



## **Sudan: All Power to the People! Neither al-Burhan nor Hemedti!**

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# English-Language Journal of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), No. 145, May 2023

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*Picture on the cover: Rally of the Sudanese migrant community in Austria in protest against the military dictators*

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# Lula Meets Lavrov and Xi – We Say: Neither Washington nor Moscow and Beijing!

## For a socialist Latin America, independent of all imperialist powers!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 19 April 2023*

1. Brazil's President Lula recent visit in China and his meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov in Brasilia shortly afterwards reflect an important shift in the world situation as well as in Latin America's politics. In these meetings, Lula called for the creation of an alternative currency to replace the US-Dollar in trade relations with other countries. Of the same tenor did Celso Amorim, his top foreign policy adviser, state Brazil's support for "building a more multipolar world" without U.S. hegemony – reiterating the key concept for a new world order which has been advocated by Moscow and Beijing for some time.

2. Furthermore, Lula attacked Washington for "stimulating" the continued fighting in the Ukraine and added: "The United States needs to stop encouraging war and start talking about peace. The European Union needs to start talking about peace." He called the Ukraine to accept Russia's occupation of the Crimea in order "to end the war" and advocated his idea to create a so-called "peace club" of "neutral countries" to initiate negotiations between Moscow and Kyiv.

3. Lula's turn away from Washington and towards Xi and Putin reflect major shifts in world politics. Since a number of years, U.S. imperialism – the long-term hegemon – faces decline while China and Russia are rising as new imperialist rivals. Beijing has been the most important trading partner of Brazil, Argentina and other Latin American countries. Lula's shift from the West to the East reflects that Washington is also increasingly losing political control of its "backyard". Another result of these developments is Argentina's formal application for membership of BRICS – a loose alliance of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa.

4. Until now, China's and Russia's political influence in Latin America was strong only in a few countries – most importantly in Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua. With the end of Washington's hegemony, this is changing now, and the Eastern imperialist powers are becoming major players in Latin America's politics.

5. It is not surprising that numerous Stalinists and populists are cheering these developments. The Stalinist-capitalist regime in Cuba, the Brazilian PCdoB (which has a ministerial position in Lula's government), the Chavista PSUV in Venezuela or the "left-wing" Kirchneristas in Argentina are just a few prominent examples of this trend. Since many years, they are praising China and Russia as a "socialist", "progressive", or "anti-imperialist" force or, at least, as a "lesser evil" compared to the U.S.

6. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) strongly denounces such support for the Eastern Great Powers. There is nothing progressive about the Xi

or the Putin regime. Both are authoritarian governments overseeing brutal capitalist exploitation of the working class in their own countries as well as the barbaric oppression of national minorities (e.g. the Chechens in Russia or the Uyghurs in China). Both are working hard to expand their global influence and to replace the U.S. as a hegemonial force.

7. It is particularly outrageous to hear Lula belittling Putin's vicious invasion of the Ukraine and denying the legitimate character of the Ukrainian people's war of national defence. Such sympathy for the devil reflects once more the bourgeois character of Lula popular front government. The task of socialists is to rally international support for the Ukrainian resistance. Naturally, such support does not imply any political support for the bourgeois and pro-NATO Zelensky government. Furthermore, socialists must combine their support for the Ukraine's war of national liberation with intransigent opposition against Western imperialism and all forms of chauvinist Great Power policy (e.g. economic sanctions). The RCIT has summarised such an approach in the slogan: *Defend the Ukraine against Putin's invasion! Beware of NATO and Zelensky – transform the resistance against the Russian occupation into a Popular War! Against Russian and against NATO imperialism!*

8. These developments confirm our analysis of the emergence of China and Russia as new imperialist powers. The RCIT has explained since more than a decade that these two states are no "semi-colonies" or "sub-imperialist" countries. They have rather become Great Powers in their own right. They are neither better nor worse than the "old" Western imperialist powers. Authentic socialists never lend any form of support to Great Powers irrespectively if they are long-standing hegemons of "newcomers".

9. Socialists in Latin America oppose domination of either Great Power. Our continent must not be the backyard of any imperialist power – neither of the U.S., Western Europe nor of China and Russia! The only way forward is a continent which is not dominated by foreign monopolies and powers, but which is ruled by the workers and popular masses, i.e. a socialist federation of workers and peasants republics. The RCIT says: *"Neither Washington nor Moscow and Beijing! For a Free and Red Latin America!"*

10. We call socialists in Latin America who share such solidarity with the Ukrainian people and who consistently oppose all Great Powers to join forces. A first step could be to act in common on May Day by issuing joint statements or by intervening in demonstrations respectively organising their own rallies on the basis of such an internationalist and anti-imperialist platform.

## Ukraine War and Inter-Imperialist Rivalry

See more than 170 documents of the RCIT in English and languages on our website at:

<https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>



## Argentina: Mass Demonstrations at the Anniversary of the Military Coup

Report by *Convergencia Socialista (RCIT Section in Argentina)*, 25.03.2023

This 24 March there were, as has been the case for several years, two large marches – the left on one side and Kirchnerism on the other. While the latter was, in fact, a great act of support for Cristina Fernández, since a sector wants her to run for president in October, the one on the left, unfortunately, did not draw lines with the official march.

The call of the FITu and other organizations had as its main slogan, “*against the governments and their adjustments*”. However, it did not clarify that the government that is applying the adjustment is that of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.

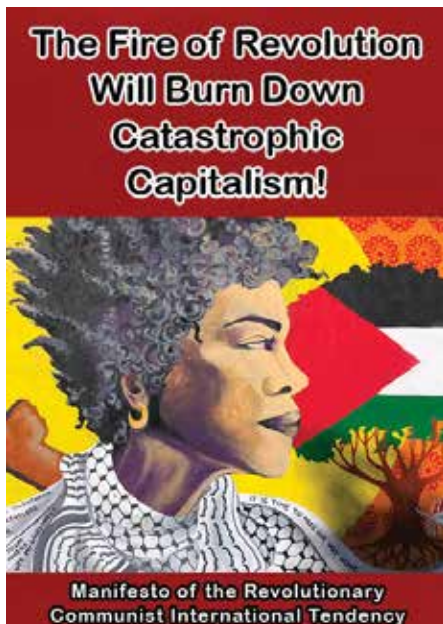
Obviously, the demonstration began with the vindication of the fallen comrades during the dictatorship, of which 47 years have been commemorated since it was imposed

through the coup d'état.

Within this framework, *Convergencia Socialista (RCIT Section in Argentina)*, marched against yesterday's repression and today's repression, embodied in the current government, which represses in order to impose the same economic policy as the genocidal dictatorship. In addition, we launched the last phase of the campaign for the acquittal of our colleague Karen Marín, imprisoned for almost four years for defending herself against sexist violence. We were accompanied, for this, by a group of mothers who fight against paedophiles, the *Defensorias de Géneros* and a group of scientists, headed by Juan Garberi, who denounces the dire consequences of the global policy of quarantines and indiscriminate vaccination.



Argentinean Militants of the RCIT at the Demonstration in Buenos Aires on 24 March



### *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*

## Once again, the Police Murdered a Palestinian

by Yossi Schwartz, ISL (RCIT Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 02.04.2023

On Friday after midnight, the Zionist police murdered in cold blood a Palestinian man 26-year-old Mohammad Khaled al-Osaibi at an entrance to the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound in Jerusalem. The young man is from Houra, a Bedouin Arab village in southern Israel. The killing took place at about midnight near the Chain Gate, an access point to the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound. Palestinian worshippers at the entrance of Al-Aqsa Mosque compound said police shot the man at least 10 times after he tried to prevent them from harassing a woman who was on her way to the holy compound. The police alleged al-Osaibi tried to take a gun from an officer and fired it in a scuffle.

Noureddine, a 17-year-old who lived in the neighborhood and declined to give his last name for fear of reprisals, said he saw al-Osaibi confront police who stopped a female worshiper on her way to the mosque. Noureddine said some kind of disagreement broke out between al-Osaibi and the officers before he heard a dozen shots ring out. "Nothing could justify that many shots," he said, pointing to chaotic footage he filmed that showed Palestinian vendors and worshippers screaming at the sound of bullets being fired in rapid succession. "They were all at close range."

Other eyewitnesses and Arab officials have mostly rejected the police version of events, and former police officials have said it is "hard to believe" the force's insistence that the shooting wasn't captured by any of the many CCTV cameras in the area.

Palestinian's media widely reported al-Osaibi was a doctor who studied medicine recently in Romania.

Noureddine said police tried to force Palestinian vendors and worshippers out of the area after the incident, beating him and others with batons. Israeli police briefly closed the site before reopening it for dawn prayers

*"Former Jerusalem police chief Yair Itzhaki earlier told a cultural event in Rishon "Lezion that it seemed unlikely there was no footage of the incident. "I don't see the possibility that there is no police documentation. I personally placed the array of security cameras there," Itzhaki said" [1]*

Removing the films in the security cameras is an old trick of the Zionist armed forces to hide the murder or the massacres. In 1994 a massacre by Baruch Goldstein who murdered 29 Muslims in the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron took place. A Zionist investigation commission found that Goldstein acted alone and that the lack of films in the security cameras was not a problem *"Nevertheless, in the matter at hand, there is no connection between the lack of appropriate inspection of the hundreds of worshipers who entered on the morning of 25 February, 1994, and the ineffectiveness of the closed-circuit television system, and the massacre" [2]*

*"But Palestinian witnesses have insisted all along that they saw one or more soldiers fire into a crowd that built rapidly in a passageway outside the eastern entrance to the shrine after Dr. Goldstein started to shoot. Army officials said the three soldiers then on duty, who are scheduled to testify before the Israeli commission on Thursday, were not available for interviews... Officials from the Palestinian Investigative Committee charged that the army was trying to cover up the shooting of Palestinians in the passageway by the soldiers. "We believe the soldiers stationed*

*at the mosque fired on the crowd," said Mustafa Natshe, the former mayor of Hebron, who as on the 11-member Palestinian committee. "We have interviewed several witnesses who say they saw soldiers shooting on the crowd. We now divide the massacre into three parts. The first is the shooting inside the mosque by Goldstein, the second is the shooting in the passageway outside the mosque by the soldiers and the third is the shooting around Al Ahli Hospital by the soldiers" [3]*

Zionist soldiers clashed with Palestinians near Al Ahli Hospital shortly after the massacre. The army said 7 to 15 Palestinians were wounded in disturbances near a main road running below the hospital and another 4 were killed. A total of 5 Palestinians died in clashes throughout Hebron that day and another 40 were wounded by the Zionist army.

On Saturday night, April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2023, the goon in uniform – a police officer – beat a protester with his baton at the anti-judicial reform protest in Tel Aviv. After the incident, Labor Chairwoman Merav Michaeli demanded in a letter to Shabtai the chief of the police that the police officer be dealt with.

*"According to reports and videos that were published, at the protest tonight, an extreme incident took place where a police officer violently attacked a protestor," she wrote. "This is an outrage, and I call on you to act with any means to make sure the incident is taken care of severely and that these sorts of incidents are not repeated" [4]*

Needless to say, the demonstrators did not raise a single word against the murder of the young Palestinian. The Palestinian leadership in Israel however has called for a general strike.

*"Public services, businesses, most schools shut down as community accuses cops of killing Mohammed Elasiabi 'in cold blood' in Old City, reject police claim he attempted an attack the police" [5]*

And while the brutal police force is exposed the government has promised the hooligan minister of police (National security) Ben Gevir a special force the "National Guard" under his personal command. A right-wing militia to terrorize the Palestinians even more than the existing police.

Hadash (the Stalinist's front) that has called on the same brutal racist force - the police - to protect the Palestinian citizens of Israel from the armed criminal gang instead of organizing self-defense committees, helped to open the gates before the Zionist Police to kill Palestinians.

*For self-defense Palestinian committees!*

*Down with the Zionist Apartheid!*

*No support for the government or for the demonstrators for the hegemony of the Ashkenazi elite!*

*For a Palestine red and free from the river to the sea!*

### Endnotes

[1] [www.timesofisrael.com/ex-police-officials-hard-to-believe-disputed-deadly-jerusalem-shooting-not-on-cctv/](http://www.timesofisrael.com/ex-police-officials-hard-to-believe-disputed-deadly-jerusalem-shooting-not-on-cctv/)

[2] <https://embassies.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/state/Law/Pages/COMMISSION%20OF%20INQUIRY-%20MASSACRE%20AT%20THE%20TOMB%20OF%20THE.as>

[3] <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/16/world/that-day-hebron-special-report-soldier-fired-crowd-survivors-massacre-say.html>

[4] <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-736142>

[5] Ibid



# The Same Dog with a Different Collar!

## Trotskyists of LIT-CI call to vote for bourgeois alliance in Türkiye, to defeat Erdogan

By Juan Giglio, *Convergencia Socialista (RCIT Section in Argentina), 23 March 2023*

On March 22, the small Turkish group of the International Workers League published a statement, which was reproduced on the LIT-CI website, explaining its position on the upcoming presidential elections, which will take place in that country on March 14 next May.

In point number 4 of the text in question, the Turkish section of the LIC-CI says the following: *In conclusion, we call on the workers and the oppressed sectors not to vote for the reactionary alliance of Erdogan and Bahçeli [1] in the elections [2]. To overthrow the palace regime, Erdogan must be defeated at the polls!*

*The masses mobilized to overthrow Erdogan in the presidential elections are concentrated around Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu[3]. As Kırmızı Gazete, we will accompany the masses in this process. Without pinning any hope on the bourgeois opposition, we will act together with the masses who voted for Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu to stop Erdogan and his autocratic palace regime.*

Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu is the leader of the CHP, the Republican People's Party, founded by the creator of the Turkish republic, Mustafá Kemal "Ataturk", who rose to fame after being one of the generals who allowed the victory Turkish at the Battle of Gallipoli (Dardanelles) during World War I.

Due to the crisis of the government of Recept Tayyip Erdogan, which deepened with the earthquake that left thousands dead, the CHP is in a position to win the presidential elections. This party leads an alliance that includes the ultra-right Party of Good, IYI, a break from the MHP - where the anti-Kurdish gangs called "Grey Wolves" are - which is part of the current government alliance, along with the president's AKP.

With the excuse of "confronting fascism", the LIT-CI calls on the Turkish masses to change one bourgeois leader for another, just as reactionary, or even more reactionary ,than

the first. In this way, its section in Turkey follows the path of the Brazilian PSTU, which in the second round of that country supported Lula against Bolsonaro, when none of these countries runs the risk of falling into the clutches of a regime similar to Hitler's or Mussolini.

The Turkish region that most resembles this is the south-east - Bakur for the Kurds - where the curfew is in force and a brutal repression against the movement for the liberation of Kurdistan, led by the PKK, takes place. This reality will not be modified by the CHP, which, like Erdogan, is in favor of maintaining a strong policy of attacking the rights and freedoms of the Kurdish people, whose population is the majority in that area.

The guarantee that this line will continue to develop in a hypothetical government of Kılıçdaroğlu, is the participation in the alliance headed by the IYI, whose leaders claim the anti-Kurdish strategy of the party they come from, the MHP of the Gray Wolves. There are no important differences between these two organizations, except in the forms or in the names of their leaders.

The LIT-CI policy of supporting one bourgeois gang against the other is similar to the old reformist strategy of the camps or, as Mao would say, of the "main contradiction". This line led to the capitulation of important organizations of the revolutionary left, which ended up raising expectations in the "progressive" bourgeoisie, a great trap that put the working class in a blind alley.

We call on the comrades of the LIT-CI to put aside this tactic and, as befits the current circumstances, to draw lines against all the bourgeois variants. The only way out for Turkey and the entire region, as well as for the rest of the planet, is to promote the revolutionary mobilization of the mass movement behind the socialist banner.

## Publications of the RCIT in Arab Language

The image displays several Arabic-language publications from the RCIT. At the top, there is a red banner with a yellow hammer and sickle and a star, with the text "البيان الشيوعي الثوري" (The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto) and "الثورة والثورة المضادة في العالم العربي: اختبار للثوريين" (Revolution and counter-revolution in the Arab world: a test for revolutionaries). Below this, there are photos of a woman in a headscarf and a man, and a logo for "AWRA Revolution" with a star and the word "ثورة" (Revolution). The text "الثورة والثورة المضادة في العالم العربي: اختبار للثوريين" is repeated in a stylized font across the bottom of the collage.

## Rally on the 12th Anniversary of the Syrian Revolution

Report (with Photos and Videos) from a Rally in Vienna on 19 March 2023, Austrian Section of the RCIT

About 1.000 people – mostly Syrian migrants but also Palestinians, Chechens and Ukrainians – demonstrated on 19 January in the centre of Vienna to commemorate the 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Syrian Revolution. The rally was extraordinary lively and larger than similar events in the last years. It reflects that despite all the setbacks and defeats, the heroic Syrian people has not given up to resist the Assad tyranny and its Russian masters.

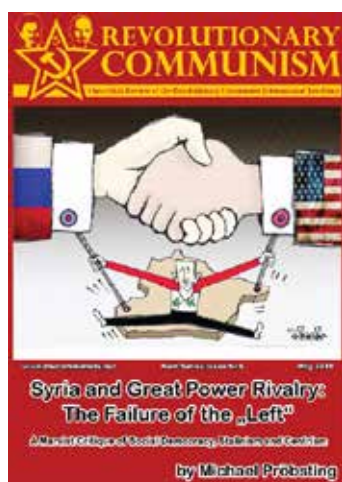
Comrade Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, was asked to address the rally. In his speech,

he denounced the brutal dictatorship of Assad as well as the merciless bombardment of the Russian Air Force. He stated the unconditional solidarity of the RCIT with the Syrian Revolution and emphasised the necessity to link it with the Palestinian Intifada as well as the resistance of the Ukrainian people against Putin's invasion. As the video shows, his speech was enthusiastically received.

See photos and video clips here: [https://www.the-communists.net/rcit/rcit-interventions-at-rallies-in-2023/#anker\\_6](https://www.the-communists.net/rcit/rcit-interventions-at-rallies-in-2023/#anker_6)



Michael Pröbsting speaks at the rally of the Syrian migrant community in Vienna on 19 March



### Publications of the RCIT

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

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2018

*The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation  
of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia –*

*A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism*

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

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*



# Sudan: Neither al-Burhan nor Hemedti! All Power to the People!

## Dissolve all Armed Forces! Arm the Masses! For a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly!

*Statement by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 17 April 2023*

1. Fierce fighting is taking place in Sudan since Saturday 15 April between army units loyal to General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan and armed forces led by General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, known as Hemedti. The former is head of Sudan's transitional governing Sovereign Council while the latter commands the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and is deputy head of the council. While there are conflicting reports about which side controls which places, it is clear that armed clashes have spread to Khartoum, Omdurman, Nyala, Port Sudan, Merowe and other cities. Importantly, the fighting also takes place in regions at the border to Ethiopia, Eritrea, Chad, Egypt and Libya. At the time of writing, at least 97 people have been killed and hundreds wounded. The number of casualties among soldiers is unknown by now.

2. The clashes have been triggered by a disagreement over the integration of the RSF into the military as part of a transition deal after the latest coup. Al-Burhan and Hemedti were long-time allies who collaborated in supporting the dictatorship of Omar al-Bashir until 2018, in suppressing the popular uprising in 2019 and in carrying out another military coup in October 2021. Al-Burhan has been the senior of both. Hemedti has a notorious record as a key leader of the *Janjaweed* – which later became the RSF – during the War in Darfur. This horrendous war, which started in 2003, has seen a series of mass murders, rapes, and expulsions. According to the UN, about 300,000 people have been killed and 3 million people displaced.

3. The proto-civil war between al-Burhan and Hemedti is not only important for future political developments in Sudan but can also have regional repercussions since Northern and Eastern Africa is riven with explosive contradictions. Sudan is playing a key role in plans of the Egypt's military dictatorship of General Sisi for building an alliance against Ethiopia. The latter is a regional rival

which has built the so-called Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam – a project which will dramatically reduce Nile flows and thereby reduce water access for its neighbouring countries in the north. Political conditions in Ethiopia itself are highly fragile as it has been raged by a bloody civil war until a few months ago. In addition, armed clashes took place repeatedly at the border between Sudan and Ethiopia in the past three years. Add to this the frozen civil war in Libya, the highly fragile situation in Chad or the ongoing civil war of the Somali puppet regime – which is in power only because of the presence of Ethiopian and other foreign troops – against a popular insurrection led by the petty-bourgeois Islamist al-Shabaab movement.

4. Furthermore, both Al-Burhan and Hemedti did build close relations in the past years with Egypt as well as with various imperialist powers – most importantly Russia, China and Israel. Moscow hopes to get a naval base in Port Sudan which would allow it direct access to the Red Sea.

5. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) considers the conflict between Al-Burhan and Hemedti as thoroughly reactionary on both sides. There is nothing progressive in either camp. Basically, this is a fall-out between thieves. In such a conflict, socialists have no side to choose as both are worse. At the same time, socialists do not forget that a war between two robbers might weaken both of them and, hence, could offer opportunities for the liberation struggle of the popular masses sooner or later.

6. The most important task now to consolidate and arm the mass organisations which have been created since the beginning of the revolution in December 2018 – the trade unions, the *Resistance Committees* based in neighborhoods, etc. It is likely that this proto-civil war will soon demoralise the soldiers in both camps. Agitators should



### RCIT AFRICA PROGRAM

## Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

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

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

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format*



be sent to the armed forces on both sides with the goal to convince them to come over to the popular organisations, to supply these with weapons, etc. May be not now but sooner or later, this conflict will offer the masses new opportunities to rise up since the armed forces of the ruling class will be weakened.

7. It is crucial that socialists in Sudan draw the political lessons of the revolutionary process of the past four years. Again and again, treacherous reformist forces did try to strike a deal with the military in order to create so-called “transitional governments”. The result of such shameful agreements has been that the masses were demobilised, and that the army command remained in control of the country. The RCIT urges progressive forces in Sudan to oppose any deals with sectors of the army.

8. The only way forward is to prepare for an insurrection, to arm the masses and to fight for the complete dissolution of all armed forces – both the Sudanese Armed Forces as well as the RSF. Instead of negotiating with the military about a “transitional process” which would allow the ruling class to stay in power, socialists should advocate the struggle for a *Revolutionary Constituent Assembly*. Such a body should discuss and elaborate a new constitution. Its deputies should be elected by local popular assemblies, being recallable by their constituents. In order to avoid corruption, these deputies should receive the salary of a skilled worker. Such a *Revolutionary Constituent Assembly* must not be under any threat by the bourgeois repression apparatus. Hence, the assembly must be convened and controlled by the fighting masses organized in councils of action and armed militias. The strategic goal must be the overthrow of the ruling class and the establishment of a

*workers and poor peasants’ government, based on popular councils and militias.*

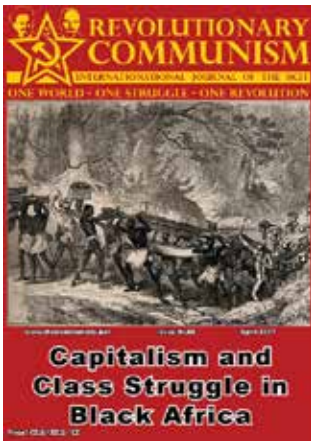
9. The Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) – a Stalinist party with significant roots in the working class – has correctly denounced the reactionary conflict between al-Burhan and Hemedti in a statement published on 15 April. However, its program to overcome the crisis includes the demand of “*reconstituting the unified national professional army.*” The RCIT warns against such a perspective since this would leave the arms in the hand of the same reactionary and corrupted body of officers which has deep links with business and which is trained in a long-term tradition of military dictatorships and coups. We repeat that socialists must fight for smashing the army and for replacing it with a new army based on popular militias. Such a perspective must go hand in hand with the struggle for a *workers and poor peasants’ government.*

10. We call all authentic socialists to unite on the basis of such a revolutionary program of action. Without a revolutionary party – in Sudan as well as internationally – the struggle for liberation will lack a clear perspective and direction. Join the RCIT in building a *Revolutionary World Party!*

*International Bureau of the RCIT*

\* \* \* \* \*

*The RCIT has published numerous documents on the Sudanese Revolution. They are compiled at a special sub-page on our website at: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-military-coup-in-sudan/>*



## 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**

# On the ICC Arrest Warrant for Russian President Putin

## No illusions in the ICC! No support for Western Great Power policy! For a popular tribunal for Putin and other war criminals!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 19 March 2023*

1. The International Criminal Court (ICC) has issued an arrest warrant for Russian President Vladimir Putin over war crimes, accusing him of personal responsibility for the abductions of children from Ukraine. Unsurprisingly, the Ukraine strongly welcomed this decision, while Moscow dismissed it as “*meaningless*”.

2. There is no doubt that Putin is indeed a war criminal. It is under his leadership that Russia has invaded the Ukraine, annexed parts of its territories and killed tens of thousands of people. It was under his leadership that Russia sent fighter jets and troops to Syria to aid Assad the Butcher killing hundreds of thousands of people during the revolutionary uprising since March 2011. And it was under Putin’s leadership that Russia waged a genocidal war against the Chechen people in 1999-2009.

3. However, the RCIT warns against any illusions in the ICC. Socialists can not support the ICC’s decision to issue an arrest warrant for Putin. The reason is that this decision has nothing to do with seeking justice for the victims of Putin’s war crimes. It is first and foremost a political manoeuvre of Western imperialist powers and their allies to put diplomatic pressure against their Russian rival.

4. In fact, the ICC has always been an instrument of Western imperialism. It was founded in a period when the U.S. and its allies were at the climax of their power (in the 1990s and 2000s). It did put a number of figures from Africa on trial. But it never strived to put those war criminals on trial who were from the camp of Western imperialism or its allies.

\* It never investigated the war crimes of the U.S. despite its brutal wars against Iraq and Afghanistan.

\* It never opened trial against war criminals from Israel despite its barbarous assaults against the Palestinian people in Gaza and Westbank.

\* It never investigated the war crimes of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab States despite their brutal invasion of Yemen.

\* Finally, it is worth noting that the ICC did also never investigate the war crimes of Putin himself in Chechnya despite the fact that the Russian army killed about 10% of the Chechens, injured many more and displaced about half of the total population. But since Putin was, at that time, an ally of the Western powers, they saw no reason to make a big fuss because of such mass murder. Tellingly, the huge Chechen diaspora living today in Western Europe (about 150.000 people) faces massive discrimination and suspicion by the authorities.

\* We should also add that the ICC is an instrument of Great Powers but a number of global and regional powers refuse membership in order to avoid coming under jurisdiction! Among these are the U.S., Russia, China, India, Indone-

sia, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Türkiye, etc. (and also the Ukraine). It is particularly grotesque that while Biden has welcomed the ICC decision against Putin, the U.S. passed a law in 2002 which allows the use of military force to free US citizens and allies detained under an ICC warrant! And in 2020, Trump even imposed sanctions against ICC personnel who were looking for evidence of war crimes of US citizens!

5. We understand that many Ukrainians and other people suffering from the crimes of Putin welcome the decision of the ICC. Who does not wish to see the butcher of Grozny, Aleppo and Mariupol behind bars?! To these brothers and sisters, we say: justice will not come from the killers of the Iraqi people, the Afghans, Palestinians and Yemenis! It will not come from those who have built their state on the bones of the indigenous people and who made *Guantanamo Bay* and *Abu Ghraib* household names associated with torture and lawlessness. Justice will rather come with liberation – and liberation will come with determined struggle of the workers and oppressed people!

6. Hence, the RCIT calls for a popular tribunal against Putin (as well as against other war criminals – from Assad, Netanyahu, to Bush, Obama, and Mohammed bin Salman). Such a tribunal should consist of democratically elected representatives of the people who suffered most by these war criminals.

7. It is evident that the fight for justice goes hand in hand with the struggle for liberation. The workers and oppressed can only exercise justice if they have the power to do so. This means that the struggle for liberation must not be delegated to false friends – like Western imperialist powers. The workers and oppressed people must strive to expel the foreign invaders and to overthrow the Putin regime and other reactionary dictatorships. Only the creation of workers and poor peasant republics and a socialist federation will open the door for liberation and justice!

8. Today, as Putin’s merciless war against the Ukrainian people goes on, this means that socialists must continue to take a consistent internationalist and anti-imperialist position. The RCIT reiterates its position of support for the Ukraine against Russian imperialism. At the same time, we lend no support whatsoever to the chauvinist and militarist policy of any Great Power against its rivals (like e.g. armament programs or economic sanctions). *Defend the Ukraine against Putin’s invasion! Beware of NATO and Zelensky – transform the resistance against the Russian occupation into a Popular War! Against Russian and against NATO imperialism!*

*International Bureau of the RCIT*

# About the Government Bailout of Insolvent Banks

## Where is the Minimum State so much praised by the financial market?

By João Evangelista, *Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (RCIT Section in Brazil)*, 23 March 2023

Recent media reports indicate that the Joe Biden administration in the U.S. as well as the European Union intend to raise the higher federal insurance limit for bank deposits and investors in order to contain a financial crisis marked by the withdrawal of large deposits from banks, currently capped at \$250,000. In other words, the US national state will give public money to secure the financial health of a badly managed bank. The same media reports indicate that Christine Lagarde, president of the European Central Bank, advocates the same measure of increasing the value of such guarantees to investors in the European Union.

Once again, the old rule of capitalism is confirmed – private profits, but collective losses, shared with the entire population. And historically this doesn't only happen in rich countries, it was also a practice of several Brazilian governments. For example, this occurred during Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government and during the military dictatorship. [1]

In March alone, three banks in the US were broken up after risky maneuvers and management: Silicon Valley Bank (SVB, based in Silicon Valley itself), Signature Bank (a "specialist" in dividends for legal firms, based in New York) and First Republic Bank (based in San Francisco Bay Area, Northern California). According to the economic writer Bruno Lima Rocha, from the website *cartacampinas.com.br*, these three banks "suffered federal intervention. Directly, the first two, and in an outsourced way, the third. They would be "medium-sized banks", because their risk of failure should not generate a house of cards due to the "low volume of derivatives". In other words, as they speculate little on a global scale, their bankruptcy "only" should hit small account holders and loyal depositors. None of them are "too big to fail." [2]

This is not the case for one of the giants such as Credit Suisse Bank, whose headquarters are in Zurich, Switzerland. This one is considered by the global financial system to be "too big to fail". Until now, Credit Suisse has been a benchmark of a solid, century-old bank (founded in 1856) with a turnover in 2017 of 21 billion Swiss Francs. Add the mismanagement of the bank in recent years, combined with rising interest rates in Europe, due to the economic sanctions put in place because of the Ukraine War, and

Credit Suisse is on the verge of bankruptcy. But the Swiss government is guaranteeing \$280 billion, equivalent to 1/3 of Switzerland's GDP. The bill for the Swiss government's bailout of Credit Suisse makes each citizen of the country required to pay \$13,000, according to the website *O Globo*. [3]

### Maximum state to bail out the powerful capitalists? But what about for the working class ... minimum state?

The question that remains unanswered is the following: neoliberal economists, therefore staunch defenders of the capitalist system, and therefore ardent defenders of the so-called Minimum State ("the less state the better, it only gets in the way!") come into a huge contradiction when they themselves demand that the national state use our tax money to bail out the big capitalists and their millionaire account holders.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the much-vaunted Minimum State, strongly advocated by bourgeois economists, is only for the poor. Therefore, funds are diverted from the government budget that would be destined to public health, public welfare, education, basic sanitation, etc., to later say that "there are not enough funds, so we have to speed up the reforms."

Our response as socialists must be to reverse this logic of taking from the poor to give to the rich. Instead of bailing out these banks, nationalize them under workers' control, charge the capitalists for the losses caused in these institutions and pass them on to small investors. Tax the great fortunes. Severely punish those who embezzle public funds.

#### Footnotes

[1] <https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/temas/economia/calote-de-bancos-socorridos-por-fhc-e-sete-vezes-o-recuperado-pela-lava-jato/>

[2] <https://cartacampinas.com.br/2018/10/o-brasil-expoe-a-face-horrenda-da-nova-extrema-direita/>

[3] <https://oglobo.globo.com/economia/financas/noticia/2023/03/a-conta-do-socorro-ao-credit-suisse-cada-cidadao-suico-vai-pagar-us-13500-para-salvar-o-banco.ghtml>



## 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



## Macron and his Plans for Europe as a “Third Superpower”

### On a highly interesting interview with the French President and its political lessons

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 11 April 2023

**P**OLITICO, a leading English-language bourgeois newspaper, has published a highly interesting interview with French President Emmanuel Macron. Flying back from his trip to Beijing where he had meetings with President Xi Jinping, he elaborated on his thoughts about Europe’s future as a Great Power and its relations with the U.S. and China.<sup>1</sup>

According to the newspaper, “Macron emphasized his pet theory of ‘strategic autonomy’ for Europe, presumably led by France, to become a ‘third superpower.’” The French President emphasized that Europe should position itself as an independent force which does neither follow China nor the U.S. “The paradox would be that, overcome with panic, we believe we are just America’s followers. The question Europeans need to answer ... is it in our interest to accelerate [a crisis] on Taiwan? No. The worse thing would be to think that we Europeans must become followers on this topic and take our cue from the U.S. agenda and a Chinese overreaction.”

He warned that Europe should stay out of the Taiwan crisis – a key flashpoint of tensions between Washington and Beijing. “Europeans cannot resolve the crisis in Ukraine; how can we credibly say on Taiwan, ‘watch out, if you do something wrong we will be there’? If you really want to increase tensions that’s the way to do it.” He added that “the great risk” Europe faces is that it “gets caught up in crises that are not ours, which prevents it from building its strategic autonomy.”

In order to make Europe more independent of Washington, Macron “suggested Europe should reduce its dependence on the ‘extraterritoriality of the U.S. dollar.’” Furthermore, the French President “argued that Europe had increased its dependency on the U.S. for weapons and energy and must now focus on boosting European defense industries. (...) ‘If the tensions between the two superpowers heat up ... we won’t have the time nor the resources to finance our strategic autonomy and we will become vassals.’”

In summary, the French President made a series of unusually explicit statements which run against the image of a united front of Western powers which jointly oppose the rise of their imperialist rivals, China and Russia. In fact, as POLITICO notes in a postscript, he made even more blunt statement “but some parts of the interview in which the president spoke even more frankly about Taiwan and Europe’s strategic autonomy were cut out by the Elysée.”

These are not some carelessly stated remarks made en passant which got unwanted attention by the global public. Quite the contrary, it seems that Macron deliberately intended to provoke a public debate with these statements. First, as POLITICO reports, “the Elysée Palace, insisted on checking and ‘proofreading’ all the president’s quotes to be published in this article.” In other words, the French government fully agreed with the publication of these statements. Second, the newspaper itself is a key publication of the American and European monopoly bourgeoisie. It is based in the U.S. but owned by the German media magnate Axel Springer SE, Europe’s largest newspaper publisher. Since Macron did choose POLITICO as the only English-language publication for this interview and since

the latter is a self-proclaimed advocate of NATO, Israel and “free market”,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that the Elysée Palace intended to make his remarks a subject of public controversy.

#### The contradictions of EU imperialism

The remarks of the French President are highly remarkable in several respects. This is the case, first and foremost, because he is one of the most important European leaders. In addition, he is not a moron a la Trump or Boris Johnson but rather a smart and strategically thinking head of state.

In fact, Macron addresses key issues which reflect the deep contradictions of European imperialism and its future status in world politics. As we noted in various documents in the past, imperialist Western Europe suffers from its lack of effective political and military unity as it remains divided in several national states. As a result, the EU has failed to challenge the two largest imperialist Great Powers – the U.S. and China – until now.<sup>3</sup>

In fact, since the beginning of the Ukraine War, the EU has become even more subordinated to Washington as we pointed out in our recently published document “Towards a Turning Point in the Ukraine War?” “The European Union faces even greater political problems than the self-proclaimed ‘indispensable nation.’ It has become completely dependent on Washington in order to stand up against Russia. Only a small proportion of the military aid to the Ukraine comes from European countries. In addition, the economic costs of the war’s consequences are increasing as Germany has had to pay 10 times the market price for gas to bolster its reserves. Effectively, Europe has become highly dependent on US energy imports. Furthermore, the war becomes increasingly unpopular among the population as living costs are rising and fear of a nuclear confrontation is increasing. The EU faces centrifugal tendencies as the Eastern European and Baltic countries have moved closer to Washington and London than to Berlin and Paris. The embarrassing silence of Germany (and other European powers) about the U.S. sabotage of the North Stream pipeline reveals that European imperialism is far away from gaining “strategic autonomy” or – to put it in Marxist terms – to become a fully independent Great Power.”<sup>4</sup>

These developments inevitable provoke divisions between the European powers as well as within the respective countries. We therefore concluded in the same document that a faction among Europe’s ruling class will opt for a change of course away from Washington and towards an independent imperialist policy. “As we noted above, the war has provoked a stronger subordination of Western European powers to the U.S. A treacherous compromise with Moscow will embolden those sectors among the bourgeoisie which support a policy of “strategic autonomy” of the EU, i.e. of the positioning of Europe as an independent imperialist Great Power. All this could result in sharp debates on the domestic front, governmental crisis, etc. In short, the developments in the Ukraine War could bring the objectively pressing problems of European imperialism about its future to a point of open conflict – will it remain rather divided and subordinated to Washington, will it

*break its close ties and become a completely independent Great Power with a distinctive foreign policy, or will the EU break up into a pro-U.S. bloc (e.g. UK with Scandinavian and Eastern European countries) and a German/French-led bloc, or will it break up into its nation states? (...) As a general law, one could say that the closer the relationship between Beijing and Moscow evolves, the more it pushes Europe to a point of decision: either it ruptures its close ties with the U.S. and will become a more independent but "second-class" power – weaker than the America or China – or it becomes a junior partner of Washington."*

However, Europe's imperialist powers are currently deeply divided – both between themselves as well as domestically. Since the U.S. is a declining hegemon, it is not particularly attractive to blindly subordinate to Washington's foreign policy. On the other hand, Europe is currently not capable to act forcefully as an independent Great Power in global politics. Without Washington, Europe could hardly stand up to Russian imperialism and would be obliged to limit itself to purely verbal protests against Putin's invasion of the Ukraine.<sup>5</sup>

As we explained in other documents, in order to become a "third superpower", the EU would need to overcome national divisions and to create a centralised pan-European state apparatus which could allow to act as a strong Great Power. However, this is an extremely difficult task. It would require establishing an agreed strategic program between the monopoly bourgeoisie of Europe leading powers (most importantly of Germany and France) and subordinating other countries (as well as dissenting factions of the ruling class) to such a project. Furthermore, it would require a gigantic program of armament and militarisation in order to implement a truly global policy of the EU.

This, in turn, would necessitate a dramatic austerity program – as well as a corresponding European chauvinist and imperialist-militarist ideology – in order to mobilise the financial resources for such a militarist program. In other words, it is difficult to imagine how Europe's monopoly bourgeoisie could implement such a program of pan-European imperialist unification and militarisation without a series of strategic attacks on the working class and the popular masses on the continent.<sup>6</sup>

### Undermining the unity of the Western alliance

Macron's statements represents the most significant dissenting voice among Western leaders since the beginning of the Ukraine War. This is not only related to the developments of the war itself but rather with the rise of China amidst a new slump of the capitalist world economy. As the RCIT has argued since more than a decade, the most important decisive development in global inter-state relations has been China's rise as an imperialist power and as the most important challenger of Washington's hegemony.<sup>7</sup>

Hence, Macron calculates – not without reason – that it serves best the interests of the European, and most importantly the French, monopoly bourgeoisie if it manoeuvres between the two leading powers instead of putting all eggs in a single basket.<sup>8</sup> The leaders in Paris will balance pros and cons what could France gain from following the U.S. anti-China policy around the Taiwan issue when it's business leaders could rake in big bucks by keeping equidistance to Washington as well as Beijing?!<sup>9</sup> It is symbolic that Macron was accompanied by about 60 executives who

## 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.

#### 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

By Michael Pröbsting



Published by the Revolutionary Communist International of Workers

secured big new deals for Airbus and other French corporations.<sup>10</sup>

It is hardly surprising that Macron's interview has immediately provoked protest from U.S. and European politicians. The German MP Norbert Roettgen from the conservative CDU, chair of the parliament's foreign committee in 2014-21, said that Macron had "*managed to turn his China trip into a PR coup for Xi and a foreign policy disaster for Europe.*" He added that the French president was "*increasingly isolating himself in Europe.*" Manfred Weber, chair of the association of conservative parties in the European parliament in Strasbourg, made similar statements. Likewise, did U.S. politicians like Republican senator Marco Rubio strongly denounce Macron.<sup>11</sup>

The *New York Times* expressed the worries of the Atlanticist faction of the American and European monopoly bourgeoisie about Macron's approach even before his interview was published. "*But at a time when Sino-American relations are in a deep freeze, Mr. Macron staked out an independent European position, and both leaders repeatedly lauded a "multipolar world," thinly disguised code for one that is not American dominated.*"<sup>12</sup>

### **"Multi-polar world order" – a concept advocated by America's imperialist rivals**

This brings us to another important political lesson of Macron's interview. Since several years, supporters of Russia and China advocate a "*multi-polar world order*" as a progressive alternative to the old world order which has been characterised by the absolute hegemony of Washington. The RCIT and other authentic socialists have always denounced this concept since it represents just another version of imperialist world order – one which is characterised by the dominance of several Great Powers which are rivalling with each other for world supremacy. We explained that support for a "*multi-polar world order*" is nothing but advocacy of a global system similar to that which existed in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – a period which saw two devastating world wars with resulted in a totalled number of 100 million deaths. Hence, we characterise the ideology of a "*multi-polar world order*" as "*multi-imperialism*" which is no less reactionary than advocacy of a U.S.-dominated "*unipolar*" world-order.

Shamefully, the concept of a "*multi-polar world order*" is not only advocated by undisguised supporters of Putin and the "socialist" Xi regime in China. It has also numerous supporters among all kind of social-democratic, populist and Stalinist parties. Among such are, for example, the "*Progressive International*" – a bourgeois association of various reformist and populist parties including a number of (ex-)government parties resp. politicians (e.g. U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders, Lula's PT (Brazil), Yanis Varoufakis and his DiEM25 (Greece), former President Rafael Correa (Ecuador), the former leader of the Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn (Britain), prominent politicians from Melanchon's "*La France insoumise*", Evo Morales' party, the ruling Kirchnerist party in Argentina, etc.).<sup>13</sup>

Macron's support for such a "*multi-polar world order*" confirms our analysis that there is not an inch of progressiveness in this concept. Obviously, it fits not only the interests of new Great Powers like China and Russia. As we can see, it is also fully compatible with the interests of some

Western powers like France, which is, by the way, a much "older" imperialist power than the U.S.!

In a recently published article, we also pointed to similar positions of left-reformist politicians like Sarah Wagenknecht and Oskar Lafontaine from the German LINKE. The latter characterized Germany as "*a vassal*" of Washington and insisted on the need for an "*independent European foreign and security policy.*" "*Europe needs to detach itself from the United States and play a mediating role between the rival world powers. Together, Germany and France have the potential to develop an independent European foreign and security policy.*"<sup>14</sup>

As one can see, Macron's advocacy of Europe as an independent "third superpower" shares not only the fundamentals of Lafontaine's conception, but he also uses the same catchphrases like rejection of being "a vassal of Washington". We therefor repeat our characterization of such types of social-imperialist ideologies: "*Those who oppose NATO because they want to aid its rivals – Russia and Chinese imperialism – are "anti-imperialists" in words only but pro-Eastern social-imperialists in deeds. And those who advocate the interests of their imperialist nation without an alliance with other Western states, are simply national imperialists and are also not less reactionary than pro-NATO imperialists.*"<sup>15</sup>

We conclude this article by reiterating that socialists must reject *all* Great Powers and *all* kind of ideology which claim that this or that imperialist state would be a kind of "lesser evil" than the U.S. Authentic socialists have no side to choose in the Great Power rivalry. They should combat any illusions in pro-imperialist pacifism. Likewise, they have to emphasize the necessity to combine opposition against all imperialist Great Powers (U.S., China, Russia, Western Europe and Japan) with support for the liberation struggle of oppressed people (Ukraine, Syria, Palestine, etc.). The RCIT calls all authentic socialists who agree with such an approach to join ranks and to fight for a consistent internationalist and anti-imperialist program!

### **Footnotes**

1 Jamil Anderlini and Clea Caulcutt: Europe must resist pressure to become 'America's followers,' says Macron, POLITICO, April 9, 2023, <https://www.politico.eu/article/emmanuel-macron-china-america-pressure-interview/>. All quotes are from this interview if not indicated otherwise.

2 See footnotes 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 in the Wikipedia entry on POLITICO, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politico>

3 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: World Situation: In the Midst of a Global Political Tornado, 13 April 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-april-2022/>; by the same author: Marxism, the European Union and Brexit, August 2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/eu-and-brexit/>; 'Americanise or bust'. Contradictions and challenges of the imperialist project of European unification (2004), in: Fifth International" Vol.1, No.2, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/eu-imperialism-americanise-or-bust/>.

4 RCIT: Towards a Turning Point in the Ukraine War? The tasks of socialists in the light of possible lines of development of the war of national defence in combination with the inter-imperialist Great Power rivalry, 11 March 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/towards-a-turning-point-in-the-ukraine-war/>

5 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 160 RCIT documents on the Ukraine War and the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-docu->



[ments-on-nato-russia-conflict/](#). In particular we refer to the RCIT Manifesto: Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance. Socialists must combine the revolutionary defense of the Ukraine against Putin's invasion with the internationalist struggle against Russian as well as NATO and EU imperialism, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-ukraine-war-a-turning-point-of-world-historic-significance/>; see also: Manifesto on the First Anniversary of the Ukraine War. Victory to the heroic Ukrainian people! Defeat Russian imperialism! No support whatsoever for NATO imperialism! 10 February 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-on-first-anniversary-of-ukraine-war/>.

6 The RCIT has dealt on numerous occasions with the inter-imperialist rivalry of the Great Powers. See e.g. RCIT: World Perspectives 2021-22: Entering a Pre-Revolutionary Global Situation, 22 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2021-22/>; see also our book by 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*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>; see also the following works by the same author: "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/>.

7 For our analysis of capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power see e.g. the book by 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*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>; see also by the same author: "Chinese Imperialism and the World Economy", an essay published in the second edition of *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism* (edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope), Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020, [https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6\\_179-1](https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6_179-1); China: An Imperialist Power ... Or Not Yet? A Theoretical Question with Very Practical Consequences! Continuing the Debate with Esteban Mercatante and the PTS/FT on China's class character and consequences for the revolutionary strategy, 22 January 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-imperialist-power-or-not-yet/>; China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power (2012), in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>; How is it possible that some Marxists still Doubt that China has Become Capitalist? (A Critique of the PTS/FT), An analysis of the

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8 Our latest statement on the U.S.-China Cold War is: Chip Sanctions: Another Step towards War between U.S. and China. Neither Washington nor Beijing! Revolutionary defeatism against all imperialist Great Powers! 25 October 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/chip-sanctions-another-step-towards-war-between-u-s-and-china/>. For more documents on the Global Trade War see the compilation of our articles on our website, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-global-trade-war/>.

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# Report on the Political Situation in Russia (April 2023)

## A report on the most important recent developments

By Alexey Sedov and Denis Sokolov, *Socialist Tendency* (RCIT Section in Russia), 11 April 2023

**Preface by the Editorial Board:** Below we publish another report written by Alexey Sedov and Denis Sokolov, two comrades from *Социалистической Тенденцией* (*Socialist Tendency*) in Russia. *Socialist Tendency* is the section of the RCIT in Russia.

The report of the comrades shows the ongoing process of acceleration of huge political tensions under the surface of ostensible stability. The bonapartist-imperialist regime of Putin is condemned to continue and intensify its reactionary war against the Ukrainian people until “victory” – otherwise it could face an explosive crisis at home. The Kremlin has connected its political legitimacy with the war and its victorious outcome.

Currently, the regime appears to be strong. It is mobilising all political and economic resources for the war and for the conflict with its imperialist rivals in the West. All forms of dissent are suppressed. Even an ultra-reactionary and Great Russian chauvinist figure like Yuri Yevich – a Russian military doctor and member of the “*Union of Donbas Volunteers*” – has been threatened with legal prosecution recently for “*discrediting the Russian armed forces*” because he criticised the army command for its military failures!

Russia is like a bubbling cauldron and the regime tries to keep the situation under control by keeping an iron lid on the society. At the moment, the explosive contradictions appear at the surface only in form of small actions like the recent terrorist attack against the reactionary war monger and propagandist Vladlen Tatarsky. But if the Russian army suffers devastating blows at the front line or if the regime faces similar catastrophic events, the dam could break, and the masses could be set in motion. Such a development could open a (pre-)revolutionary situation.

Our comrades in *Socialist Tendency* are continuing to fight for a consistent internationalist and anti-imperialist perspective under very difficult circumstances. They call for the defeat of the Russian forces and for the military victory of the Ukrainian people – without lending any political support to the bourgeois and pro-NATO Zelensky government. They call workers to support neither Russian nor NATO imperialism. They unconditionally support the right of oppressed nations in Russia for self-determination, including the right to secede and to create their own independent states. They advocate a program of socialist revolution, i.e. the perspective for an insurrection of the working class and the oppressed peoples in Russia to bring down the regime and to build a workers republic.

In the current situation, revolutionary activists in Russia have to focus on preparing for intervention in the upcoming events which could include all kinds of military catastrophes and political explosions. For this purpose, the comrades are conducting the necessary work – mostly propaganda and education – among the anti-war activists as well as among the masses.

Other documents from our comrades in Russia can be read either on their website ([www.socialisttendency.com](http://www.socialisttendency.com), in Russian language) or at a special page on our website where all RCIT documents (in English and other languag-

es) on the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>.

\* \* \* \* \*

Today in Russia, in three readings, a law was passed on the possibility for citizens to receive subpoenas for the army via the Internet. This means that now everyone can receive an e-mail notification that he is enrolled in the draft register, which is also currently being created in accordance with this law. After 7 days, in case of non-appearance of the person, the authorities can “cancel” him, that is, cancel his driver’s license, the ability to purchase real estate, and possibly block the account. In other words, this citizen will be deprived of some basic civil rights.

The adoption of the law is connected with the planned spring counteroffensive of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The second major wave of mobilization may begin soon. Despite the fact that the authorities hide the true goals and essence of the adopted law, many people suspect that the second wave of mobilization will begin soon.

It should also be noted that:

1. Due to the fall in oil prices, the ruble continues to fall. The dollar and euro strengthened against the Russian currency.

2. In St. Petersburg, a terrorist act was committed against the Russian war propagandist and military blogger Vladlen Tatarsky (Maxim Fomin). The young woman Daria Trepova handed him a figurine stuffed with explosives. From a Marxist point of view, we reject the methods of terror. But we understand that such actions are acts of desperation which became possible only because of the repressive actions of the Bonapartist regime against any opposition. Following the incident, other military bloggers and propagandists called for a “witch hunt” against for anti-war activists and all opponents of the war. This might be directed, first of all, against those who financially supported Navalny’s structure - the Anti-Corruption Foundation (FBK). This is indicated by the fact that the security forces claim that there exists a connection between Trepova with the FBK.

3. The strike of Wildberry workers in Russia ended relatively successfully. This is a success of a workers struggle for the first time for a while. A trade union has been set up that is preparing to defend the network workers. Employees are beginning to have some influence, although real success is still far away. The reasons for the start of the strike are quite classic – non-payment of salaries to workers and pressure on the most active of them.

## Social Unrest in Europe

### For Protests and Strikes to bring down Capitalist Governments in Europe!

Article by Laurence Humphries, RCIT Britain, 20 April 2023,

Since the onset of 2023 and throughout the end of 2022, imperialist rivalry between all the imperialist nations has created a banking crisis. Starting in Silicon Valley in the United States it has spread to Europe leading to a collapse in both the *Suisse Bank* and *Deutsche Bank* in Germany. The second slump which has started 2019 shows again that the capitalist mode of production has produced (what Marx in his writings on capital referred to as) the contradiction between the nature of production and the productive forces itself. The dialectical opposite of the bourgeoisie is of course that the working class and the oppressed masses in Europe are organising social revolt, strikes and continuous industrial action.

*"Global banks are staring at the biggest crisis since 2008 after two U.S. lenders collapsed, Switzerland's Credit Suisse (CSGN.S) sought a government lifeline and America's top banks agreed to offer a \$30 billion rescue deal - all in the space of 10 days."* [1].

#### Strikes in Britain, France, Belgium, Germany & Greece

The fragility of the banking crisis and what appears as runaway inflation has produced a series of strikes and social unrest throughout Europe. It started in Britain and spread to France, Belgium, and Germany as well as disputes over pay and conditions in Spain and Portugal. Strikes in Britain have now largely subsided with only disputes in the public sector and at airports. Nurses and health workers have now been offered a new deal while

rail strikes have been suspended. In France however there have been large demonstrations and social unrest against President Macron's new pension reform. The French working class vanguard, which is well organised in trade unions, has organized several 24-hour strikes in a row and the social unrest has been very significant with hundreds of thousands of workers joining the protests.

*"Strikes against bitterly contested plans to reform pensions in France continue on Tuesday, and this time unions have upped the ante. Unlike previous walkouts, this week's industrial action has no pre-arranged end date. With workers across multiple sectors expected to strike, life in France could grind to a halt for days on end. Teachers, gas and electricity workers, train drivers, and industrial workers are all expected to join strikes that begin on Tuesday, sparking national upheaval that could last for days on end."*

March 7 will mark the sixth day of industrial action since January over government plans to reform pension rights in France and increase the retirement age from 62 to 64.

But unlike previous strikes, major confederations of French trade unions – including the CFDT and CGT – have announced "grèves reconductibles" meaning workers will vote at the end of each strike day on whether to continue industrial action. With no fixed end date, unions hope rolling walkouts have the potential to disrupt daily life and threaten the economy so severely that it forces the government into submission.

*"We always said that we would go into a higher gear if necessary," the head of the influential CGT union, Philippe Martinez, told French weekly the Journal du Dimanche newspaper on Sunday.*

## Books of the RCIT

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

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

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

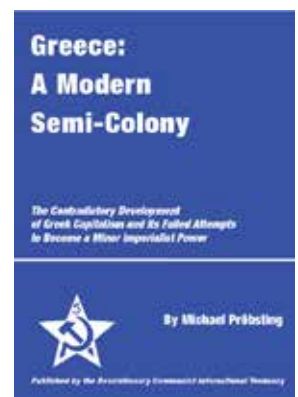
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which gives an overview of its content.

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

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

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

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





*"It will be the case on Tuesday."* [2]

### Strikes and Social Revolt in Germany

In Germany airport workers have been on strike together with other workers. There is no doubt that the two leading imperialist economies in Europe, France and Germany, are locked in a battle for survival. The masses are engaging in strikes, social revolt and disturbances against both the cost-of-living increases and runaway inflation caused by the anarchic system of capitalism. As Marx predicted, the falling rate of profit is the dominant factor. In our times, it is coupled with inter-imperialist rivalry. The emergence of the eastern imperialist powers has driven imperialist nations into intense rivalry. They have nowhere else to go but take on the working class and defeat them.

*"A massive strike in Germany was set to begin early Monday, crippling mass transport and airports in one of the biggest walkouts in decades as Europe's largest economy reels from soaring inflation."*

*In the hours running up to the strike, both sides dug in their heels, with union bosses warning that considerable pay hikes were a "matter of survival" for thousands of workers and management calling demands and the resulting action "completely excessive".*[3].

*"German commuters face serious disruption on Monday as transport staff across the country staged a strike to push for wage rises in the face of brisk inflation."*

*Workers at airports, ports, railways, buses and metro lines throughout much of Europe's biggest economy heeded a call from the Verdi and EVG unions to take part in the 24-hour stoppage.*

*"A labour struggle that has no impact is toothless," the Verdi leader, Frank Werneke, told the public broadcaster Phoenix".* [4]

There are also strikes in Belgium and the Netherlands, where again the cost of living crisis has driven workers into revolt.

*"Unionized railway workers plan to stage a 24-hour strike across Belgium from 22:00 March 9. The purpose of the action is to demand better resources for railway workers. The strike will last until 22:00 March 10. The Belgian National Railway Company (SNCB) is advising the public that train availability will be limited due to the labour action, although officials will put an alternative train service in place depending on the availability of staff. Details on the service will be announced a day prior to the strike. The carrier expects most international rail connections to operate normally, however also advised passengers to use alternative services for local cross-border trains to/from Lille (France), Luxembourg, Roosendaal, Maastricht (Netherlands), or Aachen (Germany)."*

*Unless averted, the strike will likely result in significant disruptions to rail services throughout the country. Increased congestion is likely on available rail services and other forms of transportation during the strike. Heightened demand for alternative modes of transportation may also result in reduced taxi availability. Protests by striking employees are possible at major train stations. Some disruption may linger beyond the end of the strike as the SNCB repositions rolling stock" [5].*

### Crisis of Working-Class Leadership

As the RCIT has commented previously, the trade unions under a bureaucratic leadership remain purely defensive organisations and cannot or will not organise or prepare

for the socialist transformation of society. In the major European imperialist countries of Britain, France and Germany, the leadership of these movements are largely in the hands of reformist forces. In France, it is mainly the trade union bureaucracy and other forces, mostly grouped around Mélenchon and his movement. The latter are uncritical towards the labour bureaucracy, which leads the workers movement with its own reformist interest.

*"The weakness of the government, its loss of public legitimacy, the wave of mass struggles including militant direct actions – all these are indications that France is close to a pre-revolutionary situation. Such a development is of crucial importance for the class struggle in Europe and internationally. This is the case not only because France is a major country on the continent but also because these developments take place in the midst of two global crises: a) a banking and stock market crunch which has spread from New York to London, Shanghai and Tokyo and b) the ongoing Ukraine War with its consequences for the acceleration of inter-imperialist Great Power rivalry."*

*The central problem of the current situation in the crisis of working-class leadership. The crisis of capitalism, and in particular the crisis of the Macron government, is much more advanced than the process of creating authentic and independent organs of the workers and youth. This uneven development is the main factor why the government is still in power and why it might be able to enforce the pension reform. In a number of enterprises, workers are meeting regularly to discuss and decide about the next steps of the struggle. However, such initiatives remain limited to local levels" [6].*

### For an Indefinite General Strike in Britain and France

The RCIT puts forward the following demands for revolutionaries as a guide to action in the coming period as both centrists and reformists refuse to take on the bureaucratic apparatus. Those forces rather reduce all their demands to pleas to the labour bureaucracy and are surprised by their treacherous agenda. It is the masses on the streets who are leading the struggle, who have the potential to overthrow the hated system of exploitation and obscene wealth by the bourgeoisie and their minions. It is necessary to understand that we are living through a historic period, where a pre-revolutionary situation in France and other crucial countries is very close. The task is to prepare and to fight for socialism throughout Europe.

*"The trade union bureaucracy has been forced to call for these days of action under huge pressure of the masses. However, socialists need to warn that the leadership of reformist parties and unions will tend to sell-out the struggle at the earliest possibility. This is why it is urgent that the workers and the popular masses – union and non-union members, young and old – build independent action committees in workplaces and neighbourhoods and create coordination councils with delegates from local committees. Of course, such committees are not alternatives to the unions but should help to integrate broader layers and, at the same time, create a counterweight to the bureaucracy. They could build organised pressure on the union leaderships, calling them to organise more actions and, at the same time, function as alternative centres of struggle if the unions refuse to fight."*

*Furthermore, it is important to overcome the limitation of the strikes to one-day actions. In order to escalate the struggle and to*

bring the governments to their knees, it is necessary to organise an indefinite general strike **which paralyzes the country. At the same time, unions and action committees must organise self-defence units in order to protect strikes and demonstrations against police violence. In addition, it is important to link up the struggles across the border and to organise Europe-wide protest activities.**

Finally, we repeat emphasising that the peculiar nature of the current struggle is that while it is economic in form (**against inflation or pension reform**) it is **political** in substance. This is because it is inextricably linked with major political events in world politics – most importantly the Ukraine War and the inter-imperialist rivalry between Great Powers like NATO and Russia.”[7].

The RCIT has previously stated that we are entering an important historical period with capitalism and imperialism in a headlong crash. Now is the time for socialists and revolutionaries to unite in a common struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. We must go forward, there is no time to lose as history is on our side. Please read our transitional demands and contact us at [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net).

\* For strikes up to indefinite general strikes to bring down the corrupt and hated capitalist governments in France, Britain, and other countries of Europe!

\* Cancel all debts of the workers and poor! Price caps for food, energy and housing by the capitalist state are not enough as we need to fight for higher wages and price control committees under control of workers and poor!

\* Rising scale of wages above the inflation must be won in the struggles! We need to ensure wage increases for all workers in all sectors to combat the cost-of-living crisis.

\* Armed defence guards to protect workers and their families from police and fascist provocation.

\* Nationalisation of major banking corporations. For the total redistribution of wealth to the poor, the homeless people, the starving and oppressed peoples.

\* For free movement of peoples from the global south fleeing from imperialist oppression. No to any form of immigration controls whatsoever. All migrants must have the unconditional right to practice their own religious and cultural customs and the right to speak their own language.

\* Join the RCIT!

\* Fight for or a unified federation of European sections as part of a new revolutionary international workers party. Fight with us for the 5th International!

#### Footnotes

- 1) [How the 2023 banking crisis unfolded | Reuters](#)
- 2) [France braces for strikes that could bring the country 'to a standstill' for days on end \(france24.com\)](#)
- 3) [In inflation-hit Germany, massive strike over pay to cripple transport | Reuters](#)
- 4) [Millions of Germans face transport disruption in cost of living 'mega-strike' | Germany | The Guardian](#)
- 5) [Belgium: Unionized rail workers to stage nationwide strike March 9-10 | Crisis24 \(garda.com\)](#)
- 6) [France: For an Indefinite General Strike! - RCIT - Revolutionary Communist International Tendency \(thecommunists.net\)](#)
- 7) [Western Europe: Mass Strikes against Anti-Social Attacks - RCIT - Revolutionary Communist International Tendency \(thecommunists.net\)](#)

## Books of the RCIT

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

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book called *THE GREAT ROBBERY OF THE SOUTH*. The book's subtitle is: *Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital*. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism. The book is in English-language. It has 15 chapters, 448 pages and includes 139 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is *Michael Pröbsting* who is the International Secretary of the RCIT.

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the “Third World”) by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and the huge majority of mankind living in the semi-colonial world forms one of the most important elements of the imperialist world system we are living in. The Great Robbery of the South shows that the past decades have been a complete confirmation of the validity of Lenin's theory of imperialism and its programmatic conclusions. *The Great Robbery of the South* demonstrates the important changes in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Using comprehensive material (including 139 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that never before

has such a big share of the world capitalist value been produced in the South. Never before have the imperialist monopolies been so dependent on the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world. Never before has migrant labor from the semi-colonial world played such a significant role for the capitalist value production in the imperialist countries. Never before has the huge majority of the world working class lived in the South – outside of the old imperialist metropolises.

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting argues that a correct understanding of the nature of imperialism as well as of the program of permanent revolution which includes the tactics of consistent anti-imperialism is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future. Order your copy NOW! \$20 / £13 / €15 plus p+p (21\$ for US and international, £9 for UK, €10 for Europe)

