



Sudan: Mass Protests against the Military Coup

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Picture on the Cover: Rally organized by the Sudanese migrant community against the military coup (Vienna, 26.11.2021)

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Nigeria: End SARS Memorial 2021: Keep the Movement Alive!

Form Democratic Leadership in Every Major Town, City and Protest Ground!

Statement of the Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (Nigerian Section of the RCIT), 21st October, 2021

It is a year already since the End SARS protests declined due to state sponsored blood shed. While the whole length of the weeks long protest is filled with recurring decimals of extrajudicial killings by state apparatus like in Surulere, Lagos; Ogun state; and Oshogbo, Osun state. The Nigerian ruling class reached a consensus to snuff out the protest by force of arms on October 20, 2020. That is why the Army command attacked the epicenter of the protest in Lekki and other strongholds such as Alausa, killing scores of protesters on the same day.

The Vanguard has repeatedly pointed out that the End SARS protests were an outburst from tensions in the Nigerian capitalist system. This was already reflective in the sub-slogan of the protests which is: "End Bad Governance". In fact it was to preempt the emergence of this second slogan as the main demand of the movement did the ruling class begin their campaign of state terror on October 20. The ruling class correctly assessed the threat that the movement was becoming. That is why, President Buhari months after the carnage of October expressly stated that the End SARS protests was to "remove me as president".¹

The Transformational Origins of the Protests

Suffice it to say that the protests began amidst a deepening economic recession, the effects of which were worsened for the masses by the Draconian attempt of the world governments to retain their power through mass curfews and lockdowns. Just as it is for oppressed all over the world so it was for the Nigerian workers and oppressed that these conditions became the combustible mix that would lead to social explosions.

Already in March 2020 simultaneously with the inception of the lockdowns, the National Association of Resident Doctors threatened a strike. The association in some states even embarked on the strike not minding the pandemic or the lockdowns. This was the nature of that period when one workers union after the other threatened or even commenced strike actions. Those strikes were further warranted by several anti-people attacks from a government suffering dips in oil prices and a collapsed economy with its back against the wall by rising inflation partly due to devaluation of the Naira.

So there were at least 2 consecutive increments in fuel price before the protests began. It was in response to such a proposal that the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) called for a general strike on September 28. In such a crises ridden period the police and its many corrupt divisions had already been given extra powers by the Lockdown regime killing at one point more people than even the pandemic itself. The corrupt police division known as SARS intensified their raids and racketeering knowing little that their wanton killings would provide the spark for an historic revolt.

Some leftists of the "socialist" milieu downplayed the protests from the onset as we already stated in the past: "This should have at least convinced all those comrades who think only

a hike in fuel, electricity or food price can lead to a revolution (even though there were successive government imposed hikes in the price of these commodities in the days leading up to the End SARS protests) to take the movement with more seriousness".²

Since they could not recognize the protest as an outburst from the very fundamentals of contradictions in capitalist society they could not predict or follow the next phase of release of revolutionary energy—the national question. By transformational origins, we mean the social events which culminated in the momentum of the End SARS protests. Thus the protests itself gave reprise to other movements.

Socialist currents such as the Cliffite SWL; the Nigerian section of the IMT, CWA organized different conferences and symposia to mark the one year anniversary of the End SARS protests even though they absurdly ignore or neglect the next phase of the revolutionary onslaught of the masses which evolved directly from the protests.

It is instructive to note that End SARS drew its inspiration from an international movement against police brutality but which was hinged on a movement for national liberation—Black Lives Matter. Already during the actual protests, the initials E.N.D.S.A.R.S were made into slogans with the R standing for "Restructuring", a slogan suggestive of ending the marginalisation of certain ethnic nationalities. So while our leftists and comrades were engulfed, to their credit, in the Panels of Enquiry and in demanding justice for the slain, they intentionally rejected the continuation of End SARS by other means—the liberation movements of the southern ethnic nationalities.

We must not forget that the Obigbo massacre took place almost immediately after Black Tuesday which is directly linked to it. The justification the Wike government had for this macabre act was that Obigbo was an IPOB stronghold, the truth is that the victims might have also been apologists of Biafra who participated actively in the End SARS protests of Cross Rivers state.³

The Leadership Vacuum

Unlike members of the opportunist Cliffite SWL and liberal celebrities cum influencers who capitulated to the strong "anti-leadership" sympathy of the protests. The RSV opposed all such positions. We called for the formation of coordinating/action committees with self defense guards from the onset of the protests. We defended our position throughout the length of the protests by engaging protesters on the grounds. We rebuffed all ideas of a bureaucratic/de facto leadership and pushed outrightly for an officially and democratically constituted leadership.

Those socialists who support the acephalous nature of the movement or who avoided the question of leadership on account that the people are not ready forget what the role of vanguard parties are, that is, to advance the consciousness of the masses. True one cannot force readiness into the masses yet no change can come without some form of organic development in the mass consciousness. Whether the so called vanguard parties will play this role or not is

a different question.

This “leaderlessness” has resulted in the youth still being at the mercy of celebrities even at this stage, a year after the protests, as no independent organising experience was gathered. It exposed the movement to various forms of attacks from the ruling class. Attacks which came to a head on October 20. In Alausa alone, there were 3 gang raids before the police and army attacked on October 20 yet no genuine formation of self defense guards. All these happened despite reports that protesters were being killed on other grounds like Surulere; in Ife, Osun state. In fact, on the day of the attack army patrols launched two failed attempts to invade the protest ground.

Worse still, the lack of democratically constituted official committees has left the movement largely derailed into the fox hole of electoral politics.

Linking The Struggle With The Workers’ Movement Means A Greater Chance of Success

By default many youths are workers even though they may not be active in workers unions or they may work in fields that are yet to form unions. However the quest to end bad governance in Nigeria relates to the improvement of working conditions for the average worker. In fact it touches on how much the minimum wage should be. Moreover every worker has in one way or another been victim of police brutality, extortion or high handedness at one point or the other.

Hence even while the umbrella body of Nigerian workers, the Nigeria Labour Congress betrayed the End SARS movement by failing to show any form of support during the protests, the youth must begin to make serious economic demands by campaigning for employment and unemployment benefits for the youth and unemployed respectively; the payments of all outstanding wages and allowances of workers; a monumental rise in the minimum wage; nationalisation of the power and energy sector etc.

A progressive labour leadership would have called, during the End SARS protests, for a general strike to bring down the Buhari regime. However this labour leadership already betrayed Nigerians by calling off the general strike of September 28. For this cause, the youth are well within their right to begin a “WABBA MUST GO” campaign to replace the corrupt lackeys of the Federal government from the head of the workers’ movement.

This will open a process of engagement with the workers especially the low income workers who suffer mostly the brunt of the anti-masses policies of APC and PDP rule. Pushing this economic demands can be a first step to engage the workers and cause a shake up in their rank and file. Once the workers are on board, forcing the government out by paralyzing the economy through strikes becomes easier and has a greater chance at success.

On 2023

A large current was sparked by last year’s protest as regards a political alternative most especially concerning the next general elections in 2023. It is true that every movement must terminate in the formation of a political alternative but there is a difference between creating a political alternative and a shift to electoral politics. For the former,

a party must crystallize out of the leadership and ideals of the movement, while the latter requires an external intrusion into it. The latter places liberal politics and electioneering above the movement but the former subordinates all forms of electoral activities to the program of the movement.

We dealt with how in the past several acclaimed left groups and liberal politicians tried to exploit the “leaderlessness” of the movement for their permutations in future electoral politics. Now we wish to deal more with the formation of a political alternative, simply put, a party under the present conditions. It is no gainsaying that a considerable portion of the youth population have become antagonistic to the two largest parties (APC/PDP) and are in search of which party to cast their votes for come 2023. This goes hand in hand with a campaign amongst popular activists urging the youth to participate massively at the polls in the next two years, for them this is the only way to take power from APC/PDP.

The question is who to vote for if we can all agree that APC/PDP are the enemy. For us the first steps to building a party is to have a program which consists of policies on various aspects concerning the society. Thus we urge the youth to begin a process of thorough discussion on important questions such as healthcare, education, power, security, self determination etc. It is only after reaching conclusions on these issues can a genuine mass party be formed. Moreso if APC/PDP must be ousted all sections of the masses and oppressed must be involved and the workers movement must be used as an arrowhead to launch this campaign.

This is important because even after drafting policies and programs the methods to achieve them are also very important. It should be clear to everyone by now that elections on their own cannot bring about any deep-seated change. Take as an example the elections in Uganda, Belarus and even the US. Following from this, the youth must begin to deliberate on policies which will drive the campaigns for the new party. The campaigns must start as early as possible since we will be promoting policies and not personalities. It is these policies that will attract other sections of the workers and oppressed to the party.

True, at first, the movement cannot fully capture all the failures of the current government but with time more of these issues will arise and the party must address them after sound democratic engagement and give ways forward. This is how to build a party that will change the system from its foundations.

The legacy of End SARS is a system change considering the conditions from which it emerged and how it developed after emergence shows that the protesters killed died not just to end police brutality but for the overhaul of the whole system of capitalism. We owe it to them to expand the demands and fight to rid our nation of oppression.

Justice for the victims of Black Tuesday! All over Nigeria we demand compensation for the lives cut short by police before, during and after the protests! Release all detained protesters! We call for all killer police and army to be tried in a public tribunal including youth, workers and others sections of the oppressed!

Form armed self defense guards to combat police brutality in the schools, workplaces, communities and protest grounds! Abolish the police! Begin democratic discussions on the policies for a fighting party which will sustain the legacy of End SARS!

For a public employment program controlled by youth and workers' organizations and funded by taxes from the rich! Unemployment benefits; bursary schemes and shelter for the unemployed; students and homeless!

At least 26% and 15% of the 2022 national budget for Education and Healthcare respectively! Immediate payment of all owed salaries, emoluments and allowances of all workers in learning institutions! Accession to the demands of NARD members and a monumental increase in the hazard allowance of all medical staff!

Defend the right of the southern ethnic nationalities to self determination! Free Nnamdi Kanu and Sunday Igboho! Stop the military aggression against the IPOB&ESN! Drive the Nigerian military out of the South East!

Start a "WABBA MUST GO" campaign to remove the rotten, corrupt leadership from the labour movement! Fight for the democratic running of the labour unions! Retake NANS from the corrupt APC/PDP loyalists! For an indefinite general strike to bring down the Buhari regime!

Out with all transnational corporations! Expropriate the super-rich and the billionaires! Nationalise the commanding heights of the economy under workers' control! For a workers and Poor Peasant government!

The Vanguard wishes to reiterate some of the practical methods of forming leadership during a mass movement like End SARS. These ideas emanated from the creativity of the youth during last year's protest and we strongly believe it will allay the fears of misuse of power or betrayal of leadership as they help to achieve a more democratic running of the leadership.

1. A 24 hour leadership constituted democratically at the daily congress/general gathering of the protesters in each protest ground/community/school etc. A shadow committee which shall serve as the main democratic centralist organ of the movement and will be constituted democratically on a weekly basis.

2. The 24 hour leadership shall have the powers to call for

a emergency general meetings/congress for special developments and consult with the shadow committee in other less important cases. However the leadership would by its own discretion push for an emergency meeting.

3. The leadership and shadow committee will continue planning and take steps to revive the movement in time of crises and set backs.

4. No closed door meetings or negotiation with any government official. All persons who wish to address the protesters should come to the protest grounds. No in-station radio or televised interviews. All interviews must take place on the protest grounds before the protesters.

These suggestions are of course open to criticism. Moreover they are largely dependent on the consciousness and mood of the movement at any point in time. In any case, they will most likely serve as an early stage in the leadership of such a movement. However if a mass uprising begins with a greater level of consciousness they maybe discarded altogether for action committees and workers' and popular councils!

No future without socialism! No socialism without a revolutionary international workers' party! Join the RCIT in achieving this task!

1. <https://dailypost.ng/2021/06/10/endsars-protesters-wanted-to-remove-me-as-president-buhari/>

2. See on this: End SARS: Where Petty Bourgeois Activists and Influencers Fail, The Masses Must Continue! Statement of the Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (RSV) [Nigerian Section of the RCIT], 10.02.2021. <https://revolutionarysocialistvanguard.wordpress.com/2021/02/10/endsars-where-petty-bourgeois-activists-and-influencers-fail-the-masses-must-continue/>

3. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/427469-investigation-inside-the-horrific-bloodshed-and-massive-extrajudicial-killings-in-nigerias-oyigbo-community.html>



RCIT AFRICA PROGRAM

Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

Sudan: Down with the Military Coup!

For committees of action, general strike and popular insurrection to defeat the putschists!

Statement by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25 October 2021 (UTC 18:30)

1. Today, the Sudanese army command carried out a coup d'état. Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok, five senior government figures and others have been arrested and transferred to unknown places. General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, the coup leader, later announced the dissolution of the transitional government and the sovereign council and declared a nationwide state of emergency. He also announced the removal of state governors, saying elections will be held in July 2023!

2. In response, tens of thousands of protesters have taken to the streets of the capital, Khartoum, its twin city of Omdurman as well as other cities. They are building barricades, blocking streets, and setting fire to tires. Sudan's central bank employees have already started a strike and others will follow soon. Among the most popular slogans are "*The people are stronger, stronger*" and "*Retreat is not an option!*". Unions support the protests, and the Communist Party calls on workers to go on strike to stop the "*full military coup*". At least three demonstrators have been already killed by repression forces and dozens injured.

3. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) denounces the military coup and fully supports all forms of mass struggle. It is crucial that workers and popular organizations all over the world build an international solidarity movement with the mass protests against the coup. There can be no doubt that this is a serious attempt by the army command to liquidate all remaining achievements of the revolution in 2019. We demand the immediate release of all those arrested. We think it is urgent to build *committees of action and armed self-defense units in workplaces and neighborhoods*. In order to defeat the coup, it is important to launch a *general strike* and to prepare for an *armed uprising*. Likewise, activists should develop *agitation among the soldiers* in order to split the army.

4. Our defense of the Sudanese government against the coup does not mean that we support their politics in any way. Quite the opposite, for more than two years the government of Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok worked hand-in-hand with the same generals who have carried out the coup today. They called the people to stop the mass mobilizations in summer 2019. They signed agreements with the imperialist International Monetary Fund which deepened the colonial subjugation of the country. They also supported the cynical policy of "normalization" with the racist Apartheid state Israel. In other words, the forces supporting the Hamdok government are politically responsible for the aborted revolution in 2019 and now they have become victim of their own failure.

5. Albeit no public information has appeared so far on this issue, we have no doubt that the coup has been secretly supported (or even instigated) by Egypt's dictatorship of General Sisi as well as by the monarchist rulers of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. These powers have very close relations with Sudan's army command, and it is nearly impossible that General al-Burhan would have moved without approval by his closest ally. These forces were also behind the recent coup in Tunisia,

the coup in Egypt in July 2013 and General Haftar's reactionary civil war in Libya. It is also at least noteworthy that the coup took place only days after US Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa, Jeffrey Feltman, visited Sudan and met with military and civilian leaders.

6. The coup is a powerful lesson that a revolution which stops in the middle can easily end in a counterrevolution. The RCIT warned already in summer 2019 that the failure to complete the revolution and to smash the criminal repression apparatus would leave the reactionary ruling class in power. In a statement on 8 July 2019, we warned against the deal of the leaders of the *Forces of Freedom and Change* with the army command: "*The Glorious Revolution is in danger of being sold out!*" We said: "*We repeat what we said in our last statement that "any negotiations with the army command are a dangerous diversion. Authentic freedom and democracy cannot be achieved through a collaborative effort with the army command – but only by defeating and removing it!" Given the fact that the army command retains a very strong position in the transition council, that all generals remain in place, and that they retain a monopoly of weaponry – they can remove the opposition representatives at any time.*" (See links below)

7. The only way forward is to stop the coup and to replace it with an authentic *workers' and peasants' government based on popular councils and militias*. Such a government would serve the interests of the popular masses and would remove power and wealth from the hands of the small corrupt elite of super-rich politicians, businessmen and army generals. It would also expropriate the foreign imperialist corporations which are exploiting semi-colonial Sudan.

8. The RCIT draws attention to the fact that only three months ago, Tunisia's President Kais Saied carried out a similar coup and currently tries to build a dictatorship which threatens the democratic liberties resulting from the Revolution in January 2011. Add to this the military coup in Burma-Myanmar in February this year, the brutal suppression of the pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong by the Stalinist-capitalist dictatorship in Beijing, or the repression of right-wing governments against popular protests in Chile and Colombia. All these events reflect a similar global process: in a period of deepening crisis of global capitalism and the decay of the old imperialist world order, the vanguard battalions of the counterrevolution attempt to consolidate the power of the ruling class by suppressing democracy for the people by brutal and totalitarian means. Hence, it is crucial to link the mass struggle against the coup in Sudan with the popular resistance against dictatorships in other countries in the Arab world (e.g. Egypt, Tunisia, Syria) as well as in other regions of the world.

9. Another expression of the same counterrevolutionary offensive is the series of attacks on democratic rights which takes place all over the world under the pretext of the pandemic. The policy of *COVID Counterrevolution* – Lockdowns, Green Pass, compulsory vaccinations,

etc. – is not based on considerations of public health. In fact, faced with the worst economic depression since nearly a century and growing political instability, the ruling class is determined to increase the control over the popular masses via expansion of the chauvinist bonapartist state apparatus. Furthermore, it exploits the pandemic in order to raise the profits of Big Pharma, the biotech and IT corporations, the military-industrial complex, etc.

10. The counterrevolutionary offensive of the ruling class all over the world is even more incited by the fact that there have been a series of class struggles and popular uprisings in the past two years. First, the global wave of mass struggles which started in summer and autumn 2019: This was briefly interrupted by the Lockdown offensive in spring 2020. But since the Black Lives Matter uprising in the U.S. in summer last years, we have seen again numerous mass struggles. The crisis, the tensions between the imperialist Great Powers and the upswing of class struggles are the main factors which drive the capitalist class all over the world to rely increasingly on state repression, bonapartist regimes and dictatorships.

11. The task of revolutionaries is to stand in the forefront of the struggles for the defense of democratic rights and to advocate a transitional program which links such struggles with the struggle for working class power. We denounce those false “socialists” who, in one way or another, support such counterrevolutionary attacks (e.g. the Lockdown and Green Pass policy, defense of the bonapartist regimes of Russian and Chinese imperialism). Such “left-wing” forces objectively serve the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie and discredit the very idea of socialism!

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

International Bureau of the RCIT

* * * * *

The RCIT has published numerous documents on the Sudanese Revolution. We draw reader’s attention to the following statements:

RCIT: Sudan: The Deal with the Military Council is a Sell-Out of the Revolution! <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/sudan-the-deal-with-the-military-council-is-a-sell-out-of-the-revolution/>

RCIT: Sudan: Fight Back against the Generals with a General Strike! International solidarity with the Sudanese people! 04 June 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/sudan-fight-back-against-the-generals-with-a-general-strike/>

ISL: What’s behind the Israel-Sudan Normalization Deal? 24.10.2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/what-s-behind-the-israel-sudan-normalization-deal/>

For more statements see the following sub-page: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-2nd-wave-of-great-arab-revolution/>

Sudan: Rally against the Military Coup of General Burhan

Report (with Photos and Video) from a Rally in Vienna on 26 October 2021, Austrian Section of the RCIT

More than 100 Sudanese migrants assembled in the centre of Vienna to protest against the military coup in Sudan which did take place on the day before. We expressed our solidarity with the Sudanese people who are protesting on the streets of Khartoum and other cities.

The rally was a lively mixture of speeches and chanting of slogans against the regime. A remarkable feature of the assembly was the fact that nearly all chants were led by women.

Activists of the Austrian section of the RCIT were invited to participate and to address the rally. In his speech, our

comrade Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, sharply condemned the coup and called for international popular support for the mass protests in Sudan. He emphasized that the coup could not have taken place without the support by Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt’s General Sisi as well as Israel. He stated that the regime must be toppled and replaced by a workers and peasant government.

See *photos and video clip of Michael Pröbsting’s speech here*: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/rally-against-military-coup-in-sudan-26-10-2021/>



Pictures from the rally in protest against the military coup in Sudan; on the left: Michael Pröbsting (Vienna, 26.10.2021)

Sudan: The Great Powers and the Military Coup

General Burhan's putsch reflects the decline of the U.S. and the rise of its Eastern rivals

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 29 October 2021

In a recently published article, we explained that the military coup in Sudan on 25 October could not have taken place without the support of the counterrevolutionary "Axis of Evil" – Israel, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt's General Sisi.¹

In the article at hand, we will elaborate on the approach of the imperialist Great Powers to the coup as well as the developments which that reflects. Naturally, there exist only limited information yet as such things usually take place behind the scenes. Nevertheless, diplomatic overtones and media reports published in the last days allow us to get a picture of the situation.

The most important piece of information is a report which has been published yesterday by the renowned news agency *Reuters*. While we are not in a position to verify if all details in this report are true, there exist various other information and diplomatic overtones which lend a lot of credibility to this report.

The Generals ignore Washington's veto

According to the *Reuters* report, at least the U.S. as well as Russia were informed in advance about the plans of the army command to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok. The article reports that Washington was strongly opposed to the coup and tried to convince the generals. However, General Burhan and his conspirators simply ignored America's veto.

*"Hours before Sudan's army seized power and dissolved its government, a senior U.S. envoy warned the country's top general not to take any steps against the civilian administration that was overseeing a democratic transition, diplomats said. Jeffrey Feltman, President Joe Biden's special envoy for the Horn of Africa, flew into Khartoum two days before Monday's coup, as concerns mounted that the transition was running into trouble due to mounting tension between the generals and civilians. But instead of heeding the warning, the army did just the opposite, acting on a plan to seize power that two diplomats and three Sudanese official sources said had been developed over the preceding weeks. (...) In his last meeting with Burhan, Feltman "put Burhan under big pressure not to do anything against the cabinet, to de-escalate", said one diplomat briefed on the meeting, declining to be identified."*²

According to the *Reuters* report, the United Nations special envoy to Sudan, Volker Perthes, also met with a mili-

tary leader on the 24 October in the afternoon, i.e. hours before the coup took place. Perthes later told reporters: *"He [the military leader, Ed.] also indicated that the military might move, of course ... I strongly warned against doing this."*

The information about Washington's opposition to the coup seem credible to us since the Biden Administration has formally condemned the putsch and freeze \$700 million of economic assistance for Sudan.

Russia "green lights" the coup

The *Reuters* report also claims that Russia was contacted by the generals ahead of the coup and Moscow assured them of its support. *"The army may also be looking to build closer ties with Russia: diplomats and analysts say RSF commander General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo [the No.2 of the putschist regime, Ed.] has cultivated ties to Moscow. Ahead of the coup, the military sought and obtained a "green light" from Moscow in an effort to protect themselves from any sanctions imposed through the United Nations Security Council, two official Sudanese sources said. (...) Russia already appears to be shielding Sudan's military in a possible Security Council statement. Two diplomats with direct knowledge of negotiations on the text said Russia had suggested the 15-member council express concern at developments in Sudan, rather than condemn the takeover. Negotiations on the text, which has to be agreed by consensus, are ongoing."*

Again, this information seems credible to us since Russia's public statements in the last days point to the same direction. In contrast to Washington, Moscow has refused to characterize the events in Sudan as a "coup". TASS – the news agency of the Russian state – quotes Russian First Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN, Dmitry Polyansky, saying: *"It is difficult to say, is it a coup or not. A coup has a concrete definition. There are situations like this in many states, in many parts of the world, and they are not being called 'coups,'" Polyansky said, adding that sometimes similar events are referred to simply as "change of power. (...) "We need to see. It's up to the Sudanese to decide whether it's a coup or not a coup," he continued. "There was a forcible change of power in 2019 in Sudan. Was it called a coup? (...) I don't think it's our task to label such situations as 'coup' or 'not coup.'" ³*

While the Putin regime refuses to call the coup by name, Polyansky point to "violent protestors": *"As far as I see, they are not peacefully protesting, there are also violent protests."*

The Rise of Russia as an Imperialist Great Power

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

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Another TASS report reflects Moscow's desire to support the new regime of General Burhan and to shield it against pressure from Washington. According to this report, there has been a telephone call between Russia's Special Presidential Envoy for the Middle East, Mikhail Bogdanov, and US Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa, Jeffrey Feltman. A statement of the Russian Foreign Ministry about this conversation points out "that the Russian side emphasized the unacceptability of external intervention in the internal affairs of this country." Translated from diplomatic to ordinary language, this means that Russia rejects any pressure of the U.S. on the Sudanese putschists.⁴

Furthermore, the Reuters report about Russia's approach to block any condemnation and sanctions by the UN Security Council is also confirmed by another TASS report. "Members of the UN Security Council have so far failed to achieve any consent on the situation in Sudan, Russian First Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN Dmitry Polyansky has told reporters. "I think it's too premature just to tell it so let's work. Let's work on some document. Okay, we agree on that we are preoccupied on what's happening," he said."⁵

U.S. imperialism is no longer the hegemonic power in the Middle East

Washington's failure to stop to putschists despite putting considerable pressure on them is an impressive confirmation of the Marxist thesis that U.S. imperialism is in decline. In fact, it is a humiliation for the former superpower. It is also indicative that the above-mentioned diplomatic phone call between the Special Envoys of Russia and the

U.S. took place on the initiative of the later. It seems that Washington is asking Moscow for help.

The above-mentioned Reuters article quotes also a sobering statement by a U.S. analyst. Jonas Horner of the prestigious *International Crisis Group* says: "I think it's probably been very chastening for Sudan's Western allies. The military brushed aside what was being held over their heads in the end."

Why has Washington opposed the coup? Are they honest friends of democracy? Definitely not! Just look to their long-time in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates – these are totalitarian autocracies which have never seen any elections throughout their whole history! And remember the bloody military coup in Egypt in July 2013 which was green lighted by the U.S.!

No, there is another reason for the opposition of the Biden Administration to the Sudanese coup. As the RCIT has elaborated in several works, the historic decline of U.S. imperialism forces Washington to accept the loss of its hegemony in the Middle East. As a result, it has to withdraw troops. The most dramatic recent example of this development has been the hasty withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Afghanistan and the consequential collapse of the pro-American puppet regime.⁶ But it is not only Afghanistan from where the U.S. are retreating. A similar process has started in Iraq and Syria some time ago and it is only a matter of time until Washington will get out all troops.

It is for the same reason that the Biden Administration has been interested in a renewal of negotiations with Iran for some time. Despite considerable pressure from Israel, Washington shows no interest to wage a war against Te-

Books of the RCIT

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

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

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

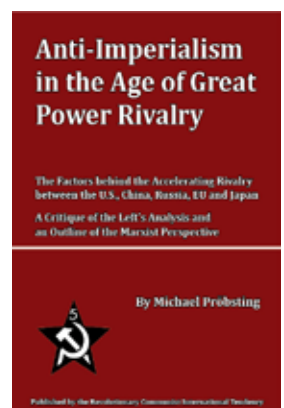
Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry demonstrates the validity of the Marxist analysis of modern imperialism. Using comprehensive material (including 61 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that a correct understanding of the rise of China and Russia as new Great Powers is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

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

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

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

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



heran.⁷

The main reason for the strategic retreat of U.S. imperialism from the Middle East is a very pragmatic one. The key area, where the struggle for world domination will be fought in the coming period, is not the Middle East but East Asia. American strategists have called this the “*Pivot to Asia*”. As the U.S. is in a period of decline, this means that it can no longer strive to dominate all regions in the world. It must rather withdraw forces from areas which it considers as secondary and focus its resources to those key regions where it has to face its Eastern imperialist rivals: China and Russia.⁸

Obviously, the regional regimes as well as the rival Great Powers are fully aware of the end of the American hegemony in the Middle East. This is why General Burhan feels confident to ignore Washington’s pressure. This is why the putschists look for a “green light” from Moscow and, after getting it, they go ahead with their plans.

In summary, the military coup in Sudan is a powerful confirmation of the RCIT’s analysis of the decay of U.S. imperialism and the rise of Russia⁹ and China¹⁰ as new Great Powers.

Footnotes

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The “Axis of Evil” behind the Military Coup in Sudan

The rulers of Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt and Israel have instigated another putsch

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 29 October 2021

General Burhan and his clique carried out the recent military coup, first and foremost, in order to smash all (albeit limited) democratic achievements resulting from the Sudanese Revolution in 2019 and to concentrate power in their hands.¹ For this, they needed to remove the civilian bourgeois politicians within the transitional government as those were based partly on mass organizations related with the popular uprising.

However, as we did already note, the Sudanese army command would not have dared carrying out the coup *without* the support of various regional and global power. The most important factor for this was the backing of the coup by the counterrevolutionary “Axis of Evil” of Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt and Zionist Apartheid State.

In the first RCIT statement on the military coup in Sudan, written a few hours after news of this event have spread, we did already point to the likely forces behind this assault on the remaining achievements of the revolution in 2019. Such we wrote: “*Albeit no public information has appeared so far on this issue, we have no doubt that the coup has been secretly supported (or even instigated) by Egypt’s dictatorship of General Sisi as well as by the monarchist rulers of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. These powers have very close relations with Sudan’s army command, and it is nearly impossible that General al-Burhan would have moved without approval by his closest ally.*”²

Since then, diplomatic overtones and media reports have strongly confirmed our assumption. Our assumption that this counterrevolutionary “Axis of Evil” is behind the military coup led by General Burhan was fundamentally based

on two facts. First, it is well known that Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, General Sisi and Israel constitute a counterrevolutionary axis which try to annihilate all democratic or even semi-democratic achievements which have resulted from the Great Arab Revolution starting in 2011.³ This is why they instigated the military coup in Egypt in July 2013⁴, supported the reactionary camp of ex-Gaddafi General Haftar in Libya’s civil war⁵, invaded Yemen after the popular uprising in spring 2015⁶ and supported the recent coup of President Kais Saied in Tunisia.⁷ Hence, it is in the logic of this policy that they would back a like-minded coup in Sudan.

The new rulers would not have acted alone since the Sudan is a poor semi-colonial country which, according to the United Nations, ranks near the bottom on the Human Development and Human Capital Indices.⁸ Hence, it is highly dependent on financial support by the wealthy petro-monarchies at the Gulf.

General Sisi, MbS and MbZ: The Killer-Trio

There have been numerous developments which have demonstrated in the past two years the close relations between Sudan’s leading generals and Saudi Arabia’s Mohammed bin Salman, the UAE’s Mohamed bin Zayed and Egypt’s General Sisi. These figures constate a fully-fledged killer-trio as they are responsible for the coup in Egypt, for the invasion of Yemen, the savage killing of the journalist Jamal Kashoggi and many other bloody deeds.

The *Associated Press* reports: “*Burhan has been backed in re-*

Military Coup in Sudan: Rally in Solidarity with the Mass Protests

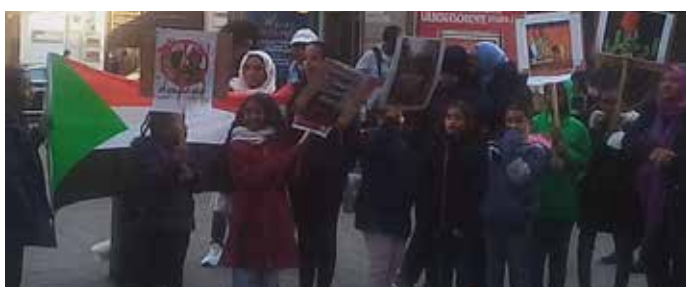
Report (with Photos and Video) from a Rally in Vienna on 30 October 2021, Austrian Section of the RCIT

A few days after a first rally, about 100 Sudanese migrants assembled again in the centre of Vienna to demonstrate their solidarity with the mass resistance against the recent military coup in Sudan. This rally was part of a Global Day of Action. While hundreds of thousands of people marched on the streets of Khartoum and other Sudanese cities, solidarity rallies were held in more than 25 countries.

Again, activists of the Austrian section of the RCIT were invited to participate and to address the rally. Our comrade Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the

RCIT, called for a minute of silence for the martyrs who were killed in recent days by Burhan’s thugs. He pointed out that the “Axis of Evil” – Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt’s General Sisi and Israel – as well as Russia fully support the coup. He emphasized the necessity to organize a general strike and an armed uprising to bring down the military regime and to replace it by a workers and peasant government.

See photos and video clip of Michael Pröbsting’s speech here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/rally-against-military-coup-in-sudan-30-10-2021/>



Pictures from the rally in protest against the military coup in Sudan (Vienna, 30.10.2021)

cent years by Egypt, led by a general-turned-president, and Gulf countries, particularly the United Arab Emirates. He trained in Egypt's military college and has made multiple visits since 2019 to the Emirates' de-facto ruler, Abu Dhabi crown prince Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan." ⁹

The journalist Ayah Aman wrote already a few months ago: "There now seems to be an unprecedented strategic partnership between the two countries amid cooperation at all levels aimed at confronting regional threats." ¹⁰

This close relationship has resulted in various projects. "The Egypt-Sudan partnership has meanwhile taken off diplomatically, economically and militarily. On March 31, Egyptian and Sudanese air forces launched joint training exercises." ¹¹ Add to this "bilateral economic projects such as the railway project, an electrical connection project and others in the fields of transportation, agriculture and irrigation." ¹²

Such close relationship between the Sudanese military and the counterrevolutionary "Axis of Evil" has been also recognized by various well-informed bourgeois analysts both in the Arab world as well as in the West. Amani al-Taweel, director of the African program at Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, pointed out that Sudan's army leaders have strong ties with Egypt as well as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. ¹³

Dr Stephen Zunes, a professor of politics and international studies at the University of San Francisco, said that the limited democratic achievements in Sudan were "obviously something [officials in the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt] did not want to see succeed. They would find it very much in their interest to see it fail. (...) Whether they actually played a role in this [coup], I have no idea, but there is no question that [those regional powers] are pleased at these developments".

And another bourgeois analyst," Dr Andreas Krieg, an assistant professor at the School of Security Studies at King's College London, said: "It does serve Emirati and Egyptian interests to have the last elements of civilian rule removed from that transitional government. What we see now is a proper consolidation of military power in Khartoum. (...) That the [Sudanese] military is now in charge means that the UAE is really in charge by proxy or surrogate." ¹⁴

Israel Supports the Coup as well

There is also little doubt about Israel's role since this has been confirmed by Israeli media. As it is well-known Sudan announced not long ago that it would "normalize" ties with the Zionist state, under heavy pressure from the U.S. administration. ¹⁵ In February 2020, Israel's former Prime Minister Netanyahu met in Uganda with General Burhan (the current coup plotter). In January 2021, the Sudanese government signed onto the so-called "Abraham Accords". ¹⁶

Israel's leaders always had closer relations with the military personal in Sudan's transition government then with the civilian politicians. *Middle East Eye* quotes Dr Jihad Mashamoun, a researcher and political analyst, saying: "The Sudanese military has always been approaching Israel or isolating the civilians from being approached by Israeli officials." ¹⁷

Officially, Israel has kept silent until now. However, *Israel Hayom* quoted an unnamed Israeli official saying, "that Israel should support (...) General Abdel Fattah Burhan (...) because he was more likely than Prime Minister Abdulla Ham-

dok to normalise ties with Israel." The Israeli official added: "In light of the fact that the military is the stronger force in the country, and since Burhan is its commander in chief, the events of Monday night increase the likelihood of stability in Sudan, which has critical importance in the region, and it increases the chances of stronger ties with the US, the West, and Israel in particular." ¹⁸

And the Israeli journalist Barak Ravid tweeted on 25 October that several elements in the Israeli government have been involved recently in one way or another in Sudan's domestic politics. "This raises big questions about what Israel knew over what is happening now in Khartoum and how much its moves have affected what is happening now." ¹⁹

In this context, it is most likely no accident that, according to Arab media, a senior Sudanese intelligence delegation had visited Israel in early October, i.e. only three weeks before the coup! ²⁰

Determined to Annihilate the Revolutionary Process

As we mentioned above, the main motivation of the reactionary forces behind the military coup is the desire to smash the process of mass mobilizations and self-organization in Sudan and the whole Arab world. True, the Great Arab Revolution which began in 2011 and which has spread since then to many countries, has experienced various setbacks and defeats. But the revolutionary process is continuing as the ongoing Syrian Revolution ²¹, the new popular uprisings in Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon and Iran since 2019 ²² and the heroic Intifada of the Palestinian people have demonstrated. ²³

There can be no doubt: the seemingly omnipotent rulers in the Middle East are sitting on a volcano which may erupt anytime. They are aware of it. The events since 2011 have shown to them that their domination is not guaranteed and that they could end up like Gaddafi.

This is why they are determined to smash all forms of popular resistance and self-organization. Now they try this in Sudan.

War in the East of Africa?

Let us add, finally, that in the case of Sudan there is also an additional factor. Egypt's General Sisi supported the coup in Sudan certainly also because he wants to strengthen his position against Ethiopia. Addis Ababa has just finished the construction of the so-called *Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam* which will dramatically reduce Nile flows and thereby reduce water access for its neighbouring countries in the north.

It is no secret that Egypt's army has plans to bomb the dam. In October last year, U.S. President Trump caused a diplomatic crisis when he publicly said that Egypt might "blow up that dam". If Sisi has now a loyal ally in Khartoum, he might become bolder in starting in war in the East of Africa.

In summary, the military coup in Sudan is part of the counterrevolutionary offensive against the popular uprisings in the Arab world. It is the duty of socialists all around the world to support the struggle of the workers and oppressed in Sudan!

Footnotes

1 The RCIT documents on the Sudanese Revolution in 2019 are compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-2nd-wave-of-great-arab-revolution/>.

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21 The RCIT documents on the Syrian Revolution are compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>.

22 The RCIT documents on the Second Wave of the Arab Revolution are compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-2nd-wave-of-great-arab-revolution/>.

23 The RCIT documents on the Gaza War and the Palestinian Intifada in 2021 are compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-fourth-gaza-war/>.



Publications of the RCIT

The Inter-Imperialist Cold War between the US and China

By Michael Pröbsting, March 2021

A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

Introduction * A symbolic public row * Two thieves as upholders of moral standards * Escalating the conflict between China and Japan * The Quad Summit * Inter-Imperialist tensions in the Taiwan Strait * Unavoidable continuation and acceleration of inter-imperialist rivalry * Continuing doing business * Towards escalation on the Korean Peninsula? * "Fuck the EU" and Russia, again? * Confirmation of the Marxist analysis * Footnotes

Israel and the Military Coup in Sudan

Israeli Mossad delegation secretly visited Khartoum after the military coup did take place

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 2.11.2021

In our analysis of the military coup in Sudan on 25 October, we have emphasized that this putsch could only take place because it did receive support from influential reactionary powers. We did demonstrate in two articles, based on concrete evidence, that General Burhan and his conspirators got such from the counterrevolutionary “Axis of Evil” – Israel, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt’s General Sisi¹ – as well as from imperialist Russia.²

Concerning Israel’s support for the coup, we pointed to the positive reaction from “unnamed” government sources as well as to the fact that only three weeks before the putsch took place, a delegation of Sudan’s security apparatus visited the Zionist state. Actually, this delegation was led by General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, also known as Hemetti. This is one of the worst killers of Sudan’s army (which is not short of killers) as he commands the paramilitary *Rapid Support Forces* and is known for systematic campaigns of killings of civilians and rapes in Darfur. He is also the figure responsible for the Khartoum massacre on 3 June 2019 where hundreds of demonstrators were killed on a single day.³

As it happens, General Hemetti is the co-leader of the coup – together with General Burhan.

Now, additional evidence has emerged which confirms our analysis about Israel’s sponsorship of the military coup. Yesterday, Israeli and other media reported that a delegation “secretly visited the Sudanese capital of Khartoum last week”. The delegation, “which reportedly consisted of Mossad representatives, met with Sudanese military personnel, most notably with Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo.”⁴ While the media don’t name an exact date of this visit, they report that it took place “last week”. As the military coup happened in the night of Sunday to Monday (25 October), this must mean that this visit happened *after* the putsch was carried out.

It should be clear to everyone that such a secret visit of Israeli’s Mossad representative to the co-leader of the coup, taking place after the putsch happened, can mean nothing but that both sides discussed and negotiated how to work together closer in face of the new circumstances.

It is highly characteristic and symbolic that the leaders of this coup have close links to the Zionist state, which is

responsible for the historic oppression and expulsion of the Palestinian people. As we did already report, the new military regime is a strong advocate of the notorious policy of “normalization” with Israel, i.e. the establishment of official relations with this racist settler state.⁵ “General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, who led last Monday’s takeover, had frequently met with Israeli officials and was reportedly enthusiastic for increasing ties with Israel.”⁶

All socialists, all anti-Zionists and all democrats must rally to oppose the military coup in Sudan. We repeat that this putsch is part of the counterrevolutionary offensive against the popular uprisings in the Arab world. The coup leaders must be overthrown by a popular uprising and replaced by a workers and poor peasants government.⁷

Footnotes

1 Michael Pröbsting: The “Axis of Evil” behind the Military Coup in Sudan. The rulers of Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt and Israel have instigated another putsch, 29 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/axis-of-evil-behind-military-coup-in-sudan/>

2 Michael Pröbsting: Sudan: The Great Powers and the Military Coup. General Burhan’s putsch reflects the decline of U.S. imperialism and the rise of its Eastern rivals, 29 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/great-powers-and-military-coup-in-sudan/>

3 Times of Israel: Sudanese security delegation said to secretly visit Israel, 8 October 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/sudanese-security-delegation-said-to-secretly-visit-israel/>

4 See e.g. Jerusalem Post: Israeli Mossad delegation visited Sudan in midst of military coup, 1 November 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/israeli-mossad-delegation-visited-sudan-in-midst-of-military-coup-683757>

5 See on this e.g. ISL: What’s behind the Israel-Sudan Normalization Deal? 24.10.2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/what-s-behind-the-israel-sudan-normalization-deal/>

6 Middle East Eye: Sudan coup: Israeli delegation visited country in midst of takeover, 2 November 2021, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/sudan-coup-israel-delegation-visited-sudan-midst-takeover>

7 See also: RCIT: Sudan: Down with the Military Coup! For committees of action, general strike and popular insurrection to defeat the putschists! 25 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/sudan-down-with-the-military-coup/>. All RCIT documents on the military coup in Sudan are compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-military-coup-in-sudan/>.



Publications of the RCIT

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

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

Stalinism and Russia's Role in the Sudanese Coup

What do the Stalinists say ... and what do they not say?

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 3.11.2021

Numerous Stalinist parties all over the world have published statements on the military coup in Sudan on 25 October. ¹ They all declare their opposition to the coup and their solidarity with the popular resistance.

Naturally, it is to be welcomed that these parties oppose the putsch of the Sudanese Generals. That is not something that can be taken for granted. Just remember the notorious Egyptian Communist Party and their international allies which enthusiastically praised the military coup of General Sisi in July 2013. They did so despite the fact that this was a devastating putsch which resulted in the slaughter of thousands of people, and which represented a serious defeat not only for the Egyptian popular masses but for the whole Arab Revolution starting in 2011. However, at that time, the Stalinists absurdly claimed: *"What has happened is not a military coup in any way, but a revolutionary coup by the Egyptian people to get rid of this fascist rule. What the army did is carrying out the will of the people and protecting them from the plots."* ²

Or take the positive reference of many of these parties to the Stalinist-capitalist dictatorship in China and similar regimes like those in Vietnam, Cuba or North Korea. ³

The defense of democracy in the Stalinists' Joint Statement on Sudan rings also pretty hollow given the fact that it is signed, among others, by the Syrian Communist Party. ⁴ This party, as we have pointed out on various occasions, is a long-time participant of the "parliamentary"

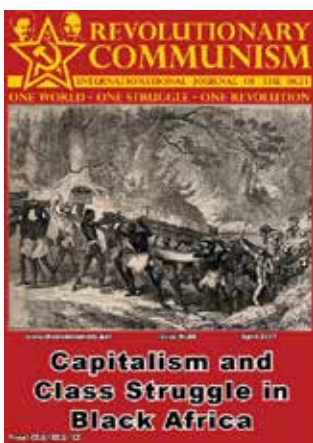
alliance backing the dictatorship of Assad, the butcher of the Syrian people. ⁵

But there is also another remarkable thing about these statements. Several of them denounce the interference of "the imperialists" (which for the Stalinists means only the U.S. and Western Europe but not Russia and China) in Sudan. However, none of them mentions the very fact that the Sudanese coup has *not* been backed by U.S. imperialism but by its *Russian* rival.

Why are the Stalinists silent on this undeniable fact? The obvious reason is that nearly all of them are – directly or indirectly – supporters of the Great Powers Russia ⁶ and China. ⁷ However, the Stalinists claim that these powers do not constitute imperialist states but rather "objectively progressive" opponents of "imperialism" (i.e. of the U.S. and the European Great Powers). This is why they join – openly or concealed – the camp of these Eastern Great Powers in the inter-imperialist Cold War.

As the RCIT has explained somewhere else, the fact that Moscow backed the military coup and that the Sudanese generals carried the putsch out despite the opposition of Washington demonstrates three important conclusions. ⁸

First, it reflects the decline of U.S. imperialism which was the absolute hegemon globally and, in particular, in the Middle East, for decades. This is obvious no longer the case as we have seen recently in Afghanistan and other places. ⁹ Hence, General Burhan and his conspirators felt confident to ignore Washington's veto and to go ahead



PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

Theses on Capitalism and Class Struggle in Black Africa

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

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

with their putsch.

Secondly, it reflects the parallel rise of the Russia and China as new imperialist Great Powers. Moscow's "green-lightening" was sufficient for the putschist to carry out their plans.

And finally, it also reflects the thorough reactionary nature of Russian imperialism. Contrary to the myth of the Stalinists, the Putin regime is by no means a progressive or pro-people factor – certainly no more than its Western rivals!

For all these reasons, the fact that Moscow supports the coup, is thoroughly embarrassing for the Stalinist parties. The only solution in such a situation is to keep silent on this fact ... and to hope that nobody recognizes it!

The task of socialists is to point out the Stalinists' support for Russian and Chinese imperialism and to denounce their treacherous role in the global class struggle. We have to warn the fighting vanguard of the workers and oppressed against the Stalinist forces who present themselves as "socialists" but who are, in reality, social-imperialist servants of the reactionary powers Russia and China.

Footnotes

1 See e.g. Joint Statement of Communist and Worker's Parties Solidarity with the people and the communists of Sudan, 28.10.2021, <http://www.solidnet.org/article/CP-of-Greece-JOINT-STATEMENT-OF-COMMUNIST-AND-WORKERS-PARTIES-Solidarity-with-the-people-and-the-communists-of-Sudan/>; South African CP, Joint statement: We stand in solidarity with the Sudanese people and communists in their resistance to the military coup! 02.11.2021, <http://www.solidnet.org/article/South-African-CP-Joint-statement-We-stand-in-solidarity-with-the-Sudanese-people-and-communists-in-their-resistance-to-the-military-coup/>; CP of Belgium: Solidarity with the people of Sudan, the Sudanese Professionals Association and the Sudanese Communist Party-SCP, 02.11.2021, <http://www.solidnet.org/article/CP-of-Belgium-Solidarity-with-the-people-of-Sudan-the-Sudanese-Professionals-Association-and-the-Sudanese-Communist-Party-SCP-Demonstration-in-front-of-the-European-Parliament-in-Brussels/>; CP of Canada: Solidarity with the People and the Sudanese Communist Party! 26 October 2021, CP of Canada: Solidarity with the People and the Sudanese Communist Party! 26 October 2021, <http://www.solidnet.org/article/CP-of-Canada-Solidarity-with-the-People-and-the-Sudanese-Communist-Party/>; Solidarity Message from the Workers Party of Ireland to the Sudanese Communist Party, 25th October 2021

2 See the quotes from the Egyptian CP reproduced (with sources) in our pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: The Coup d'État in Egypt and the Bankruptcy of the Left's "Army Socialism", 8.8.2013, <https://rcitarchive.wordpress.com/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism/>

3 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Servants of Two Masters. Stalinism and the New Cold War between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West, 10 July 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/servants-of-two-masters-stalinism-and-new-cold-war/>

4 Joint Statement of Communist and Worker's Parties Solidarity with the people and the communists of Sudan

5 On the Stalinists' support of the Assad regime see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>; by the same author: Stalinism: Assad's Best Friends Forever. A commentary on a joint international initiative of Stalinist parties, 3 July 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/stalinism-is-assad-s-best-friends-forever/>

6 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in Russia and its rise to an imperialist power. See the special sub-page on the RCIT's website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

7 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power. See the special sub-page on the RCIT's website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

8 Michael Pröbsting: Sudan: The Great Powers and the Military Coup. General Burhan's putsch reflects the decline of U.S. imperialism and the rise of its Eastern rivals, 29 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/great-powers-and-military-coup-in-sudan/>

9 We have compiled the RCIT documents on the imperialist defeat in Afghanistan on a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/collection-of-articles-on-us-defeat-in-afghanistan/>. In particular we refer readers to two key statements which have been translated into several languages: Afghanistan: The Rats Are Fleeing! The fall of Kabul is a historic defeat for Western imperialism and a victory for the oppressed peoples! 17 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/afghanistan-the-rats-are-fleeing/>; Afghanistan: The Meaning of the Anti-Imperialist Victory and the Perspectives Ahead. Questions and Answers from a Marxist Point of View, 24 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/afghanistan-meaning-of-anti-imperialist-victory-and-perspectives-ahead/>; see also two pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Afghanistan: Understanding (and Misunderstanding) the Taliban. Class Contradictions, Women's Oppression and Anti-Imperialist Resistance, 10 September 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/afghanistan-class-contradictions-women-s-oppression-and-anti-imperialist-resistance/>; Afghanistan and the Left: Closet Social-Imperialism. A critique of reformist and centrist forces which are outraged about the Taliban's victory against the U.S. occupation in Afghanistan, 24 September 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/afghanistan-and-the-left-closet-social-imperialism/>

Marxism against the COVID Counterrevolution

You find about 100 RCIT documents on this issue here:
<https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>

Sudan: The Next Steps in the Struggle against the Military Coup

A contribution to the discussion among Sudanese revolutionaries

Statement by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 6 November 2021

The mass struggle of the Sudanese workers and youth against the military coup of General Burhan continuous without interruption. This itself is a remarkable achievement since the putschists try to suppress these protests with brutal violence. Nevertheless, the generals are still in power. In the following we present a contribution of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) to the discussion among Sudanese revolutionaries among questions of strategy and tactics for the current struggle.

How do you view the current negotiations about a compromise between General Burhan and the forces around Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok?

We think such negotiations are a farce and revolutionaries in Sudan should not accept their outcome (if there is any). These negotiations take place behind closed doors and it is clear that the military puts massive pressure on the disposed civilian politicians. Add to this the pressure of imperialist institutions like the UN and the U.S. Administration whose primarily interests are geopolitical considerations and not freedom of the Sudanese people. Furthermore, we must avoid at any costs that, once again, the revolution is sold out via a rotten compromise as it already did happen in 2019. For all these reasons, the RCIT calls revolutionaries in Sudan to reject any result of such negotiations. It is not negotiations behind closed doors but the mass struggle on the streets which can offer a solution!

Which role should the military play in the future?

Many revolutionaries demand that the military must have no role in any future government. The RCIT fully supports this legitimate demand. However, we think this

is not sufficient. First, the generals own a number of corporations which gives them massive economic influence. In addition, as long as the military apparatus continues to exist, there will be a constant danger that the generals will carry out another coup (as they have already done so many times in the past).

Therefore, the RCIT considers the following slogans as essential. *All putschist generals must be arrested and put on trial with judges elected by the popular masses.* Furthermore, *all military-controlled corporations must be taken out of their control.* They should continue to operate as *nationalized companies under the control of the workers.* In addition, we think it is crucial to *smash the whole army apparatus.* Their must be no army under the control of generals. The army must be under the control of the people. Hence, the *army should be dissolved and replaced by popular militias.*

A central slogan of the protests is the demand for a government led by civilians. What do you think about this demand?

As already said, we fully support the call to kick the generals out of the government. However, we think that the slogan of a civilian government is insufficient and implies a certain danger of opening the door to a sell-out of the revolution. Why? We think this is the case because experience shows that it is not sufficient to have civilian politicians in power. Such politicians can *equally oppress the people* and act as executive organs of the rich and powerful. They can lead dictatorships or authoritarian regimes (e.g. in China and Russia) or even carry out a coup (e.g. in Tunisia only a few months ago). In short, the slogan of a civilian government limits the focus on the issue if those

Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: The Zionist Wars

A History of the Zionist Movement and Imperialist Wars

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



in power wear a uniform or not. Instead, the focus should be whose interests do those in power serve and if they are under control of the popular masses.

Who should take power in your opinion?

The RCIT believes that the only way out is a revolutionary uprising of the popular masses resulting in the overthrow of the regime and the creation of a *workers and poor peasants' government*. Such a government should be *based on popular councils and militias*. Only such a government can implement the will of the popular masses. Only such a government is free of influence of the corrupted generals, the wealthy elite and the imperialist Great Powers.

Various politicians of the opposition call for peaceful protests. What do you think about this?

Of course, revolutionaries have to act careful and avoid unnecessary bloodshed. However, the RCIT considers it as a gross illusion to believe that the ruling class would relinquish power peacefully. The history of Sudan itself is full of such examples – just remember the notorious Khartoum massacre on 3 June 2019! Therefore, peaceful tactics can be legitimate in some situations, *but it is absolutely wrong to make a principle out of it*. Quiet the opposite, any serious revolutionary organization must prepare the masses for the inevitable armed confrontation with the forces of the ruling class. For this reason, we consider the creation of *armed self-defense units* which can later be transformed into popular militias as a crucial task of the revolution. Furthermore, we believe it is essential to make (*secret*) *political work within ranks of the army with the goal to win a section of the soldiers* to the cause of the people and to break them away from the generals.

Which tasks do you consider as essential for the successful struggle against the putschists?

The RCIT considers the *systematic expansion of the Resistance Committees into all neighborhoods and villages* as essential. They should have no affiliation to a specific party but represent the authentic will of the workers and poor peasants. For this they need to function (as much as possible under the current conditions) on the *principle of direct democracy and election of delegates based on mandates*.

Such committees should be basis to organize an *indefinite general strike* and an *armed insurrection* in order to bring down the regime of General Burhan.

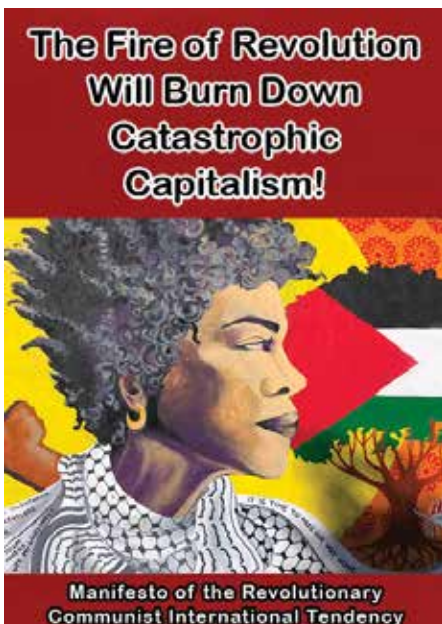
What do you think about the role of the United Nations and foreign powers?

The RCIT *warns against any illusion in the United Nations or any foreign power and strictly opposes their interference*. The UN is a body dominated by the imperialist Great Powers of which the U.S., Russia, China, France and Britain have a veto. Any interference by these powers in Sudanese politics will be dictated by their geostrategic interests and not by the interests of the popular masses. Likewise, regional powers (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates) can only have a counterrevolutionary influence. Hence, revolutionaries need to *strictly oppose any interference of such reactionary institutions*.

What are the reasons for the opposition of U.S. imperialism against the coup?

The opposition of the Biden Administration to the coup of General Burhan is *not driven by democratic or humanitarian considerations*. Just think about the situation in countries who are close allies of the U.S. like Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates or Egypt). No, the reason is rather that *the U.S. fears revolutionary explosions as well as wars in Sudan and the East of Africa*. The worries of the American imperialists are well-founded! Just think about the uninterrupted mass mobilizations of the Sudanese people, the dramatically escalating civil war in neighboring Ethiopia, the massive tensions between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia because of the so-called *Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam* as well as the civil war in Somalia.

The U.S. is a declining imperialist hegemon and, given their focus on the rivalry with Chinese imperialism in the Asian region, they do not have any longer the resources to fully dominate the Middle East. This is why they had to withdraw from Afghanistan under humiliating conditions and why similar withdrawals are underway in Iraq and Syria. The most important considerations of the U.S. are a) to avoid a situation where Russia (and China) can expand their influence in Sudan and the whole region and b) to avoid revolutionary explosions by enforcing some kind of stability (e.g. by imposing a “compromise” between General Burhan and Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok). In any case, revolutionaries must oppose all forms of interference by imperialist Great Powers like Russia, the U.S., China or the European Union.



New Program of the RCIT

Manifesto for the Liberation Struggle

Adopted at the III. World Congress of the RCIT in April 2021

- * **Introductory Note**
- * **A New Era of Counterrevolutionary Offensive and Revolutionary Upheavals**
- * **The Capitalist State Monster Attacks Democracy! Defeat Chauvinism and Bonapartism!**
- * **Great Power Rivalry and Imperialist Aggression in the South: Turn the Guns against the Lords of Power and Money!**
- * **Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership: How to Organize and How to Fight?**

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

Sudan: Hamdok is a Puppet of General Burhan!

Forward with the mass struggle to bring down the military regime!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25.11.2021

1. General Burhan, who carried out a military coup on 25 October, has released former Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok from house arrest. He also reinstated Hamdok in his position as formal head of the government in a televised palace ceremony last Sunday. Imperialist powers and the UN have hailed this as a “step towards normalization”. While this move formally represents a shift towards the status quo ante, in fact, it leaves political power in the hands of the military. Hamdok has sold himself as a civilian face of the military regime.

2. It is not surprising that the imperialist powers hail the agreement as it establishes a thoroughly capitalist regime with a civilian face and a strong military first. For many years, Hamdok has been a senior official in institutions of the United Nations (e.g. ILO, UNECA) as well as in financial institutions (Deloitte & Touche and the African Development Bank). In an interview with *Reuters* last Monday, Hamdok said that he agreed to return to the premiership in part so as to preserve the country’s economic opening to the world after decades of isolation. “*We will continue our contacts with international financial institutions, and the new budget that will begin in January will proceed on the path of economic reform and open the door to investment in Sudan.*” Translated into earthly language, this means that Hamdok, hand in hand with the powerful generals, will impose draconic austerity packages dictated by the IMF as well as open the country for American, European and Chinese corporations.

3. In contrast to the imperialist powers, the popular masses in Sudan have no trust in the “new” government and strongly denounce the sell-out by Hamdok and his allies. At one North Khartoum rally, protesters ripped up the premier’s portrait and shouted: “*Hamdok is weak but the streets are powerful.*” Nearly all relevant mass organizations have condemned the treacherous move of Hamdok. The *Resistance Committees* – the most important organs of the mass movement which are rooted in the neighborhoods of the urban workers and poor – strongly denounced the deal. So did the trade unions. The *Sudanese Professionals’ Association* (SPA), an important umbrella group of unions, described the deal as “*political suicide*” for Hamdok. Even the conservative Islamist *National Umma Party*, one of the largest parties in the country, rejected the deal.

4. The *Forces for Freedom and Change* (FFC), an alliance of bourgeois parties as well as the *Sudanese Communist Party* (SCP), also denounced the deal and renewed the call for nationwide protests against military rule. It wrote in a statement: “*We are not concerned with any agreements with this brute junta and we are employing all peaceful and creative methods to bring it down.*” Bushra al-Saim, one of the FFC leaders, described Hamdok’s step as a “*treason against the demands of the revolution. (...) Burhan was looking for recognition through Hamdok’s reinstatement. Hamdok chose the side of the coup leaders, which means he does not care about the thousands of Sudanese who are on the streets protesting the coup.*” 12 of the 17 ministers from the former government who are affiliated to the FFC tendered their resignations

directly to Hamdok as a sign of protest against the rotten deal.

5. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) fully shares the outrage of the Sudanese people against the treason of Hamdok and its allies. This demonstrates once more that the workers and poor peasants must not put any trust in bourgeois parties and their leaders. It also confirms once again that it was a historic mistake of the forces affiliated to the FFC and the SPA to support the rotten compromise in July 2019 and to join the Hamdok-Burhan government or to support it from outside (like the Stalinist SCP). *No trust in any bourgeois parties! The workers and poor peasants must only trust their own combat power and their own mass organizations!*

6. The RCIT strongly supports calls for a continuation of mass protests against the Burhan-Hamdok junta. In our opinion, it is crucial that the *Resistance Committees* and the trade unions organize real mass assemblies of the workers and poor peasants in order to build *direct-democratic councils of action* as well as *regional and national coordination bodies of delegates*. They should organize a *general strike* to bring down the regime. It is also crucial to build *self-defense committees* in order to defend the masses against the regime’s thugs. Furthermore, activists should develop *agitation among the soldiers* in order to split the army.

7. No one should have any illusion. The generals and the ruling class behind them will not give up power voluntarily. It is necessary to prepare for an armed insurrection to smash the army, to depose the ruling elite and the expropriate the monopoly capitalists. The goal should be to establish a *workers and poor peasants’ government, based on popular councils and militias*. Only such a government can implement the will of the popular masses. Only such a government is free of influence of the corrupted generals, the wealthy elite and the imperialist Great Powers.

8. It is said that the resistance committees of the city of Sennar calls for a *joint government of the committees and trade unions, organized from the ground up in a federation of workers’ and neighborhood assemblies*. If this is true, revolutionaries should strongly support this proposal since such a government could be an important step towards and authentic workers and poor peasants’ government!

9. The RCIT also considers it as crucial to link the popular struggle in Sudan with those in other countries in Africa and the Middle East – from the resistance against foreign occupation in Somalia and Yemen to the protests against military dictatorship like in Syria, Egypt and Iraq. Such international solidarity should be linked to the perspective of creating a *voluntary socialist federation of workers and poor peasants republics*.

10. Fighting for such a socialist perspective requires the unification of authentic revolutionaries in a single party – in Sudan as well as internationally. Without such a revolutionary party, any struggle will lack a clear perspective and direction. Join the RCIT in building a Revolutionary World Party!

Dark Winter: Listen to the Billionaire!

One of the richest men in the world warns about Dark Winter and popular uprisings

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 5.11.2021

Since some time, the RCIT have pointed out that the capitalist world economy faces a new slump with catastrophic consequences for global energy production and transport. We have explained in several documents that such a crisis would result, among others, in power cuts, shortage of food, fuel etc. – a scenario which we have designated “Dark Winter”. In fact, as we have shown, this process has already begun (e.g. in China, Britain, Lebanon).¹

Furthermore, we also explained that such economic catastrophes can have massive social and political consequences, resulting in the imposition of state of emergency by the ruling class as well as riots and popular uprisings.

Recently, our perspective has found confirmation from a quite representative figure of the class enemy. Blackstone CEO Stephen Schwarzman, one of the richest men in the world, warned recently in an interview with CNN.

*“Blackstone CEO Stephen Schwarzman warned Tuesday that high energy prices will likely set off social unrest around the world. “We’re going to end up with a real shortage of energy. And when you have a shortage, it’s going to cost more. And it’s probably going to cost a lot more,” the private-equity billionaire told CNN International’s Richard Quest at a conference in Saudi Arabia. (...) “You’re going to get very unhappy people around the world in the emerging markets in particular but in the developed world,” Schwarzman said at the Future Investment Initiative. “What happens then, Richard, is you’ve got real unrest. This challenges the political system and it’s all utterly unnecessary.””*²

Indeed, this leading representative of the monopoly bourgeoisie is quite right. The capitalist world economy is in a cul-de-sac and consequential catastrophes can easily trigger mass protests and “social unrest”. This can happen not only in the semi-colonial countries but also in the imperialist metropolises. Schwarzman’s warning that “very unhappy people” (i.e. the impoverished workers and popular masses) will “challenge the political system” means, translated in the language of Marxism, that such mass protests can provoke pre-revolutionary or even revolutionary situations.

Such warnings are very telling. Billionaires accumulate their money not only because they greedy look for every opportunity to make a bug but also because they are highly sensitive to any potential danger for the wealth. In addition, they have the resources and the connections to keep them informed about cracks in their system as well as changes in popular sentiments.

Hence if a billionaire like Blackstone’s Schwarzman warns about “social unrest” in rich as well as poor countries, it means that the ruling class is very worried. It reflects once again what Marxists have said for about two years. The capitalist world economy has entered a period of Great Depression provoking chauvinism, militarism, a shift to bonapartist police state as well as mass struggles and popular uprising. In fact, we are living in a pre-revolutionary phase full of economic instability and political explosions.

Furthermore, Schwarzman’s statement shows that the monopoly bourgeoisie observes the development of the class struggle closely. They understand, from their perspective as the ruling class, that they are sitting on a social volcano

which can explode in revolutionary developments. The is why the RCIT has explained for 1,5 years that the ruling class approaches the pandemic not from a health but from a political point of view. Hence, they exploit the pandemic in order to advance the COVID Counterrevolution, which means the expansion of chauvinist state bonapartism (Lockdowns, Green Pass, extension of police and surveillance state, state of emergency, deployment of the army on domestic territory, etc.). In addition, they exploit the pandemic to increase the profits of Big Pharma, the biotech and IT industries, the military-industrial complex, etc.³

It is only the silly opportunist left which refuses to recognize the relationship between the economic, social and health crisis and the counterrevolutionary offensive of the ruling class. Based on their uncritical parroting of the bourgeois public opinion, the opportunist left naively believes that the gigantic political and health programs of the monopoly bourgeoisie are motivated by any concern for public health and not by their political and economic interests. Such shameful trust in the ruling class allows the opportunist left to support the policy of Lockdowns, Green Pass and mass vaccination and to denounce the protests against such attacks indiscriminately as “reactionary”.

In fact, it is such “left-wing” servants of ruling class which advocate a reactionary policy which Marxists call social-bonapartism – “socialism” in abstract theory but support for bonapartism in concrete practice. Such “leftist” parties fail to recognize that in a class society in historic decay, a ruling class unavoidable turns to desperate measures in order to keep power.

The opportunist left would be well advised to listen to the billionaire Schwarzman. That would enable them to recognize that the ruling class is terrified about the prospects of “social unrest” all over the world. Instead of supporting the bonapartist policy of the state, they should rather support the mass struggles and help transforming them into popular uprisings!

Footnotes

1 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Capitalist Energy Crunch: Towards Dark Winter. On another important feature of the Great Depression of the capitalist world economy, its economic causes and its political consequences, 23 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/capitalist-energy-crunch-towards-dark-winter/>; by the same author: World Economy: Heading towards a Second Slump? 2 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/world-economy-heading-towards-a-second-slump/>;

The Real Estate Bubble in Capitalist China. Evergrande, Fantasia, and Sinic make global investors tremble and for good reasons, 6 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/the-real-estate-bubble-in-capitalist-china/>; see also RCIT: World Perspectives 2021-22: Entering a Pre-Revolutionary Global Situation, 22 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2021-22/>

2 Matt Egan: Energy crisis will set off social unrest, private-equity billionaire warns, CNN Business, 26 October 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/10/26/business/gas-prices-energy-crisis-schwarzman/index.html>

3 The RCIT has analysed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively. All documents are compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>.

China: Interesting Insights from a leading Regime Propagandist

Hints by the “Global Times” editor-in-chief about “panic” and “disappointment” among the Chinese popular masses

By Michael Pröbsting, *International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)*, 10.11.2021

Socialists – like most other people – usually tend to read publications which are close to their world view. While this is highly understandable, one should not forget the usefulness of reading, in addition, also the media of the class enemy including those parts where they display their propaganda. Naturally, one has to take such articles to take with a pinch of salt and should focus not so much on what they literally say but rather what they *reflect*. For this, one often has to read between the lines. With such an approach, these articles published by the class enemy can be highly informative in order to get a sense for their ideology, their outlook, and their inner contradictions.

Yesterday, China’s *Global Times* published a highly interesting editorial, written by Hu Xijin.¹ The *Global Times* is a key mouthpiece of the Stalinist-capitalist regime with a Chinese as well as an English-language version. Hu Xijin is its long-time editor-in-chief and a well-known propagandist of the Beijing’s rulers. In other words, Hu Xijin is an important representative of Chinese imperialism. His editorials reflect not only his personal opinions but those of the ruling class of one of the most important Great Powers.

On the surface, the article – titled “*Handling of trade war, pandemic consolidates Chinese people’s political confidence*” – appears not to be of much interest. Unsurprisingly, it praises the ruling “Communist Party” for its policy in the past years. In particular, the author acts as a cheerleader of the regime’s policy in response to the accelerating rivalry with the U.S. as well as the pandemic.

However, if one reads the article closely and pays attention to the carefully phrased formulations, it is possible to get a better insight into the problems which the Stalinist-capitalist dictatorship has faced in the past years.

“Two challenges” which have caused “panic” among the Chinese people

Hu Xijin starts his elaboration by identifying the two main challenges for the regime. In doing this, he admits that these “*two incidents brought some panic to Chinese society*”. “*Over the past years, two things have hit China the most. One is the strategic conflict between China and the US triggered by the sharp escalation of the trade war launched by the US against China. The other is the novel coronavirus epidemic. Both of the two incidents brought some panic to Chinese society in the early stage and the confidence of Chinese society was tested.*”²

We shall note that Hu Xijin “forgets” to mention two other crisis which the regime has faced in the last two years. First, the popular uprising in Hong Kong which began in June 2019³ and, second, the beginning of the Great Depression of the capitalist world economy in autumn of the same year. As we pointed out in our analysis of the development of the Great Depression, China’s industrial profits sharply declined in autumn 2019.⁴

Of course, Hu’s “oversight” is not accidental. First, the

regime does not want to admit that the mass protests in Hong Kong did frighten it. And second, similar to the Western governments, Beijing claims that the economic crisis is not rooted in the inner contradictions of the capitalist system but that it has been caused by the pandemic and the “necessary” response to it.

However, irrespective of these “oversights”, the editorial is highly interesting. But before we discuss this in more detail, let us first continue to present the most important parts of Hu Xijin editorial. The author continues: “*Objectively speaking, many Chinese people were frightened by the posture of the US to comprehensively suppress China in the early stage of the China-US trade war. They were extremely pessimistic and worried that China’s good days were coming to an end. They feared our economic development might be gravely restricted by US sanctions. (...) This reflected the typical mentality of some Chinese people at that time: fear of the US, and anxiety.*”

Luckily, Hu Xijin states, “*China is fortunate to have a strong central government.*” Hence, the country could overcome this challenge and all problems are solved by now.

The same is the case with the second challenge, the pandemic. “*Does everybody still remember the panic in our society in late January and early February last year? Many were disappointed with the situation at that time.*”

Of course, here too, the glorious “Communist” Party led by the “wise” General Secretary and President Xi Jinping, could master all challenges. As a result, the author concludes, “*in the past few years, China has experienced its “coming-of-age” as a great power.*”

Let us note in passing that while various “Marxists” wrongly deny China’s character as an imperialist power challenging the long-time hegemony of the U.S., a leading propagandist of the Chinese regime is fully aware of the fact that his state plays in the big league of Great Powers.⁵

Crucial factors for launching the COVID Counterrevolution

The notable feature of this article is not that the editor-in-chief of the regime’s mouthpiece praises his superiors. Hu is part of the ruling elite and cheerleading the regime is his daily business. No, the remarkable thing of this editorial is the admission that both crises – the dramatic acceleration of the inter-imperialist rivalry with the U.S. as well as the pandemic – have caused, in the words of the author, “*panic*”, “*disappointment*”, “*fear*” and “*extremely pessimism*” among China’s popular masses.

These admissions indirectly confirm a crucial thesis which the RCIT has elaborated since February 2020. We have explained in numerous writings that the response to the pandemic by the ruling class in China (as well as all other capitalist states) was not primarily driven by considerations of public health but rather by political and economic interests. We have explained that governments all over the world have utilized the pandemic as a pretext for

a series of authoritarian steps – draconic Lockdown policy, later Green Pass and enforced vaccinations. The RCIT has characterized this reactionary global offensive as the *COVID Counterrevolution*, representing a dramatic shift towards *chauvinist state bonapartism*.⁶

It is well-known that China has been the “vanguard” of this counterrevolutionary policy and its Lockdown policy – which had been implemented never before in times of pandemics. When it started to impose draconic mass quarantines in January 2020, most other capitalist governments around the world did follow within a few weeks.

The editorial of Hu Xijin admits that China experienced in the period of 2019 and early 2020 two crucial events which caused “panic” among the population. True to its character, the regime responded to these crises (and could only respond in this way) which an acceleration of repression.

Western imperialist governments are usually based on some form of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. However, the combination of the beginning of the Great Depression, the global wave of popular uprisings as well as the acceleration of the inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers in late 2019 and early 2020, caused a lot of worry among the ruling class. In such a situation, the Chinese example of draconic Lockdown policy (and other authoritarian measures) in response to the pandemic, had a strong appeal to the Western monopoly bourgeoisie.

Why now?

It is only the blindfolded opportunist left which naively believes the official propaganda of the capitalist governments that the Lockdown policy, the Green Pass and the enforced vaccinations would be motivated by their care for public health. As a matter of fact, all these governments never cared about the health of the popular masses, they reduced the budgets for public health (and continue to do so even now), etc. Still the useful idiots of the opportunist left continue to deny the existence of the COVID Counterrevolution in order to legitimize their support for this policy of the ruling class. Such professed “Marxism” is, in reality, only a cover for their *social-bonapartist* policy – combining “socialist” phrases with support for chauvinist state bonapartism.

It is telling that reading a propaganda editorial of a representative of the class enemy of one of the most important Great Powers can offer more insights into the motivation of the monopoly bourgeoisie than dozens of articles by these social-bonapartist parrots.

Finally, we shall note that it is most likely no accident that the *Global Times* published such an editorial just now. As we have demonstrated in other articles, the ruling class of China (as well as of the rest of the world) again faces an explosive crisis. The world economy is heading towards a second slump and the power cuts as well as the disruption of global transport could result in a “dark winter”. Guess how the monopoly bourgeoisie will react to this?

The opportunist left might again place its trust in the ruling class and tell the workers that the deployment of the army on the streets is necessary “in order to save the lives of people in danger.” Marxist however will tell the workers and oppressed the truth, warn them against the influence of the social-bonapartists and engage in efforts to build mass resistance against the next stage of the counter-revo-

lutionary offensive.

Indeed, the Chinese regime – as well as others around the world – have reasons to fear such a second slump of the capitalist world economy. Beijing has already massively increased its chauvinist propaganda and beats the war drums against Taiwan and its American backers. It has also accelerated the repression against all areas in the society which are not under total control of the central government (including pop stars and social media influencer). It seems that the regime has launched a pre-emptive strike against a potential revolutionary crisis in the world’s most populous country.

Authentic revolutionaries will work wherever possible for the *transformation of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system into popular uprisings for the overthrow of the ruling class*. For this purpose, revolutionaries must close ranks – nationally and internationally – on the basis of a clear program of struggle. The RCIT calls all socialist activists to join us in building a *World Party of Socialist Revolution!*

Footnotes

1 Hu Xijin: Handling of trade war, pandemic consolidates Chinese people’s political confidence, *Global Times*, 9 November 2021, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202111/1238480.shtml>

2 The RCIT has dealt on numerous occasions with the inter-imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and China. See e.g. The Coming Inter-Imperialist War on Taiwan. Revolutionary Defeatism against both Great Powers – the U.S. as well as China! 10 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/the-coming-inter-imperialist-war-on-taiwan/>; The Meaning of the AUKUS Pact. The U.S. escalates the inter-imperialist Cold War against China and provokes the EU, 18 September 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/the-meaning-of-the-aukus-pact/>; see also the following two pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting: “A Really Good Quarrel”. US-China Alaska Meeting: The Inter-Imperialist Cold War Continues, 23 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/us-china-alaska-meeting-shows-continuation-of-inter-imperialist-cold-war/>; Servants of Two Masters. Stalinism and the New Cold War between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West, 10 July 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/servants-of-two-masters-stalinism-and-new-cold-war/>; for more works on this issue see these sub-pages: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/> and <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-global-trade-war/>.

3 Here is the latest statement of the RCIT on this issue: China / Hong Kong: The Beginning of the Counterrevolution. The new National Security Law represents a full-scale assault on democratic rights by the Stalinist-Capitalist regime! 1 July 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/china-hong-kong-the-beginning-of-the-counterrevolution/>

4 See on this e.g. chapter 1 of the RCIT document: World Perspectives 2021-22: Entering a Pre-Revolutionary Global Situation, 22 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2021-22/>

5 The RCIT has analyzed the capitalist transformation in China and its rise as an imperialist power in numerous works. They can be accessed at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

6 The RCIT has analysed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively. All documents are compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>.

What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

