



## Prigozhin Coup in Russia: A Quarrel between Thieves

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Picture on the cover: A crowd in Rostov-on-Don watching a Wagner tank (Source: Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wagner\\_Group\\_rebellion#/media/File:Prigozhin\\_rebellion\\_Rostov\\_tank\\_with\\_flowers\\_in\\_the\\_muzzle\\_June\\_24.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wagner_Group_rebellion#/media/File:Prigozhin_rebellion_Rostov_tank_with_flowers_in_the_muzzle_June_24.jpg))

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# Ukraine War: The Logic of Annihilation in Theory and Practice

## Dramatic decline of Ukraine's population and Medvedev corresponding ideology

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 10 June 2023

The *Ukrainian Institute for the Future* (UIF) has recently published a new report – “*New Economic Policy of Ukraine*” – which shows the dramatic consequences of the war for the Ukrainian people. While the focus of the study is not of much interest – it outlines a neoliberal strategy for deregulation and long-term growth – it provides the public with interesting figures about the development of the country's demography.<sup>1</sup>

According to this study, Ukraine's population has declined to 29 million people since the beginning of the war. In 1991, when the Ukraine became an independent state, its population was 52 million. Before the beginning of the war, the population had already declined – according to different sources – to between 38 and 42 million people. And since the 24 February 2022, another 8.6 million Ukrainians fled the country. (See also Table 1 in the Appendix)

This means that the Ukraine's population has dropped – in the years between 1991 and 2023 – by 45%, i.e. by nearly the half! (See also Table 2 in the Appendix)

Of these 29 million citizens, only 9.1-9.5 million people are employed. Another 2.5-2.9 million are unemployed, 8 million are pensioners and 4.8 million are children under the age of 15 years.

Long-term prospects are bleak given “*an alarmingly low fertility rate that has fallen below 1.0 since the war started.*”

Add to this the gigantic destruction of the country's infrastructure and environment – an ongoing process with unpredictable consequences for the population in the coming years and decades!

### Danger of annihilation

It is obvious that the Ukraine is a country in danger of annihilation. It has lost nearly half of its population in the past three decades. Only a relatively small share of the people is employed, and the fertility rate has collapsed. Its industry has been largely destroyed – first by the consequences of neoliberal reforms and now by the ongoing war of aggression by Putin. Its agriculture and the environmental conditions in their entirety are deteriorating dramatically.

As we did show in a recently published pamphlet about the Ukraine, this process has basically two reasons.<sup>2</sup> First, the economic and social decline has been caused by the consequences of capitalist restoration which started in 1991. In the following decades, numerous enterprises had

been closed and social security massively cut. As a result, many millions of Ukrainians left the country and became migrants in Europe. Life expectation dropped and so did the fertility rate.

As a result, the Ukraine has effectively become a capitalist semi-colony since 1991. This means that it is a country which has been oppressed and super-exploited – mainly by Western European and Russian monopolies and Great Powers.<sup>3</sup>

This process of annihilation accelerated dramatically since Putin's invasion 15 months ago. This is a war aimed at making the Ukraine a colony of Russian imperialism against the background of the Great Power rivalry.<sup>4</sup>

As we have explained in our documents, the RCIT characterizes this conflict as one with a *dual nature* – at least until now.<sup>5</sup> Hence, socialists unreservedly condemn the reactionary invasion of Putin and support the Ukraine's war of national defence against Russian imperialism. At the same time, we recognize that this war is combined with the accelerating rivalry between NATO and Russia. In this conflict, we support neither of the two imperialist camps. We have summarised our 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!*<sup>6</sup>

### The ideology of annihilation

This horrible process of annihilation is neither a “fateful” nor an unavoidable development. It is the result of decisions made by the ruling class. In the case of the capitalist restoration, it is a process driven forward by imperialist monopolies and states – both Western as well as Eastern – in alliance with the local oligarchs. In the case of the war, it is a process driven, first and foremost, by the interests of the Putin regime to enlarge the imperialist “*Russkij Mir*”.

In fact, the Putin regime deliberately tries to destroy the Ukraine which is considered as an illegitimate creature in itself. As we pointed out in other works, the Kremlin denies the existence of an independent Ukrainian nation with the right of national self-determination. Putin himself stated such reactionary views in his notorious essay “*On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians*” published in July 2021.<sup>7</sup>

Dmitry Medvedev, deputy chairman of the Security Council of the Russian Federation and chairman of the

**Table 1. Population of the Ukraine, in million, 1991-2023**<sup>10</sup>

1991	2005	2020	2023
52	47	38-42	29

**Table 2. Decline of Ukraine's Population, 1991-2023 (1991=100)**<sup>11</sup>

1991	2005	2020	2023
100	90.3	73.1-80.7	55.8

ruling “United Russia” party, has repeated such Great Russian chauvinist ideology in several statements. In early April this year, he published an article titled “Why Ukraine will cease to exist? Because nobody needs it.” It is a hotchpotch of bizarre claims and “Russkij Mir” chauvinism, all aimed at claiming that the Ukraine has no right to exist and, hence, that it deserves that its population is annihilated and expelled.<sup>8</sup>

In a more recent statement, Medvedev further develops such ideas of annihilating the Ukraine. “Now is the time to say how Ukraine will disappear.”<sup>9</sup>

The deputy chairman of the Security Council outlines three possible scenarios for the destruction of the Ukraine. In the first scenario, “western Ukraine comes under the control of Poland and other states, the east becomes part of Russia. At the same time, the territory wedged between them continues to consider itself Ukraine, demands NATO membership, etc. (...) According to the second scenario, Ukraine disappears after the completion of the “Special Military Operation” in the process of its division between Russia and a number of EU states. (...) Finally, Medvedev sees the third option as the transition of western lands under the influence of European countries, and the center and east become Russia through self-determination.”

He concludes his article by stating that “there are simply no other options.”

At this place, it is not necessary to discuss the differences between these three scenarios contrived behind the walls of the Kremlin. The essential issue is what they have in common. And this is the explicit goal of Russian imperialism to annihilate the Ukraine as an independent country, to divide it and to occupy large parts of its territory.

Hence, it is not surprising that the Russian army tries to destroy as much infrastructure as possible and to expel as many people as possible. For these Great Russian chauvinists, “Ukraine” does not exist, and its population only deserves to live as servants of “Russkij Mir”.

Bizarrely, the Putinists and semi-Putinistas among the so-called global left support Russian imperialism claiming that the Ukraine is a “Nazi-led” state. But tell me, whose theory and practice resembles more fascism – the Ukraine which is defending its right to exist or Russia which aims to annihilate its neighbouring country?!

The Ukraine can only be free if the workers and popular masses drive out the Russian occupiers, break with Western imperialism and transform the country into an independent socialist Ukraine! It is the foremost duty of the international workers and popular movement to support their Ukrainian brothers and sisters in this struggle!

## Footnotes

1 Український Інститут Майбутнього: Нова економічна політика, 25.05.2023, <https://uifuture.org/publications/nova-ekonomichna-polityka/>. A shorter version in English language can be read here: <https://uifuture.org/reports/new-economic-policy-of-ukraine/>. Several articles in English language reported about this studies; see e.g. Dominic Culverwell: Ukraine’s population crashes to 29mn, Uzbekistan overtakes to become fourth biggest in Eurasia, Kyiv, IntelNews, June 6, 2023, <https://intellinews.com/ukraine-s-population-crashes-to-29mn-uzbekistan-overtakes-to-become-fourth-biggest-in-eurasia-280802/>; Ukraine Business News: Ukraine’s permanent population has decreased to 29 million people, 6 June 2023, <https://ubn.news/ukraines-permanent-population-has-decreased-to-29-million-people/>; Russia Today: Ukraine’s population close to half level of 1991 – think tank, June 6, 2023, <https://www.rt.com/russia/577546-ukraine-population-shrink-half/>. All information and quotes are from these sources if not indicated otherwise.

2 For a political and economic analysis of the Ukraine see

e.g. the pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Ukraine: A Capitalist Semi-Colony. On the exploitation and deformation of Ukraine’s economy by imperialist monopolies and oligarchs since capitalist restoration in 1991, January 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/ukraine-a-capitalist-semi-colony/>

3 The two main works in which we deal with the theory of imperialism and its relevance for the analysis of capitalism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are two books by 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, 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/> (henceforth referred to as “Pröbsting, 2013”); 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/>

4 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in Russia and its rise to an imperialist power. The most important ones are several pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting: The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism. A Study of Russia’s Monopolies, Capital Export and Super-Exploitation in the Light of Marxist Theory, 10 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-peculiar-features-of-russian-imperialism/>; by the same author: Lenin’s Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power. On the Understanding and Misunderstanding of Today’s Inter-Imperialist Rivalry in the Light of Lenin’s Theory of Imperialism. Another Reply to Our Critics Who Deny Russia’s Imperialist Character, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>; Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics, 18 March 2014 (this pamphlet contains a document written in 2001 in which we established for the first time our characterisation of Russia as imperialist), <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>.

5 As we noted in recent documents, it is possible that the Ukraine’s integration (or semi-integration) in NATO could result in a modification of the character of war. See on this: 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/>; Michael Pröbsting: Is Ukraine About to Become NATO’s “Israel” in Eastern Europe? The “Wall Street Journal” reports about plans of Western governments to transform their relationship with the Ukraine at the NATO Summit in July, 29 May 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/is-ukraine-about-to-become-nato-s-israel-in-eastern-europe/>

6 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 170 RCIT documents on the Ukraine War and the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>.<sup>7</sup> See on this e.g. chapter 5 (“Putin and Great Russian Chauvinism claim that the Ukraine is not an independent nation”) in our pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Putin’s Poodles (Apologies to All Dogs). The pro-Russian Stalinist parties and their arguments in the current NATO-Russia Conflict, 9 February 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/nato-russia-conflict-stalinism-as-putin-s-poodles/>.

8 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Medvedev claims: “We need a Big Great Russia”. Putin’s hatchet man calls for Ukraine “to cease to exist”, 13 April 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/medvedev-claims-we-need-a-big-great-russia/>; by the same author: Russia: Medvedev’s “Anti-Colonialism for Idiots”. Putin’s hatchet man cynically presents Russian imperialism as standard bearer of the Global South’s interests, 9 March 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/russia-medvedev-s-anti-colonialism-for-idiots/>

9 Dmitry Medvedev: How Ukraine will disappear, 26.5.2023, [https://m.vk.com/wall-73174846\\_867597?lang=en](https://m.vk.com/wall-73174846_867597?lang=en); Medvedev told how the NWO will end in Ukraine; Eastern Herald, 26 May 2023, <https://www.easternherald.com/2023/05/26/medvedev-told-how-the-nwo-will-end-in-ukraine/>. All quotes from Medvedev are from these two articles.

10 Український Інститут Майбутнього: Нова економічна політика, 25.05.2023, <https://uifuture.org/reports/new-economic-policy-of-ukraine/>; John P Ruehl: How many Ukrainian refugees will return home? January 14, 2023 <https://asiatimes.com/2023/01/how-many-ukrainian-refugees-will-return-home/>; World Bank: Population, total – Ukraine, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=UA>

11 Our calculation based on the figures in Table 1.

# Will Ukraine Become NATO's "Israel" in Eastern Europe?

## On Western plans to transform their relationship with the Ukraine

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 29 May 2023

The *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) and other publications report about plans to transform the relationship between Western imperialist powers and the Ukraine in the near future. <sup>1</sup> These plans are based on the so-called *Kyiv Security Compact* – a set of recommendations elaborated by Anders Fogh Rasmussen, NATO's General Secretary, and Andrii Yermak, Head of the Office of the President of Ukraine and therefore one of President Zelensky's closest collaborators.

The essence of this concept is that NATO would create the institutional framework to make the Ukraine a proxy similar to Israel's relationship to the U.S. since many decades. "As Ukraine enters a pivotal stage in its war with Russia, U.S. and NATO leaders are coalescing around a vision for shoring up Ukrainian defenses and seeking to guarantee the country's sovereign future. It is a security model that Western leaders, including President Biden, have compared to what Israel has now. (...) An Israeli-style security agreement for Ukraine would give priority to arms transfers and advanced technology, Polish President Andrzej Duda said in an interview with *The Wall Street Journal*. This security agreement would be linked to a process of moving toward future membership in NATO for Ukraine but stop short of actually making the North Atlantic Treaty Organization a party to any conflict with Russia, according to Western officials familiar with the talks."

For now, Western governments don't want the Ukraine to officially join NATO since this would – according to Article 5 of the Alliance's Charter – oblige them to send troops to fight Russian forces in the Ukraine. Hence, the plan under discussion promises the Ukraine membership status in

NATO only after the war. However, NATO would initiate the process of integrating the Ukraine already now. This shall be done by setting up a new body, called the *NATO-Ukraine Council*, as a gateway to Kyiv's future membership of the alliance.

The French government indirectly confirmed the WSJ report by publishing a statement on 23 May in which it states that France is "prepared to enter into agreements with Ukraine aimed at providing it with security guarantees." <sup>2</sup>

Such a transformed and institutionalized relationship between NATO and the Ukraine would go hand in hand with substantial economic and military investments and restructuring. One of the key recommendations of the *Kyiv Security Compact* is: "This requires a multi-decade effort of sustained investment in Ukraine's defence industrial base, scalable weapons transfers and intelligence support from allies, intensive training missions and joint exercises under the European Union and NATO flags." <sup>3</sup>

According to the WSJ, this plan should be discussed at the upcoming NATO summit on 11-12 July 2023, in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, and is expected to be signed following this meeting.

### The meaning of an "Israeli-style security agreement"

NATO's plan to make the Ukraine a Israel-like proxy does not come as a surprise. The RCIT has warned about such a possibility in a comprehensive programmatic document published in March this year. "Influential circles within Western as well as the Ukrainian governments present the fu-



## Publications of the RCIT

# Ukraine: A Capitalist Semi-Colony

On the exploitation and deformation of Ukraine's economy  
by imperialist monopolies and oligarchs since capitalist restoration in 1991

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2023

**Introduction \* I. The Marxist Theory of Imperialism and the Concept of Semi-Colonies \* II. The Dead-End of Bureaucratic Stalinism \* III. The Devastating Social & Economic Consequences of Capitalist Restoration \* IV. The Semi-Colonial Deformation of Ukrainian Capitalism since 1991 (1. Oligarchs: the creation of a comprador bourgeoisie; 2. A semi-colonial supplier of raw materials for the capitalist world market; 3. Deep in the trap of foreign debt; 4. Foreign investment: the imperialist plunder of the Ukraine; 5. Migration: the Ukraine provides cheap labour force) \* V. Ukraine: A Dependent Country Torn between Great Powers in East & West \* VI. Russia's Push to Colonise the Ukraine since February 2022 and NATO's Efforts to Increase its Influence \* VII. The Way Forward: From National Liberation to Social Revolution**

\* Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 28 pages, A4 Format

ture relationship between NATO and the Ukraine as similar to the one between the U.S. and Israel. (...) Washington, London, Berlin and Paris are considering a special treaty between NATO and the Ukraine which has been compared to the one between the U.S. and Israel.”<sup>4</sup>

Of course, one has to see if the WSJ report is accurate and if NATO will really implement such a plan at its summit in six weeks. Furthermore, one has to analyse concretely such a “security agreement” once its details have become public.

However, if such an agreement corresponds to the WSJ report resp. to the principles of the *Kyiv Security Compact*, it would represent a turning point in the relationship between NATO and the Ukraine. It would mean a massive expansion and institutionalisation of their collaboration and, effectively, would make the Ukraine a “NATO light” member. It would mark a transformation of quantity into quality, from case-to-case collaboration to the de facto integration of the Ukraine into NATO. In other words, the Ukrainian government and its army would become a proxy of Western imperialism.

### The possible transformation of the character of the war

Of course, such a development does not come out of the blue. The RCIT has emphasized the *dual character* of the war since its beginning on 24 February 2022. It has been a reactionary invasion by Putin against which socialists unreservedly supported the Ukraine’s war of national defence. At the same time, we have recognized that this war is combined with the accelerating rivalry between NATO and Russia. In this conflict, we support neither of the two imperialist camps.<sup>5</sup>

It has been in the nature of such a conflict with a dual character that the inter-imperialist component could at some point become the dominant element. We pointed to this possibility already in our first Manifesto published a few days after the invasion started.<sup>6</sup>

In fact, as we noted in the above-mentioned theses, NATO has expanded its influence in the Ukraine in the recent period – helped by the thoroughly reactionary Zelensky government. *“The past 12 months have validated our analysis of the dual character of the conflict, and we therefore reiterate our dual tactic. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to ignore certain changes which have taken place respectively which could take place in the next few months for the reasons mentioned above. As we did already point out since the beginning of the war, the Zelensky government is thoroughly bourgeois and pro-NATO. After 12 months of war in which the Ukraine has become more and more dependent on Western military and economic assistance, the Bankova’s pro-NATO orientation could not but increase. This does not mean that the Ukraine has already become a “proxy” of Western imperialism as all kind of opportunists claim who are just looking for an excuse to refuse defending a semi-colonial country against an imperialist aggressor. However, while quantity has not transformed into quality, we are certainly closer to such a point than we were in March 2022.”*

One has to see if the NATO summit will really agree on a “Israel-like security model” for the Ukraine. what is clear is that this is an issue of profound importance since such a transformation could change the character of the war, as we pointed out in the above-mentioned theses. *“Washington, London, Berlin and Paris are considering a special treaty*

*between NATO and the Ukraine which has been compared to the one between the U.S. and Israel. Since the concrete nature of such a treaty is not, and can not, be known by now (if it ever comes into existence), it is not possible at this juncture to judge if it would transform the relationship and make Ukraine a proxy of the Western power or not. If it would really establish a relationship similar to the one which has existed between the U.S. and Israel for several decades, it would indeed force us to view the Ukraine as a proxy of Western imperialism.”*

The next weeks and particularly the upcoming NATO summit in Vilnius will show if the Ukraine becomes a “Israel-like” proxy of Western powers in Europe. In any case, socialists in the Ukraine as well as internationally must fight against such a development. We say that the choice for the Ukraine is not between being a colony of Russian imperialism or a proxy of Western imperialism. The only way forward is an independent and socialist Ukraine, a Ukraine which expels the Russian invaders, which ruptures any ties with NATO and EU, and which expropriates the oligarchs!

### Footnotes

1 Sharon Weinberger, Thomas Grove, Drew Hinshaw and Bojan Pancevski: To Aid Ukraine in Fight Against Russia, Allies Look to Security Model Like Israel’s. NATO membership isn’t on the table for now, but U.S. and European allies could provide Kyiv guarantees for weapons, advanced technology, Wall Street Journal, May 22, 2023, [https://www.wsj.com/articles/to-aid-ukraine-in-fight-against-russia-allies-look-to-security-model-like-israels-8a05f0e52-mod=hp\\_lead\\_pos5](https://www.wsj.com/articles/to-aid-ukraine-in-fight-against-russia-allies-look-to-security-model-like-israels-8a05f0e52-mod=hp_lead_pos5); Pete Shmigel: Ukraine ‘Israel-Style’ Security Agreement Instead of NATO Membership? Kyiv Post, 23 May 2023, <https://www.kyivpost.com/post/17398>; NATO allies working on ‘Israeli-style security model’ for Ukraine: Polish president, 23.05.2023, <https://www.polskieradio.pl/395/9766/arttykul/3174293,nato-allies-working-on-%E2%80%98israelistyle-security-model%E2%80%99-for-ukraine-polish-president>; STRATFOR: Ukraine, U.S.: Washington Seeks ‘Israel-Style’ Security Agreement for Ukraine in Lieu of NATO Membership, 23 May 2023, <https://worldview.stratfor.com/situation-report/ukraine-us-washington-seeks-israel-style-security-agreement-ukraine-lieu-nato>. All quotes and information are from these articles if not indicated otherwise.

2 Ukraine - Q&R - Extrait du point de presse (23 mai 2023), <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/ukraine/evenements/article/ukraine-q-r-extrait-du-point-de-presse-23-05-23>

3 Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Andrii Yermak: The Kyiv Security Compact. International Security Guarantees for Ukraine: Recommendations, Co-Chairs of the Working Group on International Security Guarantees for Ukraine, Kyiv, 13 September 2022, p. 3

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 170 RCIT documents on the Ukraine War and the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>.<sup>6</sup>

*“Therefore, the resistance of the Ukrainian people is a just war of defense against an imperialist attack. At the same time, the Western imperialist powers try to utilize this war for their own interests. The ruling class in the European Union and the U.S. exploit the war as a pretext to accelerate militarism and armament. They try to utilize Zelensky – a willing lackey of U.S. and EU imperialism – in order to transform the just struggle of the Ukrainian people into a proxy war. This combined and contradictor character of the war in the Ukraine and the global tensions between the Great Powers can provoke a change in the nature of the war. It can transform its character from a just war of national defense into an inter-imperialist proxy war. If such a transformation would take place, revolutionaries would be obligated to change their tactics and to stand for the defeat of Russian imperialism as well as of the pro-Western imperialist proxy in Kyiv. But this is only a possibility in the future and revolutionaries base their strategy on the facts of today and not on speculations about tomorrow.”* (RCIT Manifesto: Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance, 1 March 2022)

# Prigozhin's Coup Attempt in Russia: A Quarrel between Thieves

## Prigozhin, Shoigu and Putin – no support for any of these war criminals! Down with Russian imperialism and the Bonapartist regime!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 24 June 2023 [UTC 09:00],*

**Note of the Editorial Board:** *Since we are covering an ongoing coup d'état, it is very likely that new developments will take place which are naturally not covered in this statement. Hence, we urge readers to take note of the time of publishing (see above). This is our first public statement on this event and others might follow later.*

1. As we are writing this, a coup attempt is going on in Russia. Yevgeny Prigozhin, the billionaire boss of the notorious Wagner PMC, has taken over Russia's southern military headquarters in Rostov-on-Don – the nerve center of Russia's war against the Ukraine. It is reported that Wagner also took over the city of Voronezh (which lies about in the middle between Rostov and Moscow). He demands the removal of Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu and his allies. While he does not call for the overthrow of Putin himself, objectively this amounts to a coup attempt since it questions the military leadership in the midst of a war.

2. The background of this coup attempt is the long-standing conflict between Prigozhin and Shoigu over positions, influence, and control of supplies. The former leads the currently most effective military force of the Russian army in the Ukraine War. Wagner recently conquered Bakhmut with great losses – one of Russia's few victories since last summer. Prigozhin tries to exploit his prestige in order to dispose the Defence Minister who is widely despised – both by soldiers as well as the population – as corrupt and incompetent.

3. Interestingly, the day before, Prigozhin denounced the Russian invasion of the Ukraine as an act "based on lies". He said that the reasons for this war were not the so-called "denazification" and "demilitarization" of the Ukraine – reactionary claims reflecting the ideology of Russian imperialism – but rather the personal ambitions of Shoigu. In reality, of course, the driving force behind this invasion has been Putin himself.

4. In his speech today, Putin made clear that he considers Prigozhin's mutiny as a "criminal campaign", "treason", "a mortal blow" and a dangerous "knife in the back of our people". He compared the current developments with the events in 1917. He urged "all of you not to participate in any armed conflict" and threatened that "all those who embarked on the path of rebellion and terrorism will be severely punished." He further claimed that "everything needs to be done in order to put this thing to the rest". In short, Putin has drawn a line and made clear that he conceives Prigozhin's mutiny as a coup attempt against him.

5. It is currently unclear to which degree Prigozhin has support among the military establishment of Russia's Armed Forces. However, he certainly can count on some sympathies, at least. Mikhail Borisovich Khodorkovsky, a corrupt oligarch who lives in London in exile, has also called to support the mutiny in order to get rid of Putin. Time will show if Prigozhin has similar support and strategy as Stauffenberg did during the Operation Walküre in

1944, or if his attempt has no serious political backing by sectors of Russia's ruling class.

6. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* and *Socialist Tendency* (the RCIT section in Russia) consider the Prigozhin's mutiny as a reactionary rebellion against a reactionary regime. The Putin regime and its long-time Defence Minister have a long history of slaughtering the Chechen people and, since 24 February 2022, also the Ukrainian people. Likewise, they plunder and oppress the workers and poor in Russia. Prigozhin is a product of this regime and a long-time close ally of Putin. Wagner PMC and its notorious mercenaries are well known for their brutal torture and killings. Because of Wagner's arms, Prigozhin has become a more independent figure, albeit no less reactionary. In fact, he is a kind of *Condottiere* – similar to the Italian captains in command of mercenary companies during the Middle Ages. In short, this is a quarrel between thieves. The workers and oppressed have nothing to win by supporting one of these war criminals – both are worse!

7. Nevertheless, Prigozhin's rebellion is a profound event which shatters Putin's regime. It is the biggest danger it has faced since the former KGB officer came to power in 1999. It confirms the RCIT's assessment that the war has dramatically accelerated the social and political contradictions within Russia. It also confirms our view that the war – particularly if Russia loses its war of aggression against the Ukrainian people – could provoke a revolutionary crisis and result in the end of the Bonapartist regime.

8. However, to solve this crisis in the interest of the working class and the oppressed, they must intervene in the political scene as an independent and militant factor. For this, they need to organise in "soviets" – *councils of action*. Likewise, we need to build a *revolutionary party* based on a program of socialist revolution. This are the only conditions which would allow a real repetition of 1917 – about which Putin has already warned.

9. The RCIT and *Socialist Tendency* reiterate their support for the Ukrainian people in its just war of national defence. At the same time, we oppose both imperialist camps – NATO as well as Russia. We say: *For a Popular War to defend the Ukraine against Putin's invasion! No subordination of Ukraine to NATO and EU! Against Russian and against NATO imperialism!*

10. The current events in Russia demonstrate once more the urgent necessity to strengthen the revolutionary forces. The RCIT calls socialists in the Ukraine, in Russia and globally to unite on an internationalist and anti-imperialist program.

## Defeat NATO Troops in Kosovo!

### For A Kosovo Free and Independent From NATO Occupation and Serbian Oppression!

By Raimi Akegbejo, *Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (Nigerian Section of the RCIT)* 06.06.2023

The recent clashes between NATO forces and ethnic Serbs in the north of Kosovo is the latest escalation of tensions between Serbia and Kosovo. The protracted dispute on the question of Kosovan independence and the quadrangle of unending nationalist contentions in the Balkans is yet another proof that colonies have not gone into extinction they only assume a 21st century modification, with the blessing(!?) of their imperialist masters, of formal independence. Given the refusal to recognise Kosovan independence from Serbia by China and Russia thereby blocking Kosovo's access to join the UN and the occupation of the same by NATO troops to deter the Serbian military from retaking the territory.<sup>1</sup> It is clear how the Great Powers supervise expansionism cum domination amongst semi-colonial nations. In the final analysis, in every region of the world, the oppression of one nation by the other can be traced up a strata the apex of which the imperialist powers sit.

After the municipal elections in Kosovo which the majority ethnic Serbs in the northern region boycotted as they do not recognise the independence of Kosovo, they blockaded the municipality buildings to prevent the ethnic Albanian municipal officers who were elected by a little over 3% of the population in northern Kosovo from entering the buildings, hence the clash with NATO forces.<sup>2</sup> These clashes continue simultaneously as massive protests in the Serbian capital over two mass shootings by a 13 and 21 year old leaving at least 17 people, including 8 children, dead and several injured on the 3rd and 4th of May respectively.<sup>3</sup> Protesters *"want the government to revoke the broadcasting licences of television channels promoting violent content and a ban on pro-government newspapers that stir tensions by targeting political dissidents. They also called for Interior Minister Bratislav Gasic and the director of Serbia's security agency, Aleksandar Vulin, to resign."*<sup>4</sup>

Serbian president, Aleksandar Vucic, succumbing to pressure from the protests has stepped down as the leader of the ruling Serbian Progressive Party (SNS). At the same time in order to divert public sentiment he has ordered the Serbian border troops to remain on high alert in response to clashes between ethnic Serbs in Kosovo's north and the NATO troops.<sup>5</sup>

However these protests bear certain rather disturbing features with the recent demonstrations in Israel against Netanyahu's judicial reforms (if "reforms" is the right word to use) and the movement to tighten control over gun ownership in the US. Already about 40,000 firearms and 2 million rounds of ammunition have been returned in a government controlled amnesty that should last one month, but this is hardly any solution since like the Israeli Apartheid state and the US, Serbia is an oppressor nation. For decades Serbia has oppressed the Albanians and a good number of minority nationalities in the Balkans including the Bosniak Muslims in Bosnia Herzegovina where an egregious slaughter of defenceless people was executed by separatists backed by the Serbian government of the '90's. Even now the Serbian government has

refused to formally recognise the independence of Kosovo since 2008 when the country declared independence after a decade long war that saw about 13,000 ethnic Albanians killed.

The protests have remained largely silent about these. If the mass shooting is symptomatic of a systemic flaw then ridding local communities of arms and calling for a change in government barely scratches the surface of the real issue which is: Serbia has long played the role of a gendarme; a gatekeeper for both Eastern and Western Great Power interests by way of posing as a regional power that subjugated lesser nations. Whilst the return of firearms may seem to indicate a change in mood from popular belligerence the oppression of other nations is the root of that belligerence and mass disarmament only serves to weaken the forces that may in future challenge that state of things, that is, fight on the side of the oppressed nations.

Moreso, giving the guns to a state that has no intent on changing its course, and it cannot under capitalist rule and imperialist servitude, may end up repeating a vicious cycle once the people are again mobilized to annex or invade this or that region or country. One major difference between the protests in Serbia and in Israel is that Israel is an imperialist state while Serbia is a stillbirth regional power.

We call for the expulsion of NATO troops from Kosovo. It was NATO and the EU that derailed the resistance of the Bosnian people as they were just at the verge of unravelling the Serbian invading forces and prevented them from fully recovering the territories under Serbian occupation through airstrikes and finally with the shameful Dayton Peace Agreement that the Bosnian ruling class consented to. Just like Russia and China, NATO and its allies are only interested in supervising the domination of the Albanians and other Eastern European minorities living in Kosovo as Gezim Visoka, associate professor of peace and conflict studies at Dublin City University, referring to US/EU brokered peace talks, told Al Jazeera the agreement seems to be *"designed more for conflict avoidance rather than building a lasting peace between Kosovo and Serbia"*<sup>6</sup>

At the same time NATO uses the independence of Kosovo as a tool to weaken the grip of its Eastern rival, Russia, on the Balkans. Thus under NATO occupation and the EU's influence, Kosovo will never truly be free from Serbian oppression. The people of Kosovo must pursue a liberation struggle independent of NATO/US, EU and UN influence. They must fight for the expulsion of NATO and other foreign coalition troops from their country. No trust in the Kurtin government as all ruling classes in the semi-colonies always tend to compromise with the oppressor nation or the imperialists.

Serbian progressives, workers and leftists must fight for the official recognition of Kosovo's independence by their government. They must reject all chauvinist campaigns and ultranationalist claims of Serbian domination in the Balkans. The freedom of Serbia from imperialist control goes hand in hand with a denunciation of all regional supremacy that Serbia lays claim to. For Serbia to be free it



must relinquish the role of proxy colonialist in the Balkans whether as a servant of Western imperialism or Russian imperialism. This being one of the surest routes for domestic terrorism and gun violence to die a natural death.

Finally, freedom, self determination and true independence for the Balkans is a historic task left for the socialist revolution to achieve. Without the expropriation of the local bourgeoisie and the nationalisation of the multinational corporations (without compensation) the imperialist powers will still find viable lackeys whom the promise of nationalist expansion will suffice to make the region a satellite for imperialist proliferation and super-exploitation. Breaking the imperialist hegemony and ending capitalist exploitation and replacing it with a Socialist Federation of the Balkans remains the path to freedom and independence in region.

This Socialist Federation of the Balkans must not be cast in the image of former Yugoslavia where a bureaucratic caste of power-brokers used the expropriation of the capitalists to consolidate their power while excluding the workers and oppressed masses from the day to day policy making and strategic planning thereby leaning partially on the old structures of national oppression with the piecemeal bidding of World Powers. Rather it must have as a government the workers and oppressed masses organised in local councils which will elect delegates to form a national government. Each state of the Federation must also have freedom to determine at what pace they will implement policies and economic plans respectively become more integrated into Federation.

*Defeat and Expel NATO Troops from Kosovo! No Collaboration Between Kosovans and NATO Troops Against Serbia! No Trust in the Kurtin or Vucic Government! Fight for Kosovo's*

*Freedom And Independence From Western Imperialism and Eastern imperialism cum Serbian Hegemony!*

*Down with Serbian Ultranationalism! Turn the Anti-government Protests Into An Indefinite General Strike To Bring Down the Vucic Regime! No To Mass Disarmament! Free Serbia From Russia's Imperialist Grip and NATO Bullying!*

*For A Balkan Region Free From Imperialist Subjugation, National Oppression And Capitalist Exploitation! For A Socialist Federation of the Balkans Where Member States Are Formed Through Government of Workers and Poor Peasants! This Workers' and Poor Peasant Government will continue the fight against imperialism abroad and capitalism at home and determine to what extent it will implement joint policies of the Federation.*

[1] <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/2/7/ambiguous-by-design-whats-in-the-deal-with-kosovo-and-serbia>; <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/30/nato-deploys-more-forces-to-kosovo-after-30-peacekeepers-injured>

[2] <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/29/nato-troops-form-security-cordons-in-kosovo-as-serbs-protest>; <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/30/at-least-30-nato-troops-injured-in-clashes-with-serbs-in-kosovo>

[3] <https://apnews.com/article/serbia-shootings-protest-vucic-blockade-bridge-09100478369eb8041ad47b7ef296c821> <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/tens-thousands-serbia-protest-mass-shootings-government-policies-2023-05-27/> <https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20230603-thousands-gather-in-belgrade-for-fifth-anti-government-protest-since-mass-shootings>

[4] <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/27/serbias-vucic-steps-down-as-head-of-ruling-party>

[5] <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-05-28/aleksandar-vucic-resigns-sns-party-leader-serbia/102402260>; [-on-high-alert-as-kosovo-serbs-clash-with-police](https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-05-28/aleksandar-vucic-resigns-sns-party-leader-serbia/102402260)

[6] <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/2/7/ambiguous-by-design-whats-in-the-deal-with-kosovo-and-serbia>

## Revolutionary Speech at Mass Rally for Independent Kosova

Video from a rally of Kosova-Albanian migrants in Vienna on 6 March 1998

Below we publish a video from a mass rally of the Kosova-Albanian migrant community on 6 March 1998 in Vienna (Austria). This rally took place in response to the notorious massacre by the Serbian army in Drenica which took place a few days before. This event triggered an armed uprising in Kosova against the occupation forces – led by the guerilla movement UÇK.

Our organization supported the national liberation struggle of the Kosova-Albanians from the very beginning and closely collaborated with the migrant community in Austria. The Kosova-Albanians had been nationally oppressed by Serbia since 1913 and had always desired independence from Belgrade. We stood for the victory of the uprising and called for an independent workers and peasants republic of Kosova. However, we lent no political support to the petty-bourgeois UÇK leadership and, later, we defended Serbia against the NATO bombardment in 1999.

The Kosovar organisers of the rally invited all parties in the parliament as well as our organisation to participate in the rally with a speaker. A leader of the Green party as well as Michael Pröbsting addressed about 3,000 demonstrators.

In his speech, comrade Pröbsting, who is the International Secretary of the RCIT, expressed our solidarity with the

national liberation struggle of the Kosovar-Albanians. He denounced the state terrorism of the Milosevic regime and stated our support for an independent Kosova of workers and peasants. At the same time, he warned against any interference from NATO imperialism.

See: <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/speech-at-mass-rally-for-independent-kosova-1998/>



# Northern Ireland: Sinn Féin's Historic Victory in Local Elections

## Reactionary Unionism suffers severe defeat!

By Laurence Humphries, RCIT Britain, June 2023

On the 18th May 2023, the petty-bourgeois populist Sinn Féin became the party with the biggest share of votes in Northern Ireland. Unionist parties performed badly proving once again that the wish for independence is still a strong current in Irish politics. It is now the largest party in the Northern Ireland assembly as well as in local government. In the 2020, general election in Éire, Sinn Féin under the leadership of Mary Lou McDonald became the biggest party in the Dáil (the parliament of Éire) but both capitalist parties Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil connived and deprived Sinn Féin of power.

*"Sinn Féin is now the largest party in both local government and Stormont for the first time after making huge gains in council elections. With all seats counted, the party has won 144, up from the 105 councillors returned in 2019. Its vice-president Michelle O'Neill called for the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) to end its boycott of power sharing at Stormont."* [1]

Under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement, power sharing is a main condition and the right-wing reactionary Unionist parties refuse to work in the power sharing executive. Their extreme arrogance and imperialist outlook remain, the alternative is direct rule from Westminster depriving the masses from being sheltered from the crisis of imperialism. Sinn Féin, which has a reformist outlook under the terms of the agreement wants to improve housing, social welfare, and other aspects of improving the condition of many in poverty, homelessness, and other ravages of the capitalist system in decline.

In another place the RCIT have analysed and described the evolution of Sinn Féin as a petty bourgeois party.

*"This application of the united front tactic also included critical support for Sinn Fein in elections. Naturally, this tactic ended when the leadership of Sinn Fein/IRA around Gerry Adams capitulated to British imperialism by signing the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Recently Sinn Fein, which has for a long time been an opposition party in the Republic of Ireland, has significantly increased its influence by playing a leading role in the Right2Water campaign, which has become the largest social movement in Ireland for decades in its struggle against the imposing of water fees by the government as part of its austerity program to make ordinary citizen pay for the crisis of the banks. In the latest election (2016), Sinn Fein received 13.8% of the votes cast becoming the third-biggest party in Ireland's parliament".* [2]

### The Good Friday Agreement

As we have mentioned previously, the struggle of both Sinn Féin at that time and the anti-imperialist force, the Provisional IRA, ended in 1998 with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement which led to the capitulation of the Republican movement to cease its struggle against British imperialism. A split took place in the army council. Some combatants broke away and formed the Real IRA. They still continue the armed struggle for a united Ireland to this day. It is a very small force. Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams, leaders of Sinn Féin, signed the Good Fri-

day Agreement under the auspices of Tony Blair and the Labour government at that time.

*"Almost 25 years ago, on 10 April 1998, the Good Friday Agreement was signed. The historic deal will be commemorated in a series of events in April, with US President Joe Biden and former President Bill Clinton both set to visit Northern Ireland to mark the anniversary. The deal brought an end to 30 years of conflict in Northern Ireland, known as the Troubles. Since then the agreement has touched on every aspect of life in Northern Ireland - from the political institutions, such as the power-sharing government, to Brexit and how it operates in this part of the UK."* [3]

### Brexit Complications

In 2020, Britain formally withdrew from the European Union. Northern Ireland, forced to be the orange statelet and outpost of British imperialism has a land border with Éire, a member of the European Union. Since Brexit, this has led to trade disagreements between Éire, the bourgeois nationalists, and the European Union itself. All trade between Éire and Britain has to be checked at borders, which has led to delays and bureaucratic mishandling. Under the Johnson government the Protocol Agreement was signed, but opposed by the extreme right-wing Unionists, who want a hard border between Éire and Northern Ireland.

*"Trade between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland was straightforward before Brexit - both were in the EU and shared the same trade rules. However, when Northern Ireland left the EU, a deal was required to allow trade to continue across the border. The EU has strict food rules and requires border checks when certain goods - such as milk and eggs - arrive from non-EU countries like the UK. Paperwork is also required for other goods. But idea of checks at the border with Ireland is a sensitive issue because of Northern Ireland's troubled political history. It was feared that introducing cameras or border posts as part of checks on incoming and outgoing goods could lead to instability."* [4]

### Inter-Imperialist Rivalry

The second slump of 2019, the war in the Ukraine and the intense rivalry between China, Russia, and the western imperialists, namely USA, Britain and the European Union, affects the Rishi Sunak government. Sunak has recently negotiated a further agreement referred to as Windsor agreement. This has split the Tory party in half. President Joe Biden flew to Belfast to oversee the signing of the new Windsor Agreement. The Unionists violently oppose any changes to Brexit and insist that Ulster is still part of the UK, although it is situated in Ireland. Priti Patel and Boris Johnson, on the extreme right of the party, opposed the agreement but Sunak successfully won the argument. Brexit was an attempt by the bourgeoisie pandering to right-wing, right populist and even proto-fascist elements, the little Englander attitude, but they failed to understand the consequences for Northern Ireland as an imperial-

ist statelet united with Éire. Britain is referred to as the weakest economy in the G7, the major western imperialist grouping, according to the International Monetary Fund.

*"The new deal is aimed at significantly reducing the number of checks required. It envisages two "lanes" for goods arriving in Northern Ireland from Great Britain:*

*A green lane for goods which will remain in Northern Ireland*

*A red lane for goods which may be sent on to the EU*

*Products going through the green lane not need checks or additional paperwork. Red lane goods would still be subject to checks. The current bans on certain products - like chilled sausages - entering Northern Ireland from Great Britain would be removed. Northern Ireland would also no longer have to follow certain EU rules, for example on VAT and alcohol duties". [5]*

### **For A United 32 County Workers Republic on a Revolutionary Base**

The recent election results in Northern Ireland show that the power of the reactionary Unionist parties influence is waning fast. Bourgeois nationalism who has historically called for a united Ireland is gaining ground both in Ulster and Éire. The Good Friday Agreement states that a referendum can be called to vote on the question of a United Ireland. The Sunak government is very much a lame duck government unable to retain the support of their extreme right wing. These agreements between the EU and Britain are meaningless until the power sharing executive meets. The unionists will not meet, their arguments are shallow and illusory. They are now a spent force. Sinn Féin under the leadership of Michelle O'Neill has won huge success recently. O'Neill as the Vice President of Sinn Féin, with Mary Lou McDonald as President, has now become a popular force supported by the masses, but they still remain part of the state. Their anti-imperialist credentials disappeared in 1998 when they capitulated to British imperialism and unionism, as the RCIT has analysed in other places.

Sinn Féin continues to spread illusions in the power sharing executive and working with the Unionists and is reluctant to make the fight for a United Ireland their main objective. This has been the main plank of bourgeois nationalism in Ireland since the civil war in the 1920's.

"There is no functioning executive or assembly because of the DUP's protest against post-Brexit arrangements. The party needs to "get off the fence" and return to government immediately, Sinn Féin's vice-president has said. Michelle O'Neill was among party leaders who met Jayne Brady to discuss Northern Ireland's budget crisis and lack of government. Her party is now the largest party in local government and the assembly having made gains in

last week's council elections. That result showed voters wanted power sharing to resume, said Ms O'Neill, saying suggestion that the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) might return to power-sharing this autumn was "not an acceptable timeframe". [6]

The RCIT in Britain calls for a continuous campaign for a 32 County Workers Republic. This requires a transitional programme of strikes, social uprisings to unite the masses in a common struggle for insurrection and a fight for workers government throughout the whole of Ireland. The RCIT calls on all militants, workers, and youth to study our programme of transitional demands.

*\* Call on the Leadership of Sinn Fein to campaign more vigorously for a United Ireland!*

*\* For a 32 County Workers Republic, uniting both Ulster and Éire into a United Workers State on a Revolutionary, a Socialist base!*

*\* Call on the Irish TUC to organise an indefinite general based on councils of action and elected by workers and militant activists!*

*\* For armed defence guards to protect communities from extreme right-wing, loyalist gangs and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, a most corrupt and reactionary force!*

*\* Fight for democratic demands and a sliding scale of wages with wage increases in line with inflationary demands. For a campaign for better housing and an end to homelessness in this outpost of British Imperialism. End water privatisation!*

*\* For Open Borders, no to Immigration Laws of any sort, for a campaign against islamophobia, racism and chauvinism. All migrants and people from the south should be allowed to speak their own language and carry out their own customs!*

*\* Nationalise the Banks and multinational corporations, like the energy giants Shell and BP who have amassed billions! For the redistribution of wealth under workers' control!*

*\* End fossil fuel development and instead investigate alternative forms of energy to prevent the planet overheating!*

*\* For a Workers Government on a Revolutionary platform!*

Join the RCIT and fight with us for a 5th International, to unite all revolutionaries in a common struggle to smash capitalism and establish socialism!

#### **Footnotes**

[1] [NI council elections 2023: Sinn Féin largest party in NI local government - BBC News](#)

[2] [Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today - RCIT - Revolutionary Communist International Tendency \(thecommunists.net\)](#)

[3] [Good Friday Agreement: What is it? - BBC News](#)

[4] [Brexit: What are the Northern Ireland Protocol and Windsor Framework? - BBC News](#)

[5] [Brexit: What are the Northern Ireland Protocol and Windsor Framework? - BBC News](#)

[6] [Stormont stalemate: Political leaders call for extra £1bn funds - BBC News](#)

**Website of "Socialist Tendency" (RCIT Section in Russia): [www.socialisttendency.com](http://www.socialisttendency.com)**

## **Ukraine War and Inter-Imperialist Rivalry**

**Check out numerous documents of the RCIT in English as well as many other languages on a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>**

## Nigeria: The Bloodletting in Middle Belt Continues

### Form Armed Self Defence Militias To Stop The Salafist Expansion!

By Raimi Akegbejo, Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (RSV), Nigerian Section of the RCIT. 25th May 2023

Over a 100 people were killed in a 48hour raid by Salafist “Bandits” and herdsmen in a string of vil- lages in the Middle Beltan region of Plateau state. The killings have sparked street protests.<sup>1</sup> The American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ) has also recently pub- lished a report stating that 90% of Christians killed world- wide for their faith last year are from Nigeria following from the previous year’s 80%.<sup>2</sup> True, the ACLJ and the or- ganisation it cites, Open Doors, may have affiliations with the conservative Christian nationalists in the US hence the ostensible concern for Christians in Nigeria and their praise of the Trump administration. Even so their estimate is far from exaggeration and whatever their motives the concerns raised seem corroborated by the Christian Asso- ciation of Nigeria (CAN) who add an extra 30 to the 100 who were killed over the span of 48 hours as Vanguard Newspapers reports:

*“According to CAN, about 130 persons have been killed in the past week, 1,000 buildings burnt and 22 villages affected. The President of CAN, Archbishop Daniel Okoh, who gave the warning in a statement in Abuja, said: “It is with deep concern that I address the nation on the recent resurgence of mindless killings of innocent citizens in Mangu and Riyom Local Government Areas of Plateau State, Nigeria. “The killings, which started in Mangu villages on Monday, May 15, 2023, by so- called unknown gunmen have claimed many lives and property with many persons still missing. “The villages affected include Fungzai, Hale, Kubwat, Bwoi and many other communities of the Kombun District of Mangu Local Government Area and some communities in the Riyom Local Government Area.*

*“According to reports, about 130 people were killed, about 1,000 buildings burnt and about 22 villages affected. We condemn these barbaric acts in the strongest terms possible. It is disheart- ening to see innocent citizens being killed and their properties destroyed in such a gruesome manner.”<sup>3</sup>*

New reports have emerged on fresh attacks in the village community of the Benue state governor.<sup>4</sup> All of this comes on the heels of a chilling report that at least 63,000 lives were lost to insecurity — a favourite term of mainstream media and civil society to obfuscate the asymmetric war of northern Salafists against indigenous people, Christians and other minorities — during president Buhari’s 8 years

in office.<sup>5</sup> Despite the weakness of the northern hegemon to hold the center in the official arm of the neo-colonial structure of Nigeria — the Federal government, their auxil- iary “Bandits” and terrorists continue the project of settler- colonialism and ethnic cleansing in the North, Middle Belt and other parts of the country. Notwithstanding that the very reason for the emergence of Buhari as a bonapartist ruler was “terrorism”.

This confirms the RCIT’S position that as capitalism en- ters a period of irreversible decay the ruling class shifts from the neo-liberal model to bonapartist rule. Similarly this new normal of waking up to news of concerted mas- sacres is another omen of the barbaric turn of Nigeria’s neo-colonial capitalism as a sign of global capitalist decay. Unless capitalism is destroyed in Nigeria which means the dissolution of Nigeria itself, the settler colonialist expan- sion of the northern Salafists will continue.

It is important for revolutionaries to turn gaze to the Mid- dle Belt not just because of the on-going ethnic cleansing but because the outbursts of protests represent the most genuine raw consciousness against the neo-colonial sys- tem in Nigeria. It is not enough to support just any anti- government remonstrance or to pander to the most popu- lar ones like the centrist and reformist forces do. Revolu- tionaries must gauge the extent of dilution of every protest with petty-bourgeois sentiments and influence from those that carry that the raw desire for genuine change amongst the masses. Needless to say the latter must be given ut- most priority.

Unfortunately, large sections of the left are quiet about these massacres. Worse still they attack anyone who dare stress the exigency of ending such macabre status quo. For these centrists, reformists and pacifists a man who is being harassed by the police is more oppressed than hundreds who are being massacred and displaced from their ances- tral lands. They defend the neo-colonial unity of Nigeria but feign ignorance at the slaughter of hundreds in South- ern Kaduna, Plateau, Benue etc. Even as the pale of con- sciousness has led to an awakening amongst the masses that Nigeria is not a nation but a country of nations. This could be seen especially during the elections when dif- ferent ethnic nationalities became aware that Nigeria is a

## The Ukraine War and the NATO-Russia Conflict

**See all relevant RCIT documents on our website:**

**[www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict)**

field of proxy and settler colonialism. Thus exposing the very roots capitalism in the imperialist epoch as a system based on infinite layers of national oppression both at the world stage and in a country like Nigeria.

One would have thought the tipping of the political landscape due to a quest for Igbo presidency which is responsible for Peter Obi's ascent through the Labour Party would have prompted self-acclaimed socialists to take the national question in Nigeria more seriously. Even president Buhari in his final days in office has devolved some powers from the Federal government down to the states like electric power generation, etc., yet these so-called leftists still dismiss the importance of the national question as tribalism with the absurd theory that ethnicity was invented by the ruling class to divide the masses when the actual divide stems from the privileges allowed one ethnic nationality over the others by the imperialists.

We reiterate our call for armed self-defence militias to defeat and disband the Salafist raiders including Boko Haram, ISWAP, Bandits and killer herdsmen. No trust in the Southern ruling class and the government of the Middle Beltan states. These bootlickers have proved time and time again that they're useless to defend the people against Salafist settler colonialist expansion. Their fear that the masses will turn on them should they stage a formidable resistance is the seal that binds their fate to the neo-colonial contraption called Nigeria. For increased agitation among the lower ranks of the Nigerian military especially those from the Middle Belt and South but no alliance with the military that has been more than once found culpable in this attacks.

We demand compensation for the families and loved

ones of the victims of these attacks and the right for all displaced people to return to their homeland. We call for the release of Nnamdi Kanu and an end to the exile of Sunday Igboho. Northern progressives and workers must support this call and protect Christians, Shia Muslims and other religious minorities in the North from state aggression and Salafist attacks.

Freedom and Self-determination for all oppressed ethnic nationalities in the Middle Belt and South. This means sovereign states formed by these nations must be founded as Socialist Republics led by *Workers' and Poor Peasant Government*. None of this is possible without a *Revolutionary International Workers' Party* which fights imperialism internationally and capitalism locally. This is the goal of the RCIT. Join the RCIT!

#### Footnotes

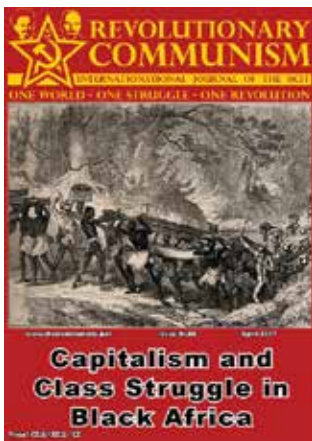
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## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

# 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

## The Story of Ein Samiya

*Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 06.06.2023*

The story of Ein Samiya is not told in the Zionist mass disinformation only in Al Jazeera which very few Israelis read.

The Palestinians of this village had to abandon their village under the attacks of the Zionist settlers on them and on their flocks in the West-Bank while the goons in police uniforms watched and laughed.

The villagers dismantled their own homes and fled the relentless Israeli settler attacks on them, their children and even their flocks. The displaced villagers have lost their homes along with the elementary school, a way to make a living and a sustainable future as Bedouins in their new location.

The villagers dismantled their own homes and fled the relentless Israeli settler attacks on them, their children and even their flocks. They live now in small tents without a space for most furniture strewn outside the tents. Many structures in Ein Samiya – including its school – faced government demolition orders as well as attacks from settlers on adults, children and livestock in the village and even at the nearby spring when they went to draw water.

The decision to leave Ein Samiya came after the settler harassment and violence they had been subjected to the past five years ratcheted up to frightening levels. Constantly surveilling the Bedouins' activities, settlers from nearby illegal outposts were attacking every night, throwing rocks, invading homes and beating villagers.

*"The 'killing point', said Abu Najjeh, came when Atta Kaabneh's flock of 75 sheep and goats was stolen in broad daylight while Israeli police watched. Settlers had gone to the police, falsely claiming Atta had stolen their sheep – a pretense to have the police detain Atta and steal all of his sheep." [1]*

The night following Atta's detention and confiscation of his flock, children and young people keeping watch over the village and its flocks were attacked by settlers with stones. They tried to escape – only to run into other settlers positioned to attack them as well. "They felt they were being attacked from all directions," said Abu Najjeh. "Nowhere was safe." [2]

*"In the five years since several shepherding outposts – built illegally even under Israeli law, though the Israeli government takes no effective action against them – were constructed around the community, the people of Ein Samiya saw their total flock of 2,500 sheep dwindle to 500, according to Abu Najjeh"*

Bedouin communities like Ein Samiya report violent attacks from nearby settlers' shepherd outposts up and down Allon Road, which stretches across the northern occupied West Bank in 1967. Shepherding outposts – typically comprising only one shepherd and a few volunteers each – have increased dramatically in prominence as a tool to forcibly take land from Bedouin communities since

2018. According to Israeli NGO Kerem Navot (PDF), there are now 61 grazing outposts, 50 of them created since 2018. The Palestinian Bedouin communities in this area are in what is called area C –60% of the West-Bank the Zionist state has decided to annex.

*"According to a late 2021 report from Israeli NGO Yesh Din, Israeli government documents reveal plans as early as 1981 to use grazing-permitted areas around settlements to 'secur[e] reservoirs of land for future settlement' The Yesh Din report cites Ze'ev Hever, Amana's executive director, boasting that while settlements took about 100 sq km (39 sq miles) over 50 years, shepherd outposts managed to capture double that area in three years, from 2018 to 2021." [3]*

*"The police not only did not investigate [settler attacks], but they were trying to persecute those within the [Ein Samiya] community," said Wa'il Qut, a lawyer at the Jerusalem Legal Aid Center, which oversaw many of the villagers' legal cases. "It is a clear example of cooperation between the settlers, the army and the civil administration to force – directly or indirectly – the Bedouin communities [to leave] ... this is a clear violation of international law." [4]*

Shepherd outposts are bankrolled by several organizations, including Amana – an outgrowth of Gush Emunim, an ultranationalist messianic settler movement, and the main driving force behind these outposts – HaShomer Yosh and the Jewish National Fund. Amana receives millions of shekels each year from local councils in settlements – which are funded by the government – and HaShomer Yosh – an association that sends volunteers to agricultural outposts in the West Bank – receives 65 percent of its budget from the State of Israel.

*"Some of the Kaabneh clan called this forcible displacement 'another Nakba'. Historically nomadic herders, Bedouins in historical Palestine faced forced sedentarization going back to Ottoman times, and this is the sixth time the Kaabneh clan – today all related through patriarchal relations – have been forcibly displaced since they were first expelled from Be'er Sheva in 1948. In spite of the series of earlier relocations, they managed to spend the last 40 years in Ein Samiya, continuing as herders there until now"*

And while these war crimes continue an Egyptian soldier moved by the suffering of the Palestinians executed 3 Zionist soldiers that we do not have any tears for them. *Down with the Zionist Apartheid state of the Zionist crusaders! For a Palestine red and free from the river to the sea!*

### Endnotes:

[1-4] Steven Davidson Better to die there': Palestinians mourn Ein Samiya displacement Al Jazeera Published On 4 Jun 2023 Jun 2023 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/4/better-to-die-there-palestinians-mourn-ein-samiya- eviction>

## Comunismo Revolucionario Spanish-language Journal of the RCIT

Order the journal via our contact address: [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net)

## Syria: Rally in Commemoration of Abdul Baset al-Sarout

Report (with Photos and Videos) from a Rally in Vienna on 11 June 2023, Austrian Section of the RCIT

Several dozens of Syrian migrants joined a rally on 11 June in the centre of Vienna on the fourth anniversary of the death of Abdul Baset al-Sarout.

Sarout was a professional football player in his youth who became a goalkeeper in the Syrian national team. He joined the mass protests at the beginning of the Syrian Revolution in 2011 and soon became a popular rebel leader and military commander. Because of his prominent role in the liberation struggle against the tyrannical regime of Assad, he was described as a “well known icon in the Syrian uprising” by Arab-speaking media networks like *Al Jazeera* and *Al Araby*.

Sarout died on 8 June 2019 after being severely wounded by Assadist artillery during battles in northern Hama. He

became a widely revered symbol of the Syrian Revolution. Abdulhkeem Alshater from the group „Free Syrian Community Austria“ led through the rally which also saw speeches from the Syrian sister Thawra as well as from a Bosnian sister.

Comrade Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, spoke at the rally and reiterated our unconditional support for the Syrian Revolution. He commemorated Abdul Baset al-Sarout and all other heroes who have fallen in the past 12 years of liberation struggle against Assad the butcher.

See photos and video clips here: [https://www.the-communists.net/rcit/rcit-interventions-at-rallies-in-2023/#anker\\_11](https://www.the-communists.net/rcit/rcit-interventions-at-rallies-in-2023/#anker_11)



Rally of the Syrian migrant community in Vienna on 11 June 2023; Michael Pröbsting speaks (r.)

## Books of the RCIT

### Yossi Schwartz: Palestine and Zionism

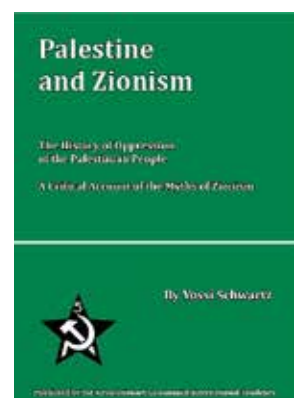
#### The History of Oppression of the Palestinian People. A Critical Account of the Myths of Zionism

In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz provides a critical analysis of numerous Zionist myths about the Jews as well as about the Palestinians. He demonstrates that the Zionist claim that Palestine is the historic homeland of the Jews lacks any serious basis. *Palestine and Zionism* shows that the history of Zionism in the 20th century is a history of colonialism in the service of the Great Powers and directed against the native population – the Arabs. In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz deals with key events – the “Nakba” in 1948, the wars in 1956, 1967 and 1973, more recent events like the Lebanon War, etc. – which were decisive for the expulsion of most Palestinians from their homeland. Yossi Schwartz also shows that the Palestinian people have heroically resisted against the occupation resulting in two Intifadas as well as the successful defense of Gaza against the Israeli aggression in three wars (2008/09, 2012, 2014). The author also analysis the shameful betrayal by the PLO leadership by signing the Oslo Agreement in 1993. In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz defends the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian people and outlines

a socialist perspective. He emphasizes that the only solution is the right of millions of Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and to replace the Zionist entity with one democratic state from the river to the sea – a *Free Red Palestine* with equal civil rights to the Arabs and the Israeli Jews.

The book contains an introduction and 7 chapters (112 pages) and includes 7 Tables and 3 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.thecomunists.net/theory/palestine-and-zionism/>



## Israel-Iran: On the brink of War?

Yossi Schwartz, *ISL (RCIT section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 10.06.2023

On Sunday once again Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu repeated his threats against Iran during a cabinet meeting held as part of a national war drill.

*"The reality in our region is changing rapidly. We are not stagnating. We are adapting our combat doctrine and our possibilities for action in keeping with these changes," Netanyahu said at the meeting. We are committed to acting against the Iranian nuclear program, against missile attacks ... and against what we call a multifront campaign "*

*Netanyahu also attacked in his speech the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for capitulation to Iran. Last week, the IAEA closed a case investigating heavily enriched uranium particles that had been discovered in Iran. The agency reported that it had received a satisfactory answer explaining the presence of the particles, which had been enriched to 83.7%.*

*Under the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action nuclear deal, Iran agreed to limit its uranium stockpile and to enrich uranium only to 3.67. In return, Iran received relief from sanctions imposed by the US, the EU, and the UN Security Council. However, since the US unilaterally withdrew from the deal in 2018, Iran has said that it is enriching uranium up to 60% purity. Iran's uranium stockpile has also grown tenfold since the termination of the nuclear deal" [1]*

In spite of numerous statements suggesting that Israel is on the verge of military action against Iran it is not clear whether Israel will start a war against Iran for various reasons.

First of all, Iran is not a weak country. Iran has the largest inventory of ballistic missiles in the Middle East and is developing indigenous weapon systems such as long-range missiles. It has many tanks, a strong navy and an old air force from the time of the Shah.

Israel has less soldiers and like the Iranian air force the majority of the Zionists' aircraft are between 30 to 50 years old, and a deal to purchase new planes will reportedly cost \$11 billion. First used by the Zionist state in 1969, the Yasur helicopters are the IAF's primary helicopter used regularly to transport soldiers and equipment. While the aging helicopters have been upgraded with 20 new electronic and missile defense systems, the IAF will still need to replace them by 2025, when they will be more than 50 years old.

*"A comparison by international defense site Global Firepower (GFP) found that Israel's military has slipped below its arch-*

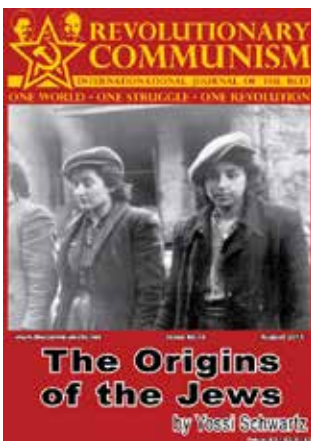
*nemesis, Iran, in the ranking of military powers, coming in at 17 versus 14. The site allows one to rank two countries in terms of military data, such as active personnel and manpower in the reserves. The site also documents the total strength of aircraft, tanks, naval assets and artillery. According to GFP, Israel's military personnel stands at an estimated 615,000 compared to Iran's 934,000. But Iran's population at 83,000,000 is nearly 10 times larger than Israel's 9,100,000.*

*A comparison between Iran and Israel shows that while Iran had significantly larger naval assets than Israel (398 versus 65), Israel had far greater tank strength (2,760 versus 1,634) and has some 6,541 armored fighting vehicles, compared to Iran's 2,345. According to the site, the total number of aircraft between the two countries is close, with Israel having 595 versus Iran's 509." Iran has been working to bolster its aging naval fleet and has commissioned its first indigenously developed Fateh-class submarine, outfitted with a guided-missile system capable of launching cruise missiles, as well as anti-ship missiles and torpedoes." [2]*

To win such an attack on Iran's nuclear facilities is extremely hard. It is true that Israel is behind hundreds of airstrikes and other operations against the Iranian nuclear program. These include assassinations of senior Iranian scientists and cyberattacks against nuclear facilities.

However, destroying Iran's nuclear program is an unrealistic goal for Israel. Iran's nuclear facilities are scattered across the country, which makes Israel's ability to perform the complex airstrikes to take them out, more than 1,800 km away from Israeli Air Force bases very poor. The nuclear facilities at Fordow, Isfahan and Natanz are all heavily fortified. Attacking Iran requires overflying several unfriendly countries, and it is unlikely that even Saudi Arabia would grant overflight rights for an Israeli campaign. Iraq, highly likely to be the target of some Israeli attacks, would also oppose granting overflight rights. Israel could of course simply fly over countries without permission, but this would become politically very expensive for Israel.

Secondly it is quite clear that the U.S will not join the Zionist attacks on Iran as the U.S is on the brink of signing a new accord with Iran. U.S President Joe Biden took office in 2021, almost three years after President Donald Trump unilaterally withdrew from the Iran nuclear deal, and quickly began new negotiations. Those negotiations failed to produce a new agreement, and recent media re-



### 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



ports have suggested that the US is now looking to enter talks with Iran on an interim agreement that would limit Iran's enrichment of uranium but not completely stop it.

The Zionist state former premier and Defense Minister Ehud Barak in his autobiography *My Country, My Life* spelled out the paradigm that has shaped—and will likely continue to shape Israeli action against Iran. Even during the military interventionism of the George W. Bush presidency, Israel did not have a blank check to do as it pleased. When Bush learned in 2008 of Israeli efforts to purchase heavy munitions from the United States, he confronted Barak and then-premier Ehud Olmert.

*"I want to tell both of you now, as president," Bush warned, "We are totally against any action by you to mount an attack on the [Iranian] nuclear plants." "I repeat," Bush further clarified, "in order to avoid any misunderstanding. We expect you not to do it. And we're not going to do it, either, as long as I am president. I wanted it to be clear." It deserves mention that according to Barak, Bush issued this warning despite knowing that Israel did not even possess the military capacity to assault Iran at the time." Barak's memoirs show that the same dynamic continued to govern U.S.-Israel relations during Obama's presidency. According to Barak's account, Israel was dissuaded from going forward with a supposed strike on Iran's nuclear installations in summer 2012 "because of the damage it would do to our ties with the United States." [3]*

Washington's demands continued to limit Tel Aviv after the finalization of the nuclear deal in 2015. Even then, Barak recalls, the Israelis could not simply act against Iran without a green light from the Obama administration. It is unlikely that Biden will have a different policy.

Thirdly, Iran is not alone, it has allies that will attack Israel from the North and from the South of Israel. Hezbollah has a very powerful arsenal of missiles. Hezbollah has prepared extensively for conflict, honing its skills during fighting in Syria and increasing the size of its rocket and missile stocks.

For Israel it is necessary to airstrikes (and potentially Israeli ground incursions) to focus on rapidly reducing the number of advanced missile and rocket launchers. Similar strikes would take place in Gaza. In Syria, the Israelis would have to concentrate on the transportation infrastructure the Iranians use to transfer missiles to their proxies. Israel would also likely strike Iraq, potentially destabilizing that country's government; the Iranians would undoubtedly also put considerable pressure on the Baghdad government.

If the Israeli attack causes limited damage, it is plausible that Tehran will play the victim card, escalate its program further, and potentially withdraw from the non-proliferation treaty rather than retaliate militarily. If the attack is more successful, then the risk of a wider war is quite likely with numerous partners of Iran participating in the retaliatory attack against Israel, and potentially other countries in the region if they played a role in the Israeli attack.

A war between Israel and Iran will cost many lives. Some experts estimate that 8 million Iranian and one million Israelis will die in such a war. While Iran can survive such an outcome Israel cannot. The popular wisdom is that a barking dog does not bite. The question is does the dog also know it? Will Netanyahu's government risk such a war? It is difficult to know but such a war is only a question of time. In such a war the interest of the international working class is the military defeat of the Zionist crusade-apartheid state.

*Down with the Zionist crusade-apartheid state!  
For a Palestine red and free from the river to the sea!*

#### Endnotes:

[1] <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/article-745470>

[2] <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/is-israel-equipped-to-win-a-war-against-iran-606182>

[3] <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/09/17/israel-isnt-strong-enough-to-attack-iran/>

## 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/>



## Türkiye: Trotskyists Must Not Vote for Kılıçdaroğlu!

### On the shameful electoral support of the Turkish LIT-CI group for the bourgeois CHP leader at the Presidential election

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25 May 2023

At the second round of the Presidential election in Türkiye in 28 May, two bourgeois and reactionary candidates will face each other: President Recep Erdoğan and the leader of the main opposition party, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. As we stated in a previous article, both candidates represent a sector of the Turkish ruling class. Both are pro-bosses and pro-imperialist. Hence, socialists can neither support one nor the other.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, there are some socialists who consider it possible to vote for Kılıçdaroğlu. Such is the case with the group "*Kırmızı Gazete*", the local sympathizing section of LIT-CI – an international Trotskyist current in the tradition of Nahuel Moreno. As we noted in the above-mentioned article, the LIT-CI group called for electoral support for Kılıçdaroğlu in the first round of the election. They claim that this would be a necessary vote against the "main enemy" – the authoritarian ruler Erdoğan.

*"We say that Erdogan must be defeated at the ballot box in order to overthrow the palace regime. The people, who mobilized to overthrow Erdoğan in the presidential election, gather around Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. In this process, we will accompany the masses mobilized against the Palace Regime, without forgetting that the real liberation is only in the hands of the working class."*<sup>2</sup>

In a new article, the LIT-CI comrades announce that they repeat such electoral support for Kılıçdaroğlu also in the second round of the election. The author quotes the above-mentioned paragraph from their previous statement and adds: *"Our lines above are also valid for the second round. We have no confidence in Kılıçdaroğlu and the bourgeois political understanding he represents, but to stop the Authoritarian Palace regime, we must first defeat Erdoğan in the election. Then we have to protect our vote, our ballot box and our streets. There are still many people who can be persuaded; workers, women and youth can be broken away from the AKP policy. The Kurds and desperate people can still be persuaded to go to the polls. Of course, it is difficult but not impossible."*<sup>3</sup>

So, the Turkish LIT-CI group calls to vote for Kılıçdaroğlu and to mobilise people still not convinced of this to go to the ballot box and support this bourgeois candidate!

#### A lack of common sense as well as Marxist principles

This is a position which violates both common sense as well as Marxist principles. Kılıçdaroğlu is the leader of one of the two main parties of the Turkish bourgeoisie. The CHP is the oldest party of the country, founded by the authoritarian ruler Mustafa Kemal Atatürk a century ago. It has a long tradition of close relations with the army command.

Kılıçdaroğlu and his party are strong supporters of NATO and criticise Erdoğan for his more "independent" foreign policy of wavering between the Western and Eastern Great Powers. *"Turkey is a member of the Western alliance and NATO, and Putin also knows this well. Turkey must comply with decisions taken by NATO."*<sup>4</sup>

In the past decade, Kılıçdaroğlu's CHP has opposed the Syrian Revolution and attacked the Erdoğan government for any form of support for the rebels. In fact, the CHP always sided with the tyranny of Assad the Butcher. And Kılıçdaroğlu's nice words to the Kurds – because he needs their votes – can not remove the anti-Kurdish tradition of his party.<sup>5</sup>

Particularly disgusting, Kılıçdaroğlu and the CHP – which the LIT-CI group presents as a "lesser evil" to Erdoğan – criticises the government since many years for letting Syrian refugees into the country. Already in 2015, he called for the expulsion of two million Syrian refugees who fled the horrors of the civil war. *"We will say to them, 'Sorry, but go back to your hometown.'" <sup>6</sup>*

Last week, Kılıçdaroğlu went even further. He claimed that Erdoğan has *"deliberately allowed ten million refugees into Turkey."* And he promised to kick them all out if he becomes President. *"I am announcing here: I will send all refugees back home once I am elected as president, period."*<sup>7</sup>

#### A "lesser" evil?

So, how on earth can the Turkish LIT-CI group claim that Kılıçdaroğlu represents a "lesser evil" or an instrument to weaken a reactionary government?! In terms of racist attacks on refugees or support for Assad the butcher,

## The Rise of Russia as an Imperialist Great Power

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

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Kılıçdaroğlu is certainly not better, if not worse, than the existing Erdoğan regime!

In any case, it is a gross violation of Marxist principles to lend electoral support for a candidate of the bourgeoisie, someone who is not even formally a representative of a (reformist or petty-bourgeois) workers party or popular mass organisation.

To give an analogy: it is well-known that Marxists can not under any circumstances vote for a Presidential candidate of one the two main bourgeois parties in the U.S. – the Democrats or the Republicans. Hence, the RCIT called to vote at the last elections neither for Trump nor for Biden.

<sup>8</sup> Or, to take another example, it was also impermissible for socialists to vote for Macron or Le Pen at the recent French Presidential elections. Equally, Trotsky considered it impermissible for communists to vote for Hindenburg or Hitler when they faced off in the Presidential election in Germany in 1932. (To avoid any misunderstanding, we consider neither Kılıçdaroğlu nor Erdoğan as a fascist.)

Unfortunately, the Turkish LIT-CI group completely ignores these Marxist principles – even if Kılıçdaroğlu calls for the expulsion of 10 million refugees!

We urge the comrades in LIT-CI to rediscuss and correct this position as it represents a gross violation of the Marxist program!<sup>9</sup>

#### Footnotes

1 Juan Giglio: The Same Dog with a Different Collar! Trotskyists of the LIT-CI call to vote for a bourgeois alliance in Türkiye, to defeat Erdogan, 23 March 2023, <https://convergenciadecombate.blogspot.com/2023/03/trotskyists-of-lit-ti-call-to-vote-for.html>; see also Michael Pröbsting: On the Presidential Elections in Türkiye, [https://www.thecommunists.net/multimedia-1/activities-2023/#anker\\_9](https://www.thecommunists.net/multimedia-1/activities-2023/#anker_9)

2 Kırmızı Gazete Yayın Kurulu: Saray Rejimini Durduralım, 30 April 2023, <http://www.kirmizigazete.org/2023/04/30/saray-rejimini-durduralim/> (Our translation)

3 Esat Erdoğan: İşçisiz “Demokrasi”den Gelmeyecek “Baharı” Beklemek, 20 May 2023, <http://www.kirmizigazete.org/2023/05/20/iscisiz-demokrasiden-gelmeyecek-bahari-beklemek/> (Our translation)

4 Quoted in Jared Malsin and Elvan Kivilcim: Turkey’s

Top Election Challenger Pledges Closer Ties to NATO and EU, Wall Street Journal, 9 May 2023, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/turkeys-top-election-challenger-pledges-closer-ties-to-nato-and-eu-bee59738>

5 For the RCIT’s analysis of Türkiye’s policy see e.g. Iran, Türkiye, Syria: Hands Off the Kurdish People! Against any invasion by the Turkish or Iranian army! Unite the Kurdish struggle for freedom with the popular struggle against the tyranny of Assad and the Mullahs! Drive the Russian and NATO forces out of the Middle East! 24 November 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/iran-turkiye-syria-hands-off-the-kurdish-people/>; No to the Turkish Invasion in North-East Syria! Erdoğan’s so-called “safety corridor” is an attack both against the Kurdish people as well as against the Syrian Revolution! 10 October 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/no-to-the-turkish-invasion-in-north-east-syria/>

6 Main opposition CHP Chairman Kılıçdaroğlu promised to send nearly 2 million Syrian refugees back to their hometowns if CHP wins elections, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170906041013/https://mosaicinitiative.org.uk/main-opposition-chp-chairman-k-l-cdaroglu-promised-to-send-nearly-2-million-syrian-refugees-back-to-their-hometowns-if-chp-wins-elections/>

7 Gabriel Gavin: I’ll kick all refugees out of Turkey, Erdoğan rival vows. Ahead of the Turkish election second round, challenger Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu turns up heat on migrants, Politico, 18 May 2023, <https://www.politico.eu/article/kick-all-refugees-out-turkey-kemal-kilicdaroglu-recep-tayyip-erdogan-election/>

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## Publications of the RCIT

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