



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



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## **The Genocide in Darfur: An Ongoing Tragedy**

**Gaza War & Strategy of the Liberation Struggle**

**U.S. Prepares for Sell-Out of Ukraine**

## English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.100, January 2024

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*Revolutionary Communism* is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, South Korea, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Russia, Nigeria, Britain, and Austria.

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## The Lesson of Algeria for the Israelis

By Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel /Occupied Palestine), 12.12.2023

While there are various differences between Palestine and Algeria there are many aspects that are similar and the future of the Israeli colonists may be to some degree similar to the solution for the European clones of Algeria.

In its first attempt to control Algeria in 1827, France blockaded Algiers for three years (shorter than the 16 years Israel imposed on Gaza). Then, using the failure of the blockade, it was used as an excuse for a military expedition against Algiers in 1830. (like the war on Gaza). By 1848 nearly all of northern Algeria was under French control, and the new government of the Second Republic declared the occupied lands an integral part of France. (Like Netanyahu's plan for Gaza) This allowed a stream of Europeans to settle as settler colonialists.

*"The crucial date in this story was April 30 1827. On that day, consuls and diplomats were gathered for an official assembly held in the palace of Hussein Dey in Algiers. One of them was Pierre Deval, the French consul. The meeting was held in the midst of a harsh conflict between France and Algeria, over a huge French debt from 30 years earlier. During the party, Hussein Dey could keep silent no more, and defiantly asked Deval when his country was intending on paying the debt.*

*Let's hold the scene now, in order to explain how Jews were related to the debt's origin. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century hundreds of wealthy Jewish immigrants came to northern Algeria from Livorno, Italy, in search of financial opportunities. They were merchants, descendants of Jews expelled from Spain, settled in Northern Africa and soon became a central factor in international commerce between Algeria and Europe. Two of the most prominent families from the Jewish Italians were the Bacry family and the Boujanah family, who merged by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and formed a large corporation which had exclusive monopoly over the export of goods to Europe, especially wheat.*

*At that time, Napoleon Bonaparte embarked on his never ending campaigns and conquests, and produced the famous quote "an army marches on its stomach", therefore he was always looking for a regular supply of wheat for his hungry soldiers. The Bacrys and the Boujanahs were willing to join the war effort and Napoleon hired them as wheat suppliers of the army. But as the wars expanded, Napoleon started to run out of funds. At some point they failed to deliver the amounts of wheat, and turned to Hussein to allow the French some credit. And so, the French growing debt was endorsed from the Jewish businessmen to the Algerian ruler. Years passed, Napoleon died, but the debt was never paid off.*

*Back to the scene in Hussein Dey's palace now: Hussein asked Deval about the debt that was listed high on the agenda of the two states for three decades, with lots of excuses made, and none payments transferred. The local ruler was starting to feel humiliated by the foreign consul, who dared to mock him at his home court. As the Frenchman replied that to his knowledge there was no advancement with regard to the debt, Hussein lost his temper and hit him in the face with a hand fan he was holding. A more restrained diplomatic version of the story suggests that he was just aiming at an annoying fly, accidentally hitting the consul's face" [1]*

From 1933 to 1936, sharp social, political, and economic crises in Algeria led the Arab population to political pro-

test, and the government responded with more restrictive laws. Algerian Muslims joined French imperialism in World War I and WWII. The colonists were generally sympathetic to the collaborationist Vichy regime established following France's defeat by Nazi Germany.

The years 1830–47 laid the groundwork for a pattern of rule that French Algeria would maintain until independence. It was characterized by the use of force and humiliation by the French rulers and the Arab mass population, and an ever-growing French settler population (also known as  *pieds noirs*) who demanded the privileges of a ruling minority in the name of French democracy. When Algeria eventually became a part of France juridically, that only added to the power of the colonists, who sent delegates to the French parliament. They accounted for roughly one-tenth of the total population from the late 19th century until the end of French rule.

Until 1870 with the Third Republic in France, Algeria remained largely under military administration, and the governor-general of Algeria was a military officer until the 1880s. Most Algerians – excluding the colonists – were subject to rule by military officers organized into Arab Bureaus, whose members were officers with an intimate knowledge of local affairs and of the language of the people but with no direct financial interest in the colony. The officers sympathized with the outlook of the people they administered rather than with the demands of the European colonists for independence. This was a better situation than a civilian and democratic government for the colonists by the settler colonialists.

A large-scale program of confiscating cultivable land, after resistance had been crushed, made colonization possible. Settler colonization was of mixed European origin – mainly Spanish in and around Oran and French, Italian, and Maltese in the center and east. The presence of the non-French settlers was officially regarded with suspicion for quite a while, but the influence of French education, the Muslim environment, created in the non-French a European-Algerian subnational sentiment. This would probably have resulted, in time, in a movement to create an independent state if Algeria had been situated farther away from Paris and if the settlers had not feared the potential strength of the Muslim majority.

Colonization continued with renewed energy. With the establishment of the French Second Empire in 1852, responsibility for Algeria was transferred from Algiers to a minister in Paris, but the emperor, Napoleon III, soon reversed this disposition. While expressing the hope that an increased number of settlers would forever keep Algeria French, he also declared that France's duty was for the three million Arabs. While he also declared that Algeria was "not a French province but a colony", he also aroused certain hopes among Algerians, but they were destroyed by the emperor's downfall in 1870. After France's defeat in the Franco-German War, settlers felt they could gain more land., Algerians united in 1871 under Muhammad al-Muqrānī in the last major Kabylia uprising. Its brutal suppression by French forces was followed by the appropriation of another large segment of territory, which

provided land for Europeans from Alsace. Much land was also acquired by the French through loopholes in laws originally designed to protect tribal property. Notable among these is the sénatus-consulte of 1863, which broke up tribal lands and allowed settlers to acquire vast areas formerly secured under tribal law. Following the loss of this territory, Algerian peasants moved to marginal lands and in the vicinity of forests.

It is difficult to gauge in human terms the losses suffered by Algerians during the early years of the French occupation. Estimates of the number of those dead from disease and starvation and as a direct result of warfare during the early years of colonization vary considerably, but the most reliable ones indicate that the native population of Algeria fell by nearly one-third in the years between the French invasion and the fighting in the mid-1870s.

Gradually the colonists established nearly total political, economic, and social domination over the country and its native inhabitants. Settlers owned most Western dwellings, Western-style farms, businesses, and workshops. Because employment was concentrated mainly in urban settlements, underemployment and chronic unemployment disproportionately affected Muslims, who lived mostly in rural and semi rural areas.

Some 200,000 Algerians fought for France during WWII and more than one-third of the male Algerians between the ages of 20 and 40 resided in France during that time.

In March 1943, Muslim leader Ferhat Abbas presented the French administration with the Manifesto of the Algerian People. The manifesto demanded an Algerian constitution that would guarantee immediate and effective political participation and legal equality for Muslims. Instead, the French administration in 1944 instituted a reform package based on the 1936 Viollette Plan that granted full French citizenship only to certain categories of "meritorious" Algerian Muslims, who numbered about 60,000. The tensions between the Muslim and colon communities exploded on May 8, 1945, V-E Day. When a Muslim march was met with violence, marchers defended themselves. The army and police responded by conducting a prolonged

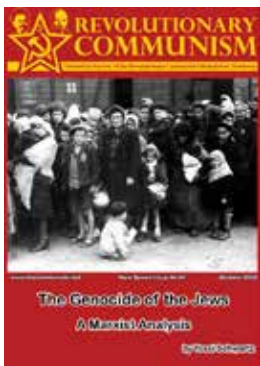
and systematic repression of suspected centers of dissidence. According to official French figures, 1,500 Muslims died as a result of these countermeasures. Other estimates vary from 6,000 to as high as 45,000 killed.

*"The Setif massacre occurred on May 8, 1945, the day that Germany surrendered in World War II. In celebration, Algerian forces, who fought for France, displayed an Algerian flag as a symbol of freedom. French soldiers responded by shooting, and several demonstrators were killed. Riots followed and after five days of chaos, 103 pieds noirs were killed. The subsequent French retaliation was overwhelming: a conservative estimate places the dead at 15,000 Muslims" [2]*

In August 1947, the French National Assembly approved the government-proposed Organic Statute of Algeria. This law called for the creation of an Algerian Assembly with one house representing Europeans and "meritorious" Muslims. It was opposed as the Muslims saw it as very short of their expectations and the colonists because it went too far.

In the early morning hours of November 1, 1954, the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale-FLN) launched attacks throughout Algeria in the opening act of a war of independence. An important event in this war was the massacre of civilian colonists by the FLN near the town of Philippeville in August 1955. The government claimed it killed 1,273 guerrillas in retaliation; according to the FLN, 12,000 Muslims perished in an orgy of blood-letting by the armed forces and police, as well as colon gangs. After Philippeville, an all-out war began in Algeria.

From its origins in 1954 maquisards [resistance fighters] numbering in the hundreds and armed with a motley assortment of weapons, the National Liberation Army (Armée de Libération Nationale-ALN), the military wing of the FLN, had evolved by 1957 into a disciplined fighting force of nearly 40,000 that successfully applied hit-and-run guerrilla warfare tactics. By 1956 France had committed more than 400,000 troops to Algeria. In 1958-59 the French army had won military control in Algeria, but political developments had already overtaken the French army's successes. During that period in France, opposition to the



## *Publications of the RCIT*

# The Genocide of the Jews A Marxist Analysis

*By Yossi Schwartz*

**Introduction \* The Conditions of the Jews on the Eve of World War II \* The Pseudo-Scientific Racist Theory of Social Darwinism \* Anti-Semitism as a Branch of Social Darwinism \* The Nazi Labor-Death Camps \* Zionist Ideology as a Branch of Social Darwinism \* The Genocide of the Palestinians \* Who Are the Guilty Parties for the Genocide of the Jews? \* The Uniqueness of the Genocide of the Jews \* The Use of the Holocaust \* So What Is Unique About the Genocide of the Jews? \* Conclusions \* Footnotes**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

conflict was growing, and international pressure was also building on France to grant Algeria independence.

The full-scale insurgency began when the FLN started launching coordinated, small-scale attacks against French military posts, while also killing small numbers of civilians, including European-born pied noirs and loyalist Algerians (Hakiris). The French military responded with *ratissage*, the “raking over” of towns and villages through bombing, arrests, and torture. This attempt at pacification by employing both targeted raids as well as mass punishment characterized the French strategy throughout the conflict.

When Charles De Gaulle became premier of France in June 1958, he was given *carte blanche* to deal with Algeria. De Gaulle appointed a committee to draft a new constitution for France’s Fifth Republic, with which Algeria would be associated but of which it would not form an integral part. Muslims, including women, were registered for the first time with Europeans on a common electoral roll to participate in a referendum to be held on the new constitution in September 1958. Despite threats of reprisal by the FLN, 80 percent of the Muslim electorate turned out to vote in September, and 96 percent of them approved the constitution. In February 1959, de Gaulle was elected president of the new Fifth Republic.

Then, in a September 1959 statement, de Gaulle uttered the words “self-determination,” which he envisioned as leading to majority rule in an Algeria formally associated with France. Claiming that de Gaulle had betrayed them, the colonists, backed by units of the army, staged an insurrection in Algiers in January 1960 that won mass support in Europe. French forces defused the insurrection.

However, in April 1961 important elements of the French army joined in another unsuccessful insurrection intended to seize control of Algeria as well as topple the de Gaulle regime. This coup marked the turning point in the official attitude toward the Algerian war. De Gaulle was now prepared to abandon the colonists, the group that no previous French government could have written off. A war that costed the lives of at least 1.5 million Moslem Algerian. However, in October 4<sup>th</sup> 2021 Algeria said that the French army and the armed colonists killed 5.6 million Algerians from 1830-1962. [3]

Algeria was proclaimed on September 25, 1962 an independent state as the People’s Democratic Republic of Algeria. This made the colonists leave Algeria and return to their countries of origin in Europe.

Whether the Israelis will remain in red and free Palestine from the river to the sea depends on their behavior in the next years. If they will continue to support the genocide and the new Nakba for the Palestinians, they will act as the colonists of Algeria who ran away. Already close to half a million Israelis left Israel from October 7<sup>th</sup>. If they break with Zionism, they will be able to live in Palestine as a minority with social, religious and cultural rights.

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

#### Endnotes:

[1] <https://www.anumuseum.org.il/blog/jews-occupation-one-hand-fan-started-french-colonialism/>

[2] <https://sites.tufts.edu/atrocityendings/2015/08/07/algeria-war-of-independence/>

[3] <https://www.newarab.com/news/algeria-says-56-million-died-under-french-colonialism>

## 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.

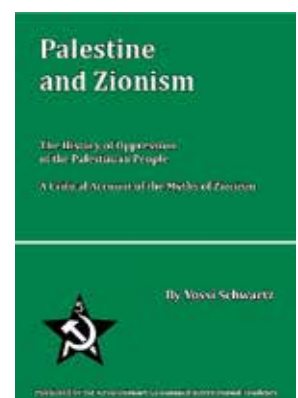
Yossi Schwartz also shows that the Palestinian people have heroically resisted against the occupation resulting in two Intifadas as well as the successful defense of Gaza against the Israeli aggression in three wars (2008/09, 2012, 2014). The author also analysis the shameful betrayal by the PLO leadership 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.thecommunists.net/theory/palestine-and-zionism/>



# The Liberation of Palestine and the Arab Revolution

## The only way forward is a strategy which integrates the struggles of the oppressed masses into a joint Intifada in the whole Middle East

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 15 November 2023

Israel's barbaric war against the Palestinian people in Gaza reflects not only the genocidal nature of the Zionist state. The past weeks have also demonstrated the steadfastness and heroism of thousands of resistance fighters who are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the defence of their homeland. This is a struggle where the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and all authentic anti-imperialists unconditionally support the Palestinian resistance forces in order to defeat the Zionist occupier.<sup>1</sup>

All over the world – and in particular in Arab and Muslim countries – masses are demonstrating in solidarity with the Palestinian people. A global movement for the boycott is spreading and trade unions in the U.S., Western Europe and India are trying to stop any arms transfer to Israel.<sup>2</sup>

The Arab League and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) – consisting of 57 member states – have unanimously condemned Israel's aggression and call for an immediate ceasefire. Likewise did most states in the UN General Assembly vote for a resolution demanding an end of the war.

Still, the brutal killer machine of the Zionist state continues to slaughter the people in Gaza in order to provoke a new Nakba. And still, U.S. and European imperialism are continuing to support the Israeli Apartheid state.

How is this possible and what can be done?

### Liberation of Palestine: An international issue

Let us begin by emphasising that the Palestinian liberation is by its very nature an *international* issue and has always been so. The tragic fate of the Palestinian people could only take place because the British imperialists decided in 1917 to support the Zionist project (the "*Balfour Declaration*"). They occupied Palestine and aided Jewish settlers in expelling the native population.

Likewise, the creation of the Israeli state was only possible because the Western imperialist powers fully supported it and because the Stalinist USSR not only agreed to this colonial project but also sent weapons (via Czechoslovakia) to the Zionist armed gangs.

Since then, Israel could only survive within a hostile environment – hated by the Palestinian and all Arab peoples – because it was permanently supported by the U.S. and European imperialists with weapons and money. The combined amount of US Foreign Aid to Israel in the years 1946 to 2023 totals an estimated \$260 billion (inflation-adjusted). Already before the current war started, the U.S. promised to send Israel more than \$3.8bn of military aid in 2023.<sup>3</sup> No doubt, this sum will now increase massively.

We can also see this today in the current fifth war of Israel against Gaza. Israel could hardly win the war without the military support of the U.S. via arms deliveries, sending of two carrier groups and a nuclear submarine to the region, sharing of intelligence, etc. Likewise, Israel has been forced to dramatically increase its debt by borrowing \$7.8

billion since 7 October. Slightly more than half of that – \$4.1 billion – was dollar-denominated debt raised in issuances in international markets.<sup>4</sup>

In short, international support by Western imperialists (as well as by Stalinism in the first period) has always been essential for the Zionist state. Without such aid, the Israeli Apartheid state would not exist anymore.

The conclusions from this are that the Palestinian liberation struggle does not have only Israel as its enemy but also a number of powerful imperialist states. From this follows that the Palestinian people can not defeat their oppressors if they remain isolated. They need the support of workers and oppressed in other countries – from the Arab and Muslim countries to North America and Europe. Hence, it is decisive to build a strong pro-Palestine movement all over the world and to win workers and popular organizations to support this cause.

The same is true the other way round. The Palestinian question is a decisive issue for the international workers and popular movement. One can not be a socialist or even a democrat in Northern America, Western Europe, Russia and other countries without unconditionally supporting the Palestinian liberation struggle, without opposing the existence of the Zionist settler state, without fighting for a single democratic Palestinian state from the river to the sea. Hence, the RCIT considers this issue is a litmus test for each and every progressive organisation.<sup>5</sup>

In our view, the only way to overcome the Nakba is the struggle for the destruction of the Zionist Apartheid state and the creation of a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea. Such a state would have a Palestinian majority as it would allow the right of return of all refugees. At the same time, it would guarantee full cultural and religious rights for the Jewish minority. Such a state would have a secular and democratic character and should be a workers and poor peasant republic as part of a socialist federation of the Middle East ("*Palestine red and free, from the River to the Sea*").

### The shameful results of the Summits of the Arab League and the OIC

Obviously, the Israeli state and its close allies among the Western powers are the open and immediate enemies of the Palestinian people. However, there are also those who oppose the Israeli aggression in words but refuse to turn rhetoric into action. This was particularly evident at the recent summits of the Arab League and the OIC in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia).<sup>6</sup>

Surely, the state leaders did "*condemned the military aggression against the Gaza Strip and the war crimes and barbaric, brutal, and inhuman massacres committed by the colonial occupation government and the military operations against Palestinian cities and camps, the settlers' terrorism, and Israeli attacks on Islamic and Christian holy places in Al-Quds and the illegal Israeli measures that violate freedom of worship.*"<sup>7</sup>

But when the discussion turned to actions, the so-called “protectors of the Muslim people” could not agree on anything. When Algeria’s proposed to impose sanctions on Israel, it was rejected after being opposed by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Morocco. Libya’s proposal that the final statement of the conference should include a statement in support of the right of the Palestinian people to resist the Israeli occupation met the same fate.

Other proposals included the call for prohibition of the use of US and other military bases in Arab countries to supply Israel with weapons and ammunition; for freezing of Arab diplomatic, economic, security, and military relations with Israel; and for threatening to leverage oil and Arab economic capabilities to apply pressure and halt the ongoing aggression. These measures were endorsed by 11 Arab countries, including Palestine, Syria, Algeria, Tunisia, Iraq, Lebanon, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Libya and Yemen. But they were vetoed by other, more powerful players, which support the so-called “normalization” with the Zionist state.<sup>8</sup>

### The open and the disguised enemies of the liberation struggle

In other words, Arab states which have established official diplomatic and economic relations with Israel – like the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Morocco, Jordan and Egypt – do not only fail to aid the Palestinian resistance with weapons or with joining the war on the side of the oppressed; they even refuse to cut relations with the Zionist terror state! They denounce the aggression of Israel with their mouth but give them money with their hands.

Most of those Arab leaders who supported sanctions against Israel at the summit are not much better. Take the Palestinian Authority of Mahmoud Abbas. They might support sanctions against Israel at the OIC Summit. But

in the West Bank, it helps the Israeli state to suppress the Palestinian resistance. It is despised by the people which is why his party lost the parliamentary elections to Hamas and why it did not allow new Presidential elections despite the fact that Abbas’ mandate has expired already in 2009! The truth is that Abbas continues to be in power only because of Israel’s support.

Or take Assad, the notorious butcher of the Syrian people. What a loud-mouth and spearhead of “Anti-Zionism” and “Anti-Imperialism”! But compare this to the real world. His father had joined the U.S.-led coalition which waged war against Iraq in 1991. And Assad the son is a coward in face of Israel who never fired a single shot against the Zionist enemy! He is only “strong” against his own people of whom he has slaughtered – with the aid of Russian imperialism – hundreds of thousands since the beginning of the Syrian Revolution in 2011.

This is why the RCIT has supported the Syrian Revolution from its beginning until today.<sup>9</sup> We fully share the sentiment of Syrian activists who say that Israel and Assad are “two sides of the same coin”, i.e. both are butchers of the people.<sup>10</sup>

Egypt’s reactionary ruler – General Sisi, who came to power via a bloody military coup in July 2013 – does not only entertain official relations with Israel. His regime has also always supported Israel’s barbaric blockade of Gaza by closely guarding the border and by destroying many tunnels which were used for smuggling goods into the enclave.<sup>11</sup>

The same is true for the Mullah regime in Iran. It is full of rhetoric against “the Zionist enemy” and, to its credit, it provides material support to some Palestinian resistance organisations. But at the same time, it is suppressing its own people – including the Arab, Kurdish and Azeri national minorities -, trampling on women’s rights<sup>12</sup> and supports reactionary tyrants (e.g. Assad in Syria or Putin’s

# 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/>



imperialist war against the Ukraine).<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, we see the Arab street boiling and the masses demanding their leaders to intervene and to support the Palestinian brothers and sisters by any means necessary. But instead of heading the demand of its people, these rulers not only refuse to take actions against Israel but even suppress the masses who are willing to join the struggle of the Palestinian resistance. The shameful attacks of Sisi police thugs against pro-Palestine demonstrators or of Jordan's police against people who wanted to march to the border with Israel are symbolic for the reactionary nature of the Arab regimes.

What is the material basis for the reactionary stance of the Arab (and Iranian) rulers? The answer, in short, is simple: power and money. They know that a wave of mass mobilisation throughout the region resulting in a popular war against the Zionist state would completely destabilise the region. If the masses can defeat Israel, why on earth should they not also topple the greedy and useless regimes at home?! Furthermore, a regional war would badly affect the ruler's business since it could block transport routes for oil and gas shipments and would deter foreign investments from imperialist states (which comes mainly the U.S., Western Europe and China).

In addition, such regional instability would be a catastrophe also for the imperialist powers. They all need oil and gas from the Middle East and the Arab rulers need banks and markets in the imperialist countries. In short, if they have to choose between life and death of the Palestinian people and their own power and money, the corrupted rulers surely know what to choose!

### **The struggle for the liberation of Palestine requires breaking down the wall of Arab rulers**

In other words, all these Arab (and Iranian) rulers are not only no help for the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, they are rather a decisive obstacle. Hence, the struggle for a free Palestine must be combined with the struggle against the Arab (and Iranian) rulers.

Such a combination is not only necessary from a Palestinian point of view but also from an Arab and Iranian point of view. These rulers have helped a small elite to enrich itself beyond imagination while the masses are forced to battle for their existence every day. At the same time, these rulers strangle democratic freedoms since years and decades so that the workers and oppressed can not fight for their dignity.

This has been the objective background for the Arab Revolution which began in early 2011 and which saw some important victories – like the fall of Ben Ali, Mubarak, and Gaddafi – but also several severe defeats.<sup>14</sup> However, it is a process of revolution and counterrevolution which is still ongoing as the new wave of popular uprisings in 2018-2020 in Iraq, Sudan, Algeria, etc.<sup>15</sup> or the mass mobilisation in Syria in August and September this year demonstrated.<sup>16</sup>

Hence, there exists an objective basis to combine these two processes – the Palestinian liberation struggle and the Arab Revolution. The Palestinian people need the support of their Arab (and Iranian) brothers and sisters. They can not count on the selfish and greedy rulers but only on the popular masses. And the Arab masses have an existential

interest in destroying the Zionist state since this entity will always be a key force of imperialist counterrevolution if the Arab masses achieve a victory in this or that country.

Therefore, the RCIT strongly rejects national-isolationist tendencies which want to separate the Palestinian struggle from the liberation struggles in other Arab countries. Likewise, we insist that the liberation struggles in Syria, Egypt, etc. have to be combined with an explicit stance of solidarity with Palestine.

Hence, we consider it as a grave mistake of the Hamas leadership that – after it supported the Syrian Revolution for some years – it has reconciled with the Assad regime.

### **The program of permanent revolution and the need for revolutionary leadership**

The struggles for the liberation of Jerusalem and for the Arab Revolution are inextricably linked with each other. Furthermore, they have both a national as well as an international character; and, finally, they have both a national, democratic as well as a socialist character. Let us explain in more detail what this means.

As we already said, it is crucial that revolutionary activists combine the Palestinian struggle with the issue of solidarity with the Syrian Revolution, the necessity to bring down the Sisi regime in Egypt, etc. And likewise, the Palestine issue has to be introduced into the liberation struggle in Arab countries.

If the workers and oppressed in one country succeed in bringing down a regime, they must not stop such a revolutionary process at the border of their country. The goal must be to expand the revolution to other countries so that the counterrevolution can not regroup and isolate the revolution. Should the masses take power in Egypt, Israel in concert with Saudi Arabia and the Emirates (and maybe with the aid of the reactionary warlords in Sudan) will try to intervene and to overthrow the new government. Hence, the revolution must look for allies from the very beginning and these allies are among the masses – and not among the rulers. Such an internationalisation of the revolution is also essential because the economy of each country depends on the regional and world market.

Furthermore, the revolution must be a comprehensive one. It must aim at smashing the authoritarian state apparatus (army, police, bureaucracy) as this monster will always be an instrument of the ruling class – as we saw in Egypt and Tunisia. Such a capitalist state apparatus must be replaced with a new one which has to be built from below to the top, under the control of the masses.

The revolution must also immediately expropriate the ruling class, i.e. the key sectors of industry, transport, telecommunication and finances must be nationalised and put under workers control. As long as the elite keeps its wealth, it will have the financial means to bribe and to organise a counterrevolution.

Such a program – presented here in a very condensed form – is based on the theory of permanent revolution which was elaborated by Leon Trotsky – the co-leader, together with Lenin, of the October Revolution in 1917 – on the basis of the experience of the Russian as well as other revolutions. „*The permanent revolution, in the sense which Marx attached to this concept, means a revolution which makes no compromise with any single form of class rule, which does*



*not stop at the democratic stage, which goes over to socialist measures and to war against reaction from without: that is, a revolution whose every successive stage is rooted in the preceding one and which can end only in the complete liquidation of class society.”<sup>17</sup>*

Revolutionary activists need to intervene in all struggles of the workers and oppressed and advocate such a program of permanent revolution. They should help the masses to build their own organs of struggle. Such should be *mass assemblies in workplaces and neighbourhoods* which take democratic decision about the struggle resp. its goals and which elect delegates so that regional and national bodies can be formed. Likewise, such assemblies need to create *armed units of self-defence* in order to defend the masses against the repression apparatus. Such organs can, when the masses rise up via an armed insurrection against the ruling class, become the basis for an authentic *workers and poor peasant government*.

Such a strategy can only be realised if activists join forces and build a revolutionary party on the basis of such a program of permanent revolution. Hence, the task of building a *Revolutionary World Party*, with sections in each country, is the key task of the current period. The RCIT is dedicated to this task and calls all likeminded activists to join forces.

#### Footnotes

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# Palestine: The Two-State Solution is No Solution at all!

## The only way forward is single Palestinian state from the river to the sea in which Jews will have full religious and cultural rights

*By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8 December 2023*

The Biden Administration and their European allies are warming up once more the hackneyed idea of the so-called two-state solution, i.e. the idea to create a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza alongside the Israel state. It is no accident that this concept receives support from the same governments which lend “unlimited support” to the Zionist state and its genocide in Gaza.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious why the Western governments are reviving talk about this idea just now: they want to create the impression that they would care about the future of the Palestinian people so that they can deflect attention from their political and military support for the Israeli massacre in Gaza. This is all the more necessary for Biden & Co since most of the world – and particularly the Arab and Muslim countries – are enraged about Washington’s complicity in mass murder.

If the U.S. and Western Europe would have been seriously interested in the creation of a Palestinian state, why did they do nothing in the past decades to force Israel to accept such a solution?! Why did they continue to send money and weapons despite the ongoing expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the siege against Gaza for years and decades?! In other words, Washington’s and Brussel’s revived rhetoric about the “two-state solution” is nothing but a smoke screen.

Of course, there are many people who seriously and without cynical intentions support the idea of the two-state solution. While we respect their intentions, the RCIT considers this concept both as illusionary as well as reactionary.

### Violation of the historic rights of the Palestinian people

Why do we call it reactionary? Because it violates the historic rights of the Palestinian people. As it is well known, the creation of the Zionist state in 1948 was based on the expulsion of 85% of all Palestinians living on that territory. When Israel expanded its colonial control in 1967 by occupying Gaza and the West Bank, even more people were forced to flee.

According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, there are about 14.3 million Palestinians living in historical Palestine and the diaspora. Of these, more than 5.3 million live in Gaza and West Bank, 1.7 million in the 1948-occupied territories (i.e. the state of Israel), 6.4 million live in other Arab countries and about 800,000 in non-Arab states.<sup>2</sup>

In 2019 more than 5.6 million Palestinian refugees were registered with the United Nations. More than half of the Palestinian diaspora – i.e. people living outside of Gaza, West Bank and Israel – are stateless, lacking legal citizenship in any country.

The vast majority of the Palestinians want to return to their homeland but they are prevented to do this by the Israeli occupation power. Of course, there is an inner logic to this. The Zionist state is based on the settler project

which requires the expulsion of the native population and the building of an exclusive Jewish state on their land. Allowing the Palestinians to return to their homes would destroy the material basis of the Israeli state.

The only democratic solution is the dissolution of the Israeli settler state and the right of the Palestinians the return to their homeland. Naturally, this would make the Palestinians the majority population and the Jews the minority (currently, there about 7 million Jews living in Israel).

This was also the situation before the creation of the Zionist state. In fact, only about 10,000 Jews were living in Palestine at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was only because of the British occupation of the country in 1920 and the systematic settlement of Jews (combined with the expulsion of the native Arab population), that the Zionists could lay the foundation of the future Israeli state. In other words, the state of Israel is by its whole historical development a settler project which was enabled (and kept alive) by imperialist powers.

### A dangerous trap

For all these reasons, it is evident that the Israeli Apartheid state would never accept a democratic solution which allows the return of the Palestinian refugees. This is why Zionism is structurally oppressive, racist, and incompatible with democracy. Hence, this state must be abolished.

It is for the same reason that Israel is violently opposed to the creation even of a Palestinian mini state in Gaza and the West Bank. It is opposed because it fears that such a state could strengthen the Palestinians and its resistance forces and pose a threat to Israel at a future stage. The sophisticated and surprising 7 October attack of Hamas has certainly increased such fears among the Zionists.

However, it is theoretically not excluded that a shift in the relation of forces both in the Middle East as well as globally could result in the creation of a Palestinian mini state. However, this would a reactionary solution not only because it would prevent to millions of people to return to their homes in 1948-occupied Palestine.

It would be a reactionary solution also because such a mini state would inevitable become completely dependent and subordinated to Israel. Israel has one of the most powerful armies in the world and possesses about 200 nuclear weapons. Its GDP is 488.5 billion dollars and it’s GDP per capita is 52,170. Compare this with Palestine (West Bank and Gaza) which has a GDP of only 18.04 billion dollars and its GDP per capita is 3,663. In other words, Israel’s economy is more than 20 times as strong than that of the West Bank and Gaza. Hence, such a Palestine mini state could not but be an economic appendix of Israel which would be kept in impoverished conditions and super-exploited by a small elite of capitalists.

Add to this that is most likely that Israel and its Western allies would insist that such a Palestine mini state would

accept to have only a weak army which purpose would be mainly to suppress its own population. In fact, this is already the case in the West Bank where the Palestinian Authority of Mahmoud Abbas uses its numerous security services exclusively to attack resistance forces but never fires a single shot against the occupation forces.

In short, such a Palestinian mini state would be a de-facto colony of Israeli imperialism. Hence, a two-state solution would be a dangerous trap for the Palestinian people.

**The only way forward:  
single state from the river to the sea**

The RCIT and its comrades in Israel / Occupied Palestine have always insisted that the only solution is the destruction of the Zionist state which would allow the right to return of all Palestinians. Israel must be replaced by a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea.<sup>3</sup>

Does this mean that we advocate the expulsion of the Jewish population from Palestine? No, of course not. Such a state should be democratic and secular, i.e. it would treat all citizens as equal irrespective of their religious or ethnic background. While the Jews would be a minority in such a state, they would have full religious and cultural rights. It is likely that some of the Zionist settlers could not accept the loss of their dominant position, as it was the case with many white settlers in Africa. But all those who accept to live as equals with the Palestinians will be welcomed.

Such a state has to be a workers and poor peasant republic as part of a socialist federation of the whole region. Only a state which expropriates the monopolies and billionaires can ensure that the Palestinians get back their land and

their homes. Only a socialist economy could elaborate a plan to rebuild Gaza and the West Bank and to share the wealth equally among all citizens.

In summary, the two-state solution has never been a solution for the Palestinian people. It is an illusionary concept or, if it would be implemented, it would be a reactionary trap. In other words, it is a reactionary illusion. The only way forward is the creation of a single, democratic and secular Palestinian state from the River to the Sea which should be a workers and poor peasant republic as part of a socialist federation of the Middle East.

#### Footnotes

1 We refer readers to a special page on our website where the RCIT documents on the 2023 Gaza War are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-gaza-uprising-2023/>.

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## Books of the RCIT

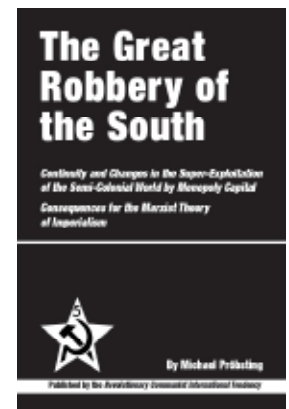
### Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South* Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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

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

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

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



## U.S. Prepares for Sell-Out of Ukraine

### On a revealing article by Richard Haas and Charles Kupchan in “Foreign Affairs”

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 22 November 2023

We have warned for some time that the U.S. and its European allies are preparing a sell-out of the Ukraine.<sup>1</sup> In spring, secret negotiations with Russia started with a meeting between a group of former U.S. diplomats (in close coordination with the White House) and a Russian team led by Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov. The goal of these negotiations is to pacify the war and to establish a permanent ceasefire. Such a deal would include that Kyiv is forced to agree to substantial territorial losses of regions which are currently occupied by Moscow.<sup>2</sup>

The background of these developments is that Western powers have always viewed Ukraine’s just war of defence only as an instrument to put pressure on Russia – a major imperialist rival. Hence, it tactically supported the Ukraine with money and weapons. However, when it became clear that the war and Western sanctions could not bring Russia to its knees, the White House started to look for a way out.

This attitude was reinforced by the facts a) that deep divisions exist within the political elite of the U.S. (with a Trump-led Republican Party deeply hostile to any support for the Ukraine and elections Presidential elections looming in November 2024) and b) that Washington’s aid puts massive strains on the U.S. budget as well as on its depleted military stocks. This is even more the case since the beginning of Israel’s genocidal war against Gaza which the U.S. unconditionally supports with money and weapons.<sup>3</sup>

In the last few months, particularly after it became clear that the Ukraine’s counteroffensive has stalled, Western powers increased their pressure on the Ukraine to agree to giving up parts of its land. In August, a leading NATO official suggested that the Ukraine should consider making territorial concessions.<sup>4</sup> And a few days ago, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, a former NATO secretary general and advisor to the Ukrainian government, proposed that the country should join the military alliance but give up the territories occupied by Russia.<sup>5</sup>

This is the context in which Richard Haas and Charles Kupchan have published a highly interesting article in *Foreign Affairs* in November 2023. This article is important not only because it is a journal which is closely related with the U.S. State Department and because Richard Haas has been a foreign policy guru for many years. (He was a high-ranking diplomat and advisor in the Bush Administration as well as president of the *Council on Foreign Relations* for two decades – until summer this year).<sup>6</sup>

The article is particularly relevant because Richard Haas happens to be the leader of the above-mentioned team negotiating with Russia about the pacification of the Ukraine War (Kupchan is also part of this team). The two did already author another article in *Foreign Affairs* which was published in April – shortly before the secret negotiations became publicly known.<sup>7</sup>

For all these reasons, the new article of Haas/Kupchan has to be taken very seriously as it reflects the current thinking of the White House.

#### A strategy of retreat

Basically, the authors make clear that the U.S. can no longer (or is no longer willing) to support the Ukraine in its war against Putin’s invasion.

*“Ukraine’s counteroffensive appears to have stalled, just as wet and cold weather brings to a close the second fighting season in Kyiv’s effort to reverse Russian aggression. At the same time, the political willingness to continue providing military and economic support to Ukraine has begun to erode in both the United States and Europe. These circumstances necessitate a comprehensive reappraisal of the current strategy that Ukraine and its partners are pursuing.*

*Such a reassessment reveals an uncomfortable truth: namely, that Ukraine and the West are on an unsustainable trajectory, one characterized by a glaring mismatch between ends and the available means. Kyiv’s war aims—the expulsion of Russian forces from Ukrainian land and the full restoration of its territorial integrity, including Crimea—remain legally and politically unattainable. But strategically they are out of reach, certainly for the near future and quite possibly beyond.*

*The time has come for Washington to lead efforts to forge a new policy that sets attainable goals and brings means and ends into alignment. The United States should begin consultations with Ukraine and its European partners on a strategy centered on Ukraine’s readiness to negotiate a cease-fire with Russia and to simultaneously switch its military emphasis from offense to defense. Kyiv would not give up on restoring territorial integrity or holding Russia economically and legally accountable for its aggression, but it would acknowledge that its near-term priorities need to shift from attempting to liberate more territory to defending and repairing the more than 80 percent of the country that is still under its control.*

*Russia may well reject Ukraine’s offer of a cease-fire. But even if the Kremlin proves intransigent, Ukraine’s shift from offense to defense would limit the continuing loss of its soldiers, enable it to direct more resources to long-term defense and reconstruction, and shore up Western support by demonstrating that Kyiv has a workable strategy aimed at attainable goals. Over the longer term, this strategic pivot would make it clear to Russia that it cannot simply hope to outlast Ukraine and the West’s willingness to support it. That realization may eventually convince Moscow to move from the battlefield to the negotiating table—a move that would be to Ukraine’s ultimate advantage, since diplomacy offers the most realistic path for ending not only the war but also, over the long term, Russia’s occupation of Ukrainian territory.”*

In other words, the U.S. diplomats are pushing the Ukraine to stop its efforts to expel the Russian invaders, to focus on defending its remaining territory, to accept a ceasefire and to start negotiations with the Kremlin.

This statement reflects the urgency with which the White House wants to bring the war to an end. As NBC – one of the main news networks in the U.S. – reported a few days ago, the White House wants to start such negotiations within the next few months. *“Officials also have privately said Ukraine likely only has until the end of the year or shortly*

thereafter before more urgent discussions about peace negotiations should begin.”<sup>8</sup>

### Bankruptcy of the pro-NATO Zelensky government

All these developments demonstrate the bankruptcy of the policy of the Zelensky government in Kyiv. It has followed an unscrupulous pro-NATO policy combined with a bourgeois program to sell-out the economy to foreign and local oligarchs.<sup>9</sup> As we pointed out, Zelensky pandered to the Western powers by presenting his country as a new “Israel” which would defend “Western civilization” against the “barbarians from the East”. The Bankova’s unconditional support for Israel’s barbaric war against the Palestinian people reflects such shameful capitulation of the Zelensky government to U.S. and EU imperialism.<sup>10</sup>

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) has always denounced such a policy which could only result in increasing dependency of the Ukraine to Western powers. We explained that a pro-NATO orientation is nothing but a dangerous trap for the Ukrainian people. It can only result in subordination to Western foreign policy interests and the sell-out of the country’s economy to U.S. and European monopolies.<sup>11</sup>

As a result of such a pro-NATO orientation, the Zelensky government subordinated itself to the foreign policy manoeuvres of Washington and Brussels. Hence, when the Western powers decide that they are no longer interested in supporting the Ukraine, they can force their lackeys in Kyiv to agree to a policy of pacification and capitulation and, hence, the popular masses face the danger of a sell-out of their struggle.

### For a socialist perspective!

The RCIT and other authentic socialists have taken an internationalist and anti-imperialist stance in the Ukraine War from its very beginning. We have supported the Ukraine’s war of national defence against Putin’s invasion and called for international solidarity by the workers movement. We defended the right of the Ukraine to get weapons from wherever possible.<sup>12</sup> We also initiated respectively co-organised three solidarity convoys bringing material aid to the Ukrainian people and participated with delegates at the international solidarity conference in Lviv (Ukraine) on May Day 2022.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, we have warned about the bourgeois and pro-NATO character of the Zelensky government and advocated the independent organisation of the Ukrainian working class and popular masses. Instead of becoming an auxiliary of Western imperialism, the Ukraine should wage a *popular war* against Russian imperialism independent of any Great Powers – similar to the resistance forces in Iraq and Afghanistan which expelled the American occupiers. The Ukrainian workers and peasants need to organise themselves independently in *councils of actions* (“Soviets”) and *armed militias*. They should replace the capitalist Zelensky government with their own government – a *workers and poor peasant government* – in order to take their fate in their own hands and to remove any influence of oligarchs and foreign imperialists.

At the same time, we have also insisted that the Ukraine War – a key event in world politics – has a dual character. Socialists unreservedly condemn the reactionary invasion of Putin and support the Ukraine’s war of national de-

# Books of the RCIT

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

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

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

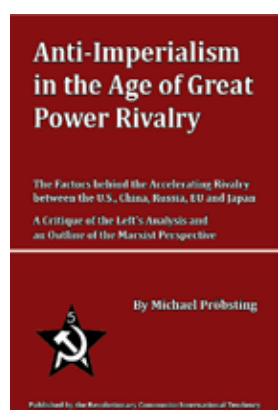
*Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* demonstrates the validity of the Marxist analysis of modern imperialism. Using comprehensive material (including 61 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that a correct understanding of the rise of China and Russia as new Great Powers is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

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

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

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

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



fence 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.

Hence, socialists must combine their support for the Ukraine's war of national liberation with intransigent opposition against Western as well as Eastern imperialism and all forms of chauvinist Great Power policy (e.g. economic sanctions). The RCIT has summarised such an approach in the slogan: *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!*

### Footnotes

1 In a statement published in November 2022, we warned: *"The RCIT and Socialist Tendency alert all internationalist and anti-imperialist activists that the Ukrainian liberation struggle is threatened by a Great Power deal aimed at the pacification of the war. Such a deal would mean, at least temporary, the consolidation of the Russian occupation of significant parts of the Ukraine's territory. In other words, the Ukrainian people face the danger of a sell-out by Western imperialism. Washington and Brussels might push for such a pacification of the war before it destabilises the imperialist world order too much and provokes mass unrests or even revolutionary crises in Russia, Europe or in other parts of the world. (...) Such a Great Power deal imposed on the Ukrainian people would be comparable to the shameful Dayton Agreement which the imperialists enforced on the Bosnian people in 1995. The RCIT resolutely opposes such a reactionary deal as we did during the Balkan Wars."* (Ukraine War: The Liberation of Western Kherson Oblast and the Danger of a Great Power Deal, 15 November 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-liberation-of-kherson-danger-of-great-power-deal/>)

In another statement, published in April 2023, we pointed out: *"As a result of all these challenges, both NATO as well as Russia strive – in one way or another – to open a process of armistice negotiations which would end the war, at least temporary. The Kremlin has repeatedly stated that it is open for negotiations – as long as the Ukraine does not become a member of NATO and as long as it accepts Russia's "new territories", i.e. Putin's annexation of the regions Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhia. Likewise, a number of serious indicators have emerged in past weeks that NATO is also looking for an end of the armed conflict in the foreseeable future."* (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/>)

2 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Ukraine War: Secret Negotiations between U.S. and Russia Have Started. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov met with former U.S. diplomats to discuss about the pacification of the conflict, 8 July 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-secret-negotiations-between-u-s-and-russia-have-started/>; by the same author: Ukraine War: What Does the U.S. Offer in its Secret Negotiations with Russia? Both imperialist camps want to pacify the war and impose a deal which would be a disaster for the Ukrainian people, 31 July 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-what-does-the-u-s-offer-in-its-secret-negotiations-with-russia/>.

3 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more a number of RCIT documents on the 2023 Gaza War are compiled, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-gaza-uprising-2023/>.

4 Michael Pröbsting: NATO Official Suggests Ukraine Should Trade Territory for Membership. Western powers plan to sell-out the Ukraine's national rights for a "grand bargain" with Putin, 16 August 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/nato-official-suggests-ukraine-should-trade-territory-for-membership/>

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5 Patrick Wintour: Ex-Nato chief proposes Ukraine joins without Russian-occupied territories, The Guardian, 11 November 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/nov/11/ex-nato-chief-proposes-ukraine-joins-without-russian-occupied-territories>

6 Richard Haass and Charles Kupchan: Redefining Success in Ukraine. A New Strategy Must Balance Means and Ends, Foreign Affairs, November 17, 2023, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/redefining-success-ukraine>

7 Richard Haass and Charles Kupchan: The West Needs a New Strategy in Ukraine. A Plan for Getting From the Battlefield to the Negotiating Table, Foreign Affairs, April 13, 2023, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/russia-richard-haass-west-battlefield-negotiations>

8 Courtney Kube, Carol E. Lee and Kristen Welker: U.S., European officials broach topic of peace negotiations with Ukraine, sources say, NBC, 4 November 2023, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/us-european-officials-broach-topic-peace-negotiations-ukraine-sources-rcna123628>

9 See on this e.g. our 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/>

10 See on this e.g. RCIT: Ukraine's Zelensky Cheers the Zionist Oppressor of the Palestinian People. Support the Heroic Palestinian Resistance! Defeat Israel! 10 October 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/ukraine-s-zelensky-cheers-the-zionist-oppressor-of-the-palestinian-people/>

11 See on this e.g. RCIT: NATO Integration: An Imperialist Trap for the Ukrainian People! 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! 19 June 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/nato-integration-is-imperialist-trap-for-ukraine/>; Michael Pröbsting: Ukraine War: What Are the Results of the NATO Vilnius Summit? On the contradictory process of NATO-Ukraine rapprochement and, at the same time, diverging interests between Western powers and Kyiv, 13 July 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/what-are-the-results-of-the-nato-vilnius-summit/>; by the same author: 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/>.

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

13 See on this the reports compiled at this sub-page on the RCIT's website, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/international-workers-aid/>.

## Sudan: End the Genocide in Darfur!

### Drive Out the RSF and Arab Militias from Darfur! No Collaboration With the SAF!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (RSV) Nigerian Section of the RCIT, 25th December 2023*

The ethnic cleansing in Darfur has not abated an inch, if anything it has worsened in the last couple of months with the Arab militias under the umbrella of the RSF capturing all but one state in Darfur, wreaking the most heinous carnage and atrocious sexual violence against women as they close in on North Darfur state. According to Al Jazeera:

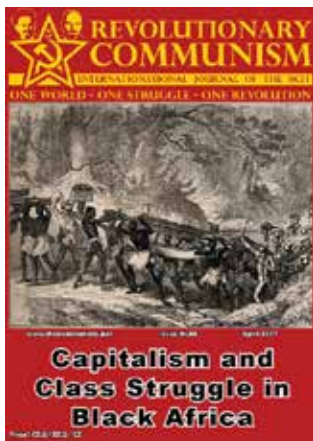
*"Sudan's Rapid Support Forces (RSF) besieged a camp for displaced people on November 2 after attacking a nearby army base in West Darfur. Over the next three days, the paramilitary group committed what may amount to the single largest mass killing since the civil war erupted in April. Local monitors told Al Jazeera that about 1,300 people were killed, 2,000 injured and 310 remain missing. "They went house to house to search for men and killed each one they found," said Montesser Saddam, who barely escaped the killing and arrived in Chad on Sunday. "There were so many corpses in the streets." Alan Boswell, an expert on Sudan for International Crisis Group, ... warned that similar atrocities could unfold in North Darfur. "There is a huge risk of a military fight [in North Darfur] turning into ethnic violence and atrocities like what occurred in West Darfur," Boswell told Al Jazeera. "Any fight between the RSF and Zaghawa groups could also reverberate in Chad, where there could be more disquiet about [President Mahamat] Deby's approach to the war in Sudan within his camp." Deby, who is Zaghawa, has maintained an ambivalent stance towards Darfur, but he could come under domestic pressure to defend his kin if they are at-*

*tacked in Sudan. For now, civilians in el-Fasher just hope to avert an all-out war."*<sup>1</sup>

The whole state is gripped with fear of the inevitable attack that is sure to bring with it more harrowing dehumanisation of especially vulnerable groups such as women and children plus a greater fallout for the region as the above report hints on the possibility of Chadian involvement. First hand testimonies of the horrific sexual and otherwise violence against women by the RSF and Arab militias is captured thusly:

*"A 24-year-old raped by armed men in her home just feet from her mother. A 19-year-old abducted and raped by four men over three days. A 28-year-old women's rights activist, seized by men on the doorstep of her home and then raped while being held for hours in an abandoned house. They are among 11 young Masalit women interviewed by Reuters who said they were sexually assaulted amid the war in Sudan by members of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), an Arab-dominated paramilitary group, and allied Arab militiamen. The assaults, they said, took place during weeks of attacks earlier this year in El Geneina, capital of Sudan's West Darfur region.*

*Nine of the women described being raped by multiple men. All 11 said they were assaulted at gunpoint. Another three people said they witnessed women being raped. Reuters earlier detailed the carnage that erupted in El Geneina from late April to mid-June, when the RSF and its allies targeted the Masalit, a darker-skinned ethnic-African tribe that comprised a majority of*



### 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 city before they were largely driven out. Survivors described civilians slaughtered at home, in the streets and in a river valley – picked off by snipers, mowed down with automatic weapons, hacked with swords, burned alive in their houses. In early November, the RSF and Arab militia fighters waged another wave of ethnically targeted attacks in the city, Reuters recently reported. Among the survivors of the earlier attacks: a 15-year-old girl who described seeing her parents killed and enduring an hours-long ordeal in which five RSF fighters raped her and a friend – then shot the friend dead.”<sup>2</sup>

The untold barbarism of the RSF and the hoard of Arab militias surrounding it has been rightly greeted with scalding condemnation on the global scene by rights groups, the “progressive” milieu of NGO’s and humanitarian aid agencies. But this condemnation and rising animosity towards the RSF is coated on the flip side with deodorant for the stench of the SAF’s maleficence; sanitising its reactionary rule and making it a better option – a lesser evil to the RSF. This sentiment is most strongly felt in another historic betrayal of the leadership of the resistance of the non-Arab ethnic militias a la Gibril Ibrahim who heads the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and Minni Minnawi, leader of the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA)

### The Betrayal of the Non-Arab Ethnic Ruling Class

The wavering and extremely unprincipled deviations of the leadership of the SLA and JEM is well captured in an Al Jazeera report:

“Minnawi has a considerable history in Darfur. In 2003, he joined the non-Arab Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) to wage a rebellion – along with another group known as the Justice and Equality Movement – against the central government for neglecting and exploiting Darfur. The SLA was mainly composed of two non-Arab tribes: the Zaghawa and the Fur. But in 2005, the group split into two main factions across tribal lines due to a power struggle between Abdel Wahid al-Nur and Minnawi. The former is from the Fur and led the political wing of the SLA, while Minnawi is from the Zaghawa and commanded the SLA’s fighters. A year later, Minnawi’s faction – known as SLA-MM – signed the Darfur Peace Agreement with the government. Minnawi reportedly felt pressured to sign after mediators and diplomats warned that the UN Security Council would sanction him if he did not.

The settlement was short-lived and Minnawi declared another rebellion in 2010. The government, struggling to crush the uprising, responded by deploying the newly formed Rapid Support Forces (RSF) in 2014. Formalised the previous year out of the Popular Defence Forces – the Arab militias to whom the central government outsourced its fighting in Darfur, the RSF committed numerous massacres in the region, according to rights groups. By 2016, the SLA-MM was forced to retreat from Darfur and relocate to Libya, where they fought as mercenaries for the Libyan General Khalifa Haftar. In 2020, Minnawi and other militias returned to Sudan after signing a power-sharing deal with the army and the RSF. The army and RSF were negotiating with the rebels to strengthen their position against a civilian cabinet, with whom they had partnered to form a transitional government after a popular uprising toppled former President Omar al-Bashir in 2019.

The JPF came into being when several armed groups originally from Darfur signed the Juba Peace Agreement with the army and RSF, who used to be firm allies, in October 2020. The agree-

ment allowed non-Arab rebel groups to return to Darfur from exile in Libya, where they had been for four years. The groups included the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) led by Gibril Ibrahim and a faction of the Sudanese Liberation Army led by Minni Minnawi (SLA-MM) – under the JPA power-sharing, Ibrahim became the finance minister, while Minnawi was appointed governor of Darfur.

Ibrahim and Minnawi hedged for months, claiming neutrality in the conflict, but they officially declared support for the army on November 16. Four days later, the Gathering of Sudanese Justice and Equality Forces of Abdallah Banda in el-Fasher followed suit. “These men are sacrificing the positive image of the Joint Protection Forces and their movements to be warlords,” said Suliman Baldo, the founder of the Sudan Transparency and Policy Tracker, a think tank providing policy analysis on the country. They are joining forces with the army to preserve their narrow economic interests,” he added.”<sup>3</sup>

It was this set of treacherous pacts and unholy alliances that laid the foundation for their reactionary neutral stance which really meant they were defenceless when the war between the RSF and SAF broke out in April and their eventual allegiance with the SAF on November 16. The Juba Peace Agreement was signed without any form of recompense to the perpetrators of the genocide in Darfur, chiefly the SAF under Al-Burhan and the then Janjaweed, the RSF. That is, there was no justice for the victims of the genocide many of which are still displaced in Darfur or outside Sudan. To do irreparable damage to their images these wannabe power-brokers “joined the army, RSF and smaller armed groups to stage a coup on the civilian cabinet that had been sharing power with the security forces since a popular uprising overthrew autocratic President Omar al-Bashir in 2019. They planned to divvy up the spoils of the economy and ministerial positions and were parties to the normalisation process with Israel.”<sup>4</sup>

Despite all this wavering from the JEM, SLA and the many splinter militias, the status of the non-Arab ethnic nationalities of Darfur as oppressed nationalities is not invalidated. For the non-revolutionary character of a movement should never be used to determine the progressive or otherwise role of such a movement. Moreso, the unprincipled nature and reactionary alliances of the chief forces against Arab supremacy in Sudan is typical of a petit bourgeois section of the masses that alternates between the revolutionary or reactionary class depending on which is on the ascendancy and the conditions obtainable at the time.

This petty-bourgeois character is likewise responsible for the splits and in-fighting between them such as the equally reactionary splinter created as a result of the November 16 alliance of the JEM with the SAF that made its debut a meeting with the other wing of the enemy – the RSF.

Just like the Hezbollah who dispatched fighters to Syria to aid the blood drenched Assad regime in Syria remains a crucial part of the resistance against the imperialist state of Israel. The SLA and JEM’s absorption by Khalifa Haftar’s forces in the past does not illegitimize their objective roles as defenders of non-Arab ethnic Darfurians from genocide. To give another example, the Houthis who support the reactionary Mullah regime lead a legitimate resistance against US imperialism, the Saudi backed forces in Yemen and the Zionist state of Israel in the Middle East.

Similarly, the November 16th alliances does not imply a neutral stance for revolutionaries should the RSF attack El



Fashir in North Darfur State. Socialists stand for the defeat of the RSF and the victory of the defenders of North Darfur without giving any political support to the militias.

### RSF and Israel

As the Zionist state of Israel daily faces a staggering loss in the battle of public opinion since it ramped up its horrendous genocide of the Palestinians after the October 7th Hamas attack. It has sought new ways to rekindle the flame of the "Jew-hating bloodthirsty Arab" with which the Zionists initially justified their plans for ethnic cleansing in Palestine since the 1910's, backed of course by all of the monstrosity of the Western media machine. Amongst the barrage of silly mendacious claims and counter-factual narratives the Israeli propaganda machine throws up by the minute is that the RSF is backed by Hamas.

This is after literally holding several meetings with the RSF and SAF just months before April 15th to seal the Normalisation deal. It is also an open secret that while the SAF closely collaborates with the Knesset, the parliament of the Zionist Terror state, the RSF has formed tighter bonds with the Apartheid state's secret intelligence, the Mossad. Lastly, combat gear and armoured vehicles which suggest that Israel is arming the RSF have been used in the war:

*"Video footage has emerged of Israeli-made LAR-160 light artillery rockets being used by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) in Sudan against the Sudanese army. The LAR-160 is a 160mm caliber multiple rocket launcher that can fire up to 26 rockets at a time. It has a range of up to 45 kilometers and can be used to attack a variety of targets, including infantry, armor, and artillery. The launcher seen in the RSF footage was mounted in a light truck. Sudan is not known to operate the type, hence it is likely that the RSF acquired the artillery from a different source.*

*Israeli Military Industry's mounted the LAR-160 on a 6x6 Lynx multiple rocket launcher truck. The IDF's artillery branch also operates a variant of the rocket launcher known as the PULS*

*on Oshkosh 8x8 HEMTT trucks under the designation Lahav (blade). This August, it was established that fighters of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) are fielding the Israeli-made 7.62x39mm IWI Galil ACE 31 carbine with Thermal/NV scope, also likely acquire through a different source."<sup>5</sup>*

Even after debunking this fabrication many young activists, organisers against the genocide of the Apartheid state in Palestine; and BDS campaigners refrain from centering Dafur in the war on-going in Sudan. They initially refuse to admit that the major perpetrator of the genocide in Sudan (as they campaign against genocide in Palestine, the DRC, and Sudan) is the RSF and this genocide is against the Masalit, Fur and Zaghawa and smaller non-Arab ethnicities of Dafur. Those who admit this refuse to fully acknowledge the Arab base of the RSF and how the whole genocide is based on age-long Arab supremacy and expansionism. This is due to a rather upside down logic that their acknowledgement of this will weaken their pro-Palestinian stance and bring setbacks to the cause for Palestinian freedom.

This inverted logic has a multi-pronged source all of which are intertwined. The most obvious would be fears of causing a rift between Palestinian activists or migrants in the US or Europe who themselves are not totally free of anti-Black racism and their non-Palestinian allies who live in the West. Then there is the American left which with all the resources at its disposal is still under the influence of living inside the belly of the most powerful imperialist beast until the rise of Russia and China. For this leftists, and irrespective of their colour, America and its allies like Israel, are not one of the main enemies but simply the only enemy.

This erroneous stance is driven by the fact that their advocacy no matter how 'international' it may seem is mainly geared towards upward social mobility in the US for Blacks and at least to put a stop to headlines and tabloids that report mass shootings and racist attacks. Hence, call-



## RCIT AFRICA PROGRAM

# Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

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

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

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format*

ing out genocide perpetrated by Arabs or any wrong done by the victims of US imperialism is a no-brainer for them. Thus, in reality they are simply anti-American left, not anti-capitalist revolutionaries.

Conversely, calling out Arab expansionism or settler colonialism strengthens the campaign for the cause of Palestinian freedom since it doesn't connote blind anti-Westernism but a general abhorrence for oppression and by extension capitalism.

The war in Sudan is an implosion of the Arab supremacist hegemony which was sustained by the oppression of non-Arab identifying African nationalities in the South. The collapse of this Arab hegemony was already signaled by the independence of South Sudan in July 2011 after a 20 year long war. Dafur was never a region of modern-day Sudan until it was made a province of Sudan by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1915 after Ali Dinar, installed by the same Condominium as Sultan of Sudan, rebelled and pledged loyalty to the Ottoman empire during World War I for which he was ousted and killed. More proof of this Arab domination is that as earlier mentioned the Juba Peace Agreement saw no recompense for the Janjaweed with their enablers the Sudanese government for the genocide in Darfur, meaning there was no justice for the victims a good number of whom still remain displaced. Only the moribund militiamen-turned-mercenaries of the non-Arab ethnic nationalities made the JPA and not all the splinter groups signed the deal.

The RSF is only the more extremist wing of this Arab settler colonialist hegemony which is not ashamed to declare this reality in the open. Youssef Ezzat, an advisor to RSF commander Mohamed Hamdan Daglo had this to say when interviewed by Israel's Kan broadcaster; *"What we are exposed to, Israel has suffered thousands of times from terrorist groups, such as Hamas and other factions that Israeli citizens know well"*<sup>6</sup>

The designs for such ethnic cleansing were laid out already decades ago in the Arab Gathering where the Quraysh was promulgated. *"Some among them nurtured dreams of turning fertile lands, such as Darfur, into their own domains. A group known as the Arab Gathering, which met in the desert camps of Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi's Libya in the 1980s, issued a manifesto called Quraysh charting how they would do just that. When the Darfur war erupted in 2003, they allied with Bashir to turn their Arab supremacist agenda into reality."*<sup>7</sup>

While the open confession was that of an RSF officer; while the specific composition of the Arab Gathering is unclear (it could include SAF backers and loyalists too) recent events show that both the SAF and RSF are equal heirs of Arab expansionism and settler colonialism in Sudan. Hence the indifference of the SAF at the sacking of Masalit villages, towns, and El Geneina, the capital of West Dafur state by the RSF barely two months into the war. Witnesses and victims say the police and SAF units simply abandoned their stations as the RSF carried on their reign of terror leaving them defenseless. We should not quickly forget how both warlords worked closely together to put down through wanton bloodshed the 2003 uprising in Dafur. How both the RSF and SAF played a leading role in repressing the 2019 protests which they later hijacked.

Sudan like Israel is based on the national oppression of a people. In the latter case, the Zionist European Jews are the

aggressors, in the former it is the Arab identifying African ethnicities like Rezeigat that are the aggressors. While the victims of the Zionist Apartheid state are the Palestinians the victims of the Arab dominated ruling class in Sudan are the non-Arab ethnations.

So, without ending Arab settler colonialism in Dafur and dismantling the Arab supremacist state, crises and war will never end in Dafur. That is why the 2019 uprising in Sudan had as a central theme an end to the xenophobic treatment of non-Arab identifying Africans. In any armed confrontation over El Fashir revolutionaries must support the defenders militarily and physically against the RSF without giving political support to the JEM, SLA as the November 16 alliance would not play a significant role in the defence of North Dafur state. Already while the non-Arab militias still had a neutral stance, Minnawi deployed fighters to come to the aid of El Geneina in West Dafur state but they were summarily ambushed. Moreso, the non-Arab ethnic militias would still have defended the city irrespective of the alliance. Lastly, the war in Dafur predates the current conflict.

*Down With the SAF and RSF!*

*Autonomy and Self Determination for Dafur!*

*End the Arab Supremacist Hegemony in Sudan!*

#### Footnotes

[1] 'Corpses on streets': Sudan's RSF kills 1,300 in Darfur, monitors say <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/10/corpses-on-streets-sudans-rsf-kills-1300-in-darfur-monitors-say>; Fears of all-out ethnic war rise in Sudan's Darfur <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/22/fears-of-all-out-ethnic-war-in-rise-in-sudans-darfur>

[2] <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/sudan-politics-sexual-violence/>

[3] What does Minnawi's call to arms mean for Darfur? <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/1/what-does-minnawis-call-to-arms-mean-for-darfur>; Fears of all-out ethnic war rise in Sudan's Darfur <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/22/fears-of-all-out-ethnic-war-in-rise-in-sudans-darfur>

[4] Fears of all-out ethnic war rise in Sudan's Darfur <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/22/fears-of-all-out-ethnic-war-in-rise-in-sudans-darfur>

[5] [https://www.military.africa/2023/10/israeli-artillery-seen-with-rsf-forces/#google\\_vignette](https://www.military.africa/2023/10/israeli-artillery-seen-with-rsf-forces/#google_vignette)

[6] See [5] above

[7] <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/12/14/sudan-war-uae-russia-arms-gold-hemeti-burhan-rsf/>

# What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*No future without socialism!*

*No socialism without a revolution!*

*No revolution without a revolutionary party!*

