



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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2023 Gaza War: Is Hamas a Terrorist Organisation?

International Solidarity with Palestine

Critique of Mexico's "Fourth Transformation"

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.99, December 2023

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Picture on the cover: Hamas fighters (Source: Telegram)

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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On International Tactics in Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Struggle

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 27 October 2023

1. Israel's genocide against the Palestinian people and the heroic struggle of the resistance factions poses once more the issue of international solidarity in the centre of attention. The tactics of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) are based on our principled position in this war which we have summarised in the slogan "*Support the Palestinian Resistance! Defeat Israel!*" Hence, we advocate the military victory of the resistance led by Hamas without lending political support to the program or all tactics of its leadership.

2. We combine such a position with the perspective of smashing the Zionist Apartheid state and the creation of a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea. Such a state would have a Palestinians 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 ("*for a free and red Palestine, from the River to the Sea*").

3. We call for the full revitalization of the Intifada in the West Bank. For the creation of assemblies of the Palestinian workers and popular masses – to the degree this is possible under the conditions of war and oppression – which should discuss and decide about the course of the war, about a possible ceasefire, about organising and distributing humanitarian aid, rebuilding the Gaza strip, etc.

4. The RCIT advocates the combination of the Palestinian resistance with other struggles in the region like the revitalised Syrian Revolution, the popular resistance against Egypt's dictatorship, etc. In other words, the Palestinian liberation struggle has to be understood as an integral part of the Arab Revolution which started in 2011. ("*Spread the Intifada to the whole Middle East!*") Such a revolutionary process should be aimed at ultimately expel all imperialist powers (U.S., Russia and others) from the Middle East, to remove the Zionist entity, to bring down the local ruling class and to replace the capitalist system with a socialist federation of the Middle East.

5. In the current situation of the Gaza War, we support the call for a ceasefire. This would represent a major victory for the Palestinian resistance since it would stop the Israeli ground invasion. It would be a huge blow for Israel as Hamas delivered a successful strike against the Zionist state on 7 October and as it has been the declared goal of Israel and its Western supporters to "*annihilate Hamas*".

6. Irrespective of our political criticism of Hamas as a (petty-)bourgeois Islamist organisation, we recognise that it plays a leading role within the Palestinian liberation struggle. We oppose its denunciation as a "terrorist organisation" and call for the lifting of its criminalisation and ban in Western and other countries. We demand its recognition as a belligerent force in the war against Israel (as it was the case with the PLO in the 1970s and 1980s).

7. There is a realistic possibility that the war expands

once Israel starts its ground invasion. This could provoke Hezbollah in Lebanon, pro-Iranian forces in Syria, Iraq, and Yemen or even Iran itself to enter the conflict. Socialists would strongly welcome such an intervention as it would aid the Palestinian Resistance in this difficult hour and, at the same time, it would weaken Israeli as well as the U.S. imperialism. In such a conflict, the RCIT would call for the military victory of these forces against Israel and the U.S. without lending any political support to the leaderships resp. the Mullah regime.

8. The U.S. has sent two carrier groups to the region and tries to bolster its military position. This is part of its efforts not only to support its close ally Israel but also to regain domination of the Middle East (where it lost much influence in the last years vis-à-vis China and Russia). China has now also sent six warships to the region albeit it has not indicated any involvement in the conflict yet. In the case of the Ukraine War, we have supported the just war of national defence of the Ukrainian people against Russian imperialism. Hence, we have welcomed any form of military support for the Ukraine (even if it came from the U.S.). Likewise, we would welcome all forms of practical support for the Palestinian resistance today (even if it would come from China or Russia). However, in case of a direct conflict between U.S. and Chinese warships, we would take a dual defeatist position, i.e. supporting neither one nor the other imperialist camp.

9. The RCIT calls for the full and unconditional international support for the Palestinian liberation struggle. The workers and popular mass organizations must build a *global boycott movement* against Israel. Sabotage all forms of military support for Israel. For strikes, protests and consumer boycott against Israeli goods, pro-Israeli political and cultural events! At the same time, we strongly encourage support for all pro-Palestinian activities by progressive Jewish organisations.

10. In Arab and Muslim countries as well as in all other semi-colonial countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe, we call for the total rupture of all diplomatic, political and economic relations with Israel.

11. We call countries – in particular those which claim to support the cause of the Palestinian people – to send the Palestinian people everything they need. This includes humanitarian aid as well as arms.

12. In imperialist countries, we advocate mass protests as well as a workers and popular boycott against Israel. We demand an end of any political, financial and military support for Israel. However, we do not call the imperialist ruling class to impose sanctions against Israel as this would represent a form of support for imperialist sanctions policy – something which Trotsky and the Fourth International always strictly opposed.

13. Finally, a crucial demand after the end of the war will be that Israel – as well as the Western powers that support it – must fully pay for the costs of the reconstruction of Gaza.

Practical Examples of International Workers Solidarity with Gaza

Trade unions in North America and Europe target the Israeli war machinery as part of a global wave of mass mobilisations

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

We are currently experiencing a phenomenal movement of international solidarity with the Palestinian people. Workers and oppressed, young and old, demonstrate on the streets to show their protest against the genocide which Israel, supported by Western powers, is committing against the Palestinian people in Gaza.

These mobilisations constitute the largest global movement since the protests against the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. According to ACLED – an academic organization specialized in collecting data of global protests – there has been a massive upswing of mass mobilisations. *“During the first three weeks of the current round of hostilities, ACLED records approximately 4,200 demonstration events related to the conflict in almost 100 countries and territories, accounting for 38% of all demonstration events reported globally.”* (1)

As part of such massive pro-Palestine solidarity movement, calls are spreading for the boycott of Israeli goods as well as of corporations of Western supporting the genocide. From Türkiye to Malaysia and from Egypt to Indonesia, millions of people refuse to consume Coca Cola or visit a McDonalds or Starbucks store.

A particularly important form of boycott is the refusal to transport military weapons – or components relevant for such – to Israel. Shortly after the Zionist state launched its genocidal war against the Palestinian people in Gaza, Palestinian trade unions published an important appeal in which they called trade unions and popular organisations around the world to take action against Isarel’s war machinery. (2)

Since then, a number of trade unions in North America and Western Europe – which are the most important arms suppliers of the Zionist state – have picked this call. In the U.S., hundreds of pro-Palestinian protesters organised

blockades at two ports – first in Oakland, California, and then in Tacoma, Washington state. Carrying signs reading *“No Aid For Israel”* and *“Free All Palestinian Prisoners”*, they tried to stop the loading and unloading of a military supply ship, the Cape Orlando, with weapons bound for Israel. (3)

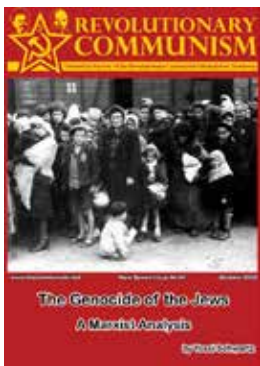
Trade unions in other countries have also followed the call of their Palestinian class brothers and sisters. In Spain, several smaller alternative unions – the Sindicato de comisiones de base, Solidaridad Obrera, CGT, ASC, Plataforma Sindical EMT and SAT – have published an appeal calling for the boycott of Israel. (4)

The OEPB – the only union representing the 1,200 dockers at Barcelona’s port – has published a declaration stating its refusal to load and unload any military material headed to Israel amid the war in Gaza. (5)

Similar solidarity activities of trade unions are taking place in other countries. Last week, several Belgian transport unions - ACV Puls, BTB/UBT, BBTk, and ACV-Transcom - refused to handle weapons headed to Israel. In a joint statement, the unions denounced the *“genocide in Palestine”* and demanded an immediate ceasefire in Gaza. Likewise did SI Cobas – a well-known militant union in Italy – state its aim to obstruct the delivery of weapons to Israel.

Expand the boycott!

All these are encouraging activities demonstrating that the Palestinian people are not alone. But more has to be done because the Western imperialist powers in North America and Western Europe are currently strong and united in supporting Israel, which is about to commit an-



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

other *Nakba* in Gaza, expelling more than two million people from their homes.

Shamefully, the bureaucratic leadership of the large trade unions fully support the pro-Israeli policy of their imperialist masters. The same is the case with most social democratic parties in Europe which support Israel's so-called "*right of self-defence*" – what a bizarre slogan for a colonial settler state! – or are even part of the pro-Zionist governments.

The working class must pressurise the trade union to break with such outrageous support for Israel's genocide. Likewise, the official workers movement must stand up in defence of the Muslim migrant brothers and sisters facing Islamophobic attacks. It must also protect the elementary democratic rights which are currently under severe attack by the pro-Zionist ruling class which tries to suppress pro-Palestine demonstrations.

Socialist perspective

The RCIT reiterates its unconditionally support for the Palestinian liberation struggle. We advocate the military victory of the resistance led by Hamas without lending political support to the program or all tactics of its leadership.

We combine such a position with the perspective of smashing the Zionist Apartheid state and the creation of a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea. Such a state would have a Palestinians 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 ("*for a free and red Palestine, from the River to*

the Sea").

We call for the creation of a strong international solidarity movement for the boycott of the Israeli Apartheid state. Sabotage all forms of military support for Israel. For strikes, protests and consumer boycott against Israeli goods, pro-Israeli political and cultural events! (6)

Victory to the Palestinian resistance! Defeat Israel!

1) Timothy Lay; Ciro Murillo: Infographic: Global Demonstrations in Response to the Israel-Palestine Conflict, 7 November 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/11/07/infographic-global-demonstrations-in-response-to-the-israel-palestine-conflict/>

2) An Urgent Call from Palestinian Trade Unions: End all Complicity, Stop Arming Israel, 16.10.2023, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-gaza-uprising-2023/#anker_1

3) Pro-Palestine protesters block road at Tacoma port where US weapons ship bound for Israel is docked, 06 November, 2023, <https://www.newarab.com/news/pro-palestine-protesters-block-road-tacoma-port>

4) LIT-CI: Estado Español: El sindicalismo alternativo muestra su apoyo a Palestina, 08.11.2023, <https://litci.org/es/estado-espanol-el-sindicalismo-alternativo-muestra-su-apoyo-a-palestina/>

5) Barcelona port workers refuse to handle military shipments to Israel amid brutal Gaza war, 08 November 2023, <https://www.newarab.com/news/barcelona-dockers-refuse-handle-weapons-israel>

6) 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/>.

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.

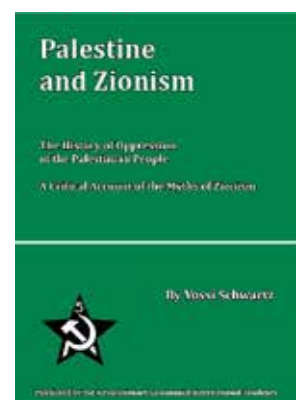
Yossi Schwartz also shows that the Palestinian people have heroically resisted against the occupation resulting in two Intifadas as well as the successful defense of Gaza against the Israeli aggression in three wars (2008/09, 2012, 2014). The author also analysis the shameful betrayal by the PLO leadership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



Indian Trade Unions Join the Global Pro-Palestine Solidarity Movement

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 12 November 2023

In a recently published article, we reported about a number of trade union actions in solidarity with Gaza. These activities are part of a growing global movement in defence of the Palestinian people.¹ The largest trade unions in India have now joined this movement in an impressive act of solidarity.

The racist Apartheid state Israel has recently expelled about 150,000 Palestinian workers from West Bank and Gaza. The Netanyahu government is therefore now looking for workers from other countries who could replace the Palestinians as cheap labour force. Already before this expulsion, Tel Aviv signed an agreement with India's right-wing and Islamophobic Modi government to bring around 42,000 Indian workers to Israel. Now, Israeli capitalists ask for another 100,000 migrant workers from India.²

In response, Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU), All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), and several other Indian unions, have released a joint statement on 9 November expressing their solidarity with Palestinian workers by refusing to replace them.³

The declaration states: "Nothing could be more immoral and disastrous for India than the said "export" of workers to Israel. That India is even considering "exporting" works shows the manner in which it has dehumanized and commodified Indian

workers. Such step will amount to complicity on India's part with Israel's ongoing genocidal war against Palestinians and will naturally have adverse implications for Indian workers in the entire region. India's trade union movement must rise in solidarity with Palestinian workers and reject this disastrous idea. Let's resolve that we will not work to replace Palestinian workers in Israel! (...) We demand that the agreement with Israel to export Indian workers be scrapped immediately."

Furthermore, the Indian trade unions denounce the "settler-colonial occupation of Palestine" and demand "an immediate halt to Israeli aggression against Palestine; end its occupation; we demand that the Palestinian right to a sovereign homeland be upheld – this is the only possible route to peace."

Finally, the statement calls to join the global boycott movement against Israel. "India and Indian workers should boycott Israeli products! Indian workers, as their counterparts in some western countries, should refuse to handle the Israeli cargo!"

Blow against Modi's policy of Islamophobia

The joint statement of the Indian trade unions is highly welcome and remarkable development. First, this is important simply because India is the most populous country in the world which gains increasing importance in the capitalist world economy. Second, the Modi government

Books of the RCIT

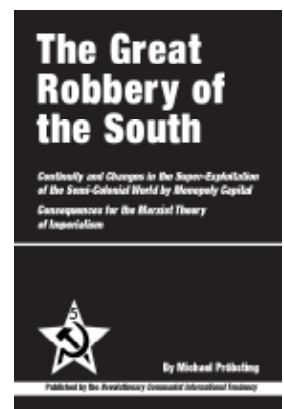
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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)



is an ally of the Israeli settler state whose support is only sometimes restrained by New Delhi's equally close relations with Russia (a major rival of U.S. imperialism – the most important backer of the Zionist state).

Third, the Modi government has pursued a racist policy of Hindutva chauvinism against the Muslim minority since many years.⁴ In fact, its policy of Islamophobia is a major tool to mobilise its fanatical supporters, to terrorise the minority population of more than 200 million Muslims and to deflect attention from the accelerating social and political contradictions in the country. In such an environment, it is encouraging to see such a strong trade union response against Modi's support for Israel.

It is particularly remarkable that this joint statement has also been signed by *Hind Mazdoor Sabha* which is the trade union affiliated to Modi's own party – the *Bharatiya Janata Party!* This shows that under specific circumstances, even politically backward workers can be won for progressive actions in the interest of the international proletariat.

Intensify the global boycott movement against the colonial settler state Israel!

The RCIT – including our comrades in Israel / Occupied Palestine – has always stand in solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle. In the current Gaza War – like in the past ones – we advocate the military victory of the resistance led by Hamas without lending political support to the program or all tactics of its leadership.⁵

We reiterate that workers and popular mass organisation all over the world must intensify their solidarity activities with the Palestinian brothers and sisters. They need to implement a comprehensive boycott of the Israeli Apartheid state. Sabotage all forms of military support for Israel. For strikes, protests and consumer boycott against Israeli goods, pro-Israeli political and cultural events!

In Western countries, socialists and all supporters of the Palestinian cause must wage a relentless struggle against the bureaucratic leaderships of trade unions which shamefully support the pro-Israeli policy of their imperialist masters. They should also demand that the official workers movement stands up in defence of the Muslim migrant brothers and sisters facing Islamophobic attacks.

Victory to the Palestinian resistance! Defeat Israel!

Footnotes

1 Michael Pröbsting: Practical Examples of International Workers Solidarity with Gaza. Trade unions in North America and Europe target the Israeli war machinery as part of a global wave of mass mobilisations, 10 November 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/practical-examples-of-international-workers-solidarity-with-gaza/>

2 Aina J Khan: Israel-Palestine war: Indian unions call for end to labour deal with Israel, 10 November 2023 <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/israel-palestine-war-india-trade-unions-call-government-cancel-labourer-deal>

3 The Joint Platform of Central Trade Unions and Independent Federations/Associations oppose any move to EXPORT INDIAN WORKERS TO ISRAEL TO REPLACE PALESTINIAN WORKERS, Press Release issued on 9th November 2023, <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/the-joint-platform-of-central-trade-unions-and-independent-federations-asociations-oppose-any-move-to-export-indian-workers-to-israel-to-replace-palestinian-workers/>

4 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: India: A Prison House of Nations and Lower Castes. Essay on the social and national contradictions of Indian capitalism and the rise of Hindutva chauvinism, 16 August 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/india-is-a-a-prison-house-of-nations-and-lower-castes/>

5 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/>.

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/>



Gaza War: On the Anti-Israel Riots in Northern Caucasus

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 31 October 2023

1. Israel's genocidal war against the Palestinian people is provoking mass protests all over the world. Millions of people are demonstrating on the streets demanding an immediate end of the massacre. Even the UN General Assembly felt obliged to adopt a resolution – with an overwhelming majority – for an immediate ceasefire and humanitarian aid for the people in Gaza.

2. In Russia, such protests against Israel's war of terror are much more limited due to the authoritarian character of the capitalist-bonapartist Putin regime. Since 24 February 2022, when Russian imperialism invaded the Ukraine, it has become even more difficult since the regime has brutally suppressed all forms of public opposition against the war. Furthermore, while the Putin regime tries to utilise the Gaza War to take diplomatic initiatives in order to weaken its Western rivals (and even received a delegation of the Hamas leadership), domestic media don't show any sympathy for the Palestinian people. This is equally true for the large majority of "left-wing" forces in Russia which have not only failed to defend the Ukraine against the Russian aggression, but which also fail to strongly advocate support for the Palestinian resistance against the Zionist Apartheid state.

3. In face of such conditions, several Anti-Israel riots took place last weekend in Northern Caucasus. According to Russian media report, hundreds of protesters clashed with the police and invaded the international airport of Makhachkala, the capital of the Republic of Dagestan, after it had become known that an airplane from Tel Aviv with Israeli passengers was arriving. They carried Palestinian flags and chanted slogans like "There is no place for child-killers in Dagestan." Another poster had the Palestinian flag and the words "Palestine, the people of Chechnya and Dagestan are with you." In the Dagestani city of Khasavyurt, protestors surrounded a hotel after rumors circulated that there would be Israelis. Separately, a Jewish cultural center under construction in the city of Nalchik, the capital

of Russia's Kabardino-Balkaria Republic, was set ablaze. Israel and the Western powers immediately denounced these protests as "anti-semitic" riots and Russian authorities have already arrested 60 people. Ramzan Kadyrov, Putin's notorious puppet governor in Chechnya, has even threatened that in order to prevent pro-Palestinian protests in the future, law enforcement officers should shoot to kill demonstrators who don't respond to warning shots. Succumbing to the pressure of bourgeois governments and media, many so-called leftists have adopted this narrative.

4. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) has always sided with the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli Apartheid state. Like in all previous Gaza Wars, we say "Support the Palestinian Resistance! Defeat Israel!" Hence, we advocate the military victory of the resistance led by Hamas without lending political support to the program or all tactics of its leadership. We combine such an approach with a socialist perspective of smashing the Zionist Apartheid state and its replacement by a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea (with the right of return of all Palestinian refugees as well as 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. Based on such a revolutionary program, the sections of the RCIT actively participate in the current mass protests in various countries.

5. We strongly oppose the pro-Israeli propaganda to denounce the protests in Northern Caucasus as primarily "anti-semitic". It is probably true that such reactionary prejudices played a certain role. However, this was not the dominant element. The protests were provoked by the Israeli massacre in Gaza and the slogans chanted were in relation to this genocide. They were mainly directed against symbols resp. citizens of Israel. If these protests were pri-



Publications of the RCIT

The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism

A Study of Russia's Monopolies, Capital Export and Super-Exploitation in the Light of Marxist Theory

By Michael Pröbsting, August 2021

Introduction * Another Denial of Russia's Imperialist Character * The Methodological Failure of our Critics * Russia's Economy: Dominated by Domestic, not Foreign, Monopolies * Capital Export and the Problem of "Round-Tripping" Foreign Direct Investments * "Phantom FDI": No Russian Peculiarity but a Global Phenomenon * Russia's Leading Multinational Corporations and their Foreign Investments * Imperialist Super-Exploitation via Capital Export * Imperialist Super-Exploitation via Migration * Conclusions * Footnotes

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marily “anti-semitic” – i.e. directed against Jews because of their religion or their ethnicity – why were they not directed against the long-standing Jewish minority living in the region and why now and not before?! It is well-known that the supporters of the Zionist state cynically camouflage their war of terror as a “struggle against a new Holocaust”. It is an outrageous hypocrisy to exploit one of the worst crimes in history to justify an ongoing genocide!

6. It is furthermore crucial to understand that these protests have taken place in a region where some of the most oppressed national minorities in Russia are living. Clearly, the oppressed Muslim masses in Chechnya, in Dagestan and other republics strongly identify with the Palestinian people. They do so not only because of religious ties but also because they themselves suffer from brutal occupation by Russian imperialism. When Chechnya tried to become independent after the collapse of the Stalinist USSR in 1991 (the “*Chechen Republic of Ichkeria*”), Russia waged two barbarous wars – in 1994-96 as well as in 1999-2009 – which resulted in the killing of about 1/5 of the Chechen population and the displacement of its majority.

7. The RCIT and its section in Russia reiterate our long-standing position of support for the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in Northern Caucasus. We defend the right to separate and to constitute a separate state of all oppressed peoples. Likewise, we also reiterate our support for the just war of national defence of the Ukrainian people against the Russian occupation forces without lending political support to the reactionary Zelensky government.

8. It is utmost cynicism by Putinistas and “left-wing” media to equate the anti-Israel protests of the oppressed masses on Northern Caucasus with the notorious anti-semitic pogroms in Russia’s history conducted by the chauvinist Black Hundred gangs. The former is driven

– irrespective of its elementary nature and the role of reactionary prejudice – by the solidarity of oppressed with other oppressed. In contrast, the later was driven by the desire of the worst scum of the ruling (Russian) nation to destroy the oppressed Jewish minority.

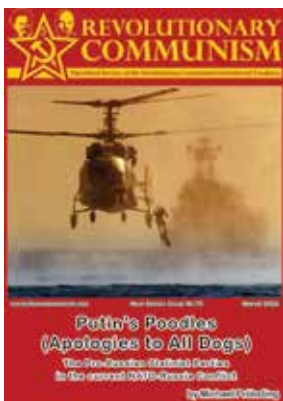
9. Refusing the slander of the Anti-Israel riots as primarily “anti-semitic” does not mean that the RCIT would endorse all actions or slogans. Fighting against real “anti-semitism” remains an important element of our struggle. There must be no harassment of people because they are Jews and there must be no attacks on religious institutions (e.g. synagogue) or symbols of the Jews. We call for the formation of workers and popular guards to protect such institutions. Likewise, socialists must undertake an awareness campaign explaining that the enemy are not the Jews but the Zionist state and that there exist many Jews who oppose the Israeli war of terror and who are therefore our allies in the struggle for justice. It is therefore also important to differentiate between Israeli citizens who support the war against Gaza and those who simply want to escape the war (as it might have been the case with some of the Israeli citizens in the flight from Tel Aviv which provoked the riot at the Makhachkala).

10. At the same, we support protests against institutions and symbols representing the Israeli Apartheid state. Likewise, we call for workers and popular boycott against the Zionist state like actions against trade or transport with Israel (like stopping flights to and from Israel). Such actions help to weaken the Zionist state and therefore aid the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people.

International Bureau of the RCIT

Socialist Tendency (RCIT Section in Russia)

Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)



PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

Putin's Poodles (Apologies to All Dogs)

*The pro-Russian Stalinist parties and
their arguments in the current NATO-Russia Conflict*

by Michael Pröbsting, February 2022

Introduction * 1. NATO is the sole aggressor! Really? * Is it relevant for Marxists who is the aggressor?
* What is causing the escalation of tensions between Great Powers: the party of warmongers or the imperialist system? * Can socialists defend “legitimate spheres of influence” of Great Powers? * Putin and Great Russian Chauvinism claim that the Ukraine is not an independent nation * Stalinism versus Bolshevism: The Ukraine and the right of national self-determination * From Kazakhstan to Syria: Stalinism is siding with the counterrevolution * Is Russian imperialism a “force of social progress”?
Discussion of a remarkable Stalinist document * Stalinism and social-imperialism: concluding remarks
* Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

Gaza War: Shamefully, some on the Left Support “Israel’s Right of Self-Determination”

A critique of the ISA’s and CWI’s adaptation to Zionism and social-pacifism

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

Major events in world politics are always a crucial test which proves the program and the principles of every socialist organisation. This was the case with the Ukraine War, and this is the case with Israel’s current war against the Palestinian people in Gaza.

The RCIT and other authentic socialists have defended the Ukrainian people against the invasion of Russian imperialism¹ and support today the Palestinian brother and sisters against the barbarous attack by the Zionist state. We take such a stance because we always side with the oppressed against the oppressor, with the semi-colony against the imperialist state, with the oppressed nation against the oppressor nation.

Such a stance means for us as Marxists that we unconditionally support the struggle of the resistance forces of the oppressed (in these cases the Ukrainian army resp. Hamas and other Palestinian resistance factions) without lending political support to the leadership of these forces. Concretely, as revolutionary socialists we oppose the (petty-) bourgeois nationalist or Islamist politics of Zelensky resp. of the Hamas leadership.

The ISA and the CWI – two organisations which stand in the opportunist tradition of Ted Grant but split in 2019 – take a different position both in the Ukraine War as well as the Gaza War. In the former conflict, they advocate a neutral, i.e. a reactionary abstentionist, position and denounce the conflict as a “proxy war”.²

Equating Hamas with Israel

In the Gaza War, both organisations effectively take a social-pacifist and pro-Zionist position.³ They oppose the war but refuse to support the Palestinian resistance in the current war. The ISA – which has a section in Israel – shamefully equate Hamas and Israel. “*Hamas is a right-wing pro-capitalist force which has functioned as the ruling party in Gaza over the past 17 years. It plays the role of police in suppressing workers’ strikes and women and LGBTQ rights. We should not confuse Hamas for the Palestinian masses. Hamas is inherently an anti-worker organization.*”

Consequently, they express their solidarity with “all victims”, i.e. both with the victims of the oppressed nation as well as those of the oppressor nation! “*The Socialist Struggle Movement (ISA in Israel-Palestine) stands in solidarity with ordinary people, with the relatives of those killed and with the wounded from all communities, on both sides of the fence, and with the abducted civilians.*” (Another quote: “*We stand in solidarity with all victims of war and terror, and join those who are standing up and fighting back.*”)

The CWI effectively takes the same position as their former comrades. “*Socialists, however, can give no support to Hamas and Hezbollah, parties which are based on right-wing political Islam. They are against workers’ rights, LGBTQ+ rights and equality for women; and their military strategies won’t bring about liberation for the Palestinians, decent living*

standards for them, or an end to the conflict – none of which are possible under capitalism. Rather, the way forward for the Palestinians will be through democratically organising mass struggle – a socialist intifada – based on the interests of workers and the poor, independent of those of the rich elites.”

Deserting the struggle of the oppressed

Such an equation of Hamas with Israel is thoroughly shameful. True, Hamas is “pro-capitalist”. But how many struggle of oppressed nations have taken place in the past decades with a leadership which has not been “pro-capitalist”?! As long as revolutionary forces are not strong enough to take the leadership of the masses, such national liberation struggles will usually be led by “pro-capitalist” forces. But how on earth could this mean that socialists should not side with the struggles of the masses as they take place (i.e. under a non-revolutionary leadership) in Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Burma/Myanmar, Ukraine, Chechnya etc.?!

Is it not also true that most workers struggles are led by the trade union bureaucracy which is obviously also “pro-capitalist”. Does this give socialists the right to desert the class struggle just because the workers have not put the right leadership in place yet?! Only reactionaries could take such a stance! Or do the leaderships of the ISA and the CWI ignore Trotsky’s statement that the national struggle is a form of class struggle? “*The sectarian simply ignores the fact that the national struggle, one of the most labyrinthine and complex but at the same time extremely important forms of the class struggle, cannot be suspended by bare references to the future world revolution.*”⁴

Revolutionaries can only gain influence amongst the masses if they do not stand aside of a just struggle but participate in it on the basis of the united front tactics. Such a stance has to be combined with explaining the shortcomings of the non-revolutionary leadership to the masses. Effectively, the ISA/CWI’s approach is a justification for refusing to support just wars of the oppressed (something which all organisations in the tradition of Ted Grant have done repeatedly starting from the Malvinas War in 1982).⁵ This is nothing but desertion of the class struggle!

In contrast to these centrist cowards, the RCIT and our comrades in Israel / Occupied Palestine take a principled anti-imperialist stance: “*Support the Heroic Palestinian Resistance! Defeat Israel!*”⁶ and “*Victory for Hamas and the Arab masses! Down with the Zionist apartheid regime!*”⁷ We have repeatedly stated our opposition to the program and methods of Hamas. But we also reject the reactionary imperialist denunciation of the imperialist powers and media to call Hamas a “terrorist organization” and to deny the fact that it is the leading force of the Palestinian resistance.⁸ The crude form of the ISA’s and CWI’s denunciation of Hamas is a pale imitation of this imperialist propaganda.

The method of neo-imperialist economism

The ISA's and CWI's failure to take the side of the Palestinian resistance is rooted in their refusal of the Marxist understanding of imperialism and the program to fight national and imperialist oppression. We have elaborated our critique on Grant's method in much detail in a special pamphlet in which we characterised their method as "neo-imperialist economism".⁹

In the case of Palestine, such an approach is particularly shameful as this is not a "normal" conflict between two nations but a peculiar one. Israel has always been a settler-colonialist state which exists – and can only exist – on the basis of the expulsion of the native population, the Palestinians. However, ISA and CWI completely ignore this fact and advocate a "socialist" two-state solution.

Hence, they "recognise the national rights of the Israeli people for their own state."¹⁰ In other words, both the victims of oppression as well as those gaining from such have the same "rights". The consequence is the CWI/ISA's advocacy of a two-state solution. "The *Maavak Sozialisti comrades also support the right of Palestinians to self-determination, and advocate an independent, socialist Palestine, alongside a socialist Israel, as part of a socialist confederation of the region.*"¹¹

In the current situation, the ISA advocates this position in a somehow diluted form (certainly influenced by the fact that such a position is highly unpopular among the Palestinian and Arab masses). "For a mass struggle on both sides of the green lines for a ceasefire, rehabilitation of communities on both sides of the fence and for a root solution, on the basis of ensured rights to exist, self-determination and a life in dignity in the framework of a struggle for socialist change in the region."

Hence, the ISA and the CWI put the "right of self-determination" of the oppressed nation on the same level as the "right of self-determination" of the oppressor nation. Effectively, this means the denial of the right of return of millions of Palestinian refugees to their homeland. Based on such a shameful position of "socialist" adaptation to Zionism, it is not surprising that the ISA and CWI refuse to support the Palestinian resistance forces in their struggle against the Israeli Apartheid state!

The approach of the RCIT and our comrades in Israel / Occupied Palestine is very different. As we stated in a recently published document, we advocate "a socialist revolution of the working class and the oppressed masses in the Middle East. We stand for the destruction of the Zionist state, the unconditional right to return of the Palestinian refugees and the establishment of a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea which shall be a democratic and secular workers and poor peasant republic as part of a socialist federation of the whole region. In such a state, Jews will be a minority with full religious and cultural rights. Likewise, such a strategy aims at the overthrow of the Arab and Persian rulers by the popular masses."¹²

Endnotes

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

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3 See the following documents from the ISA: Amid Normalization of Occupation and Siege, New War Erupts, 9 October 2023, <https://internationalsocialist.net/en/2023/10/israel-palestine>; Stop the Onslaught on Gaza, 21 October 2023, <https://internationalsocialist.net/en/2023/10/israel-palestine-2>; "The Middle East is on the Brink of Falling Into the Abyss" – The Gaza War Enters Its Third Week, 23 October 2023 <https://internationalsocialist.net/en/2023/10/israel-palestine-4>; from the CWI: Stop the Israel-Gaza war! For workers' unity and struggle against national conflict and oppression, 9 October 2023, <https://www.socialistworld.net/2023/10/09/stop-the-israel-gaza-war-for-workers-unity-and-struggle-against-national-conflict-and-oppression/>. All quotes in this article are from these documents if not stated otherwise.

4 Leon Trotsky: Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads (July 1939), in: Writings 1939-40, p. 50, online: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1939/07/ukraine.htm>

5 See on this also Michael Pröbsting: The Struggle of Revolutionaries in Imperialist Heartlands against Wars of their "Own" Ruling Class. Examples from the history of the RCIT and its predecessor organisation in the last four decades, 2 September 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-struggle-of-revolutionaries-in-imperialist-heartlands-against-wars-of-their-own-ruling-class/>

6 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/>. In particular we refer to the first RCIT statement which has been published in 11 languages: "This is the Time to Expel the Occupiers!", 7 October 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/fifth-gaza-war-support-the-heroic-palestinian-resistance/>

7 Yossi Schwartz: More News from the War, 9.10.2023, <https://the-isleague.com/more-news-from-the-war/>

8 See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Is Hamas a Terrorist Organisation? 20 October 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/is-hamas-a-terrorist-organization/>

9 See on this e.g. the pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: The Poverty of Neo-Imperialist Economism. Imperialism and the national question - a critique of Ted Grant and his school (CWI, ISA, IMT), January 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/grantism-imperialism-and-national-question/>

10 Peter Taaffe: What's Left? – not Nick Cohen! 08/03/2007, <https://www.socialistparty.org.uk/articles/2154/08-03-2007/what-s-left-not-nick-cohen/>

11 Peter Taaffe: A socialist World is possible - the history of the CWI, CWI Publications & Socialist Books, London 2004, p. 86, https://internationalsocialist.net/en/pdf/docs/CWI_History2004.pdf

12 Michael Pröbsting: Gaza Uprising: Another Turning Point in the World Situation. Thoughts on Israel's war against the Palestinian people and its possible regional and global consequences, 11 October 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/gaza-war-and-consequences-for-world-situation/>

Is Hamas a Terrorist Organisation?

By Michael Pröbsting, RCIT, 20 October 2023

A wave of anti-Palestinian hysteria is currently sweeping North America and Western Europe. At the centre of it is the denunciation of Hamas as a “terrorist organisation”. Netanyahu, Israel’s war criminal-in-chief, compared Hamas with ISIS and his senile master from the White House even claimed that Hamas is “worse than ISIS”. Consequently, the fanatic friends of Israel in Western governments and media characterise the supporters of the Palestinian liberation struggle as “supporters of terrorism”.

Let us ignore for a moment the hypocrisy of such accusations and discuss this issue in a rational way. What is “terrorism”? Well-known Western sources define terrorism as “the calculated use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective” (Britannica) or “the use of intentional violence and fear to achieve political or ideological aims.” (Wikipedia).

If one takes such criteria, one could say that Hamas carried out terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians in the 1990s but later largely refrained from such methods. Its missiles, fired in response to Israel’s blockade and wars against Gaza since 2008, killed only a relatively small number of Israelis.

Compare this with the policy of the Israeli state. According to statistics published by the UN, 6,407 Palestinians were killed and 152,560 injured in the period between 2008 and the 31 August 2023. In the same period, only 308 Israelis were killed and 6,307 injured. In other words, Israel killed more than 20 times as many Palestinians than the other way round!

One could object that Hamas killed a substantial number of civilians on 7 October. (The exact number is not known because we don’t know how many of these were armed settlers or were shot by the Israeli forces itself, as an Israeli woman who survived the shooting reported in an interview with an Israeli radio station.) But even here, it is widely known that Israel again has killed many more Palestinians since the 7 October – 2/3 of them are children and women. Just think about the horrendous massacre which Israel carried out recently in the Al-Ahli Hospital in Gaza City!

There is also no need to limit oneself to Israel. Look what the U.S. has done. While there exist different calculations,

it is widely accepted that Washington killed hundreds of thousands of civilians during the Vietnam War. The prestigious *The Lancet* medical journal estimated in 2006 study that about 600,000 Iraqis were killed in the first 40 months of war and occupation in Iraq. An Iraqi Kurdish intelligence report estimated that at least 40,000 civilians were killed in the bombardment of Mosul by the U.S. and its allies in 2016-17.

To give another historical example. It is well-known that during World War II, it was not only Nazi-Germany, Italy and Japan which deployed terrorist method against the civilian population but also the Allies. For example, the U.S. and the British Air Force destroyed some 60 cities and killed more than half a million German citizens. This was no “collateral damage” but an intentional policy in order to terrorise and demoralise the civilian population.

In other words, if Hamas is a terrorist organisation, Israel and the U.S. are terrorist mega monsters!

Finally, it should also be noted that terrorist attacks against civilians have taken place in most anti-colonial liberation movements. To take only a few examples we refer to the resistance of the indigenous population in North America against the white settlers, attacks of the FLN against the French settlers in Algeria, the Mau Mau rebellion against the white settlers in Kenya, or of the PLO against Israel in 1970s and 1980s.

As revolutionary socialists and internationalist anti-imperialists, we in the RCIT do not share the ideology of petty-bourgeois nationalists or Islamists. Neither do we condone all methods deployed by such forces (like Hamas).

Nevertheless, only blinded cheerleaders of Western colonialism can ignore the fact that all these forces have played an important role in anti-colonial and national liberation movements. This also applies to Hamas. It is a legitimate and leading force of the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli Apartheid state. It became the strongest party in the last free election in the West Bank and Gaza.

While we do not lend political support to Hamas and while we do not approve all its methods, we clearly stand on their side in their resistance struggle against Israeli state terrorism. Hence, we demand the immediate removal of the designation of Hamas as a “terrorist organisation” by the U.S., the UK and the European Union.



Publications of the RCIT

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

Between fact and fiction

A critique of Mexico's "Fourth Transformation"

by Ruben Jaramillo and Héctor A. Rivera, (Originally published in: *Tempest magazine*, 01.10.2023)

Note from the editorial board: *This article that was originally published in Tempest magazine, however, we added footnote No. 3 to have a better context about what is written. Likewise, we add a comment on the conclusions, noting that socialists should not limit ourselves to fighting for better reforms or to defend those that have been given by bourgeois governments, but that we must always keep in mind that our main task is to lead a socialist revolution in order for the working class and the oppressed of the world to take power.*

In this article, Ruben Jaramillo and Héctor A. Rivera critically examine the impact of the "Fourth Transformation" under Mexico's president Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

* * * * *

Since 2018, Mexico has undergone a huge political shift led by President Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO or Obrador), and his political party, the Movement for National Regeneration (MORENA). Along with supporters from other political parties, civil society, and the capitalist class, AMLO has been building a new political regime and pursuing a political-development project dubbed the Fourth Transformation (4T). While there is a considerable difference in the way the government communicates, how public finances are handled, and the way public policy is implemented, the 4T has fallen short of the transformation AMLO touts.

The first three transformations were the Mexican War of Independence against Spain after 1810, the Liberal victory over the Conservative and French forces in the 1860s, and the Mexican Revolution which raged from 1910-20. It's important to note that the previous transformations AMLO invokes to legitimize his project came about through the mass mobilization of the population to destroy the old order and create a more just society. Nevertheless, under AMLO, the old order has been brought into the fold, as is the case of the many politicians who abandoned their parties to join AMLO, or the military that has been rehabilitated and strengthened.

As the end of Obrador's term nears [the President of Mexico is limited to serving a single six-year term], we take stock of the Fourth Transformation and focus on several policies and development projects that the government has pursued. As we will argue, the new regime pretends to govern for the people ("*the poor come first*" says AMLO), but in reality, it governs on behalf of the interests of the U.S. and Mexican ruling class.

Propaganda and facts

The image of the Fourth Transformation (4T) as portrayed by its sympathizers on the international Left contrasts greatly with reality. The AMLO government has wanted to create the idea that it is a force that fights for Latin American emancipation as an anti-imperialist force, when in fact it is quite the opposite.

The policies of the current government of Mexico are a

mirror image of the nationalist policies pursued before the neoliberal turn that hit Mexico from 1985 to 2018. This administration is pursuing a capitalist development project, but without the benefits of the Bonapartism of the post-Revolution era, and with all the economic and political subordination to U.S. imperialism, although with the discursive freedom to support progressive movements and revolutions in other countries.

The representatives of Obradorismo are in reality nostalgic for that period when the party-state had full control of all institutions and state corporations but lacked any kind of workers' democracy and were controlled by bureaucrats and charros (corrupt union leaders that herded workers like cattle).

This nostalgia can be seen in the profile of those who are the main representatives of Obradorismo. For example, the former Secretary of the Interior, Adán Augusto López, was a PRI militant until 2001. AMLO's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Marcelo Ebrard, was also a PRI member until 1995, and then joined the Democratic Center Party until 2000. Its first Secretary of Public Education, Esteban Moctezuma, was an official during the six-year term of Carlos Salinas and was part of Fundación Azteca, owned by Grupo Salinas, which belongs to the billionaire Ricardo Salinas Pliego. In fact, many of the members of MORENA who have become governors also come from the PRI, which is the cradle and political training ground of these politicians.

This desire to return to the so-called "Estado de Bienestar" (welfare state) is not a disruptive movement, nor does it go against the tide of neoliberalism. On the contrary, it is precisely one more expression of a worldwide tendency to return to greater state control of some key aspects of the economy in response to the economic crises that have hit the world economy since 2008. However, in Mexico, there has been little progress in that direction, and there is still a very big struggle between bourgeois factions that do not quite accept this new tendency. This is why the government is still trying to consolidate this transition, relying not only on institutions, but also on agreements with U.S. imperialism and the popular support centered on the figure of AMLO.

Some myths that reinforce this false idea are easier to disprove than others, but we will try to illustrate as best we can these contradictions between propaganda and facts.

A false anti-imperialism

Mexico is a semi-colonial country that has been subjugated by the United States since the latter became an imperialist power. However, thanks to free trade agreements like NAFTA, several Mexican companies became multinational corporations and the Mexican bourgeoisie could then negotiate with other European imperialist countries and even with China to expand its market, using the public spending of the Mexican government, its institutions, and state enterprises as a springboard for global markets.

Part of the recent achievements of the bourgeoisie was the entry of European capital into the energy industry with which Mexican businesses were able to do big business, but which threatened the national oil industry and, in turn, the gringo hegemony over energy markets in the American continent. U.S. control of this sector has been maintained despite the fact that several Latin American oil companies are state-owned and, in some cases, have Russian investors. Washington has had to expel foreign capital from these industries, and AMLO's nationalist discourse has served this purpose well. Of course, it has been in Mexico's interest to expel European corporations such as Iberdrola, Unión Fenosa, Shell and BP from the national oil industry, as well as to put refineries to work in favor of greater production of oil derivatives, but ultimately this is a policy that suits the U.S. interests. Furthermore, the national oil industry still depends on private capital in many ways, since one of the main suppliers of infrastructure for PEMEX is *Grupo Carso*, owned by the richest person in Mexico, Carlos Slim.

This policy has also applied to the extraction of lithium. The main lithium extractor in Mexico was a Chinese company, *Gangfem Lithium*, through its subsidiary, *Bacanora Lithium*. It has now closed thanks to the decree of nationalization of lithium that took place in May 2022. Contradictorily this decree still allows the entry of foreign capital, and was lobbied for by U.S. officials and businessmen. In its aftermath, the government proudly announced the construction of a Tesla plant in Monterrey, the capital of the state of Nuevo Leon¹.

The security and militarization policy of AMLO's government is also telling. Since the 1970s the armed forces and police in Mexico have been advised and trained by U.S. institutions such as the CIA, the FBI, and the School of the Americas to carry out counterinsurgency tasks. Such ties have been very strong. For example, Mexican armed forces continue to operate under the so-called "*Northern Command*." We refute the idea that militarization as part of the "*strategy to combat drugs*" is a progressive process (we will not discuss whether the militarization of public safety is suddenly a progressive act or not, because it simply is not), and it is specifically a policy imposed by Washington. This resulted in the outbreak of violence in 2007 under Felipe Calderon in the form of a treaty called the "*Merida Initiative*," which has been denounced by AMLO on several occasions, but he has done nothing to end it and has only changed its name to the "*US-Mexico Bicentennial Framework*."

What the 4T government did was simply use AMLO's popular support to justify an advance in the policy of gringo intervention on security through the "War on Drugs," even though the president declared it over. Proof of this is the first use given to the National Guard after its creation, as it was not to combat drug trafficking, but to stop the caravans of Central American migrants trying to enter through the southern border with Guatemala. And that is the true nature of the National Guard, as well as of the army: to be an extended armed wing of Yankee interventions in Mexico.

Both from the members of MORENA and from AMLO himself, there is an attempt to generate the idea that gringo imperialism is besieging the Mexican government. In alignment with right-wing personalities to carry out

a "soft coup," supposedly due to the fact that there is a great discomfort among American and Mexican business leaders who see their interests being affected by this government. We cannot ignore the fact that there are changes in the public administration that have affected some businesses that were managed with scandalous corruption, but to think that these changes are of such magnitude that they have upset the interests of the Mexican and U.S. ruling class is ridiculous, to say the least. We are now a little less than a year away from the end of Lopez Obrador's six-year term, and since Mexico cannot legally have more than one presidential term, it would make no sense to want to remove him from office at this point.

Of course, there is a business sector that has always detested AMLO, and in several media—*El Universal*, *Reforma*, *El Financiero*, *Radiofórmula*, and *LatinUS*—there is constant political bashing. But there is no generalized discontent among the Mexican bourgeoisie with the president. For example, the main TV corporations Televisa and TV Azteca are not as antagonistic. On the contrary, the relationship has been quite fruitful between AMLO and Mexico's wealthiest capitalists, filled with frequent business dinners where the president repeatedly boasts of new initiatives.

Megaprojects for capitalist development

As part of the pompously dubbed *Fourth Transformation*, the government is also pursuing large megaprojects in parts of the country that have historically been disinvested. While the government argues that these projects are a form of reparations and social justice for these communities, in truth these projects are old PRI agendas or new projects to expand extractivism throughout the territory.

From its beginning, Obrador has sought to reintroduce large state-funded megaprojects as centerpieces of the 4T. His main transportation and tourism project has been the so-called "Mayan Train" which will crisscross the states of Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, Yucatan, and Quintana Roo with 15 stations and 950 miles of rail. This project is led by the Secretariat of Tourism headed by Miguel Angel Torruco, in-law of Carlos Slim, and along with new airports and hotels it aims to detonate the tourism industry in the Mexican southeast expanding it beyond the beaches of Cancún and Playa del Carmen. These projects will accommodate tourists and distribute them to the interior of the Yucatan peninsula where they can visit Mayan ruins and colonial towns along the route.

Although the president argues that this project will have a minimal impact on the environment, its massive operations will reshape the entire economy of the southeast. This will bring with it mass tourism, hotel chains, and real estate speculation along the route. Additionally, the train cuts through natural reserves, collective lands, and Indigenous communities that have not seen the penetration of tourism on this scale. To meet the demand of the throngs of tourists, public lands will also be privatized and turned over to agribusiness and real estate developments. The impacts of mass tourism are already felt in Cancún and nearby cities where the destruction of mangroves, wildlife habitat, and the pollution of water tables from sewers are already an issue. Furthermore, the government failed to inform communities about the environmental impact of

this project and has used extensive propaganda to portray the project as a fait accompli to marginalize environmentalists and stymie opposition.

In addition to the expansion of mass tourism, the Mayan Train will also extend the reach of the military by creating the state-owned corporation Olmeca-Maya-Mexica, which will be administered by the military. Which is building large sections of this project and when finished, will operate five airports, six hotels, a railroad, and a new airline. AMLO argues that the profits from this company will curb corruption since they will be re-invested in these projects and military pensions. However, the extensive involvement of the military in these projects aims to buy their loyalty, especially the top brass, and to enroll them in the new regime's plans of nationalization of infrastructures that will be more difficult to privatize.

Overall, AMLO's Fourth Transformation is not an alternative to the dictates of fossil capitalism. According to Víctor Manuel Toledo, the former head of the Secretariat of the Environment and Natural Resources (SEMARNAT), the 4T does not have a clear set of objectives with visions towards long-term development. On the contrary, the former secretary argued that the 4T is full of contradictions and power struggles that get played out in the President's cabinet. As a development project, the Mayan Train is a classic case of capital's spatial fix, which is a strategy to solve the crisis of capitalism by projecting them toward new spaces of investment and kicking off new rounds of profitability through geographic expansion of capital in previously underdeveloped regions. The result will be the

further ecocide of the southeast and the commodification of Mayan history and culture for the service of mass tourism. When all is said and done, the Mayan Train will reproduce the tourism model that Mexico has been pioneering since the 1970s. It will amount to poorly paid workers catering to the whims of gringos on vacation.

Another major infrastructure project has been the Olmeca refinery in Dos Bocas, Tabasco, which is part of AMLO's policy of expanding the energy industry as a pillar of the national economy. As a centerpiece of his national development project, Dos Bocas is not just a refinery but the anchor of a growing petrochemical complex in the region that will supply energy to the states crisscrossed by the Mayan Train and the Interoceanic Corridor.

An investment of \$8 billion dollars was announced for the construction of this megaproject, but it is currently mentioned that its cost has already risen to \$17 billion dollars². Part of the money invested in the infrastructure of this huge industrial complex has been destined for contracts with Grupo Carso, who maintains great power as a vendor for PEMEX. For the construction of this refinery, an entire tropical forest of approximately 350 hectares, which contained a diversity of mangroves, had to be destroyed.

The third major infrastructure project AMLO has prioritized is the Interoceanic Corridor. The project includes the expansion of the ports of Salina Cruz and Coatzacoalcos, an upgraded railroad, highway routes, and ten industrial parks—Maquila free trade zones—along the Isthmus. AMLO has argued that these megaprojects are also designed to keep migrant populations in place and to stop Central

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book called *BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE*. The book's subtitle is: *Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*. The book is in English-language. It contains four chapters on 148 pages and includes 42 pictures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

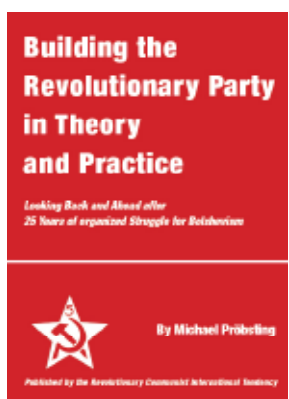
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

A few months ago, our movement commemorated its 25th anniversary. In the summer of 1989 our predecessor organization, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) was founded as a democratic-centralist international tendency based on an elaborated program. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) continues the revolutionary tradition of the LRCI. Below we give an overview of our history, an evaluation of its achievements as well as mistakes, and a summary of the lessons for the struggles ahead. This book summarizes our theoretical and practical experience of the past

25 years.

In Chapter I we outline a summary of the Bolshevnik-Communists' theoretical conception of the role of the revolutionary party and its relation to the working class. In Chapter II we elaborate on the essential characteristics of revolutionary party respective of the pre-party organization. In Chapter III we deal with the history of our movement – the RCIT and its predecessor organization. Finally, in Chapter IV we outline the main lessons of our 25 years of organized struggle for building a Bolshevnik party and their meaning for our future work.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/> ■



American migrants from moving north since, ostensibly, they will be willing to work for the starvation wages offered in these factories.

Although the new logistics hub cannot compete with the Panama Canal, it will aim to divert cargo that can be unloaded in the Pacific port of Salina Cruz and loaded onto intermodal container barges or container ships in Coatzacoalcos, and onto the East coast of the U.S. aiming to take 10-20 percent of traffic away from the Panama Canal.

Furthermore, AMLO's strategy is to anticipate the infrastructural needs of a decoupling of the U.S. and Chinese economies. He openly discusses this rift as an opportunity for Mexico, the U.S., and Canada to integrate through near-shoring to oppose China's economic domination³. This is the type of development AMLO envisions, maquiladoras, logistics hubs, seamless movement of goods, and flows of fossil fuels, which will also have natural gas and oil pipelines along the routes and storage facilities at port terminals.

These megaprojects will also be administered by the military. A centerpiece of the government's plan has been to grant these infrastructure projects national security status, which will include military patrols and surveillance all along the route to assuage the security concerns of potential investors in southern Mexico.

Given the large number of projects with military involvement or supervision, these initiatives have helped legitimize the military during AMLO's administration. In addition to the security and surveillance of the Isthmus, the military is also building or managing airports, railroads, banks, energy infrastructures, and airlines. We cannot forget that this is the same military responsible for the disappearance of 43 students from the teacher's college of Ayotzinapa and countless atrocities. As an institution, the military has been thoroughly delegitimized in recent decades but AMLO has spent considerable political and financial capital to rehabilitate the institution and white-wash its image.

Like other megaprojects, any pretense of progressive or sustainable development falls apart with the slightest scrutiny. For example, AMLO's energy policy has focused mostly on improving fossil fuel extraction and processing, repairing and building hydroelectric dams, increasing natural gas sales to Europe, and nationalizing lithium to serve the North American market. His promises that trees wouldn't be cut down to build the Mayan Train were only demagogic statements mocking environmentalists and the Indigenous communities opposing the mass tourism and real estate speculation this would bring. Thus, while AMLO may tout his administration as a genuine transformation, in reality, his administration is carrying out the work of previous presidents, and expanding developmentalist fossil fuel agendas, only better.

Social movements and the Fourth Transformation

In terms of the labor movement, the 4T has not really done anything relevant, but it has been able to make its few actions in favor of the Mexican working class take relevance before the media thanks to its propaganda apparatus. Possibly its greatest achievement has been the recovery of the minimum wage by 39 percent, while previous administrations boasted of increasing the minimum wage by eight percent per year if not less. However, in strictly labor matters, AMLO's government has not done much more.

For example, from 2019 to 2021, a lot of propaganda work was done on the elimination of outsourcing. However, this culminated only in the prohibition of a very specific outsourcing scheme, so this is still a general practice in many companies, including the government itself, which still hires many personnel in this way. The government has boasted of a historic increase in the number of workers enrolled in the IMSS (Mexican Social Security paid by the employer), which is an indicator of the increase in formal employment. But it's an open secret that many companies enroll their employees at a much lower salary than they pay in payroll, which is a fraud to the IMSS, but the Secretary of Labor does not investigate these issues.

The most important development in Mexican labor has been the emergence of independent unions in the last four years⁴, but this is due in part to the terms renegotiated in the U.S., Mexico, and Canada agreement, the USMCA. The new labor clause required free choice in union representation which overturned decades of business unionism, especially in the auto industry. These reforms, the emergence of independent unions, and the labor revolts of Matamoros in 2019 are due to the mobilization of workers and labor organizations, not government intervention. In fact, besides increasing the minimum wage and rhetorical support for labor, AMLO's government has been at the margins of all labor struggles. A pitiful stance for a "left-wing" government.

For mass movements in general, the so-called 4T has been a complete disaster. Many leaders of social movements were co-opted by Morena, either to satisfy their personal ambitions, or because they were convinced that their struggle would be easier under the protection of a Morena government. This happened with activists such as Nestora Salgado, a member of the community police of the *Regional Coordinator of Community Authorities-Community Police* (CRAC-PC). A political prisoner in 2013, she is currently a senator for Morena. Although the CRAC-PC itself has distanced itself from her, it has suffered internal divisions because some of its members decided to join the party. Manuel Vázquez Arellano, better known as "Omar García," a survivor of the disappearance of the 43 Ayotzinapa students, is a similar case; he currently serves as a senator for Morena, and since he has been in that position, he has

Comunismo Revolucionario

Spanish-language Journal of the RCIT

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not voiced a single criticism of the government's militarization policy, nor its constant attack on rural schools or its failure to clarify what happened to the students of Ayotzinapa, which his parents and the *Interdisciplinary Group of Independent Experts* (GIEI, a team of forensic experts accompanying them) have consistently done.

Another case of co-optation is that of Susana Prieto Terrazas, who until recently was an advisor to the 20/32 labor movement in Tamaulipas. Terrazas got a post as a Morena deputy a year after she was a political prisoner for leading the labor movement in 2020. Since then, her colleagues in the *National Independent Union of Industrial and Service Workers* (SNITIS) have had conflicts with her. They have denounced her despotic treatment and the use of her movement's letterhead to give political support to AMLO, which recently culminated in her dismissal from the union. She has responded by using the means at her disposal to conduct a retaliation campaign against the executive committee of SNITIS. The CNTE, which historically has been the vanguard of the mass movement in Mexico, is completely demobilized, due to numerous agreements that the union leadership maintains with the government. The fact that the government grants numerous concessions to the teachers to assuage grievances, except for sporadic conflicts with the teachers of Chiapas and Oaxaca.

Since the beginning of his administration, AMLO has ridiculed demonstrations by popular organizations. Whether it is the case of Indigenous communities opposing mega-projects, normalistas demanding a larger budget for their schools, the women's movement fighting against femicides and machismo, or relatives of disappeared persons.

AMLO has always declared that such demonstrations are induced by the conservative opposition. There are numerous cases in which the government has used riot squads to disperse protests and then it blames the supposed provocateurs paid by the opposition. This criminalization of protest which in turn justifies the use of repressive force has been used by previous governments. However, when questioned about this, the president repeats the mantra that his government "*does not repress, does not persecute anyone and does not torture*", without giving any explanation other than denying the facts.

However, not all social movements are in ebb. The women's movement is currently at the forefront of the struggle of the oppressed in Mexico and in September 2023 the Supreme Court finally decriminalized abortion. This comes after decades of organizing across Latin America, where women have taken a leadership role in different struggles throughout the continent.

AMLO has a conservative position on women's issues and he believes the family is the moral center of Mexican people. For example, during the COVID-19 crisis, he spoke of how favorable it was for women to stay at home to take care of their families: "*People want to change the role of women and this is one of the just causes of feminism, but the tradition in Mexico is that daughters are the ones who take care of their fathers. We men are more detached.*" His knowledge of the women's movement is so detached, that he has claimed that there was no such movement before his government. Insinuating that it is a political attack incited by the opposition, and obviating that his statements resonate with the machismo of many of his followers.



Publications of the RCIT

Ukraine: A Capitalist Semi-Colony

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

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2023

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 28 pages, A4 Format

For these and many other reasons, we refuse to recognize AMLO's Fourth Transformation as a progressive, and much less, a leftist project worthy of support from radicals and revolutionaries. Overall, it's a strategy to develop Mexico as an advanced capitalist economy with a better negotiating position in the North American and global markets. As the new regime heads towards a general election in 2024, its credibility will be tested since MORENA's leading candidate, Claudia Sheinbaum does not have the mass support garnered by AMLO's historic role in the opposition. The Left must remain independent from Morena and throw its support behind the women's movement and Indigenous movements. It must also pursue its own agendas and intervene in mass movements to deepen its transformative role in Mexican society and to win better reforms from the new regime. Otherwise, the Left risks continued isolation and irrelevance.

Footnotes

1 See on this: Zenyazen Flores: How Mexico's Nuevo León State Landed Tesla's First Plant In Latin America, march 01, 2023, <https://www.bloomberglia.com/english/how-mexicos-nuevo-leon-state-landed-teslas-first-plant-in-latin-america/>

2 See on this: El Financiero: Dos Bocas terminará costando el doble... y el Tren Maya más del triple, admite Ramírez de la O, 11 de septiembre de 2023, <https://www.elfinanciero.com.mx/economia/2023/09/11/dos-bocas-terminara-costando-el-doble-y-el-tren-maya-mas-del-triple-admite-ramirez-de-la-o/>

3 See on this: Aristegui Noticias: Planteará AMLO tres propuestas a Biden para unificar América (video), 22 de diciembre de 2022, <https://aristeguinoticias.com/2212/mexico/planteara-amlo-tres-propuestas-a-biden-para-unificar-america-enterate/?fbclid=IwAR1bjrFiPnAnFDWt8s-gNhHw2QV5Vgii4D8hoRxFjmptTfFiLgMOu3d4AyPQ> (In this event, AMLO openly claimed he's trying to make a free trade model for all the American continent in order to "stop Asia", as he sees China as a threat for the economy in the region.)

4 See on this: Héctor Rivera: A new chapter for Mexican labor. SINTTIA and the fight for an independent union, April 07, 2023, <https://www.tempestmag.org/2022/04/a-new-chapter-for-mexican-labor/>

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.

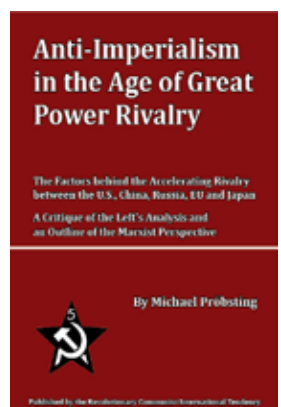
Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry demonstrates the validity of the Marxist analysis of modern imperialism. Using comprehensive material (including 61 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that a correct understanding of the rise of China and Russia as new Great Powers is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



What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

