

# International Workers' Organizer

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## THE SYRIAN RESISTANCE

# A HEROIC UPRISING OF EXPLOITED

From the intifada on July 11 to the breaking of Al Assad's siege

The civil war bourgeois leadership is what prevents the road towards the victory



## Presentation

**Erdogan visits Putin in Russia: "I come to visit my dear friend"**

*From the Geneva Conference and under the orders of Obama*

## THE TWO EXTREMES OF THE ROPE ARE GETTING UNIFIED TO STRANGLE THE SYRIAN REVOLUTION

The mass counter-offensive last 7 and 8 of August broke the siege of Aleppo and posed a crucial moment for the Syrian revolution. This forced the US with Obama and Turkey with Erdogan to send their FSA bourgeois officials, Jabhat al Fatah al Sham (former Jabhat al Nusra), Ahrar al Sham, so on. to take the lead in controlling this mass action. This fight had its extent and continuity in the uprisings of the outskirts of Ghouta, Damascus, Daraya, so on where the masses cried for the offensive reached the capital.

This shows that imperialism cannot settle their counter-offensive in the region. The unbearable suffering and millions

of exploited living in barbaric conditions push permanently to mass offensive.

FSA generals and Jabhat al Fatah al Sham, etc. managed, so far, to contain this mass counteroffensive which broke the siege of the rebel Aleppo, imposing a corridor of no more than 20km, whose border is totally unstable and is under the systematic Bashar bombardment and constant siege.

Thus, Erdogan -strengthen after aborting a coup that he knew that was developed and let it run to stand up as "El Saver of Turkey"- went to meet with Putin. "My dear friend", he called to the murderer of the Syrian masses. Under the supervision

of Obama, they are joining the two ends of the same rope to strangle the Syrian revolution.

We introduce in this brochure an article about the policy of the currents that defend the Sunni bourgeoisie, which, under the orders of Erdogan, are selling out the heroic Syrian resistance as part of the Geneva conference. This Sunni bourgeoisie, with some Tow missiles and their generals, "were in the front line" which broke the siege, when the masses were the ones who had broken it. This bourgeoisie did that, not to deep the fight but to pact once the fight is contained. Erdogan's visit to Putin is about it, to agree the reconstitution of the Syrian bourgeois state demolished by the mass insurrections in 2011. They prepare a caste of common officers and an orderly transition of Al Assad, to impose "*peace ... from the cemeteries*", based on the genocide of 600,000 slaughter and more than 10 million displaced from their homes, mostly demolished by the bombs.

To achieve this, facing the general bourgeois "opposition" under US supervision, they will have to disarm the masses. But that remains to be seen.

Syria remains a "hinge" revolution for the working class of East and West. There the fate of the world working class is placed.

The US imperialist plan to defeat this revolution is just to make their various agents to move; but those are unite it in the point of destroying, manipulating, massacring and smashing the revolution of the masses.

In this plan, Al Assad has to move forward in massacring the masses, with Hezbollah in Lebanon, Iran and Russia but not winning the war, since USA imperialism would never allow them to have all the control of Syria. Because for Obama, "Syria is for the Americans".

This plan includes Turkey supports the bourgeois parties-army as "opposition" so they are not overwhelmed by the masses and they do not reach to Damascus to defeat al-Assad.

Kurdish YPGs, with Stalinism, are the ones to guarantee that no one will win the war, Syria will be divided and the US will be the one sharing the business. This will place, as in Iraq, a colonial protectorate government under its aegis and con-



**Syrian militiamen march demanding weapons**

trol, if it can smash the revolution.

Meanwhile, ISIS watches out for imperialism and the bourgeoisie the oil wells, power companies and banks of Al Assad, while fulfilling its role of massacring the masses in the areas it controls. In addition, ISIS provides the US the perfect excuse to attack the masses.

For that reason, US imperialism does not want to sweep ISIS. In any case, when in the areas it controls the exploited escape from its control, the US planes and drones come and bomb mercilessly. Obama missiles never fall on the businessmen of ISIS, but on its prisons which are full of exploited who did not accept the submission to ISIS ... the missiles fall on the masses as in Menbej where ISIS had no control over the city and imperialism had to kill hundreds of workers and peasants with their planes, and then let YPG go to establish order.

These are the conditions and the situation now of this great revolution that was slander, fenced, sullied and betrayed who is still alive and it continues the "slaughter operation" to smash it.

It is an extreme degree of cynicism to state that in Syria the fight is against US imperialism against the Great Russia. If so, Al Assad would have fallen 4 years ago, and the fight would have lasted less than 24 hours. We are facing a fallacy, as it is also said that "*thanks to Turkey the revolution is alive*".

Cynicism has no limits. Not a single ground-based missile gave Turkey (or anyone) to the up surging masses. Because, if so Al Assad and his army had suffered the worst military defeat in all modern history.

Al Assad has its rank and disunited. Their arsenals and 70% of the soldiers who deserted from his army went to arm the rebels. So that, Al Assad has only invader mercenary troops, who run away before the first shot and serious offensive of the worker and peasant. The regime army has planes, barrel bombs and phosphorus bombs to slaughter the civilians.

That's why, against all this fallacy, we affirm that the one who has and does not place air-land missiles at the service of the rebellious masses, is with Al Assad and the plan of imperialism.

Let's not lie! The real stars of this heroic resistance are the masses and exploited! The bourgeoisie only manipulates these battles. If Al Assad falls, the "bourgeois opposition" - under the aegis of Turkey and Qatar- emerge counter-revolutionary generals and murderers like Al Assad, since they will have to disarm the masses who had taken the gun to conquer bread.

The alternative remains: or a workers' and peasants' revolution moves forward and the Palestinian masses upsurge and from the entire Maghreb and the Middle East, with the support of the international working class; or barbarism and "peace of the commentaries" of imperialism and all its counter-revolutionary agents will impose in the region.

August 6, 2016

# The masses broke the siege to Aleppo!

They were which fought! The oppressed people were who conquered it!

Hundreds of martyrs left their lives in this battle against the mercenary troops of the dog Bashar, lackey of Obama and his Hitman Putin

**LONG LIVE THE HEROIC RESISTANCE OF THE MASSES OF ALEPPO AND THE ENTIRE SYRIA!**

**BASHAR, PUTIN AND OBAMA ARE WAR CRIMINALS!**

\* Let's expel the dog Bashar and his mercenary troops from the whole Aleppo!

\* Let's disarm ISIS so Raqqa and Der-ez-Zor again are bastions of the fight against genocidal Al-Assad!

\* The Kurdish people must break the agreements imposed by the PKK-YPG with murderous Al-Assad and restore the previous common front of fight with the workers and peasants of all Syria. Only from this trench the Kurds can conquer their right to self-determination as a people oppressed by Great Turkey.



Demonstration in Aleppo against the siege

**THE WAY IS TO RETRIEVE ALL ALEPPO AND GO TO DAMASCUS TO END THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP OF AL-ASSAD!**

**All the weapons to win the war! Let's seize the assets of businessmen and bankers, who got rich at the expense of the blood of our martyrs! There are funds to have bread and rebuild our homes that they destroyed and to have a free and dignified life.**

The Serpent's head is in Damascus... There it has to be cut! There we will overcome!

We reject and condemn as traitors all those that speak in name of the socialism while supporting the murderous arm of fascist Al Assad, the puppet of Obama and the imperialist bankers.

We repudiate all those that fenced the Syrian revolution, which they slandered, passing a heroic mass revolution as a "fight among backward tribes " or " inter-ethnic struggles ", what showed to be a smoke screen for

the dog Bashar to be able to demolish all working class neighborhoods in Syrian cities and towns and leave 10 million refugees barely surviving in tents in Syrian borders.

We reject and condemn as traitors all those who said that "the enemy is the ISIS" and with that they justified and concealed the worst attack by the Governments of the imperialist powers against their own working class - as we have seen in France - while preparing

new counter-revolutionary offensives, as they do now in Libya and yesterday in Iraq... ISIS has not gone to combat against Al-Assad... ISIS is Al Assad, the guardian of the oil wells and oil pipelines of imperialism.

**Long live revolutionary Syria of workers and peasants!  
Long live Syria of the oppressed!**

Open the way to the coordination committees of workers, poor peasants, militiamen, refugees and rank-and-file soldiers, for every village, town, city, province, all over Syria!

Those who struggle and fight must choose their commanders!

For a National Council of rebel masses in revolutionary Syria!

Blood spilt will be never negotiated!

No rebel in the devious Geneva conferences of Obama, Putin, Al Assad, Erdogan and the false representatives of the Syrian resistance!

**They don't represent us!**

They live among luxuries abroad, while the masses die and fight for freedom

Let's break the siege to the Syrian revolution!

It is imperative to free the 50,000 Syrian refugees being held in concentration camps in Greece, where Syriza, filthy left waste of the imperialist bankers has put them!

*As in the Spanish civil war of the '30, yesterday people fought against Franco and today against fascist Al-Assad:*

**Weapons, volunteers and funds for the heroic Syrian resistance!**

In Syria, imperialism has concentrated all its counter-revolutionary forces to punish the working class if it dares to rise for their conquests, their demands, bread and dignity...

**A single working class in Syria, Maghreb and Middle East! The**

same working class in Europe, United States and all the oppressed peoples of the world!

The Syrian revolution lives... Long live the revolution!

A single intifada from Tunisia to Cairo to Damascus to Jerusalem!

**"The liberation of the workers and the oppressed will be brought about by the workers and the oppressed themselves"**

FROM ALEPPO,  
LEON SEDOV BRIGADE  
REVOLUTIONARY COORDINATION  
COMMITTEES  
FIGHTING FROM SYRIA FOR REVOLUTION,  
UNDER THE BANNERS OF THE FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL

## Homage to all the militiamen and revolutionaries who fell in these battles!

We revolutionary socialists, that fight for a Syria of workers and peasants, that fight for setting up committees of coordination of refugees and internal displaced, workers, students, militiamen and rank-and-file soldiers, had the honor of being in the first line of this fight of the oppressed.

We pay a tribute to our revolutionary fighters killed in combat against the fascist troops of Al-Assad and the bombings of the NATO aircraft, and all combatants who fell with them fighting heroically.

Honor the revolutionary militants of the Fourth International!  
Revolutionary greetings to all rebels who broke the siege to Aleppo!  
Greetings revolutionary especially to comrades of the Leon Sedov Brigade, that are in the front alongside their brothers and sisters of Aleppo!

*Comrade Mustafa Abu Juma'a, present! The first martyr of the battle for breaking the fence to Aleppo, fallen on July 16*



*Comrade Abu Issac al - Janubi, present!  
Fallen in the takeover of Ramusa Academy of Artillery on August 5*

*Comrade Hamza al - Twil, present! Fallen in the intifada of Aleppo on July 11*



# JULY 11:

## MASSES TAKE THE CENTER OF ALEPPO

**The expropriation of the banks to conquer the bread was at hand but the bourgeois generals have stolen the victory**

Reach Damascus and defeat the genocide Al Assad and his friends that defend him like Putin, Iranian Ayatollahs and Hezbollah!

No more than one week ago the Government army launched an offensive against the resistance still standing in Aleppo; Bashar Al Assad had avowed to take it completely. This pro-imperialist garbage of Hezbollah announced that it would send reinforcements to help Bashar the dog in this offensive.

From the areas that it controls, the murderous army of Bashar began to advance on the outskirts to the North of Aleppo, and finally, some few days ago it ended to disrupt Castello route, only way that unites the East and South of the city with its suburbs located to the West, who are rebel areas ranging up to Bab-el-Hawa, the border passageway to Turkey.

Thus they were imposing a siege on the "liberated areas" within the city, and the masses started to suffer it with the passing of the hours. Food began to run out. The exploited saw themselves in the mirror of Madaya and Zabadani, where killer Bashar not only massacred them to bombings but also let them die of starvation.

Misery and hunger were already lashing Aleppo, and the siege intensified them per thousand. During Sunday July 10 youth and workers began to win the streets to protest against the siege.

And then, **in the early hours of Monday 11 young people and workers in suburbs East and South of the city, members of different fractions of the FSA** (and its Islamist versions as well as those of Jabhat - al - Nusra) **were unified in spite of and against their leaderships and launched a coordinated attack to retake the hills located at each side of the Castello route to break the siege.** It was from those hills



**The masses take over Al Assad's headquarters in the centre of Aleppo**

that Bashar the Dog, with his Russian war machinery handled by Afghan, Iranian, Hezbollah's Lebanese or Shiite Iraqi's mercenaries, were shooting to whoever marched along the route. **The militiamen came back as they got out of the control of the generals-without-battle.**

Young people and workers launched an offensive on Al Assad's siege machinery... with 7 missiles they managed to make burst 4 siege weapons, leaving only a kornet (gross gauge siege weapon) base. Young fighters warred by the route allowing also some trucks enter carrying provisions to relieve the miseries of 200 thousand exploited that resist today in the heart of the city. With great courage, these fighters began to advance toward the neighborhoods and districts that were under the control of Al Assad's occupation forces until that day.

**When learning that the fighters had broken the fence and entered the city the**

**masses who live in areas controlled by the regime of Bashar the Dog in Aleppo, who are enduring massacres by these mercenary troops, stood up in a phenomenal intifada defeating and driving Al-Assad's forces out of there, grabbing their weapons and taking the barracks where these filthy mercenaries coordinated massacres to the population.**

In this way they released Aleppo neighborhoods: Saif al Dawlah, Bstan al Qssr, Haleb al Qdima, Ramussah, al Aamaria, Salah Ad-Din completely, and also Al Karajat, Al Qssr al balady, and Funduq al Amir.

At the same time the masses were pushing to take the four most important banks of the city, i.e. Syrian Central Bank-Aleppo Branch, Agricultural Investment Bank, Industrial Investment Bank and the Trade Bank. Some embassies were also taken and people shot their way to parts

of these suburbs where the bourgeoisie inhabit.

**It was a day of glory for the workers, poor peasants and coordinating committees which came back to stand up incipiently, to break away from the chain of command of the bourgeois generals of the FSA, who never wanted to go that far. No central command called this battle or planned it. They were the masses who took the task in their hands, armed themselves and revolted.**

**Generals-without-battle of FSA were going to each front to try to convince the masses of no more going forward; they wanted the masses to retreat. They said: "it is necessary to retreat; if we move to that area, we cannot ensure your safety", when the troops of the Assad had been already expelled and their barracks taken by the rebel exploited and militiamen.**

**Panic spread among the generalship of the FSA, as they feared the insurrected, armed exploited were to expropriate the entire bourgeoisie, including them.**

Finally, the treacherous politics of the FSA was imposed once more and the militiamen ended up falling back. It is a tragedy, because this left in the hands of Al Assad's mercenaries all those exploited who had insurrected in the heart of the neighborhoods of Aleppo controlled by Bashar the Dog, and several of them were executed to blood cold by the pro-Assad scoundrels.

After the withdrawal of vanguard combatants, the troops of the Dog returned to set weapons of siege by the side of the "Al-Kastello" road, further strengthening the total siege to the capital city of the resistance. However many have attained escape using the route during the night and very quietly.

***The exploited begin to rise up in areas controlled by Al Assad, and join the militiamen when the latter enter despite and against the generals of the FSA***

**It must be said and highlighted that these events show the masses are beginning to take the direction of the fight in their hands in order to have bread, expropriating the bourgeoisie and their**

**banks which is where the funds are for eating.** Little less than a month ago they had taken factories under workers control, and also marched to the arsenals of the generals of the FSA to look for weapons in rebel areas of Aleppo province.

**The conditions of unprecedented misery and total shortages of food and basic resources –plus the fact that they already face a situation that either they win the war or die massacred or starved-, push them to break with the controls that FSA and Jabhat - al - Nusra have been imposing them in rebel areas. For this reason, already the bourgeoisie has begun to be expropriated and all available put to win the war. That's the way!**

**But what the intifada in Aleppo also shows is that the masses living under areas controlled by Bashar the Dog are suffering from unprecedented hunger, pains and misery. They crave to get rid of the oppressing boot of Al-Assad, who cannot govern there except by means of his forces of mercenaries at gunpoint. His government gives nothing to the masses, except for repression, imprisonment and death. That's why they have insurrected, and in doing so they allowed the advance of the militiamen who came from the East of Aleppo, and joined them.**

Misery, massacre, hunger are worsening, and the masses need a solution, which won't come in the hands of the FSA or Jabhat - al - Nusra or any of their variants, which came to control them anywhere the former had defeated the forces of Al-Assad. Those bourgeois army-parties – by distributing some alms and using "combative" or "anti-imperialist" phraseology and demagoguery - were there to grab and control weapons, dissolve bodies of direct democracy which the masses had set on foot as the coordination committees, and replaced them by their own institutions, such as the checkpoints; thus they replaced the insurrection methods of struggle of the masses for the bourgeois war of positions where a territory is controlled, and negotiate the movement of goods that pass through it.

**Due to these conditions of almost barbarism, starting from their experience and breaking with the bourgeois armed parties already the masses are**

**beginning to return to their methods of fight of local insurrections and to arise again the coordination committees. Once again the militia organizes independently. And this is not only in Aleppo. It is process opened all over Syria since the battle in Khantoman (southern suburbs of Aleppo) in early May, where the masses already fought with their methods, taking weapons and combatting against Al-Assad by their own, escaping the control of FSA, Jabhat - Al - Nusra, Ahrar-el-Sham, etc. and looking for taking in their hands the road to victory against Bashar the Dog.**

So we saw the exploited in Daraya, a suburb of Damascus, breaking through and joining with their brothers and sisters of Moadamiya. Al-Assad's forces launched a massive raid to impose this siege again, and once the selling-out by the FSA is made felt, since they have abandoned Daraya, in spite of the FSA having huge weapon deposits and even tanks a few kilometers from there, at Dera'a.

***FSA top echelons seal an agreement with Bashar***

The bourgeois generals of the FSA are selling-out and isolating all fights consciously. They were negotiating in Geneva with Al Assad over an ordered transition out of the war, a Government of national unity and a reconstitution of the army in common. But both parties could not impose an agreement because the masses do not accept anyone to go to an agreement with the forces that cause so much devastation and genocide.

The agreement could not be imposed and the conditions in which the masses are living –and dying made them to come out to fight, even breaking with the containment wall of the FSA. And so we could see how Assad and Putin had to multiply the massacre and download all type of weapons of massive destruction (even cluster-bombs). They want to stop the drive of the masses.

For this made an agreement. They gathered together to deal with this situation, as expression of the agreement sealed two weeks ago between their allies Putin and Erdogan to re-establish all ties and common business, included an apology from Turkey for having shot down a

Russian plane at November 2015. Obama, who is their boss, took them to close the gaps.

So the FSA today has called to respect Al-Assad's zones; it makes every effort so that the masses do not move, it gets to their head when they do -so their offensive will fail, and if they succeed in their drive, the FSA calls for their withdrawal. We could see that in Aleppo, in Dera'a, in Daraya... everywhere. The fact is already the masses are insurrecting in Assad-controlled area. That is the new situation seen since the insurrection in Aleppo on July 11. **The conditions are to march on Damascus; the conditions are for Assad's fall.** Already his Government is practically one of occupation forces, without a social base.

Though if the masses have not been able to unify and finally defeat Bashar the Dog in Damascus, it is because the FSA generals have prevented it. **The truth must be said: it is the bourgeois FSA generals who are assisting Al-Assad so he does not fall in Damascus,** because they know that the victory of the masses would occur by expropriating the entire bourgeoisie, their banks, oil wells, and thereby, also the bourgeois of the FSA and the Syrian "opposition".

For their part, both Jabhat-al-Nusra and Ahrar-el-Sham have come to denounce the FSA publicly, to try to contain the masses from left, but also, to divide; because they have used this complaint to rest stationed in the areas they control, as Idlib, separating themselves from Aleppo; because they are not interested in getting to Damascus or winning the war. They only trade their slice of the businesses from the areas they control.

### ***The reformist left goes on encircling the Syrian revolution***

If up to now there has been a successful containment of the masses and Al-Assad has not fallen, we must also look at the leadership of the international working class. The reformist leaderships have encircled the Syrian revolution. For them, nothing exists in Syria, not even the genocide by Al-Assad. They are only speaking about Syria to condemn ISIS, which they call to defeat, and sometimes to support Stalinist PKK (which has sealed an arrangement of no-aggression with Al-Assad). And what about the rest of Syria? There are "backward Muslim



**Kerry and Lavrov chair the meeting of Geneva**

tribes and barbarian masses"...

They have supported Al-Assad either openly or stealthily (some directly, as the Stalinism), saying that is "a Government against imperialism", except perhaps by some friends of the FSA that support openly those bourgeois generals-without-battle that today are saving Bashar the Dog.

Take off your mask, Messrs.! All world reformist left currents, one way or another, support Bashar to massacre the masses! They are all pawns of Obama, the head of the agreement between Turkey and Russia, and between the FSA and Bashar Al-Assad so that, as Geneva is in crisis, the masses do not escape and achieve the victory of the revolution!

Why Al-Assad has been able to massacre with such impunity without any reaction from the world? Why Al-Assad is supported by Russia, Iran, Lebanese militias and a wide range of mercenaries, receiving also funds and weapons from other countries, while the masses are alone? Why so much both handling and control by so many bourgeois army parties, without having a worker mass current disputing them the proletarian leadership of the war? The left reformists have encircled the Syrian masses; they were which allowed all this. They should be accountable!

***Let's go to Damascus and defeat Bashar Al-Assad!***

***Only the masses, returning to set up their organisms of dual power, can unify the exploited in the common combat for defeating Bashar the Dog.*** They do not have any business in common with the Dog, as the bourgeois generals of the FSA

have with the agreements between his and their checkpoints, collecting taxes and their share of the business of the circulation of goods throughout the Syrian market. **We must bring back the workers, militiamen and poor peasants' coordination committees!**

**Let's retrieve weapons from the hands of generals-without-battle of the FSA and Jabhat - al - Nusra!**

**We must expropriate the bourgeoisie, their banks and oil wells and put all available to solve the problem of bread, reach Damascus and win the war!**

**For the defeat of genocidal Al-Assad and his friends who defend him as Putin, the Iranian ayatollahs and Hezbollah!**

Palestine, Syria, Yemen... The new mass uprisings in Baghdad against the Government of US protectorate that are calling to unify all exploited irrespective of their being Shia or Sunni: All these are struggles in which we exploited defend our life, and fight against the exploiters that only bid to make it more miserable. **From Aleppo to Jerusalem to Tunisia to Baghdad, a same intifada!**

The Syrian vanguard feels part of the battles of the black working class against the fascist police in US imperialist beast. The Syrian masses have their fate tied to the victory of the fights of Greek youth and workers (together with the refugees in that country), and the French workers, who suffer an attack to their conquests - as the loss of the 35 hours work-week and also today the militarization of and repression in France after the last self-attack in Nice.

**LEON SEDOV BRIGADE**



# Syria

## Masses do their best and the FSA generals give Al Assad in back the center of Aleppo



24 July 2016

*From May to July: a giant mass offensive in Khantoman, Aleppo, Daraya...*

*The masses begin to take the destiny of the fighting against genocide by Bashar the dog in their hands*

*While the exploited break the siege to Aleppo (the capital of the resistance), reach the center of the city and banks are taken, the FSA generals deal agreements with Al-Assad to save the property of the bourgeoisie as a whole*

*Obama's lefts go on with their siege of silence and slander against the Syrian revolution*

**If subordinated to bourgeois generals, only blood, misery and hunger is achieved  
We must break with these businessmen who lead us to defeat!**

## For a worker and poor people's leadership for the war!

Let's set up again coordination committees! A man, a gun! Militias elect their leaders!

Let's expropriate without payment and under workers control oil companies, bankers and all capitalists to solve the problem of bread and put all the resources to win the war!

**Let's defeat Bashar the dog in Damascus! Let's break the siege to Aleppo!**

It was 2010 and in Tunisia a young unemployed computer engineer had his cart of fruits and vegetables for sale confiscated by the police. Seeing in despair that even that he couldn't do to try and bring bread home he decided to immolate spraying fuel and setting himself on fire. He concentrated the conditions of all the exploited of the Maghreb and the Middle East, who no longer had bread due to brutal generalized price increase of 200% and 400%, notably on food. Thus, Mohamed Bouazizi was the flame ending in arson throughout the region, where the exploited won the streets in amazing revolutions that toppled Governments and brutally autocratic regimes. Ben Ali fell in Tunisia, Mubarak in Egypt and Qadafi in Libya. In the latter country masses armed themselves and put up their militias, destroying the bourgeois state.

In Syria they progressed in that sense. In a string of local insurrections, the masses ousted dog Bashar troops and liberated almost 60% of the Syrian territory. They were at the gates of Damascus. US imperialism saw that the last mainstay of Zionism was falling, which threatened its borders; however imperialism also faced a huge limitation: due to the reaction of its own working class before the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq it was impeded to send directly its



**Thousands of militiamen march to get weapons**

army to new invasions.

The US Government had a new "Viet Nam syndrome". So it sent its agent Bashar to waging a brutal massacre, which still continues with a genocide of more than half a million dead and half of the Syrian population was forced to leave their homes and live as refugees in tents or in the middle of nowhere, inside or outside Syria. So Bashar al Assad performed the dirty work for all imperialist powers, and had his hands free to do it thanks to the fence of silence and slander tended around the Syrian masses, which were in such way isolated from the world proletariat. And this siege was carried out on account of imperialism by the WSF and the



Renegades of Marxism and the left of Obama.

**But the Syrian masses remained standing and facing the massacre. Imperialism concentrated all counter-revolutionary forces in Syria for slashing that chain of revolutions engulfing the entire region, that even put in question the borders of the Zionist enclave and tended to unify with the actions of the working class in Europe and the United States.**

**Imperialism instructed its different agents to take care of the property of the bourgeoisie**, first of all the oil companies. Some of these agents (FSA and Jabhat al Nusra, and even ISIS) were of friends of the people (either "democratic" or "Islamic") and went to the interior of the mass movement to control it, dissolve any attempt by the masses to put up organs of dual power and prevent them from expropriating the property of capitalists. Others (the Iranian ayatollahs, the mercenaries of Hezbollah and Putin's White Army), were to support and help Al Assad when it was falling while others were commissioned to maintain the siege of silence and slander so that no worker in the world dares to send aid to his/her Syrian brothers and sisters (this role was played by the global left and the Renegades of Marxism and reformist-without-reforms parties).

### ***Imperialism has a plan: dividing the exploited and subjecting them to their various torturers to end in supporting Bashar the dog***

Six and a half years Obama takes supporting his watch-dog Bashar, the most genocidal government in recent decades. That was the aim of the Geneva conferences, including the division of the exploited masses to stifle the revolution.

The first counter-revolutionary Covenant to begin suffocating the Syrian revolution was the "non-aggression" covenant between the Kurdish bourgeoisie and Bashar the dog, which separated the heroic Kurdish people from their Syrian class brothers and sisters, who had raised and fought together shoulder to shoulder. This covenant posed not only "non-aggression" but also the collaboration between the YPG (the military arm of the Kurdish bourgeoisie in Syria) and the forces of Bashar.

Another counter-revolutionary Pact that divided the front of the Syrian revolution against the regime was a non-declared covenant of "non-aggression" between the ISIS and Bashar... which proved to be a real pact of aggression against the masses. ISIS had been commanded by imperialism to Raqqa and Deir-ez-Zor provinces when the masses there upsurged expelling troops from the regime, to prevent them



**Cannons recovered after the seizure of the artillery school in Aleppo**

from taking over the oil wells located there. ISIS men could enter demagogically waving the anti-imperialist credentials of fights against the US they had allegedly waged and lots of money to give alms and contain.

But all that was to be mounted and impose a strict control based on its military apparatus and its interpretation of a strict Koranic law. Thus, they not only guarded the property of the imperialist oil companies; they were responsible for controlling and suffocating the insurrectional process, also gutting the best rebel vanguard. In the hands of the ISIS, Raqqa and Deir-ez-Zor went from insurgent provinces against dog Bashar to be a dead weight in the struggle to reach Damascus.

From that position, ISIS agreed a deal with Al-Assad and returned their weapons against rebel areas. They only faced very occasionally Bashar troops when there was business in dispute. So at the beginning of January 2014 it launched an attack on the masses of Aleppo and Idlib, which in addition to confront Al-Assad now had also to resist ISIS' incursions.

**This concentration of agents had to be centralized. For this, the imperialism Yankee led the so-called "Geneva Conferences".** From there, Obama directed the operations of each of the agents on Syrian territory. His goal was to make Assad massacre the masses as much as he can; but he was not permitted to completely progress and impose himself over the entire Syrian territory. US imperialism wants to be which succeed and advance the colonization of Syria. On the other hand, it knows the genocidal Government of Bashar would be too unstable to ensure imperialist business in a colonized Syria. Bashar's role is that of an assassin, and once he reaches the end of his work, imperialism will cast him off as it did before with Milosevic. It needs to clean its bloodstained hands before the masses of the world. For that it plans to put a replacement Government, and for that it was preparing an agreement with the FSA, whose role is submitting and controlling the masses to impose them the surrender and force them to accept this agreement.

Ultimately, **the Geneva plan was the Covenant between the different agents involved in Syria to impose, while sharing business, defeat to the masses of the Syrian revolution and throughout the region –what amounts to**

**a severe warning not to upsurge again, for then building a "democratic transition" between the FSA and Bashar through a common Government and army.**

**But they could never impose any of these agreements to the masses. The FSA could never finish containing the masses sufficiently. The masses are adamant in not accepting genocidal Bashar as their government, or even letting anybody agree with him.** Because were the FSA appearing next to Al-Assad, it would fall immediately down as a mechanism of control of the masses in the areas the latter had freed from the presence of the troops of the dog.

Imperialism tried to, but never could settle this plan of Geneva due to the action of the masses. Similar deceptions were attempted with some success in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and until 2014 in Yemen, with Governments that were only roundabouts to go back imposing the old autocracies that had ruled those countries for decades, by submitting to the masses and handing over all those nations' wealth to imperialism. In Syria they could never do that, since imperialism never put another government different from that against which the revolutionary uprisings had gone. Moreover they always supported Bashar the dog, because he was carrying out the counter-revolutionary attack by means of genocide, on account of all the imperialist powers.

Imperialism did not want to remove him prematurely from the Government, because it knows that there are more than 10 million of internally displaced Syrians out of a population of 24 million. So, if imperialism had removed him, the masses could have seen that as their own triumph and returned to their destroyed homes and even called into question the properties of the Syrian bourgeoisie which as we know, almost in its entirety is intact; meanwhile if that had happened the FSA would not have had sufficient control over the masses to prevent their irruption. **Then, Obama played its stakes to keep Bashar in the Government, for the massacre to continue.** So it does still now. Yet the revolution is still alive. Neither the FSA nor Jabhat al Nusra or any other agent whom imperialism commanded controls it. ISIS is the only one controlling revolution in the areas it is established. But this could not impose outside Raqqa and Deir-ez-Zor.

Because of this, the unprecedented suffering of the Syrian masses intensified every day. Hunger and despair pushed the masses to fight for survival, and they sought to solve these problems by directly attacking the property of the bourgeoisie. Having the FSA (together with Jabhat al Nusra) caring for the bourgeois private property (factories, banks, etc.) in the areas that the masses had liberated, the exploited were earning a wage of only 20 dollars monthly. The same hardships are also endured by those who live in the areas dominated by Al-Assad.

The capitalist economy follows its course, even during war. Means of production continue to be privately owned, there is super exploitation of workers in factories and workshops (both in the areas of Bashar as in areas of the FSA and Jabhat al Nusra, not to mention in ISIS' areas). Trade goes

on, even between the different areas. The factories of the liberated areas sell to everybody, Bashar included. He feeds his war machine by buying gasoline and diesel oil from ISIS areas. In short, FSA and ISIS also cater to Bashar and his genocidal army of mercenaries.

The movement of goods is ensured by checkpoints controlled by each of these groups, which are true bourgeois army-parties. In those checkpoints they also charge their taxes. Everything is bought and sold in Syrian liras, the official currency, which is printed on the central bank in Damascus. Through banks and exchange houses, the currency reaches all areas of Syria, whether they are controlled by Bashar or the FSA, Jabhat al Nusra or ISIS.

***Driven by their unprecedented sufferings, and trying to stop the massacre, from May to July this year the masses returned to combat with their insurrectional method as in 2011, despite and against their leaderships***

The situation of extreme deprivation could not be endured anymore. The trigger was early last May Putin's bombing of the tents in Sarmada where many Syrian IDPs lived. There was not only hunger and unprecedented misery... not even the refugees were safe from the massacre. And with all the anger and the wish of succeeding as only form of surviving, the masses marched from Idlib and from the West of the province of Aleppo (both "liberated areas") to sweep Assad's and their allies' troops, and caused a huge defeat to the regime and to their Iranian allies in the village of Khantoman, early last May.

From there, **a new phase of Syria's civil war has been opened, at which the masses are trying to take in their hands the lead of the war and fight with their methods and not those as the FSA was trying to impose.** They sought to solve the problem of bread, which the FSA was preventing. They sought to have the weapons required to win the war, which the FSA zealously kept away from the front-lines and only used to subdue the masses. They sought to liberate their brothers and sisters who were crushed under the boot of the regime in the areas it still controls... something that the FSA has refused to do, because they don't want to move a meter more towards Damascus.

But to each action that advanced the masses in this sense, there was a counter-revolutionary response almost immediately and to the same level that the action that they had made.

The masses who had been victorious in Khantoman were imposed a leadership that diverted them toward exhausting and powerless battles in an attempt to take away territory of towns and villages of neither military nor political or geostrategic importance; and at the same time, a fierce campaign of co-opting them to the military campaign of the FSA (under Turkish command) aiming to combat in the Syrian

North confronting only ISIS and not Bashar.

People expropriated a textile factory under workers control in Urem al Kubra, a liberated zone west of Aleppo. The generals of the FSA could not prevent this takeover or evict the workers. Then came Assad's aircraft and reduced the factory to rubble in the middle of June.

Fifteen hundred militiamen marched at the end of June to the barracks and arsenals of a division of the FSA General, announcing that they would break away from its command, but wanted their weapons, since these generals are far from the front and the militiamen are the only ones fighting the dog Bashar. Then a group of corrupt officials from the FSA dressed as friends and accompanied the mobilization to take its lead; thus they achieved that, despite the rupture, the militiamen remain under their command and therefore linked to the FSA, at the same time as clerics came out to defend the possession of those generals without battle.

Close to Damascus is the town of Daraya, a rebel area that was fenced off four years and resisting the advances of the dog. A few months ago the heroic masses of this area launched an attack on Hezbollah positions in the airport of Mazzah (on the outskirts of Daraya) where they inflicted a significant loss to the Lebanese group, killing one of its major political and military leaders, Mustafa Badder-eddin. After this action, the fence to Daraya broke when the exploited were able to open one corridor to another of the rebel areas that was also fenced off, Moadamiya. But the FSA, from the Southern front in where it has huge armament and men as in the province of Dera'a and Swaidiya, called to maintain positions in their places and not advance on Damascus or join is with the rebel masses in Daraya and Moadamiya. It left them at the mercy of Bashar and especially Hezbollah, which launched a huge attack and at iron and fire returned to impose the siege on Daraya and set it on the verge of falling.

The District of Waer, in the city of Homs had been the last bastion of insurgent masses before the fall of that city. At the end of this quarter last year turned to surge up and it was sold out by the FSA to Bashar troops in exchange for UNO crumbs.

However, the masses refused to withdraw, even despite being under fierce scrutiny carried forward by Assad's mercenary occupation forces. In early May the Waer neighborhood resistance was felt again, entering hard engagements with Assad's mercenaries house to house and street to street, forcing them to withdraw from the city. As immediate response Bashar launched a military siege and a fierce aerial bombardment, and no general of the FSA launched any offensive against the dog to join the insurrectionists in al Waer.



### ***Aleppo insurrection of July 11, marked a before and an after***

One of the most malicious betrayals the heroic masses of Syria have suffered but happened a week ago. Dog Bashar, supported by thousands of mercenaries from Hezbollah and Russian aircraft, took by storm the last route linking Aleppo liberated neighborhoods with the suburbs, a route even reaching the border with Turkey through Bab al Hawa pass.

Evidently the dog Bashar sought surrender by famine of the resistance in Aleppo by cutting off the last supply road. On their turn the bourgeoisie of the FSA and their generals needed that route to continue trading and performing business. A gap opened of negotiation between al Assad's men and the FSA. The masses' desire to survive was stronger than any need for negotiating of these bourgeois, so they stormed by those gaps. Several young people and workers from various fractions of the FSA and Islamist wings unified and coordinated their forces, despite and against their leaderships, and launched a fierce attack against Bashar's artillery, which was on the sides of Castello road (North of Aleppo). These young men were able to break the siege and advanced across the city, merging with a spectacular uprising of the masses within neighborhoods, even those controlled by al Assad's scourge. They returned to the insurrectional methods of 2011. The fact is in areas controlled by Al-Assad, the situation also is unendurable. So the fighting arrived at the center of the city and called into question banks and embassies, as well as also there fell one after one the barracks where the mercenaries concentrated to attack the masses.

While this was happening, the FSA, for fear of losing their businesses and their property immediately drew all the militiamen to leave the city with the excuse that there were no conditions for victory or to hold a possible victory; they even took at barrel tip ambulances and support vehicles that were backing the vanguard men fighting in the streets of Aleppo.

The FSA didn't give a damn for handing out their busi-

ness route to Bashar, as the bourgeois are clear that when the poor masses are fighting, the whole property of capitalists is at risk.

Not content with this, they gave time the dog Bashar to occupy completely Castello road, even with infantry and cavalry. And after that the FSA began to launch a war of positions in overall inequality of conditions, regardless of the life of those who went to fight. Today, al Assad's siege has been closed again on the rebel Aleppo. And the fronts are receding where the masses had advanced.

### *The infamous agreement between the generals of the FSA and genocidal Bashar*

**The generals of the FSA care first and foremost the private property, i.e. that the masses not expropriate the capitalists. They are capitalists, owners, bourgeois, businessmen. And before the mass offensive that came out of their control in Aleppo and joined the exploited masses in the neighborhoods... when the FSA saw the masses taking banks, they trembled to such an extent that they teamed up with Al Assad's troops to close gaps and stop that onslaught. They sealed a deal to safeguard their property, as expression of the covenant between Turkey and Russia (their respective allies) that the latter had made public just a few days before.**

**The aim of this deal is closing ranks before an advance of the masses which also came together in the liberated areas and the areas controlled by dog Bashar.**

In fact the method of the insurrection of 2011 was returning, the way that the exploited used when they defeated al Assad's army and liberated cities. It was in the order of the day the immediate possibility to reach Damascus, to expropriate the bourgeoisie of both al Assad's and the FSA, and above all the imperialist oil companies guarded by ISIS. The revolution was regaining its drive and coordinating committees and the struggles of the masses were setting up embryonic bodies of soviets. **It was time to win the war**, because again the militiamen ignore the orders of the FSA generals and joined the exploited in the zones of the regime, which is holding solely with its occupation forces, proving that it no longer has any social base. **That is what the Turkey - Russia Covenant came to prevent, i.e. Assad's fall by a revo-**

### **lutionary action of the masses.**

Each one of them did its part. Al-Assad was reinforced again by Russian forces and Hezbollah and launched a redoubled offensive, both in Aleppo and other rebel areas, while Putin's aircraft are massacring without mercy. The FSA calls for folding, to maintain positions and not advance to the forefront and so patrols are left isolated in the front; FSA sends small groups to position wars with inferiority of men and weaponry to deal with Assad's troops and their allies. In each territory that they advance, if the FSA fails to impose immediate withdrawal, it leaves only a small number of fighters so that they are destroyed by Assad and Putin's artillery and aviation, against which they have no weaponry or way to stop it, and always have to go back and seek refuge.

Behind this deal, the FSA generals and Bashar al Assad's ones are negotiating to restore the breed of officers. They want to put an end to the Syrian revolution and land a decisive defeat for the masses. But they cannot do this together. And the generals of the FSA most viewed as full members of Geneva no longer have authority before the Syrian masses. The FSA need a top of officers that have enough authority as to make the masses swallow their deals of surrender; they need them for marching together with Assad's genocidal officers to a "new Syria". That's why a plan has begun to be implemented to try to break and corrupt the best of the rebel vanguard in Syria. Amidst the situation of misery they offer money, cars, equipment, and a trip to Qatar and Turkey for their "training". Many fighters have already withdrawn from the front. And others have been led to die in FSA powerless battles in inferior conditions, leaving them lonely and isolated in battles, etc.

### ***Jabhat the Nusra and Ahrar Sham in the Covenant: two real "left" caps to the masses' drive***

Ahrar al Sham and Jabhat al Nusra leaders have come to publicly denounce the FSA as traitors. Thus, they have put themselves on the left, because they want to try to contain anyone who breaks with FSA's control. But at the same time, they justify their inaction in the present fighting with this statement. While the militiamen break the control of the FSA and go to fight against al Assad and break the siege to Aleppo, while the masses under the boot of Bashar revolt, Jabhat al Nusra and Ahrar al Sham armies remain inactive with all their heavy weapons in the neighboring province, Idlib.

The betrayal of the generals of the FSA gave the perfect excuse to the leaders of these two groups in Idlib to impose what they always have guaranteed: the division between the fronts in Idlib and Aleppo, i.e. the separation of the fights against Bashar.

Nor are they interested in getting to



Damascus or winning the war. They only trade their cut from the areas they control. They are businessmen. They also are part of the agreement. They are a cap which controls the masses where they have presence; they want anyone who breaks with the FSA to fall under their aegis, and at the same time they refuse to coordinate the forces they lead with the battles that the masses that break with the FSA general are waging.



Aleppo resists Bashar the Dog

### ***The generals of the FSA, Jabhat al Nusra and Ahrar al Sham are now an absolute brake for the victory of the revolution***

All the defeats suffered by the dog Bashar and his troops, all the areas liberated where the masses advanced, all attacks that put the regime of al Assad on the edge of falling in these last six years and half were due to the revolutionary action of the exploited. They are the masses fighting with their insurrection methods. Whenever the FSA imposed its methods of isolated patrols that disputed territory, all they have got are defeats and demoralizing.

**FSA generals did not release any area. Nor did Jabhat al Nusra generals. Only the masses did, looking for not only defeating Bashar and freedom, but being able to eat, having bread, fulfilling the demands of the revolution for which they had taken the streets of every city in 2011. The fighting that still remains is because the masses know that they don't have another solution save for advancing above Bashar and arriving in Damascus. They know that the only way to have food, a home, a job... a life... is winning the war. And as they suffer, they are over and over again going into combat.**

**The officialdom of the FSA and Jabhat al Nusra weaken the offensive. Beside each one of them there go the Muslim clerics to manipulate the masses, imbue them of a consciousness of submission to those generals.** This combination of generals and clerics who have expropriated the revolutionary processes is what guarantees the imposition of not only military policies and business agreements with Bashar. Generals and clerics are responsible for imposing the conditions of misery in the liberated zones. There are no schools; the wages are meager \$ 20 monthly for 12-hour workdays. Food and basic resources are scarce. Medical care is very poor for a war zone. No one can even express discontent with their government; they have destroyed and dissolved the coordinating committees, and all organs of direct democracy of the masses, of workers and poor farmers' alliance... Why is it that there are so many millions of refugees and displaced persons who are not fighting? Because they do not see any reason for giving their life for these generals, that impose conditions of misery even worse than they had before the 2011 uprising.

Any proletarian warfare guidance would expropriate the property of capitalists and banks everywhere people and territory are liberated from the troops of Al-Assad, to solve the problem of bread and put everything available to the service of winning the war. It would ensure that those establishments don't cater to Bashar by trading with him, as FSA and Jabhat al Nusra's businessmen do. It would give each man a rifle. It would put up coordinating committees, i.e., organs of direct democracy. It would call on all the refugees to return to recover their houses, their lives, to combat together, and would give each one of them a weapon and a place in the committees of coordination.

It would add massive forces to combat -not only Syrian and refugees' ones, but those of the world working class, today unable to intervene together with their class brothers and sisters in Syria due to the encirclement of the revolution by the treacherous leaderships.

The leadership of the working class is the cause why victory has not been achieved... both inside Syria in the hands of the generals bourgeois of the FSA and Jabhat al Nusra, as of the international working class under the spell of the WSF and the new left.

Precisely this Trotsky said about what the Republican bourgeoisie did in the Spanish civil war of 1931-39: *"The masses who had assured all the previous successes of the revolution still continued to believe that the revolution would reach its logical conclusion, that is, achieve an overturn in property relations, give land to the peasants, and transfer the factories into the hands of the workers. The dynamic force of the revolution was lodged precisely in this hope of the masses for a better future. But the honorable republicans did everything in their power to trample, to besmirch, or simply to drown in blood the cherished hopes of the oppressed masses."* (León Trotsky, "The tragedy of Spain", January 30, 1939, our bolds)

To unleash the "dynamic force of the revolution" in Syria, it is necessary to get rid of the "Republican gentlemen" of the FSA. For a proletarian leadership of the war! Let's set up again coordination committees!

## ***The prerequisites for the victory***

Obviously the policy of the Syrian bourgeoisie, which is an expression of the policies of the global imperialist bourgeoisies, is to save and protect property at any necessary cost; it doesn't matter if they have to massacre hundreds of thousands (as already they have done) and even millions of people. Leon Trotsky defined it in writing on the Spanish civil war a propos Franco-Assad:

*"On Franco's side there is neither a staunch army nor popular support. There is only the greed of proprietors ready to drown in blood three – fourths of the population if only to maintain their rule over the remaining one – fourth. (...) Franco's great superiority lies in this, that he has a clear and definite program: to safeguard and stabilize capitalist property, the rule of the exploiters, and the domination of the church; and to restore the monarchy."* (León Trotsky, "The Tragedy of Spain", January 30, 1939)

The agreement... today the plan of imperialism and its agents boils down to this. It will bring not more democracy, but a deepening of the massacre and a graveyard. More fascism will come. This they need to impose. Even ISIS is too soft for them. For this reason they are already agreeing on its departure and this leaves the masses at the mercy of the mercenaries of Al-Assad and the bombings not only of Russia but also of the U.S.-led coalition. They just bombard civilians. The masses oppose these counter-revolutionary forces because they already know what will happen if the latter enter: they will impose a fascism ten thousand times worse than that of ISIS, as already happened in Palmyra.

**Down with Geneva conferences and all the covenants among the businessmen made behind the backs of the poor people and those who are fighting! Down with the deals between the FSA and Bashar! Let's march to Damascus for defeating the dog! It is imperative to break the siege to Aleppo!**

The FSA does not represent the Syrian exploited masses. No one voted them or mandated them. They boast of representing the Syrian people, but they are on the contrary who give them in. Let's ignore all the generals-without-battle and the authority from other agents that control different parts of Syria. For a Syrian National Assembly with a delegate each 10 thousand inhabitants in all the liberated areas, the refugee camps and the areas occupied by Bashar and ISIS and the Kurdish area!

**Let's bring back standing coordination committees neighborhood by neighborhood, village by village!**

**Let them centralize and coordinate at the national level! That is the true power of the workers and poor people.**

**In their militia, they must choose their own leaders in assemblies! Enough of the weapons hoard by the FSA, Jabhat the Nusra and other groups! A man, a gun!**

**Let's expropriate oil wells, banks, factories and the entire property of the bourgeoisie!** There the funds are to solve the problem of bread and win the war.

**To succeed, the head of Bashar must roll in Damascus! For the military defeat of his mercenary troops and all those who support him as Putin, Hezbollah and the Iranian ayatollahs! We socialist revolutionaries affirm that this can be achieved only starting from the insurrectionary method.** So it was that all the cities were freed in 2011 / 2012 from the presence of Bashar's troops; thus the center of Aleppo was reached on July 11; this is the way to move forward all across Syria.

**We call the exploited masses to follow this path and fight for their interests, in order to have a home, a salary equal to the family shopping basket, bread, decent jobs. They must rise up both in the liberated areas and the areas still occupied by Bashar, expropriating the capitalists to ensure those demands. In areas that ISIS controls, the masses should disarm those guardians of the imperialist oil and expropriate those businessmen.** Raqqa and Deir-ez-Zor should once again become bastions of the Syrian revolution in the fight against the dog Bashar and his allies. The masses, taking oil wells, refineries and power plants can cut the supply of energy and hydrocarbons to Bashar... depriving his army.

**Let's restore the revolutionary front of 2011! We call on the Kurdish people to break all the agreements sealed by their own bourgeoisie and the leadership of the PKK and the YPG both with Bashar the dog in Syria and with US imperialism in Iraq, and to march to Damascus, raising the same demands of all the exploited, which are also his, and which they have failed to get in Rojava. For only in a worker and peasant Syria of the poor people, they may have even their right to national self-determination. In it all the minorities will be respected.**

**Let's unite and coordinate with our Palestinian, Iraqi, Yemeni brethren and those in the entire Maghreb and Middle East! From Tunisia to Aleppo to Jerusalem to Baghdad, a same intifada!**

**We call on the European, Russian and Iranian working class to revolt and stop the murderous war machinery of their Governments, assassins on account of imperialism.** Beware that for each bomb they drop in Syria, they will wage a top attack within their countries.

The key to victory is in the hands of the workers today rising up in Europe, as in France, and in the United States against Obama, the head of the Geneva Conferences' agreements and so many counterrevolutionary henchmen, paid agents that have gotten to the interior of the mass movement to make it surrender, such as Trojan horses. In Assad's banks, from where vast fortunes are drawn, all the Middle East-looting US-UK imperialist oil companies launder their money. All of us are facing the same enemy.

**From the world proletariat the best help will come for the Syrian revolution and the victory of the World Socialist Revolution.**

*LEON SEDOV BRIGADE*



# La Izquierda Diario<sup>(1)</sup> acts as spokesman for Putin the murderer... Shame on it!

In this article, La Izquierda Diario (Left Daily) echoes Putin by announcing that the Russian helicopter shot in Idlib by the Syrian resistance was carrying "humanitarian aid". A shameful statement of pro Al-Assad left, making a foul amalgam of the heroic resistance against Obama, Putin and Al-Assad by mixing it with ISIS, which, not by chance is besieging Aleppo together with Al-Assad, Putin, with the help of US drones!

So they say in their article: "when the helicopter was returning to Hmeimim air base after delivering humanitarian aid to the city of Aleppo it was shot from the ground by rebel forces".

Bombs, shrapnel, deaths... That was the cargo of "humanitarian aid" left by PTS and Putin in Aleppo. Such miserables! They are in the military front of PUTIN, Assad, Obama and ISIS. Can anybody tell their war correspondent embedded in Al-Assad's troops to stop sending so slightly serious wire, not to say rotten fish?

What does PTS publish in its La Izquierda Diario on the dire conditions of the Syrian masses and the genocide that they are suffering? That ISIS threatens to act in Moscow! It is clear that ISIS is the perfect enemy for Al-Assad to be "justified" to massacre the Syrian masses with Putin's help; for Europe's closing its borders; for Hollande militarizing France and for the left to look the other side and mount a smokescreen so Bashar and fascist Putin war criminals can complete their counterrevolutionary actions. They are the neo-Stalinist left! Take out your masks! Or are you going to deny that?

They reproduce as spokesmen of the Kremlin something its men said: "Those on board of the aircraft, according to information that has arrived from our Ministry of Defense are now dead; they died heroically, since (before crashing) they tried to divert the aircraft for minimizing the casualties on the ground".



**Rocket helicopters, this is the "humanitarian aid" from Putin to the Syrian masses**

The murderers of the Syrian masses, the genocidal thugs of more than half million of exploited, are who "die heroically"? They are who bomb and massacre every day. The helicopter came from bombing. Putin did not go to Syria to save lives; he went there to massacre... La Izquierda Diario must rectify immediately! They should clarify this international scandal, or on the contrary ratify that they are loyal militants of the counter-revolutionary forces of Putin and Al-Assad, and they will also be responsible for the massacre. They are in the 'anti-ISIS' front with Obama, Hollande, Al-Assad, Putin, etc.

What are so many "Schools of war" of Clausewitz for? To draw the conclusion that Putin drops humanitarian aid from his helicopters and not cluster bombs? Want to the murderer of the Balkans, Chechnya and the Russian masses paint as to Mother Teresa of Calcutta doing charity in Aleppo. How to the journal left the Russian

helicopter carried humanitarian aid in Syria? So Putin is there to help the Syrian people?

Can't they be such partners of Al-Assad genocide without being so obvious? The truth, I don't know how not to consider who wrote that article of La Izquierda Diario as complicit in the massacre suffered by the Syrian people... (PTS parliamentarian) Nicolas Del Caño must clarify the position of his party! They dedicate cheers to murderer Putin in Syria! They have gone too far.

The leadership of the PTS has reported that a Russian helicopter with humanitarian aid was shot down. They must discern... No, I mean they must stop being spokesmen for Putin and his counterrevolutionary forces. La Izquierda Diario, an international embarrassment.

**IVÁN LEÓN**

(1) Monday first of August 1.55 p.m.

<http://www.laizquierdadiario.com/Derriban-unhelicoptero-ruso-en-Siria-y-mueren-sus-cinco-tripulantes>



# Correspondents from Greece... Following the route of the refugees

*Following the routes of the refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Morocco to the imperialist Europe that confine them to the concentration camps like yesterday Nazis did with workers and oppressed people in Europe*

**A single class, a single fight, the same enemy!  
We are all refugees!**

## **NOTHERN GREECE**

27 July 2016

**Violent eviction and demolition of refugees' hostels by Syriza!**

# We must not allow it!

On the small hours of today 27 of July the Government of Syriza and its repressive police carried forward three evictions to different squattings in the city of Thessaloniki (North of Greece). These were empty buildings where hundreds of refugees lived; they had been occupied by solidarity collectives, as part of the solidarity of Greeks workers and exploited with those that came to Europe and were not allowed to cross the border. One of the squattings was demolished: the Orphanotrophio, where dozens of refugees and their families lived.

Thus Tsipras, sent by the EU to apply the worst attacks on the Greek working class and lock up refugees in true concentration camps to afterwards expelling them, is carrying out its plan for the disposal of the vast majority of centers where refugees live in Thessaloniki, as it has also evacuated the port of Piraeus in Athens. Refugees that survive in crossing the Mediterranean arrive in Greece and are treated as animals by the Government of Syriza. Most of refugees are sent to military barracks, completely isolated from the cities; they are actually concentration camps, large abandoned, barbed-wire fenced warehouses guarded by military where refugees live in tents grounded on the cold earth where conditions are inhumane: water and food shortage and none of basic needs is met.

This Government, so acclaimed by the world left, is carrying out this eviction attacks, and is as well evacuating open refugee camps one by one.



**Refugees fighting to cross the border from Greece to Macedonia**

Today the murderous police while carrying out the eviction arrested many of the refugees and fighters defending the occupations. Once this had happened, people quickly began searching for houses and other places so that the refugees were not to live in those concentration camps. At the same time, several activities were organized to prevent further evictions to be carried forward, release those arrested (they have been all released for now) and stop the demolition of Orphanotrophio, which was anyway carried out. Thus, a march was stages in the center of Thessaloniki and in the morning one of Syriza's premises was taken over, as people quickly identified where the enemy was.

We must not allow this situation to prevail anymore. Today the Government of Syriza, with the silent accomplice of

Union bureaucracies of Greece and throughout Europe, is carrying out this offensive as continuity in Europe of the siege that is imposed daily to the Syrian revolution by the genocidal Al Assad, commanded by Obama and the entire EU. He could do this because the unity the refugees had forged – when entering Europe- as part of the heart of the European working class was broken. Today Tsipras can carry out this attack because the French working class and youth were taken off the streets, and Spanish and Greek exploited people's fight has been diverted to elections as the bourgeois governments and their left cronies told the former that their demands can be conquered in the parliaments.

This could be carried forward, because unfortunately the opportunity of having unified the fight and fought coordination for open the border and that all them refugees pass to Europe is now lost. That's why two months ago they evicted Idomeni where 15,000 refugees had organized every day in assemblies and voted measures to get their most pressing demands and figure out how to cross the border. Struggles were left isolated, separated one by one and thus an opportunity was missed to fight for the whole of the demands of the Greek working class and first of all of refugees, as jobs,

a salary, and a dignified life for all.

We must not lose one minute! Europe's imperialist Governments have launched a war against the refugees, but also against the working class, as we have already seen in Greece. This struggle cannot be isolated: all groups that say stand in solidarity with refugees, all worker, student and fight organizations should unify and coordinate right now to stop the attack that the bourgeoisie has declared on us. **A single fight, a single class, against a same enemy!**



July 28, 2016

*A young refugee woman dies waiting for an ambulance in a concentration camp at the north of Greece*

## **The Greek state and Syriza's government are the responsible ones!**

The intense heat and waiting for an ambulance that never comes cause the death of a young refugee of 18 living in the camp Softex (near Thessaloniki-Greece). But her death has a single responsible, the government of Syriza. This government and its murderous police are those who leave this young die without medical treatment and thousands of refugees living in abandoned warehouses where they do not even have a mattress to sleep. The water to bath is icy and the drinking water is hot enough to make tea. Food is scarce. Lack of medical conditions is the rule in most military camps of the government of Syriza and the few doctors who come do not cope or have no attention to the inhuman conditions in which refugees live and because of that thousands get sick.

These are real concentration camps isolated from the city, with the only possible access is by car in most cases, are fenced and guarded by the army and can only enter NGOs working with the government.

But at the death of the young woman, the answer of the refugees from the camp was fast, and butted many of them walked kilometers to the city (Thessaloniki) unifying late at night with the demonstration that it was already doing against evictions and demolition centers where refugees lived right in the city that the "left" government of Syriza carried on July 27. Many other refugees blocked the road where the camp is demanding decent life, a future and they do not want to live in those camps.

So hundreds of refugees from the city and from different camps adding the ones from Softex with the Greek vanguard stood up in yesterday fighting against the conditions in which the refugees live, against the military camps that repressive government Syriza, sent by the EU, imposes. Yesterday in Athens, Thessaloniki a unified struggle tended to weld to stop the declared attack that Syriza is imposing against refugees and to all the exploited Greeks. It is necessary to stop the government's attack, stop evictions, open the borders and fight for a decent life: Let's take the streets! Let make an Idomeni in Athens, taking the streets by thousands of refugees and exploited. A refugee assembly now! A single fight, a single class, against the same enemy!

Thousands of refugees, collectives and worker and youth organizations took the streets in Athens to support the refugees, against the evictions of the occupied places where the refugees were sheltered launched by the filthy Left of Syriza!

## **THE REPRESSOR GOVERNMENT OF SYRIZA HAS CONFINED ALL THE REFUGEES IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS!**

THEY WANT TO HIDE THE SYRIAN REFUGEES ...SILENCE THEM SO THAT THE GENOCIDE AL ASSAD WITH PUTIN AND UNDER OBAMA COMAND END UP APPLYING THEIR POLICY OF EX-TERMINATION IN SYRIA

## **Huge protests in Athens against the eviction plan of the Syriza repressive Government of jailers!**



Yesterday, thousands of refugees, Greek workers, oppressed youth and their collective organizations of struggle took the streets of downtown Athens, stopping all traffic and proving that the exploited will not allow the Government to pass its attacks and submission plans calmly!

The fact is the situation is unbearable! Nobody can endure this anymore... and the Government is preparing to subdue the Greek working class even more. All this, added to the violent evictions that took place on the last 3 days, has awakened again the spark of the struggle of the Greek working class and exploited who had engaged in huge fighting during the few last years, but were subjected to the traps of the Government and the bourgeoisie as a result of the betrayal of their leadership. The spark that ignited this flame was class solidarity, thousands of refugees being evicted, repressed, put into con-

centration camps, even leaving martyrs, as a young woman who died during one of the evictions in Thessaloniki, arousing anger and combativeness of thousands of refugees and Greek young people and workers, who also took to the streets of this city.

That is, despite the lethargy, the divisiveness and the impotence of the leaderships of the proletariat and the Greek combative youth, life's facts are stronger. Class solidarity is the weapon of the peoples, and this is the way we must fight for our demands, against the attacks of the imperialists and their Governments as Syriza, the bankers' left servants!

Now, if we have reached the present terrible situation, it's because they broke the unity among our ranks. When refugees came last year, they were received as true brothers and sisters by the European working class; the

latter took the streets and received the refugees with open arms. Today, if we are living tragedy and defeat it is because the struggle for working class self-organization and unification was not developed on either side of the Mediterranean.

**The spark turns to be lit! We are not dead; we won't stay on our knees!**

This is the way! Let's take the streets against the plans by the Syriza Government, left servant of the Troika!

is necessary to unify the ranks of the Greek working class along with the thousands and thousands of refugees, the solidarity movements, collectives and working class organizations to stop the attack of the repressive Government of jailers that has Tsipras as its head.

Today refugees are put into concentration camps and brutally evicted by the murderous police of this repressive Government, which is part of NATO and of the imperialist gang that cause wars, massacres and misery suffered by hundreds of thousands and even millions of refugees and internally displaced persons in the world... Moreover, Syriza prepares for the next few months a brutal attack on the same Greek working class, an attack that is going to take until the last labor conquest that still remains after so many "memos" and "austerity measures".

**WE MUST NOT ALLOW IT!**



**Refugees's demonstration in Thessaloniki**

The attack is one and the same, as it is the same enemy who advances it, and we are all part of the same class... We must generalize the actions of the likes of yesterday's in Athens and Thessalonica by the thousands!

Let's fight for **A TRUE IDOMENI IN ATHENS! For Hundreds of thousands of refugees deciding about the steps to take in the fight together with their class brothers and sisters of Greece and throughout Europe!**

**Open the way to the centralized assemblies of refugees taking the central squares of Athens together with the Greek working class!**

**Open the way to the internationalist unity and solidarity within the whole working class against capitalists, the Europe of imperialist Maastricht and their plans to enslave us!**

*CORRESPONDENT*



**2013-2014**

## **Syria Under Fire**

**A revolution stained in blood**

From:  
Rudolph Klement Socialist  
Publishing House

*editorial socialista*  
**Rudolph Klement**

# *From the heroic Syrian resistance and the refugee camps, a letter to the Greek and European working class*

SYRIA - June 17th, 2016

## **“One single class, one single struggle against one single enemy”**

### **I, you... he... we, you... they**

I am Syrian. One day, I decided to come out and claim for a decent life, for bread, work and freedom. They replied with bullets. I am still Syrian, but now I wield a gun in a trench to defend my family and the few things I have left.

You are European. You live to work, you work to survive. Hardly, you can make it until the end of the month. You live with so much wealth around you, but your pocket smells poverty. You work extra time so your family can "decently" survive. You are Greek. You decided that this life of misery has to change. You came out to claim for it and you received sticks and teargas. Today, you feel betrayed.

He is a rich man. Despite he was born in this or that country, he is not identified with that place. He is rather identified with the rich that are the same as he in all the parts of the world. His wealth comes from my sweat and your sweat, from my blood and your blood, from my suffering and yours as well. He wants to see me fall. He wants to see you in silence. He buys off your comrades and mine, turning them into traitors, they turn them against you, and against me. He is not like me, and he's not like you.

We have been submerged in a revolution that started for bread and freedom for 5 years. For more than 5 years we have been resisting in the trenches of the attacks of US and European imperialisms, the bombs of Bashar Al Assad, Putin the hitmen, the mercenaries of the Iranian guard and Hezbollah. We fight in the trenches, in the workers neighbourhoods, in our factories, in the miserable refugee camps, in the jails. Armed with what we have, with what we find, with what we get. Among so much misery and despair that we live in Maghreb

and the Middle East, many of us (and when I say "us" this time I mean Syrian, Iraqi, Afghan, and so on) decided to go on a deadly trip (in which we died drown in the Mediterranean sea, like Aylan and so many other children), to other continents, looking for what they have taken from us with bombs only because we demanded a simple decent life and in peace. After surviving this trip, we met you.

You are European. Seeing us marching by thousands and clashing in the borders and cities against those in uniform that also repress you, in a solidarity action, you joined our struggle to survive. You stood shoulder to shoulder. You gave us the little you had, and more... and you still do that... we started to stop being ME AND YOU to become "ALL OF US".

THEY are powerful. They rule, repress and oppress. They are the same ones that bomb us, kill us, plunder us. They are the ones paying the traitors so they can talk about a decent life, a social economy, general wellbeing, and end up leading us to defeat. This is how they survive, thanks to betrayals and slanders. They fill their pockets when there are misery, wars, starvation and we are the ones suffering them. They are the ones dressing in revolution, to bring us involution and barbarism. They started a war against us... against you. For them, it's a matter of life or death that you and me... we and you... not to be one... united until the end, because we suffer the same miseries, we do the same slave works, we produce wealth and They steal it.

Today, I Syrian, resisting in a trench, I Iraqi, expelled throughout the borders into military concentration camps that are like ghettos, I Afghani with my children, I Moroccan with my brothers and sisters, I Al-

gerian with my wife, babies and grandparents entering in Athens, running away from barbarism in my country and found the closed borders of your country, when I was running away from repression and massacre. Today, all of us and all of you must be more united than ever. Help us, protect us, let's start being one, because this is the only way we can stop the attack that THEY STARTED!!

Austerity in Greece, laws that remove the gains of our brother French workers, Palestinian brothers and sisters refugees for long years or outcasts in ghettos in their own land occupied by Zionism. Realize. They feel strong. Because the more they kill and plunder in our countries, they will feel stronger to attack and plunder in their countries. Because they are united against all of us, against all of you.

Today, you and us, we are all French, Greek, Yemeni, Palestinian workers... and refugees in Athens and slave immigrants in the whole Europe. Let's feel part of what we really are, a single class, a single struggle against a single enemy. And from now on, let's show them that even if I am Syrian and YOU are Greek, even if I am an "illegal refugee" and you are a "legal citizen", even if I resist bullets and bombs and you resist teargas and sticks, WE are the oppressed, TOGETHER, against ALL OF THEM, the powerful, those who repress us, rob us and torture us. Forging the unity between us it will be the way to have a decent life for all of us. Let's follow the example of our brothers and sisters of France.

**REVOLUTIONARY COORDINATION  
COMMITTEE, FROM THE TRENCHES OF THE  
SYRIAN REVOLUTION  
LEON SEDOV BRIGADE**

# Statement of the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International - FLTI

## A PROPOS THE TURKISH CRISIS:

August 13 2016

### **A fenced sub-imperialism that cannot expand to new spheres of influence,**

anchored between a Middle East in flames disciplined by NATO and an imperialist Europe of Maastricht in bankruptcy that does not allow her to enter the treaty zone

### **THE INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS THAT ARE SHAKING AND MOVING TURKEY**

We present here the position of the Marxist revolutionists facing the crisis that is in full development in Turkey. What happened in that country and conditions that take place are fueled by the international conditions that shape them, and the evolution of an open crisis which the Turkish State has entered is international as well.

There, weeks ago, Erdogan left a military coup to run of a minority fraction of the army, then crushed it and thus he could rise above all the bourgeois fractions, in fact featuring a backlash, which displaces the bourgeois opposition and seeks to conquer a national unity Government supported in the modern middle class that emerged in the last decade of capitalist expansion cycle in that country.

With this stroke, Erdogan has become the great Bonaparte to unify bourgeois gangs, nestled in the rich middle classes, with a first goal: giving a hard beat to the labor movement and preventing this from erupting - as it tried to do in 2013 / 2014 - in mass political struggle. The great Turkish bourgeoisie reunified its ranks, since it seeks to settle as policeman of the Maghreb and Middle East, something that the European imperialist powers and the USA do not allow.

The Ottoman Empire was already defeated in the First World War. But the conditions of crisis of the world domination regime, and especially the crisis of the counter-revolutionary devices of the imperialism in the Maghreb and Middle East (with the fall of Camp David, the impossibility of direct intervention of Zionism, the fall of Mubarak and Ben Ali in Egypt and Tunisia, respectively), push Turkey as gendarme of the NATO more and more to try to play that role and expand her dominance in the region.

Turkey is the sixth arms-exporter in the world. She has NATO military bases with nuclear warheads on her territory. Also 80% of the oil and gas from the Middle East and Caucasus pass through there. Before the intervention of Russia and Iran or Lebanese Hezbollah in the Syrian crisis, and not being Turkey able to intervene directly, that takes her to collide, both with Germany - who has denied her entering Maastricht - and with the US which prevents her direct intervention in the Middle East, other than disciplining the Kurdish nation in its territory, because US is directly responsible for doing that in Iraq and in Syria.



Erdogan during the offensive against the coup d'état

### ***Turkey, a fenced sub-imperialism***

Turkey seeks to come out of her closure. Her capitalist gangs close ranks. They are looking to get a social base of masses for new counterrevolutionary offensive inside and outside Turkey. The country has clashed with Russia, jealous for her intervention in Syria. She has also collided with Great Germany, of which is a key importer. She has collided with the US, which prevents her from playing the role of policeman of NATO in the Middle East.

For the imperialists, the spheres of influence are conquered and lost in the war; and the world was already partitioned by the two world wars that followed one after the other in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That's why Turkey cannot occupy Syria and have it. Nor can she send her army there... much less to Iran or Lebanon. That would mean, as we have already said, the rebirth of the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey is neither a semi colony nor a second-tier Republic, as Iraq, whose troops are mercenaries of some imperialist power. Turkey is an imperialist country. It is one of the largest military powers in NATO (see box).

All the oil and gas pipelines in the Middle East and the Caucasus pass through her territory, so she charges a commission and thus takes a huge oil income from all these oil and gas producing countries. However, Turkey has no oil on her own territory and cannot control any of the neighboring countries that do have it. It does not have permission to do so. That's why the Turkish

seemed that he was going to clash militarily with Russia on the border of Syria and then they met (including Iran) to "negotiate a settlement of the Syrian question" as well as their gas business, nuclear Central and agribusiness with Putin.

Erdogan fights with Germany because it does not let Turkey enter the EU and then meets the latter's leaders to beg Turkey's entry to Maastricht.

He fights with Obama as he denounces US government encouraged the coup in Turkey, though meanwhile he's applying to letter Obama's orders in Syria.

Turkey is a sub-imperialism which has accumulated, in the cycle of expansion in the last 10 years, a huge mass of capital which does not find spheres of influence in the region, nor inter-imperialist relations at the level of this position that she has conquered. Turkey gets crazy when she sees Saudi Arabia - a colony of BP- invading Yemen along with the United Arab Emirates; or at watching Lebanese Hezbollah, the Iranian ayatollahs and Russia enter Syria. Turkey is full of hate because she cannot invade Syria. Turkey is like a ping pong ball bouncing in a small closed room.

A few days ago, Erdogan traveled to Russia and embraced Putin, which he called "my dear friend". The fact is he also explores common business in the Caucasus along with Putin, while agreeing together under the orders of Obama, to strangle the Syrian revolution ... Putin supporting directly genocidal Al-Assad on the battlefield and Erdogan controlling the bourgeois general FSA and Al Nusra, whom he prepares to hand out the revolution in a future deal with Bashar's generals.

Thus, Turkey seeks to settle her affairs in the region. For Erdogan, the masses are simply small change.

**Turkey has over itself all the contradictions of the revolution and the counterrevolution and the global economic crisis hitting all the imperialist powers of the world**

The world crisis only worsens. USA never ceases to throw its crisis to the world. Wall Street financial oligarchy has in its large banks values without backing in goods for 263 trillion dollars (values in derivatives, futures, shares, mortgages, insurance, swaps, money basket, etc.). Crisis in China and the BRICs has shrunk all markets. Europe pushes brutally all imperialist powers into bankruptcy. Imperialist powers that emerged as winners from the commercial crisis of Maastricht have been Great Britain, France and Germany. And there is not even room for these three!

Again, the markets have narrowed more and more. That's why England threatens with Brexit, negotiates with Germany her departure from the EU. Great Britain does not accept to pay for the crisis of Maastricht, or subsidize the euro nor the French farmers, but above all, she does not accept to subordinate herself to the political, economic and military agreements signed by France and Germany in the EU. She knows she is the world's fifth-largest power and was also a winner in the war.

Great Britain always saw herself as part of the Anglo-American imperialism, dominating the world along with the US. The latter, however, already treats her as a European power among others. USA doesn't think any more about marching with Great Britain to all its businesses in the world. It has lately considered her as an "exclusively Atlantic" power. Anglo-American imperialism business



**2014: Erdogan represses the Turkish workers on strike**

path has bifurcated. The US wants to go alone to the Atlantic – reaching an agreement with Germany, and Great Britain as any other power of the bunch - and also alone to the Pacific to conquer China.

But England is not only an Atlantic power, but also a Pacific one. In Hong Kong and Singapore she has two large military and financial bases. For this reason, Great Britain does not accept this new role that U.S. and Germany want to impose on her.

A huge new round of the world crack has opened. The economic crisis has worsened, disrupting the international division of labor and the relationship between the imperialist powers that emerged victorious from the last economic crash. The dispute has begun for semi-colonizing Russia and China, which are capitalist countries in transition which cannot be imperialist powers and whose only fate can be that of either domesticated semi-colonies or worker states through the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in revolutionary ways.

Russian gas and military-industrial apparatus are coveted by Germany, France and the USA. The greed for Chinese slave labor, her state companies, her banks, pushed by an economic and customs opening in the middle of her economic morass, opened the road to a new surge of imperialist penetration and control of her business, as which opened in 197 in Chinese Southeast with Nixon-Deng Xiao Ping Deal.

So then an inter-imperialist dispute has aggravated. In the middle of the slump of the world crack, a crisis of the regime's mastery of the imperialism has been exacerbated that does not allow it to establish strategic defeats on the masses. The most serious crisis, ultimately, is that the US and European imperialisms have no fire power after their defeat in Iraq and Afghanistan. The working class of the metropolises does not allow it.

This is what pushes the imperialist gangs to attack their working class even more, as we saw in France, and impose a double looting to oppressed nations.

These conditions of "Iraq syndrome" is what pushes Turkey to untie her hands to act, she herself in the region as a policeman. Turkey demands it openly. That is what Erdogan's Bonapartist plan is about and also the "national unity Government" that he wants to impose, to discipline the masses, to centralize the ruling oligarchy to bring "Great Turkey" back

This has strained the relations of Turkey with the rest of the imperialist powers of the world.



bourgeoisie encourages the Azerbaijan war with Armenia for control of Nagorno-Karabakh oil.

We are facing a sub-imperialism that does not find its place in the Europe of the Maastricht Treaty. Its exports are charged in dollars. But its imports are from Germany, and it has to pay them in euros, which is more expensive than the dollar. Thus, in the trade between Turkey and Europe, while charging in dollars but paying in euros, Germany and Maastricht keep a percentage of her profits. Every year they postpone Turkey's joining the EU.

Turkey is an empire that was and which today can no longer

be; she is neither European nor Asian, and much less since the outbreak of the crash in 2008, which marked that there are plenty of imperialist powers and a large part of them - not to say almost all the minor ones - are broken and subject under real "Treaties of Versailles". Italy is the last one that has fallen to the brink of bankruptcy, with its broken banks, as it happened yesterday with Spain, Greece and Portugal.

The "Great Turkey" without new wars, new inter-imperialist, political and military alliances, can never develop fully as such.

Erdogan first toppled Putin a plane and then apologized. It

## HOW IT WAS DEVELOPED THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN TURKEY

The officers' caste of the armed forces in Turkey historically is a political party-state, overlapped with power and business deals of all the bourgeois gangs, and has the generals under NATO's discipline. This military party provided stability and ultimately was the guarantee (with stances and military coup) of the capitalist dominance and the place of Turkey since the end of World War Two as a base of operations of NATO to control the oil and gas trade that flows from Middle East through that country. Turkey, with NATO nuclear warheads, played a strategic role in Yalta as gendarme of the oil pipes on behalf of the imperialist oil companies.

This place of Turkey in the world enters in deep crisis with the financial breakdown and the crisis of its debt from 1997 to 2001, in connection with Wall Street, when the stock markets fell due to the bankruptcy of all the companies of the so-called "new technologies". In 2001, when Clinton left and Bush came, the Turkish bourgeoisie found their place out of the crisis placing Turkey as a true land aircraft carrier of NATO for the invasions to Afghanistan and Iraq and the US adventures in the whole Middle East.

Turkey came out of its crisis developing a powerful war industry, supported in the military technology of NATO, promoting strong investments in that industry made by the state and its financial capital, in association with Wall Street big bank. This way, Turkey (defined as a sub-imperialism of Wall Street and overlapped with Bundesbank due to the exports and imports) is today the sixth exporter of weapons of the world, in-

cluding military high technology, behind USA, Russia, France, China and England.

The way out of the crisis was also, as a derivative from its military industry, to the civil production branch of electronics, with cell phones as Turkcell and it's leader in television producing. Also, it is a big assembler in the auto industry, electrical appliances, textiles and it distributes all those goods in the Middle East and Eurasia. This is also what the crisis of this sub-imperialism is about, as it cannot go militarily and directly in the route of its trading and investments.

Turkey got benefits -since 2001/2003- from the passing of oil pipes and gas pipes through its land, since the oil barrel was at 130/140 dollars, which left in the state treasury and in the banks several funds and new incomes, while it developed a new consumption industry for the domestic market of food, cars, and so on, which expanded broadly.

**This "boom" of Turkey, linked to the war and the US adventures in Maghreb and Middle East, created a new political and social phenomenon in Turkish life, a new bourgeois fraction that gets a lot of influence: Erdogan's gang and his party, the AKP ("Justice and Development Party).**

During these last years, this party got a strong social base in the rich peasantry and a new middle class. It developed an arrogant brutal repressive shock forces against the masses, such its police, the secret service and the state terrorists gangs, dedicated to persecute the work-

ers organization and strike hard against the Kurdish nation, even making secret services that control the military party, whose officers caste is now purged and controlled by Erdogan's gang.

This gang of Erdogan displaced the old fractions of the bourgeoisie that disputed business deals against him. Among the displaced, you could find Fethullah Gulen, Alevis, (the Alawite bourgeoisie of Bashar Al Assad) and also the officers of the military party, which was excluded from the very business deals of the war industry. This gang also displaced the fractions that disputed commissions for the passing of the oil and gas pipes. He took the export incomes in order to build a powerful importer engine connected to Europe, mainly to Germany, from which it imports machine tools for the military industry and the consumption goods.

The "moderated islamic" character of Erdogan's party is just an expression of a bourgeois fraction that looks to the east to development of trading goods and products, and make sure the oil flows from the Muslim countries through Turkey. At the same time, this fraction looks at Europe, fighting to enter into the EU, since it needs Euro for its imports. Meanwhile, it is still tied to USA with NATO and the finance capital. This situation ended up in the development of a "bi-front" financial capital, that is to say, linked to Germany and USA.

Today, at the brink of the end of the growth cycle of the last decade, this financial capital is "locked" inside the national borders of the Turkish state and needs influence spheres.

In Turkey, the world left -meticulously pro-YPG and which supports the actions of the Kurdish PKK in Iraq and Syria, announced that "the working class was that defeated the coup in Turkey". They figure out that "the exploited masses would have been which took to the streets and defeated, along with rank and file soldiers, the coup officers". This is science fiction. It is an invention, a movie that was never filmed.

Here it is clear that the great Turkey and Erdogan needed this coup to advance and impose a completely Bonapartist regime. Erdogan never called the working class to help him crush the coup. That had meant to call the Syrian, Turkish, Kurdish, workers and make them take arms to disarm the officers, supported by rank and file soldiers... this a bourgeois would never do, and much less Erdogan! The truth: already makes more than one century and a half that the bourgeoisie does not call the masses to arm themselves. They know how it ends, with armed workers and soldiers.

Erdogan had perfectly controlled the situation in the coup. Supported in a modern middle class enriched in a cycle of expansion of 2003 / 2013, after Turkey played a central role in US invasions to Iraq and Afghanistan, where in fact it transformed throughout its territory into a NATO military base, supported by the military party, which carries enormous weight in the history of Turkey; but, as we shall see later, it was Erdogan s 'Islamic' bourgeois fraction which took over all businesses from the war. Today it ends taking off all other bourgeois fractions that still were fighting for it.

The reformist left does not discern the working class when it is in process of a civil war; as for example, within any of the revolutions of the Maghreb and the Middle East; not to mention within the huge political crisis and contradictions that hit and stress all classes and class sectors in Great Turkey.

The working class, which started huge processes of struggle in the Thaksin Square in 2013, and threatened with a rise for



**The murderous officers of the Turkish armed forces**

around 2014 - with the general strike- and 201, was brutally put down, attacked with bombings and military repression, especially the Kurdish labor movement. But not only the latter was recklessly attacked; we also saw a bomb placed in the massive March of Turkish workers in Istanbul for the First May.

The working class comes for what is theirs. As we will see later, after years of growth and economic expansion, the powerful Turkish labor movement has called its share of that growth. Though it does that just at the moment in which the economy expansion cycle was completed and stagnation and recession have just began -and as laws of this rotten capitalist system pose, generated wealth is not delivered in the cycles of economic expansion but otherwise, capitalism creates this wealth by multiplying per thousand the exploitation of the labor movement. And when the expansion cycle ends, it throws on the masses throughout the crisis mercilessly.

The Bonapartist tendencies in the political regime of Great Turkey express this double need for Turkish sub-imperialism. It has to fight for a new, aggressive, position as a regional power, negotiating its economic relations with the United States and Europe, plus hardening and shielding the regime to attack the labor movement, which is systematically threatening to start combat maneuvers.

## **2013/2014: The end of a cycle On the pact of PKK with Erdogan**

The crisis of the fall in the oil prices, the hard competition in the world market of the imperialist gangs, the withdrawal of the capital from production opened a process of slowing and stagnation, with a fall in the growth rate to 2% in 2015.

The workers movement wanted to recover what the bourgeoisie took away in the expansion cycle with huge struggles, as in the auto workers, the state employees, the agricultural workers, metalworkers, electronic workers, etc. that shook Turkey. The agreement of the PKK (the Kurdish Stalinists) with Erdogan's government prevented this workers uprising to merge with the national struggle of the Kurdish people, which is the most exploited sectors

of the Turkish working class together with the millions of Syrian refugees. Supported in that agreement, the Party of the People's Democracy (HDP) -a pro-Kurdish party- entered to the parliament with more than 80 representatives.

With the pact of PKK, with the betrayal of the trade union bureaucracy, with a brutal repression, Erdogan could defeat the uprising of 2013 that threatened to make Taksim Square in a new Tahrir Square (That of El Cairo).

Starting from there, the Bonaparteist government of Erdogan not only liquidates the factions of the different opposition bourgeois gangs, but also declares

war to the workers movement and the Kurdish nation. It broke the pact with the Kurdish bourgeoisie, once it used it. Erdogan marks his opposition and the working class with bombs, as he did on August and October in 2015 in camps and demonstrations of the Kurdish workers and youth. And also, last May Day, it took place a huge mass demonstration of the working class that was repressed with bombs and there was one killed.

The more Erdogan won a social base in the new rich middle classes, the more he weakened the bourgeois gangs that dispute with him the business deals, the more he attacked on the working class and the Kurdish nation.

The reformist left has been left already with no evidence. The facts condemn it. It cannot set that it has been the labor movement which has intervened to stop the coup together with the soldiers. That is a fallacy.

The Turkish working class is which suffers more the coup and its backlash by Erdogan. However it has the power and the authority already won to be an alternative to the great Turkish murderous generals and bourgeoisie

Its ally is in rebel masses of Syria, in the Palestinian people, in the fighting in Yemen and the entire Maghreb and Middle East. Its allies are in Paris, in Athens, in Ukraine... and in great Germany, where 1 million 200 thousand Turkish workers and their offspring carry out the worst jobs. Turkish workers are part of the German and European working class... they are part of the

international working class. Towards the Middle East, Asia and Europe, there is where the great Turkey looks; the Turkish working must seek class allies there.

Turkish working class bears a decisive commitment in a decisive place, since it also comprises Kurdish and Syrian workers. It will resurface as internationalist working class and be the bulwark in disputing the leadership of the masses to the sinister Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish middle-classes, lackeys to US imperialism. Largely, the fate of the working class of the Maghreb and the Middle East is tied to the fate of the working-class in Turkey and the Kurdish oppressed nation, to the extent that this breaks with the bourgeoisie and the leaderships that, as Stalinism, subject it to that bourgeoisie.

CARLOS MUNZER

## THE MILITARY COUP OF JULY 15<sup>TH</sup>... A LATE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY COUP

It's been a while since the officers' caste wanted to intervene before the settling of Erdogan's bourgeois fraction and the displacement of other fractions from the business deals, because the very military party was among those excluded. Erdogan had named new generals and high ranks of the army. He had transferred under the control of the governmental institutions (under AKP control) the trading of weaponry and collecting commissions for the gas and oil flow.

The first symptoms of the beginning of the end of the cycle appeared in 2013. The business deals in Turkey were shrinking. The officers caste had to establish order and mostly reinforce and Bonapartize even more the inner regime, since the situation was that inside the national borders of Turkey there was an over-accumulation of Turkish capitals that need to be expanded, to dispute spheres of influence. So they needed a strong control inside to go to the disputes.

The officer's caste of the Turkish armed forces saw that they had to be on top of all the bourgeois fractions and take the command of this situation to look after the interests of the whole Turkish bourgeoisie.

But it couldn't go for the coup in that moment. It had to wait until last July 15<sup>th</sup> because, from 2013 to 2015, the masses were on the streets. To try and attempt a coup under those circumstances would've opened the danger that they directly clash against the Turkish state and defeat it. The generals had to wait until Erdogan crush the masses. So they left

the government to deal with them.

First, Erdogan crushed the uprising in the whole Turkey that had its centre in Taksim Square, in Istanbul. Then, with its trade union bureaucracy, it took care of defeating the uprising in 2014 that had as highest point the general strike. It has defeated the hard struggle staged by the Turkish working class sector by sector (metalworkers, auto workers and so on) during the entire 2014 and beginning of 2015. It enslaved the Syrian refugees in working shifts of 12 hours a day, with no rights at all, and with 20% of the average salary. The persecution and attack on the working class and the subjugated people of Kurdistan took a leap forward in the second half of 2015, when the regime started to reinforce itself more and more.

At the same time, while Erdogan was doing all of these, he was also settling his gang in the state institutions, displacing the military party. When he finished doing the "dirty work" of crushing the masses, Erdogan had already made a police that responds to him, parallel intelligence services, high rank officers of the armed forces that became addicts to his fraction, and he got also judges and DA's that responded to him. That's why July 15<sup>th</sup> coup d'état came late, because when it was attempted, the military party had already lost too much influence. Erdogan was already a majority.



Besides, it had won a huge social base in the rich middle classes and peasants that got rich with the last growth cycle, at the expenses of the working class and mostly of their subjugated sectors like the Kurdish and the refugees. He had also set up paramilitary shock forces of his AKP party. This is what took to the streets (when Erdogan called them) against the coup last July 15<sup>th</sup>.

Erdogan didn't want to be a "squeezed lemon", that is to say, that his only job was to crush the masses and then be removed from power by the officers of the army. So he moved first. He found out that the coup was coming, thanks to his parallel intelligence services and when that happened, he evaluated the situation. He saw he was a majority in the armed forces, in the police, in the justice and in the ministries... plus he had the AKP gangs and his social base. That's why instead of arresting the coup plotters before they attempted it, he let the coup attempt to take place so he could defeat it and then use the generated situation to accelerate even more the Bonapartization process he was doing.

## The ally of the Syrian revolution is not Erdogan but the Turkish and Kurdish working class

A polemic with the defenders of Erdogan disguised as friends of Syrian masses

*Erdogan went to Russia last August 10 and told Putin "my dear friend". For the bourgeoisie business are business... and meanwhile both under the command of Obama are ready to share out the spoils of the tormented Syria.*

*For them, masses are used as bargaining chip...*

*Those at the top do business over the genocide of the workers and peasants!*

To disguise this agreement with the killer of Syrian masses, the defenders of Erdogan say that "it is a strategy". They say that Erdogan by "supporting the Syrian revolution from behind and cleaning the façade, he would achieve much more than facing on everybody". We have to take into account that the generals of the Free Syrian Army like Jabhat al Fatah al-Sham, talk to him directly.

So, Why doesn't Erdogan send land-air missiles to knock down that murderous aviation? If he would have done it, Al Assad would have already fallen down. The Syrian revolution was carried out by masses and their Coordination Committees not by their military chiefs!

That FSA stop going to those Geneva Conferences! Since these meetings are set up they are only useful to strengthen Bashar the dog for him to kill the people. The Syrian masses have everybody against them...including their leaderships who sell them out in Geneva. Each trip of those leaders to Geneva costs death and 600.000 Euros while the people in the "free zones" in Syria starve earning 20 dollar as a monthly salary.

The defenders of the FSA generals would say that they already stop going Geneva, that there was not agreement and that they would be condemned if they did not go. But in Syria they were condemned by the resistance because they went to negotiate to get unified the generals of Assad, this is something the rank and file workers did not accept and never will accept. And their chief Erdogan met Putin.

The true revolutionaries, the exploited masses from Aleppo, Idlib and entire Syria put their dead people against the genocides Al Assad and Putin...and Erdogan met "his dear friend" Putin to discuss business on gas, nuclear energy and millionaire exports. Erdogan counts money and the revolutionary masses their dead.

Those who defend that Erdogan is a friend of Syrian masses say he "cannot go against everybody, and then confront an eco-

nomie war and then a military coup". They say that even USA wants Erdogan to break relationships and business and get isolated and in that way the Syrian revolution will be left without support and die. And they also affirm that the revolutionaries have weapons and humanitarian aid (food, medicine, etc) thanks to Turkey and Arabia Saudi. It is not believable.

The revolution in Syria was done by the Syrian people. Erdogan in 2011 was killing Kurds and the Saudi allied to Zionism was invading the starving people of Bahrein and then Yemen.

The Syrian revolution was born in Tunisia, then spread across Egypt, Libya and the intifada arrived Homs.

The weapons were taken by the people together with the rank and file soldiers who changed sides. Everybody knows that the revolutionaries in the battle front use Kalashnikov taken from the Al Assad troops, not the Turkish FAL of NATO.

If Turkey is solidarian and wants the victory of the Syria masses, why doesn't him open the border and stop killing Kurdish people so that they break with Al Assad; or send land-air missiles without conditions, or the Erdogan's son stop trading oil stained with blood by ISIS so that Deir ez Zor and Raqa can get unified the resistance again! Bashar the dog has the money for weapons -stolen to the people- in the banks. The people fight for the victory and without be dependant of tutors get weapons under the conditions it doesn't mean to be with the hands tied to reach victory.

Masses have weapons because they took the streets by millions and left their dead people in a huge battle, split the basharist army, won the rank and file soldiers, raided the Al Assad arsenals and took their weapons. Erdogan only sent a couple of Tows (anti-tank missiles) that many times are used only for the videos and are forbidden to be used to attack basharist positions. The FSA generals and leaders of the SNC declare it in the interviews.

Set up a council really representative of the people and Syrian revolution, with delegates of the refugee camps, with workers and militia-men and poor people! Stop using the

desperation, the genocide against the Syrian people to expropriate their freedom...Al Assad has already done a lot.

They want us to believe that the fence to Aleppo was broken thanks to the anti-tank missiles of Arabian Saudi. And they put excuses for not opening the borders between Turkey and Syria saying that Erdogan cannot allow that the entire Syrian people move towards Turkey without control because "in that way the enemy entered" and "happened many terrorist attacks".

But the truth is that the battle for breaking the fence on Aleppo started with the victory in Khantoman at the beginning of May...with tens of thousands of refugees seeking weapons that Al Nusra (today Al Fatah al Sham) and Ahrar al Sham had and did not use them because Turkey did not authorize them. From the freed Khantoman masses advanced to break the fence on Aleppo before the appearance of the FSA generals and Jabhat al Fatah al Sham to control the offensive. They want us to believe that the generals, friends of Turkey are liberating Syria. It is a lie! They are the masses...a heroic people...and if they receive a share it is for them to put at the head of the struggle and guard exploited and poor people that carried out this revolution not to escape from control. And the border...is well closed using ISIS as an excuse and not as a real threat since they trade the oil with him.

Zionism has tied blood bond with Erdogan and Arabian Saudi. Erdogan is Zionism...because they are of NATO...they are of Yankees...How are they pretend to appear as opposition of USA now? Who believes them? They invaded Iraq and Afghanistan with Bush.

In any case, they have one or other dispute for business. Which is the dispute? That USA will not allow-and this is the limit USA put on Turkey- the return of the Ottoman Empire. It is because they already defeated them in the first world war.

It is a need to uncover these secrets of the international politics to reveal the truth of the secret diplomacy of those public leaderships who are in that place to deceive masses.

Here the truth is that the revolution belongs to the Syrian people. That those generals and Turkey stop doing business! It is enough with the 3 millions of refugees they make work as slaves. Stop buying oil to ISIS and killing Kurds! That the FSA generals and Jabhat al Fatah al Sham stop doing business and transactions in the check points with the basharist generals!

We are in the same military trench against the same enemy but our aim is the revolution for the bread, land, freedom, national independence...the objective of these generals is to take more business.

And now the FSA generals want to convince us on the excellent politic of Erdogan that means to agree with Putin, a pact that is supposedly against USA. But Putin is launching white phosphorous on Idlib, bombing already almost double than the dog Bashar under the NATO and USA protector umbrella! The Syrian people must not listen to them! They want to put the martyr's blood in the hands of the executioner Putin so that Erdogan can do his business.



**Erdogan and Putin**

How can Erdogan be in confrontation with USA in the Syrian war if they are under NATO command? Putin and Erdogan hug each other and agree business. They gather Al Assad and FSA generals to create a common army with the fascist generals of Al Assad. Then they must disarm masses. This is what Erdogan will do for masses not to reach Damascus and for the dog not to be a new Qadafi.

Then, on the grave of 600.000 martyrs, he will proclaim the "peace of cemetery". They will share out business under the command of Obama. We already know how the story ends. These are the fake reconciliation plans that meant a cemetery. They already applied it in El Salvador, South Africa and now they want to apply in Syria. They will not achieve that! There is too much shed blood and the traitor who sells out martyrs will be treated like Bashar the dog.

The workers and people liberation will be a task of themselves. We trust the rebellion of slaves. Only they will know to do justice. Thus, we are side by side the revolution for the liberation and don't support Erdogan. We are against Erdogan that is not a revolutionary that fights in neither Syria nor Turkey.

In May Day, we were side by side the demonstration of the Turkish workers, their unions and the Kurdish people in the streets of Istanbul who were beaten, a bomb exploited and there was a dead. Erdogan treats Turkish workers repressing them by shooting them while massacring the Kurdish people to whom Erdogan gives bullets and terror and not democracy.

We fight against the same enemy but we are side by side the heroic and suffering Turkish, Kurdish, Syrian and Palestinian workers.

Our martyrs shed their blood on the Syrian land. We went to fight in Syria.

Our heroes are massacred. Our hero is Aylan Kurdi. The Syria of the oppressed is the one that upraised for bread and freedom in 2011. We want freedom because we need it to conquer the bread!

**CARLOS MUNZER**

**Between the imperialist Maastricht in bankruptcy – that doesn't even allow him to be a vassal imperialist power- and the Ottoman Empire with which he cannot even dream to be again**

July 18 th 2016

# TURKEY

## A fenced sub-imperialism

While the borders of Maghreb and Middle East disintegrate, at the doors of Maastricht closed, and the stagnation of the global economic crisis, Turkey seeks a vital space, that neither the EU nor US give it ... Neither a regional power, nor a second hand member of EU



Erdogán, Merkel and Obama

*Bourgeois gangs tied to NATO fight over the business and the control of the Turkish state, where a new crisis of stagnation and recession has already begun*

**Between the coup of the military party and the Bonapartist backlash of Erdoğan**

**IT IS NECESSARY TO SMASH AND DEFEAT ALL THE OFFICER CASTE OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES AND THEIR NATO GENERALS!**

**It is necessary to dissolve the secret services and the killer police of Erdoğan!**

**T**he counterrevolutionary coup forces proved to be a minority in the armed forces and among the ruling elites in Turkey.

Erdogan was supported by against the rich middle classes and most bourgeois factions, in this way he let the coup go on and then he defeated, purging the armed forces and the state, setting in the correct place their officers and judges ... all under the discipline of NATO.

Now, Erdogan strengthened in counter-revolutionary officer Turkish caste, the secret services and the wealthy middle classes, he prepares to deepen its offensive against the Turkish working class, against the Kurdish oppressed nation and to move forward in their counter-offensive as partner -and in disputes- with Putin and imperialism to smash the revolutions in Maghreb and Middle East.

To defeat all counter-revolutionary putsch...

**We must expel NATO from Turkey and all imperialist military bases, from where the revolutionary masses of Syria, Iraq and the whole Middle East are attacked!**

To stop the counter revolutionary coups and the Bonapartist attempted of Erdoğan

**It is necessary to re-take the struggles of the working class of 2013 and 2014, bloodily smashed by the secret services and the murder police of the Turkish government!**

It's time to fight to unify the ranks of the Turkish working class and all Maghreb and Middle East

**FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE KURDISH NATION!**

The Kurdish people must rise up! This is the moment! The Kurdish workers and people must impose to the leadership of PKK to break any agreement with the Turkish regime, the murderer Bashar and the US protectorate of Iraq!

**National Congress of trade unions and labor organizations of Turkey, of the Kurds, poor peasants, students and Syrian refugees!**

**For rank and file (privates) soldiers' committees privates! Workers Militias!**

**Revolutionary general strike!**

**Expropriation of all goods of the great capitalists and transnational companies!**

**For wages and decent work for all workers in the Turkish territory!**

**Out the hands of the police Turkish state from the unions and worker organizations!**

Democracy and civil freedom are defended with the method of the proletarian revolution

**For a workers and popular government!**

**In the hands of the councils of workers and soldiers, all weapons of Turkey must be useful to the revolution, nor at the hands of the Turkish bourgeois gangs or NATO**

**A SINGLE INTIFADA FROM TUNISIA TO DAMASCUS, FROM ISTANBUL TO BAGHDAD!**

**See the statement on Turkish events by the Collective for the Refounding of the IV International-FLTI on page 21**