rebel commanders say, Sep. 18, 2018 <https://syriadirect.org/news/russian-turkish-agreement-stalls-anticipated-idlib-offensive-%E2%80%98for-the-time-being-civilians-rebel-commanders-say/>
- (6) Idlib deal ends Assad's hope of regaining full control: Syrian rebel, Sep. 18, 2018 | <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2018/Sep-18/463758-idlib-deal-ends-assads-hope-of-regaining-full-control-syrian-rebel.ashx>
- (7) „Frogs“ (difda‘) is a term used by the Syrian liberation fighters for those rebels who are ready to reconcile with the regime. It derives from Kafribatna (East Ghouta) sheikh Bassam al-Difda‘, a particularly well-publicized recent example of such a traitor.
- (8) <https://twitter.com/jorgechav49/status/1042038917300711424>
- (9) The RCIT and its predecessor organization always stood on the side of the Bosnian people against the Serbian chauvinists and the Great Powers. See e.g. Almedina Gunic: Bosnia: Never forget Srebrenica - learn the lessons for today! <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/bosnia-war/>; Michael Pröbsting: Are the Bosnian Muslims a Nation? March 1994, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/bosnian-muslim-nation/>; Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice (Chapter III), December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/>
- (10) <https://twitter.com/AbuJamajem/status/1041899373297381377>
- (11) Sam Heller: Tahrir al-Sham's Abu al-Yaqadhan al-Masri: "The coming days are pregnant with surprises.", September 18, 2018, <https://abujamajem.wordpress.com/2018/09/18/tahrir-al-shams-abu-al-yaqadhan-al-masri-the-coming-days-are-pregnant-with-surprises/>; see also Smmsyria: HTS Rejects Russian-Turkish Agreement on Idlib, 2018-09-18 <https://smmsyria.com/2018/09/18/hts-rejects-russian-turkish-agreement-on-idlib/>
- (12) <https://twitter.com/AbuJamajem/status/1041829102767038464>
- (13) <https://twitter.com/ValerMazz/status/1042095677591957504>

**REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM - The RCIT's Theoretical Review**

The image shows a collage of five covers of the journal "Revolutionary Communism" published by the Revolutionary Communist Internationalist Theory (RCIT). The covers are arranged in a row and feature various political and social imagery. The first cover (December 2017) shows a crowd of people and is titled "Perspectives of Catalunya's Struggle for Independence". The second cover (January 2018) shows a factory and is titled "1st Issue: Documents of the Congress of the RCIT". The third cover (February 2018) shows a cartoon of a man with a dollar sign and is titled "Id Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings (Part 1)". The fourth cover (March 2018) shows a cartoon of Donald Trump and is titled "Id Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings (Part 2)". The fifth cover (September 2018) shows a group of people and is titled "Perspectives of the Arab Revolution and the Struggle of the Poor in Britain". The journal is published by Michael Pröbsting.

## Syria: Mass Rallies in Idlib against the Regime and Russia

### Support the Undaunted Revolutionary People resisting against the Final Onslaught of Assad and imperialist Russia against the last Citadel of the Syrian Revolution!

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 15.09.2018

**Note of the Editorial Board:** This article includes a number of pictures, video links and a map which can be viewed here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/africa-and-middle-east/mass-rallies-in-idlib-against-the-regime-and-russia/>

Tens of thousands people demonstrated in 83 cities and towns in the Greater Idlib region against the Assad tyranny and imperialist Russia on Friday 14 September. (1) In what many people say were the largest mobilizations since the early days of the revolution in 2011, people chanted slogans for the downfall of the regime. They denounced any attempt for reconciliation with the regime.

As numerous videos and pictures display, the demonstrators refuted the slander spread by the Assad regime and its international allies that the people in Idlib would be “terrorists”. They warn against a looming chemical attack, one of the most horrific weapons of the Assad tyranny against the revolutionary people. As it is well-known the regime has used this method of mass murder many times because its army is technologically superior but chronically understaffed due to the lack of popular support. (2)

While two separate mass rallies took place in Idlib City (the HTS supporters met at the Clock Square(3), pro-FSA/NLF supporters met at the Martyrs’ Square), joint rallies of supporters of different factions were held in other towns. No incidents have been reported. (See below for a selection of pictures as well as a list of links to videos clips from these rallies.)

The only area where it is said that hardly any protests took place is a small region in the north-western countryside of Aleppo which is under control of the treacherous Zenki group which seems to be close to collapse. (4)

These demonstrations reflect that the will of the revolu-

tionary people to continue the struggle against the barbarous Assad regime is undaunted. They also reflect the unabated mass support for the current leaderships of the popular uprising – mainly the petty-bourgeois Islamist *Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham* (HTS) as well as the petty-bourgeois nationalist/Islamist *Free Syrian Army / Jabhat al-Wataniya lil-Tahrir*.

The FSA/NLF factions are closer to Ankara and partly support the treacherous negotiations of Russia, Iran and Turkey in Astana. (5) The HTS strongly opposes the Astana process and has not capitulated to the pressure of Ankara (until now). At the same it combines its uncompromising struggle against the regime with a reactionary Salafist ideology. (6) (See below a map showing the areas of factional control in the Greater Idlib region.)

None of these factions can lead the Syrian people to true liberation as they don’t stand for a working class program. This is why it is crucial for Syrian liberation activists to build a new revolutionary party as part of a World Party of Socialist Revolution. (7)

#### Looming Massacre

Since the beginning of September, Assadist and Russian forces have systematically bombed various towns in Idlib. The UN humanitarian agency (OCHA) announced: “Between 1-12 September, available information indicates that a sharp increase in hostilities and fears of further escalation has led to the displacement of over 38,500 people.” (8)

While, in the last days, there have been less air strikes on liberated towns in Idlib than before, there is no reason for relief. (9) It is only a question of time until the Assadist and Russian aggressors will start invading Idlib and starting their massacre against the people. (10)



Mass demonstrations in Idlib against the Assad Regime and Russian imperialism, 14.9.2018

### Attack in Two Phases?

There are discussions between the Assadist, Russian, and Iranian officials about an attack on Idlib in two phases. In a first phase the counterrevolutionary forces would focus on conquering the area around Jisr al-Shughour, the al-Ghab plain and the low areas around Jabal al-Zawiya. (The regime-controlled area in Latakia and the Russian military base at Hmeimim have been targeted regularly by rebels from these areas.). Another objective could be to push rebels further away from Hama by seizing the entire southern part of the Idlib pocket up to Maarat al-Numan and a third target might be to clear rebels from the western periphery of Aleppo. (11)

Later, in a second phase, the regime forces would try to conquer the rest of the liberated area. In any case, there is no reason to assume that the aggression against Idlib is about to end.

Currently, after the failure of the meeting between Putin, Rouhani and Erdoğan on 7 September in Teheran, negotiations between Russia and Turkey are continuing. (12) Moscow (in collaboration with Ankara) tries to combine ongoing attacks with attempts to buy-off some factions of the rebels: *"Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said on Friday that Moscow would keep bombing militant targets in Syria's Idlib Province if need be, but would also open humanitarian corridors to allow civilians to flee, the Interfax news agency reported. Lavrov, who was speaking in Berlin, was cited as saying that the Russian air force would strike what he called terrorist weapons-making facilities as and when it found out about them, but would also encourage local reconciliation deals."* (13)

At the same time, the Putin regime emphasizes that its attempts to annihilate those forces most determined the liberation struggle (the *"al-Qaida terrorists"*) will continue. Its tactic is the old *"divide et imperare"* policy which the Roman Empire already deployed with success. At a meeting with his German counterpart Heiko Maas in Berlin, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said that there will be no reconciliation offered to the *"terrorist forces"* like Hay'at Tahrir Al-Sham and the Turkestan Islamic Party.

*"We along with our Turkish partners are vigorously working on solving the situation in Idlib in a full accordance with the arrangements which were made during the process of creating the de-escalation zone over there. The arrangements entail the announcement of the ceasefire with one crucial exception – terrorists are not included. No reconciliation, no ceasefire regime includes terrorists. (...) Together with our Turkish partners who cooperate in a very constructive manner on this issue we facilitate local arrangements between the units of the moderate opposition and the government forces, the same way as we did in the other de-escalation zones when they existed. We also encourage the creation of humanitarian corridors, safe zones for the civilians."* (14)

### Turkey Reluctantly Collaborates with Russian Imperialism

While the Erdoğan regime wants to avoid a bloodbath as a result of a full assault of the Assadist/Russian/Iranian forces, it is determined to advance the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution. (15) The main interests of Ankara are:

a) avoiding a new wave of Syrian refugees coming to Turkey,

b) suppressing the struggle of the Kurdish people for national self-determination

c) achieving a pacification of the situation in North Syria (i.e. the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution) and,

d) achieving stable relations with Russian imperialism as well as the regional powers (like Iran). (16)

For this reason the Erdoğan regime is willing to collaborate with Assad and Putin in attempts to eliminate the most determined forces of the liberation struggle against the Assad tyranny (like HTS, TIP, HaD, etc.). Ankara recently declared the HTS as a *"terrorist organization"* (as Russia, Iran and the USA did before).

Of course, open attempts of the Turkish army to military smash the HTS and allied forces would be very risky for Ankara. First, it would be very difficult given the military strength and the popular support of the HTS. Secondly, it would massively damage Turkey's reputation not only among the Syrian people but in the whole Muslim world. Hence, until now, Ankara has focused its attempts to smash the HTS on a) encouraging and supporting pro-Turkish FSA factions to attack HTS and b) a systematic campaign of assassinations against HTS commanders and militants.

Nevertheless, given the present economic crisis in Turkey and the deterioration of its relations with US imperialism, the Erdoğan regime is likely to comply with Russia's request. On 14 September, Turkey's Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu said:

*"We are making an effort for a ceasefire in Idlib," he said, repeating Turkey's call for targeted operations against jihadist militants, including the Tahrir al-Sham alliance, instead of an indiscriminate onslaught. "We are ready to cooperate with everyone to fight terrorist organizations. But killing everyone – civilians, women, children – like this in the name of fighting terrorist organizations is not right and is not humane," he said on a visit to Pakistan."* (17)

In other words, the liberations fighters in Idlib must prepare for a full-blown attack by the Assadist and Russian forces while taking precautions against a stab in the back by the Turkish forces or their local allies. An unbelievable difficult and challenging task!

### International Solidarity with the Revolutionary People in Idlib!

As we have stated many times, large sectors of the international reformist and centrist left shamefully fail to stand on the side of the Syrian workers and peasants fighting for freedom. Instead, most Stalinists, left social democrats and centrists either support the counterrevolutionary Assad regime and its Russian imperialist backers or they stand aside and take a neutral position in face of the ongoing against the Syrian people. (18)

The RCIT repeats its call to the workers and popular mass organizations around the world to rally in support of the Syrian people! Defend Idlib, the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution, against the impending annihilation by the barbaric counter-revolution! Oppose any sellout and any *"reconciliation deal"*! Denounce the interference and aggression of all imperialist Great Powers in Syria! (19) For the immediate withdrawal of the Russian and U.S. troops as well as those of Iran and Turkey! All foreign military bases in Syria must be dissolved!

*\* Defend Idlib! Defeat the Assadist, Russian and Iranian forces!*

- \* Oppose any sellout and any "reconciliation deal"!
- \* Russian, Iranian, U.S. and Turkish troops – out of Syria!
- \* Down with the counter-revolutionary Astana Negotiations!
- \* For a single Intifada from Idlib to Jerusalem, Basra, Cairo and Teheran!
- \* For a Workers and Poor Peasants Government!
- \* Build a Revolutionary Workers Party – nationally and internationally!

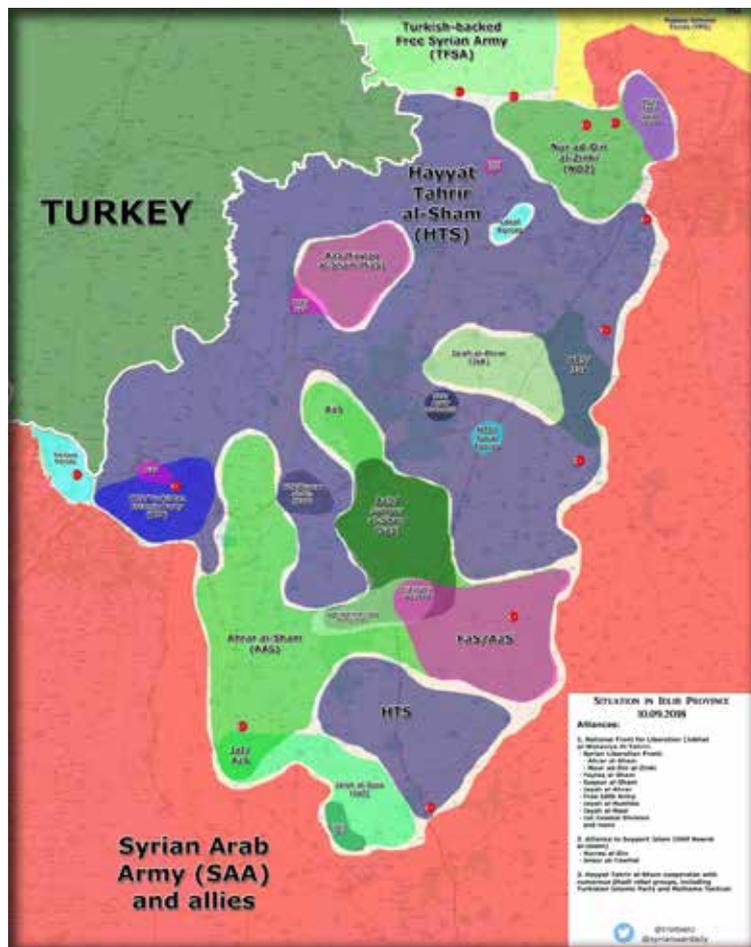
**Footnotes**

- (1) In the province of Idlib, the largest rallies were held in Idlib city, Kafr Takharim, Maarat al-Numaan, Ariha, Jisr al-Shughur, Saraqib, Binnish, Khan Sheikhoun, Harem, Salqin, Darkoush, Taftanaz, and Kafr Nabl; in Hama, notable demonstrations were held in Qalaat al-Madiq, Qustoun, Shir Maghar, Kafr Zita, Al-Lataminah, and Morek; in Aleppo, notable demonstrations were held in Al-Atarib, Al-Bab, Azaz, Atme, Marea, Jarabulus, Dabiq, Akhtarim, Qabasin, Darat Izza, Afrin, and Jinderes. (Joško Barić: Syrian War Daily – 14th of September 2018, <https://syrianwardaily.com/2018/09/14/syrian-war-daily-14th-of-september-2018/>)
- (2) See on this e.g. RCIT: Syria: Another Chemical Attack Massacre by the Assad Regime! 09.04.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/another-chemical-attack-massacre-by-syrian-assad-regime/>; Johannes Moraga: Syria: Was the Chemical Attack a "False Flag" Operation? 14 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-false-flag/>; RCIT: Out on the Streets to Protest against the Chemical Weapons Massacre by the Assad Regime! 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/cw-massacre-in-idlib/>
- (3) A longer video from this rally can be viewed here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BPSTXKGtc6A&feature=youtu.be>
- (4) On the Zenki gang see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Turkey's hidden war against HTS in Idlib. On the character of the military offensive of Nour al-Din al-Zenki and Ahrar al-Sham against Hayyat

Tahrir al-Sham, 25.02.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/turkey-s-hidden-war-against-hts-in-idlib/>; Michael Pröbsting: Syria/Idlib: The Attack of the Astana Conspirators could be repelled thus far. Turkey's allies Nour al-Din al-Zenki and Ahrar al-Sham continue their aggression against Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham. This represents a mortal danger for the Syrian Revolution! 05.03.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-idlib-the-attack-of-the-astana-conspirators-could-be-repelled-thus-far/>)

(5) On the RCIT's assessment of the Astana deal see e.g.: Michael Pröbsting: Syrian Revolution: The Moment of Truth is Approaching! Rally to defend the Syrian Revolution against the Imperialist conspiracy called the "Astana Deal"! 20.09.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-moment-of-truth-approaching/>; RCIT: Syria: Defend Idlib against the Great Powers! Down with the reactionary Astana Deal! Defend the Revolution against the butcher Assad, against Russian and US Imperialism and the local Allies! Victory to the Struggle of the Workers and Oppressed! 04.08.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/defend-idlib-against-great-powers/>; Michael Pröbsting: Syria: The Astana-Deal Struggle Intensifies. Some Notes on Recent Developments in the Syrian Civil War and the Dangers for the Liberation Struggle, 28 July 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syrian-revolution-28-7-2017/>; RCIT: Syria: Condemn the Reactionary Astana Deal! The so-called "De-Escalation Zones" are a First Step towards the Partition of Syria and a Conspiracy by the Great Powers to Defeat the Revolution, 7 May 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/astana-deal/>; Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/> and chapter V of Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, February 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/worldper->

**Map of Faction in Idlib, 10 September 2018 (20)**



[spectives-2018/chapter-v/](https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/worldperspectives-2018/chapter-v/).

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# REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION - The RCIT's Monthly Journal

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## Erdoğan Offers “My Dear Friend” Putin to Disarm the Syrian Revolution

**Mass demonstrations demand continuation of the struggle against the Assad tyranny as the counterrevolutionary forces prepare for a frontal assault on Idlib**

*By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 08.09.2018*

**A**t the latest meeting between Putin, Rouhani and Erdoğan in Teheran on 8 September, the Turkish President proposed again a plan aiming for the disarming and expulsion of the rebels from Idlib. Idlib is the last remaining free enclave of the Syrian Revolution. If this plan would be implemented it would mean the effective liquidation of the resistance against the Assad tyranny and, hence, the end of the heroic Syrian Revolution which began in March 2011.

According to the Turkish pro-government newspaper *Daily Sabah*, Erdoğan made the following proposal at the latest summit of Russia, Iran and Turkey as part of the so-called Astana process.

*“Ankara has drawn up a plan to offer armed rebel groups safe passage out of the Syrian province of Idlib in a bid to avert the bloodshed of a major assault by Damascus, a pro-government newspaper reported on Friday. As the presidents of Russia, Turkey and Iran meet in Tehran on Friday to try and find a solution to the seven-year Syrian conflict, Ankara - which is wary about an attempt by Bashar al-Assad’s forces to retake the last rebel bastion of Idlib - has drawn up a plan to avert an assault, Turkey’s Daily Sabah reported.*

*According to the plan, 12 armed groups - including Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS) in Idlib - would lay down their arms and be evacuated from the province, the newspaper said, without revealing its sources. The groups would be offered safe passage to a buffer zone, under the surveillance of so-called moderate rebels on condition they hand over weapons to a loose coalition of groups backed by Ankara, it continued. Foreign fighters in the group would be allowed to return to their home countries if they wish, Sabah said. But the groups who refused to disarm and be evacuated would be targeted by the counter-terror operations.*

*As in other regions taken by Ankara-backed rebels, Turkey will later train a rebel force to ensure Idlib’s security. The plan will also secure the Russian Hmeimim military base in Latakia province and mineral deposits in the region, it said. Turkey, which has already listed al-Nusra and al-Qaeda as terror groups, added HTS to the list last month.” (1)*

This proposal effectively means disarming and expulsion of the most determined forces which have until now resisted the Assad tyranny and which reject the reactionary Astana process which aims for the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution. (2) These forces include various petty-bourgeois Islamist organizations, among them as the strongest and most significant movement *Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham* (HTS), as well as the *Turkistan Islamic Party* (TIP) and others. (3)

Erdoğan’s offer to “my dear brother, Hassan Rouhani, and my dear friend, Vladimir Putin” (4) to disarm the rebels seem not to have resulted in any cancellation of Assad’s plans to launch his murderous attack on Idlib. (5) “On paper, the leaders reiterated pledges to seek a negotiated solution to Syria’s seven-year conflict, to preserve the country’s territorial unity, to eliminate al-Qaeda-linked terrorists and to assure the safe re-

turn of millions of displaced Syrians. But a regime attack on Idlib will likely move ahead despite Turkey’s appeals for more time to use carrot-and-stick diplomacy with the jihadis. Even as the leaders assembled in Tehran, Syrian fighter jets pounded militant targets in the province, reported the *Syrian Observatory for Human Rights*, a UK-based monitoring group.” (6)

However, Erdoğan’s offer demonstrates once more the reactionary character of his regime. It shows again how misplaced any illusions are that Ankara would be friend of the oppressed people in Syria.

All these attempts to disarm and liquidate those forces which are determined to continue the liberation struggle against the Assad tyranny, take place amid the most threatening gathering of all counterrevolutionary forces. Massive numbers of Assadist, Russian and Iranian troops are assembling their forces in order to launch a massive attack on Idlib – the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution. (7) While the two imperialist Great Powers, U.S. and Russia, are rivaling for domination in the Middle East, they agree about their joint desire to liquidate the Syrian Revolution and to smash the most determined forces willing to continue the struggle against the regime. (8)

Despite the premature threnody of the defeatist merchants of doom, the Syrian Revolution is not dead. Tens of thousands of people marched on Friday 7 September in Idlib, Khan Sheikhun, Ariha, al-Atarab, al-Bab, Ma’arat al-Nu’man, Mare’ and many other places. Under the slogan “Our choice is to resist”, the masses called for the overthrow of the Assad regime, for rejecting any “reconciliation deal” and for the expulsion of the Russian and Iranian aggressors. (9)

In these decisive hours it is of utmost importance that the supporters of the Syrian Revolution rally their forces. The Syrian people fighting for freedom are threatened from all sides. Assad, Putin and Rouhani are preparing their killing machine for a frontal assault on Idlib. The Kurdish YPG, which is hailed by most of the so-called left as “revolutionary”, looks to join the Assad regime in smashing the Syrian Revolution. For years it has served U.S. imperialism as proxies in the North and East of Syria. Now it looks for another deal with the Assad tyranny. (10)

U.S. and European imperialism as well as the reactionary United Nations in the person of its special envoy De Mistura basically agree on the plan to “wipe out the terrorists in Idlib”. (11) Washington and Brussels only wage secondary criticism on Assad and Putin (like e.g. not to use again chemical weapons) as they want to limit the regional influence of their Russian rival. (12) At the same the Turkish Regime advocates stabbing the liberation fighters in the back!

As usual, most parts of the international reformist and centrist left fail to stand on the side of the Syrian workers and peasants fighting for freedom. Instead, most Stalinists, left social democrats and centrists either support the

counterrevolutionary Assad regime and its Russian imperialist backers or they stand aside and take a neutral position in face of the ongoing against the Syrian people. (13)

The RCIT calls the workers and popular mass organizations around the world to rally in support of the Syrian people! Defend Idlib! Oppose any sellout and any "reconciliation deal"! Denounce the interference and aggression of all imperialist Great Powers in Syria! (14) For the immediate withdrawal of the Russian and U.S. troops as well as those of Iran and Turkey! All foreign military bases in Syria must be dissolved! Defend Idlib, the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution, against the impending annihilation by the barbaric counter-revolution!

\* *Defend Idlib! Defeat the Assadist, Russian and Iranian forces!*

\* *Oppose any sellout and any "reconciliation deal"!*

\* *Russian, Iranian, U.S. and Turkish troops – out of Syria!*

\* *Down with the counter-revolutionary Astana Negotiations!*

\* *For a single Intifada from Idlib to Jerusalem, Basra, Cairo and Teheran!*

\* *For a Workers and Poor Peasants Government!*

\* *Build a Revolutionary Workers Party – nationally and internationally!*

#### Footnotes

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## Rally in Solidarity with the Syrian People in Idlib

*Report (with Pictures and Videos) from a Rally in Vienna on 08 September 2018, Austrian Section of the RCIT*

**D**ozens of Syrian migrants assembled in the centre of Vienna in solidarity with the Syrian people in Idlib who currently face the most brutal terror by the Assad regime and its Russian and Iranian masters. Idlib is the last enclave still liberated by the Syrian people who started to rise up against the Assad tyranny in March 2011.

The Austrian section of the RCIT was invited to attend and speak at the rally. We participated with a delegation, and

our comrade Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, addressed those gathered. He emphasized the solidarity of the RCIT with the Syrian people in Idlib. He condemned the Assad tyranny as well as Russian imperialism. He also warned against any initiative to disarm the freedom fighters or to capitulate.

See pictures of the rally and a video clip of Michael Pröbsting's speech here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/rally-in-support-for-idlib-8-9-2018/>



Rally in Solidarity with Idlib, Vienna 8.9.2018

[final-battle-in-idlib/](#)

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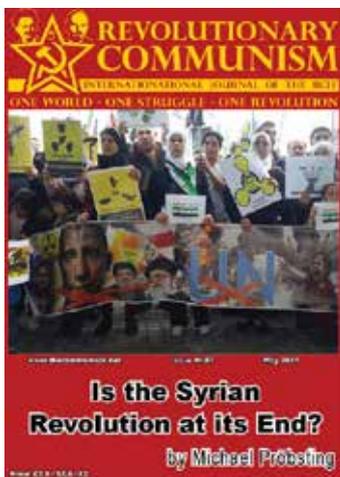
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(13) See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“. The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia – A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>

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## Publications of the RCIT

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

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2017

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

## On the Israel-Hamas Deal

*Statement of the Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), 04.09.2018*

2 million people live in Gaza. Many of them are or related to refugees removed from their homes in 1948. The people of Gaza are living in a desperate situation due to the blockade imposed on Gaza by Israel since 2007. There is no clean water, shortage of electricity, oil, gas or sufficient food. The unemployment among the youth is around 60%.

In March this year, tens of thousands of people, from the largest besieged ghetto in history, began their protest, starting with the demand to live in a one state with the Israelis. They want to return to their homes. Even UN resolution number 194 article 11 states: *"refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."*

Israel answered with bullets that killed more than 130 people and injured many thousands. The people of Gaza replied with burning kites that burned thousands of dunams of forests and fields on the Israeli side.

Now there are talks of a long cease fire. Israel, among other things, demands the return of two mentally disabled Israelis that entered Gaza and the bodies of two dead soldiers. Hamas demands the release of prisoners, many of whom were released in the previous Shalit's deal and re-arrested.

According to *Israel Times* report of August 16, based on al-Mayadeen television channel in Lebanon, Israel and Hamas are to strike a deal. According to this report there will be one year in which there will be a cargo shipping connection between Gaza and Cyprus. Israeli security will control the Cargo boat traffic to Palestinian coastal enclave; Qatar to pay electricity bill for Gaza together with Israel.

The head of Egyptian intelligence, Major General Abbas Kamel, visited Tel Aviv to finalize the deal. He met with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Nadav Argaman, the head of the Shin Bet security agency.

Israel Defense Minister Avigdor Liberman pitched the idea of setting up a floating dock for Palestinian sea traffic in Cyprus when he met with Cypriot President Nicos Anastasiades in June, Hadashot TV news reported.

The dock would include a system enabling Israeli monitoring to prevent the smuggling of weapons and materials that can be used to produce weapons. Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas sharply criticized the emerging agreement between Israel and Hamas Saturday, saying that any aid to the Gaza Strip must go through the West Bank-based Palestinian Authority. [1]

He also said that they would not allow a separate Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip. [2]

Ever since 2005 Israel has been trying to bring down Hamas' government. Why all of a sudden does it strike such a deal? It has to do with the preparation for a war against Iran and Hezbollah and thus it wants to cut the relations between Hamas and Iran and put it in the same camp of Saudi Arabia. It is part of Trump & Netanyahu's plan. Hamas is in a desperate situation, losing its popu-

larity due to its failures to advance the conditions of the people of Gaza.

The only one among the Zionist leaders who opposes the deal is Benet, the far right leader of the Jewish Home party. We can expect Hadash and Tibi of the Arab Movement for Change (Ta'al), to oppose it as well due to its support of the PA.

The creation of a so called Palestinian state in Gaza is not in contradiction to the one apartheid state from the river to the sea, that the Israeli state has created and the parliament confirmed with the new Nationality Law. It is sufficient to recall the so called black states in South Africa during the Apartheid. It is designed to provide a cheap labor for Israeli capitalists without granting them any political rights over their government regulators.

The role of Hamas will be to police the workers and prevent any opposition to Israeli rule. A very similar role to the Palestinian authority.

These days when it is clear to any one with eyes in his head that the two state solution is already dead and buried, most Palestinians support the idea of one democratic state. Even the son of Mahmoud Abbas, Tarek Abbas has declared his support for one democratic state. [3]

The question for revolutionaries to ask here is: Who can achieve this one democratic state and what will be its class nature?

There is a lesson to learn from South Africa. The ANC in 1955 adopted the freedom charter. It called for the expropriation of the lands, the banks and the large corporations. In the deal of the ANC with the white ruling class in 1994 it dropped this program. Thus the ANC became the servant of the same white ruling class. The only force that can achieve the democratic revolution is the working class with its allies and most importantly the Fellaheen and the lower middle class.

The only solution is a red democratic one state from the river to the sea. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to build the revolutionary party of the workers. We can only hope that a section of the Jewish workers will join the struggle of the Palestinian exploited and oppressed.

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- [2] <https://tinyurl.com/y86qdttyo>
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## EU Leaders Praise Egypt's Military Dictatorship

### Imperialist Europe Aims for Close Collaboration with General Sisi's Regime to Stop People Fleeing War and Misery. This is an Alliance of Robbers and Killers!

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 21.09.2018

Leaders of the European Union have agreed to enter talks with Egypt's military dictatorship in order to get its support for stopping people fleeing war and misery in Africa and the Middle East.

Austrian Chancellor Sebastian Kurz, whose country currently holds the EU's rotating presidency, announced the plan for "in-depth cooperation" with Cairo on 20 September at an informal EU summit in Salzburg, Austria.

Kurz said: "Egypt and the North African countries can be important partners for us in preventing ships heading to Europe and after their rescue being brought back, in other words to the countries of transit. (...) Only in this way can we reduce illegal migration, can we destroy the business model of the smugglers, and stop drownings in the Mediterranean. (...) "We've got to ensure that as few people as possible leave northern African countries for Europe. If they do, the situation should be dealt with as close to the African coast as possible."

The Austrian Chancellor also praised the regime of General Sisi: "Egypt is efficient. Egypt has served as an example when it comes to illegal migration and people smuggling."

This announcement came after Kurz and EU Council President Donald Tusk visited Cairo over the weekend for talks with Egypt's dictator. Tusk also confirmed plans to hold an EU-Arab League summit in Cairo next February. (1)

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the following pillars for an agreement between the EU and General Sisi were discussed. "Egypt [would] step up its policing of coastal waters and divert refugees intercepted on the Mediterranean Sea to the North-African country, according to officials involved. In exchange, the EU would offer Egypt substantial investments and other financial incentives as well as diplomatic accolades, including high-profile visits to Cairo by European heads of governments." (2)

#### An Alliance of Robbers and Killers

Such praise of EU leaders for the Egyptian dictatorship is both shocking and telling. The regime of General Sisi is well-known for its bloody repression against any form

of opposition. After it came to power via a coup d'état on 3 July 2013, it started arresting and killing its opponents. A few weeks later, on 14 August, the military slaughtered up to 2.600 demonstrators on Rabaa Square in Cairo on a single day! (3) Today, nearly 80,000 people are vegetating in prison, many of them under regular torture. (4)

In other words, Austrian Chancellor Kurz "is right": Egypt has indeed become a pretty efficient dictatorship!

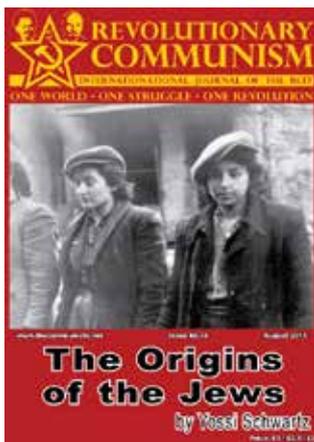
As shocking as the EU's praise for General Sisi and his regime is, it does not come as a surprise! General Sisi has received massive political, economic as well as military support from all imperialist Great Powers. The U.S., the European Union, Russia and China have expressed their support for the bloody dictatorship from the very first day after the successful coup d'état.

This shows once more how hallow and hypocritical all the Western phrases about "human rights" and "democracy" are and always have been! For the imperialists, these slogans are nothing but a weapon against forces which are not compatible with their interests. However, if a dictator serves the political, economic or military interests of the Great Powers, they quickly forget about "human rights" and "democracy".

This hypocrisy results in the following bizarre situation: all Great Powers as well as the United Nations denounce the Syrian liberation fighters in Idlib or numerous Egyptian opposition activists as "terrorists" while, at the same time, they give bloody dictatorships like that of General Sisi the red-carpet treatment!

Of course, this alliance of the EU and Egypt's dictator is based on substantial joint interests. The Great Powers feared the Arab Revolution from the first days of its beginning in January 2011. They need "stability" in the region in order to exploit its abundantly resources as well as to control key strategic transport routes for capitalist world trade (like the Suez Canal in the case of Egypt).

Furthermore, the European imperialists need the Arab dictatorships in order to stop African and Arab migrants from fleeing their countries which are suffering from wars and misery. Before 2011, the imperialists didn't have to



## Publications of the RCIT

### 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

worry. Gaddafi, Mubarak, Assad and others made sure that very few migrants were able to reach Europe. For their service, these dictators were, of course, rewarded with substantial payments from European governments (as they are planning now to do again). However, this system collapsed when the people began to bring down these dictatorships by their revolutionary uprisings. (5)

In return, the Arab dictators receive substantial financial assistance, foreign investments, weapons, etc. In short, the European corporations and governments as well as the Arab dictators need each other and support each other. It is an alliance of robbers and killers!

### The Revolutionary Answer

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* reaffirms its unconditional support for the Egyptian people resisting against the military dictatorship of General Sisi. (6)

The popular struggle in Egypt is part of the ongoing Arab Revolution which finds its expression also in the ongoing Syrian liberation struggle in Idlib, the Palestinian Intifada as well as the Yemeni resistance against the Saudi invasion. We condemn the military intervention of the U.S., Russian and European imperialists in Syria (7), Iraq (8), Libya (9), Afghanistan (10) and other countries.

Likewise, the RCIT opposes the imperialist fortress Europe. (11) Open the borders to refugees! Defend Muslim migrants against Islamophobic racism! For a united front of mass organizations of the workers' and migrants' move-

ments to drive racist and fascist forces from the streets! We call for equal rights for migrants! Equal wages and full citizenship rights! Equality for migrants and national minorities' languages in education and public administration! For a public works program with jobs for all refugees and all unemployed native workers!

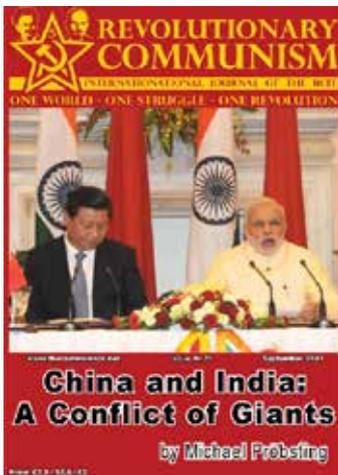
It is necessary to unite the liberation struggles in the individual countries in the Middle East: For a single Intifada from Idlib to Jerusalem, Basra, Cairo and Teheran!

Furthermore, we must bring together the struggle against racism and Islamophobia in the EU and Russia with the liberation struggles against the dictatorships in the Middle East and Africa!

This is what the RCIT is fighting for! This is why we need a Revolutionary World Party!

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## Publications of the RCIT

# 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?*

*A Pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)*

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A4 Format*

**Introductory Remarks \* I. Recent Developments \* II. The Struggle for Domination of Bhutan \* III. The Background: Accelerating Rivalry between China and India in a Period of Capitalist Decay \* China's Belt and Road Initiative \* India's OCOR as an Alternative to OBOR? \* India's Increasing Ties with US and Japanese Imperialism \* How are the chances in a military confrontation between India and China? \* IV. China as an Emerging Great Imperialist Power \* China's Monopolies \* Super-Exploitation of the Working Class \* China's Capital Export \* China as a Military Power \* V. India: A Peculiar Semi-Colony in the Role of a Regional Power \* A Brief Historical Review \* The Characteristics of India's Semi-Colonial Economy \* India's Economic Elites: Many ... and at the same time Few \* The Parasitic Nature of the Indian Bourgeoisie \* India as a Regional Power and an Oppressor State \* Brief Remarks on an Historic Analogy: The Ottoman Empire \* VI. Revolutionary Tactics in the China-India Conflict \* Appendix: Imperialist vs. Semi-Colonial State: Some Theoretical Considerations \* 1. What are the Respective Characteristics of an Imperialist vs. a Semi-Colonial State? \* 2. Is a Transition from Being One Type of State to Another Possible? \* 3. Is the Category of "Sub-Imperialism" Useful? \* Footnotes**

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## Books of the RCIT

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

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

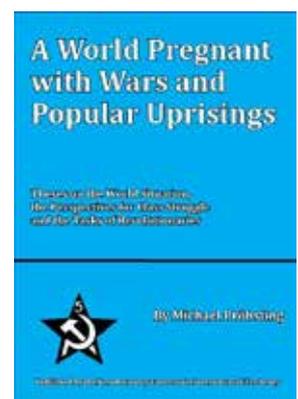
This book is a major contribution of our organization to keep the Marxists' analysis of the world situation and its accelerating contradictions updated. As we emphasize in the document, we consider it as crucial for revolutionaries to understand the nature and the inner dynamics of the current historic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

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

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

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

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



chael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 14 August 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/multimedia-1/on-5th-anniversary-of-rabaa-massacre-by-military-coup-in-egypt/>

(7) For the RCIT's analysis and positions on the Syrian Revolution see a special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>. Our latest articles on the treacherous Sochi Deal, which has been also praised by all Great Powers and the UN, are here: Michael Pröbsting: Syria/Idlib: Down with the Sochi Surrender Deal! Brothers and Sisters in Idlib: Reject the Deal between Putin and Erdoğan! Do not Hand over Weapons! Turkey's Army is not your Ally! Continue the Struggle against the Regime and Russia! 18.09.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/sochi-deal-on-idlib-is-surrender/> and <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-idlib-news-confirm-that-the-sochi-deal-means-surrender/>

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## Books of the RCIT

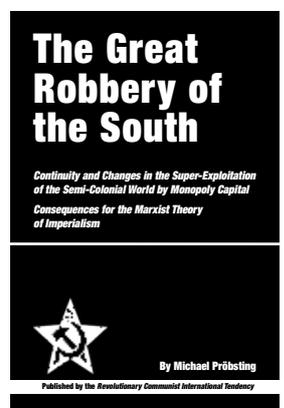
### Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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)



# What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*No future without socialism!*

*No socialism without a revolution!*

*No revolution without a revolutionary party!*

