



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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Programmatic Manifesto * Theses on Agriculture & Ecology

Crisis of Bourgeois Democracy * Women's Liberation

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Picture on the cover: Participants of the first part of the IV. RCIT Congress in Buenos Aires (Argentina)

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The Revolutionary Struggle in the Era of Capitalist Collapse

Manifesto adopted by the IV. Congress of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), September 2023

Introductory Note

This Manifesto has been discussed and adopted at the IV. Congress of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). Resting on the methods and strategies of our previous programmatic documents – “*The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto*” (2012), the “*Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation*” (2016) and “*The Fire of Revolution Will Burn Down Catastrophic Capitalism!*” (2021) –, this document should be seen as an update which takes into account the changes and challenges of the current phase.

An Era of Catastrophes, Wars and Revolutionary Struggles

We are living in an era which many people perceive as a never-ending period of catastrophes. The climate crisis with devastating consequences for the world population, slumps alternating with stagnation of the world economy, rising inflation, a Cold War between the Great Powers of East and West which could easily transform in a nuclear Armageddon, a major war in the Ukraine, Artificial Intelligence, threats of comprehensive surveillance and control of the society under the pretext of a pandemic or other dangers, ...

All these developments confirm the RCIT’s analysis of the profound revolutionary character of the historic period which opened in 2008 with the Great Recession and the rise of China as an imperialist power ending the long-term U.S. hegemony. Today, it is obvious that the capitalist social order is broken and has entered a protracted period of collapse, characterized by chaos, catastrophes, and wars. Faced with the terminal crisis of their system, the ruling capitalist class – the notorious Lords of Power and Money – tries to save themselves from drowning by all available means.

Everyone can see that – contrary to claims of bourgeois fabulists – the market and the attached political system are incapable of creating a rational economy which could ensure a sustainable future allowing a decent life and democratic rights for the majority of the world population.

From invading foreign countries to threatening rivals with a pre-emptive nuclear strike, from attacking living standards and social rights to super-exploiting migrants and women, from recklessly plundering natural resources of our planet, from transforming the society into a glass house with the top brass watching everyone and everything – this is capitalism in the raw. It can not be otherwise since it is a system where the capitalist superrich try to squeeze profits from wherever they can and where the Great Powers are addicted to strive for armament and annihilation of their rivals.

To save humanity, we must destroy capitalism. It is them or us. Either the ruling class keeps power and wrecks our planet and its inhabitants. Or the working class and the oppressed overthrow these decadent parasites and take fate in their own hands. It shall be the latter because we

want to live – free, without chains; peacefully, without fear of war; with children who don’t have to go to bed hungry or being scared for the future!

To achieve this, we must not passively resign ourselves to our fate. We need to take fate in our own hands! Taking power means deposing the ruling class of its power. This means a revolution, i.e. an armed insurrection since rulers never give up power peacefully. A revolution which abolishes capitalism is, by definition, a *socialist revolution*. This is what we need, and this is what we must do!

All over the world the masses have repeatedly rebelled in the past years against misery and oppression. To give a few examples of the determination of workers and oppressed to fight for their rights we refer to the Great Arab Revolution which started in 2011, the heroic Intifada of the Palestinian people, popular uprisings in Burma/Myanmar, Peru and Hong Kong, Somali partisans fighting foreign occupiers, the Southern people in Nigeria resisting against national oppression, mass protests in France and Catalonia, Ukrainian workers and youth taking up arms to resist Putin’s invasion, courageous anti-war protesters in Russia. Other examples are the great workers and popular battles in the US “backyard” like the rebellion in Plaza Dignidad in Chile – stopped with the policy of restrictions of the COVID Counterrevolution – or the militant mobilizations against the dictatorship of Dina Boluarte in Peru which show that the continent is inevitably going towards another revolutionary rise against populist or neoliberal governments.

But all these struggles lack a revolutionary program of liberation and a party which could lead them to victory. Instead, such protests are either spontaneously and the militant energy soon fizzles out; or they are led by non-revolutionary forces – reformists and populists, petty-bourgeois nationalists and Islamists – which steer such struggles to a dead-end.

Hence, a revolution will not just happen. It must be done – done by us. It will definitely not happen under the leadership of non-revolutionary forces. A revolution can only succeed if it is organized and led by revolutionaries. Such an endeavour needs preparation and organization. It requires the collective association of likeminded activists who agree on the goal and the means to achieve it.

In other words, we need a party based on a clear program; concretely, we need a revolutionary party based on a scientific Marxist program. Such a party must not be limited to a single city or a single country – it must be a revolutionary International, a *World Party for Socialist Revolution* in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The RCIT is an international organization dedicated to these great tasks for which we promote the unity of consistent revolutionaries. We call those who agree with the perspective and our program as it is elaborated in this Manifesto, to join us and to contribute to the greatest challenge of our time: the liberation of the working class and oppressed from the shackles of catastrophic capitalism – a social order which is in decay, and which threatens to engulf humanity in the abyss!

Wars of Oppression and Wars of Liberation

As we are living in an era of capitalist collapse, it is inevitable that social, political, and military contradictions result in explosions. This is why the current period is characterised by wars and revolutions – the two sharpest forms of class contradictions.

The inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers (U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan) is a key driving force of the world situation. Currently, these powers are basically grouped in a Western (U.S., Western Europe and Japan) and an Eastern alliance (China and Russia), albeit both alliances are not without inner contradictions.

All imperialist states have entered an armament race, impose trade sanctions against their rivals and try to expand their influence in the semi-colonial countries. The U.S. occupied Afghanistan and Iraq in the period of their notorious “War on Terror”, Russia brutally occupied Chechnya and invaded the Ukraine, France and other European powers have sent troops to Northern and Central Africa and so has Russia’s Wagner PMC, U.S. special units equipped with high-tech drones operate and kill in Somalia, etc.

As Marxists, we strictly differentiate between just wars and unjust wars, wars of oppression and wars of liberation. Just wars are armed insurrections and civil wars of the working class and the popular masses against the ruling class, of oppressed nations against their oppressors, of democratic forces against reactionary and fascist opponents. Just wars are wars of national defence of semi-colonial countries against imperialist aggressors. Reactionary wars are wars of the ruling class resp. imperialist powers against the oppressed as well as military conflicts between sectors of the ruling class resp. between reactionary or imperialist states.

In a world ridden by explosive contradictions, by oppression and inter-imperialist rivalry, it is possible (and to a certain degree inevitable) that both types of conflicts – just wars of liberation and inter-imperialist rivalry – become intermixed (e.g. the Ukraine War). It is the task of Marxists in such a situation to concretely analyse the evolution of such conflicts and to determine which element is dominating (resp. when such a character is changing).

The RCIT and all authentic socialists have always unconditionally supported the oppressed in wars of liberation without lending support to their non-revolutionary leadership (e.g. Argentina against Britain in the Malvinas War 1982, Afghanistan and Iraq against the U.S. and their allies in 2001/03 and after, Chechnya in 1994-96 and 1999-2009 as well as Ukraine against Russia in 2022/23, Bosnia 1992-95 and Kosova 1998-99, the Syrian rebels against the military forces of Assad and Russia, the rebels in Burma/Myanmar against the military dictatorship since 2021, the Somali resistance against ATMIS/Western troops).

In reactionary conflicts, we oppose both camps (e.g. the Cold War between the Western powers and Russia/China; in reactionary civil wars like the one in Sudan between the army and the RSF forces in 2023).

In wars of liberation, we call for the *military victory of the progressive camp* and the defeat of the reactionary forces. We support *military aid* for the oppressed and support all means which weaken the oppressors (boycott, sabotage, fraternization of soldiers, turning the guns against the

army command, etc.) In reactionary wars, we advocate Lenin’s program of *revolutionary defeatism* in both camps (no support for military efforts or for non-military means of aggression like economic sanctions or chauvinist campaigns, for fraternisation between the workers and soldiers of both camps, transform the reactionary war into a civil war against the ruling class, etc.)

Socialists strongly oppose pacifism and its poisonous advocacy of non-violence. Surely, we fight for a world of peace. But this will only be possible if the global capitalist system based on classes and states has been replaced by a socialist world federation. But until then, renouncing the use of violence in the struggle for liberation is being led like lambs to the slaughter. Those who preach pacifism – even if they have the best intentions – are objectively aiding those who are in power and have guns. To such pacifists we say, sorry, but non-violence is not the solution! Take a gun in the struggle for freedom or remain a helpless slave forever!

Capitalist Civilization Threats and the Struggle to Save Humanity

The reckless drive for profit and power is destroying our planet and endangering the society with increasing pace. If we don’t stop the Lords of Money and Power, life on earth will become increasingly unbearable or a global detention centre.

Climate change resulting from widespread use of fossil fuels in capitalist industries and means of transport, the use of increasingly energy-intensive technologies, the unrestrained destruction of forests, the expansion of monocultures in farming, the development of companies related to mega-mining, fracking, nuclear energy and other techniques that pollute and destroy nature, etc. – all this endangers the foundations of human life on the planet. Global warming provokes water scarcity, expansion of deserts, unbearable heat waves, floodings, destruction of flora and fauna, etc. As a consequence, hundred of thousands of people are dying and millions are forced to flee their home – mostly in the Global South. Such undermining of public health and destruction of natural balance also create the basis for proliferation of pandemics.

Cynically, the same capitalist corporations and state leaders who are responsible for environmental destruction, try to utilise such threats to legitimise their attacks on democratic rights via dramatic expansion and further development of technologies for surveillance and replacement of humans – a system which we call *Chauvinist State Bonapartism*. We have seen such during the COVID pandemic in 2020-22 when capitalist governments all over the world forced populations to stay at home (“*Lockdowns*”) or imposed regimes of restricted mobility (“*Green Pass*”). Such developments have not stopped after the end of the pandemic. In fact, the rapid expansion of Artificial Intelligence (AI) massively facilitates the possibilities for capitalist corporations and state machineries to undermine the most elementary social and democratic rights of the popular masses.

In general, AI in the hands of capitalists serves a reactionary purpose. If and to what extent AI can and will be utilized in a future socialist society, will be decided after the destruction of the capitalist system via the global socialist

revolution. Maybe these technologies will find their application in a socialist society to work for the benefit of humanity.

It is evident that only a radical reversal of the energy and environmental policy can save our planet and our future. One must not have any illusions in capitalist governments and their “climate summits”. The only way to combat climate change is the formation of a global mass movement fighting for an *international emergency plan* controlled by the working class and the peoples, who are the ones who suffer the most from the consequences of the policies of capitalism. The struggle for necessary environmental reforms must be combined with the aim of overthrowing capitalism, because only then can such an emergency plan be implemented fully and permanently.

The RCIT and all authentic socialists call for a *conversion of the energy and transport system* and a *global phasing out of fossil fuels and nuclear energy production*. Massive research into the use of *alternative forms of energy such as wind, tidal and solar power* as well as a program for *global reforestation* are necessary. For the *nationalization under workers’ control of all energy companies* and all companies that are responsible for basic supplies such as water and agricultural products as well as the airlines, shipping and rail facilities!

We also propose the replacement of several of the main techniques that are used by large agro-livestock companies, pesticides and transgenic seeds, which, as activists from the most affected countries have shown, produce food that makes people sick and generate irreparable damage to the population which lives close to the crops (e.g. cancer). A similar situation occurs in the production of meat, since in order for these to go quickly to the market, they are inoculated with vaccines and products that threaten the health of the population.

We strictly oppose all steps towards increasing surveillance and control of mobility by the capitalist state or corporations. They might say that these are means to protect people’s health or living conditions – in fact “Big Brother” only protects the Lords of Power and Money from the popular masses! Hence, *we oppose Lockdowns, the “Green Pass” system as well as the expansion of AI*. Our guiding prin-

ciple in the struggle against such evils is the slogan “*oppose and obstruct!*”! As the Bolsheviks, who faced all kinds of plagues as soon as they took power in 1917, stated, the best way to deal with such problems is the mobilization and organization – in contrast to the policy of isolation! – of the class capable of revolutionizing the world, the working class.

The Terminally Ill Capitalist World Economy and the Struggle for a Decent Living Standard

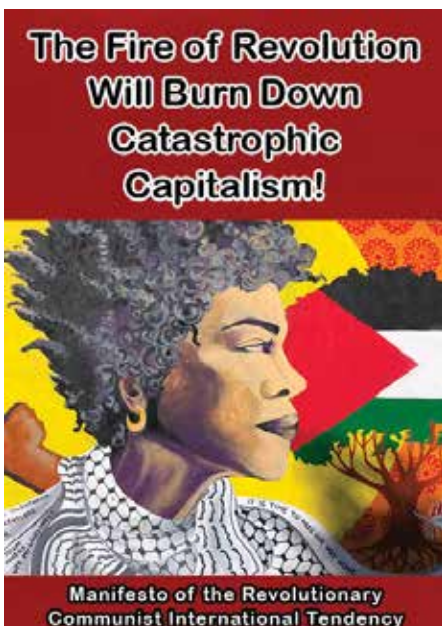
Despite the invention of increasingly powerful technologies, the capitalist world economy can not escape its structural tendency towards stagnation. In the past decades, growth rates of output and labour productivity have declined while misery, social insecurity and underemployment have increased.

Since the 1980s, the bosses, their politicians and ideologists have sermonized that capitalist globalisation would result in spreading of wealth and democracy. Today, these charlatans have become silent and embarrassed. The Great Recession in 2008-09, the Great Depression since 2019, sky-rocking inflation, obscene social inequality and massive disruptions of global trade – this is reality of capitalism!

An increasing number of bourgeois politicians and economists are now replacing their gospel of globalisation with preaches of protectionism. However, history has demonstrated more than once – think about the catastrophic 1920s and 1930s – that capitalist autarky is certainly no driving force of growth.

No, contrary to the daydreams of the bourgeois economists, the capitalist economy is subjugated not to the laws of equilibrium of supply and demand or to Keynesian concepts of state-driven stimulus but to those which Marx explained in *Capital: the laws of capitalist accumulation* and the corresponding *tendency of the profit rate to fall*. It is such laws which provoke the tendency of capitalism to breakdown.

The only way out is the abolition of private property of production means, i.e. of the ill-fated profit system, and



New Program of the RCIT

Manifesto for the Liberation Struggle

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

its replacement by a rational system of planned economy according to the needs of people. Only such a radical cut with the heavy burden of the dark past of capitalism will allow a life of freedom and material security for all!

Naturally, such a planned economy can only properly work if it is democratically controlled by the workers and popular masses and not by a parasitic elite of bureaucrats – as it was the case in the Stalinist states.

This does not mean that we shall wait until the working class has broken its iron chains and overthrown the capitalist exploiter class. No, we must fight for our rights already now, every single day, because the struggle for better living conditions, even the softening of attacks, allows us to better prepare for future struggles, helps us to learn and organise as a collective.

The RCIT calls the workers vanguard to organise and fight for their interests. *Against layoffs, wage cuts and price inflation, we call for strikes to defend jobs and wages! Against closures of enterprises, we call for their nationalization under workers control! Against unemployment, we call for a public employment program paid by the rich! Against cuts in the health and welfare system, we call for their expansion and for socialized medicine under workers and popular control! Since the small petty-bourgeoisie and lower middle class are the natural allies of the proletariat, we support their demands for financial compensation in times of crisis, paid by higher taxes of the rich!*

Their War of Ideas and Ours

The war between classes and states, between the oppressors and the oppressed, is waged by strikes and state repression, by demonstrations and police operation, by insurrections and coup d'états, by sanctions and military means. However, this war also takes place in the realm of ideas and ideologies. The ruling class of different powers spread ideologies in order to manipulate their subjects so that they act as unquestioning servants in enterprises and barracks. Reformists, populists and petty-bourgeois forces spread such ideologies so that they can confuse the masses and utilise their heroic struggles to get their place at the trough of power within the capitalist system.

The RCIT says that only a scientific socialist worldview as it has been elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky is capable to counter such reactionary and confusing ideologies. It is the task of socialists to wage a merciless war against the ideas of rulers and reactionary muddleheads.

Currently, the governments of Western powers and their social democratic lackeys in the labour movement paint the Cold War against their Eastern rivals as a conflict between "*Democracies versus Autocracies*". This is hypocrisy squared! When Russia had cosier relations with the U.S. and EU (before 2014), their national leaders invited Yeltsin and then Putin to join the G7 meetings. Hundreds of thousands of Chechens massacred by Russian occupation forces were no obstacle at all for smiling photo ops between Western "democrats" and the Kremlin boss! And China? No doubt, the Stalinist-capitalist regime is a reactionary dictatorship. But it was no less dictatorial when Western leaders were glad to use the very same conditions of brutal repression in Middle Kingdom to ensure cheap production of numerous consumer goods! Everybody remembers that Washington and Brussels did not grow tired to sign treaty after treaty with Beijing despite the bloody massacre on

Tiananmen Square in June 1989! And how democratic are the present friends of Western imperialists – like Israel's Apartheid regime slaughtering Palestinians every single day, like the absolutist monarchies of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, like Egypt's military dictatorship of General Sisi or the Tunisian regime of Kais Saied, ...?! In the real world, it is not "*Democracies versus Autocracies*" but "*Democracies hand in hand with Autocracies*" – they are all enemies of the workers and oppressed!

To counter their Western rivals, Putin and Xi – as well as their Stalinist and populist lackeys in workers and popular movements – preach the concept of a *Multi-Polar World Order*. They claim that this would be a more democratic alternative to globalisation under U.S. hegemony. Such an ideology is both absurd and cynical. If Putin and Xi want a more democratic world order, they should start at home and allow more freedoms for their own populations! And why should a multi-polar world order be better than a unipolar world order? Think about the first half of the 20th century and its two World Wars! The truth, which the Putinistas and Semi-Putinistas try to conceal, is the following: a unipolar world order is one dominated by a single robber (the U.S.) while a multi-polar world order is one in which several robbers compete against each other in the struggle for their respective hegemony. Which one is better? Socialists equally reject one and the other since both are worse!

The rulers of the Great Powers package their unappeasable drive for power and money behind ideologies which are supposedly unique to their states. *Western Values*, *Ruskij Mir* and *Tianxia* – these are the respective civilization concepts of Western powers, Russia respective China. Each one is a cynical charade as they hide their base motives behind highfaluting phrases. In every single one of these powers, the powerful elite and the superrich are corrupt and decadent. They think about their fatherland only when it fills the pockets. They enthusiastically send their soldiers to battlefield but their own wealth to foreign tax havens. They preach a moral of sacrifice and decency but molest women and children, pay or receive bribes, mix politics and business, etc. Who are they to teach us any moral?! Workers and oppressed, make no mistake: their fatherland is not your fatherland. Let them die together with their fatherland! No sacrifices for their fatherland but all sacrifices for our own future motherland! Our liberation – this is something to live and to die for; the collective struggle of the oppressed for freedom – this is a compass on which we base *our collective, socialist moral!*

Since some time, ultra-reactionary crackpots of the white supremacist movement are spreading the bizarre idea of "*Great Replacement*". According to this phantasma, the governments of North America and Europe are importing migrants in order to replace the domestic population. Leaving aside the "small detail" that – in the real world – these governments are killing, or letting die, thousands of refugees at the border to Mexico or in the Mediterranean, this "theory" conceals the simple fact that the white population – the constituency of the old imperialist powers – is ageing and without future prospects within this system. It is hardly the fault of the coloured peoples of the South if the U.S. and Europe have a low fertility rate! As a matter of fact, these ageing societies of the rich world could not continue to exist without migrants, their labour and

their financial contributions to the social system! Leaving all this aside, the old imperialist powers have plundered the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia for centuries. Today, the carbon emissions of these powers destroy the living conditions of the Global South. No wonder that many people from these countries can't bear this situation any longer and flee their homes. The RCIT says – picking up the old slogan of the Communist Youth International before its Stalinist degeneration – “*Our Home is the World*”. Migrants are equally brothers and sisters to us as are domestic workers! Hence, *we call for international unity of the workers and oppressed, equality for migrants (including the right to use their native language in public administration and education as well as the right to vote) and open borders for refugees.*

Finally, we shall mention the bizarre slogan which was preached in the past years on all continents: *Trust the Science!* Such a phrase was used by capitalist governments in order to make people subordinate to the policy of the COVID Counterrevolution (Lockdowns, Green Pass, etc.). Leaving aside the “small detail” that science is an issue of knowledge and not of faith, one has to recognise the real meaning of this phrase of ruling class ideologists: in fact, they mean “*Trust the Scientists*” who tell us what to do. However, while there exist thousands of well-meaning and honest scientists, the reality is that usually they depend on money from corporations or the state. If they don't tell the public what their bosses want to hear, their career could be over pretty damn quick. As simple as that! We say that the workers and oppressed have no reason to trust the scientists or their bosses and politicians but every reason to ask for the class interests behind this or that scientific institution; likewise, they should collaborate with critical scientists who do research independent of profit and career.

The Struggle for Power to Open the Road to a Socialist Future

The struggle in defence of our rights requires the broadest possible militant unity of our class. For this we need organs of *self-organisation – councils of action, popular assemblies, “soviets”* (as they were called in the Russian Revolutions in 1905 and 1917). Such organs unite all workers in an enterprise, all oppressed in a neighbourhood or village, all soldiers in a company. Such organs should link with each other on a local, regional and national level via a system of recallable delegates. They should jointly discuss and plan the struggle for our rights. They shall create armed organisations which defend us against the bosses and their police.

Due to the crisis of the trade unions, which, as Trotsky said, are part of the capitalist regimes – hence their crises – there is a marked tendency towards worker self-organisation. For this reason, revolutionaries must propose tactics that aid the construction of organisms that express this dynamic, beginning with grassroots assemblies, which are the fundament on which these Soviet organisations rest. There, revolutionaries must raise the need to vote not only on the next steps of the struggle, and the unification of these, but also on economic and social plans on a worker, popular and socialist basis.

As long as revolutionaries remain a small minority within

the working class, they are obligated to collaborate with other forces. We strive for *unity of action* with reformist, populist and petty-bourgeois forces wherever they represent significant sectors of the workers and oppressed. At the same time, we reserve the right to criticize the leaderships of such forces for their limitations and for their unwillingness to consistently fight against the ruling class. Within these institutions, socialists will permanently and systematically promote that the base decide everything through democratic assemblies and that the union bodies of the companies – internal commissions, bodies of delegates – become, when there are conflicts, combat committees, that incorporate not only unionized workers, but the whole workforce.

We do not ignore official *trade unions* but fight within such organisations for the replacement of the existing bureaucracies by a militant leadership. In the struggle for the change in the leadership of the unions, revolutionaries propose the democratization of these, with concrete measures that serve to achieve it, such as the obligation to consult everything with the base, through assemblies, the rotation of leaders, so that they cannot be in charge of the union leadership for more than one mandate. And, furthermore, that no professional union official receives more than the average salary of the workers he or she represents.

Likewise, we join movements of the nationally and socially oppressed and advocate the formation of *revolutionary movements of women, black people, migrants, LGBT+ people, peoples with disabilities* etc. We understand that these organizations are a united front with non-proletarian sectors, which is why we must be attentive to their evolution, since the leaderships, in general, tend to go after the bourgeoisie, as happened with the “*Green Tide*” of Argentina, which after successfully pushing through the right of abortion, was co-opted almost completely by Kirchnerism. For this reason, within these movements, we fight for the classist and revolutionary point of view.

The RCIT recognises the necessity for socialists to *participate in elections for bourgeois parliaments* since such offer the opportunity to utilise these for revolutionary agitation. However, in contrast to reformist bureaucrats and centrist muddleheads, we strongly reject any *illusion in the possibility to transform capitalism peacefully or via parliamentary reforms*. The only road to liberation is the socialist revolution, i.e. the *armed insurrection* of the workers and oppressed.

While reformists and centrists look for elections as the main field of their activities, revolutionaries orientate to the field of mass struggle. *Demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, insurrection, civil war* – these are the means via which the masses can break the chains of oppression.

Participation in the bourgeois parliament must have a clear objective, that of encouraging mistrust in these bodies and the need for the mass movement to resort to the only instrument capable of freeing it from oppression and exploitation: direct action.

All partial struggles should ultimately aim for the creation of a *workers' and poor peasant government*. Such a government must be based on *action councils of the workers, peasant and poor* as well as on *armed popular militias*. It would turn immediately to the decisive task of *expropriating the capitalist class as well as replacing the armed state apparatus of the bourgeoisie by workers' and people's militia*.

Such a government must not be confused with so-called “left-wing” governments like the PT-led popular front government in Brazil, the Maduro government in Venezuela, the PSOE/PODEMOS government in Spain or the SYRIZA government in Greece. These are all bourgeois governments which disguise their service for the capitalist class with some “progressive” reforms and phrases. No, we reiterate that only authentic workers’ and popular government can open the road to socialist revolution!

In the struggle for a workers’, revolutionary and socialist government, we are not only confronting the agents of the bourgeoisie or the traditional union bureaucracy, but also different variants of centrism, even Trotskyist, which, as happened during the Spanish Revolution with the POUM, plays a disastrous role, because it aids, irrespective of its intentions, the process of demobilization of the working class. Centrism is, in the midst of a revolutionary situation like the one that is approaching, a sinister enemy, which we must relentlessly denounce, which does not mean acting in a sectarian way or not proposing common actions.

An example of centrism is the Argentinean FITu, made up of Trotskyist organizations that have adapted to bourgeois democracy and, therefore, lack a consistent revolutionary

policy. Our section acts within this force, maintains fraternal relations with its members, but without ceasing to criticize their surrender. The fight against centrism is important, because, in addition, from the forces that make it up, will come the fractions and leaders that break to the left and with whom we will be able to advance the building of the revolutionary party.

This task, that of promoting the unity of the revolutionaries, is fundamental, since there is no possibility of setting up the general staff of the revolution, national and international, without connecting with other organizations and militants who share a similar approach. The Bolshevik Party, in short, was the product of such a process of unification, after years of intense and tough political debates.

For this reason, from the RCIT we do not proclaim ourselves as “the party of the revolution”, but rather we propose to collaborate in its construction, developing a program and a consistent praxis, which allows us to meet with other principled sectors in a *joint bloc of revolutionary forces*. For that, we invite you to join our *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*.

*No future without socialism! Not socialism without revolution!
No revolution without a revolutionary party!*

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.

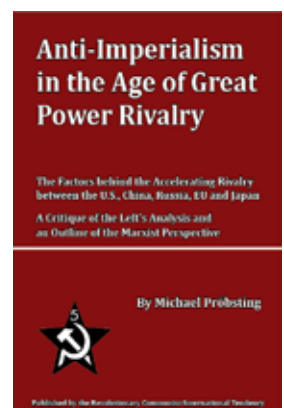
Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry demonstrates the validity of the Marxist analysis of modern imperialism. Using comprehensive material (including 61 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that a correct understanding of the rise of China and Russia as new Great Powers is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



Theses on Agriculture and Ecology

Document adopted by the IV. Congress of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), September 2023

1. The world of capitalism is a world of destruction, first and foremost the destruction of life in its various forms. Rich in complexity, the *capitalist machine of annihilation* has not limited itself to the murder of indigenous peoples (which was especially high in the epoch of colonization). The simple forms of direct killing are just one aspect of the murderous machine. The consummation of proletarian workforce up to the point in which workers drop dead of exhaustion were a more sophisticated way of the machinery of destruction. The organized working class, building four *Internationals* in the history of its heroic revolutionary struggle, could balance the scale a little bit by reducing the number of extreme forms of over-exploitation worldwide. But the sophisticated *capitalist machine of annihilation* was not stopped and advances further in an exponentially fastening tempo.

2. The capitalist civilization process increased the pollution of air, emitting both chemicals as well as it is reducing the amount of oxygen in the air. The sheer number of species extinct by both air and water pollution has reduced the complexity of life on earth in a palpable way. The capitalist civilization process exhausted the soil, utilizing chemical fertilizer to replace what was taken away. However, this method combined with pollution flourishing under capitalism reduced the potent nutritional power of plants leaving us starving for nutrients our ancestors consumed in their full density and which we are missing so much today. Today's production of crops, fruits, and vegetables is, compared to 50 years ago, up to 40% lower in micronutrients. (1) Finally, access to water that is safe to drink became a privilege of the imperialist countries and wealthier semi-colonial countries (although poorer families living in the latter often enough lack the same access).

3. Starved as we are, the food industry creates a mass of cheap calories to feed us, but such "food" is ripped away from its natural complexity. The small amount of calorie-rich food is dramatically weakening our body and mind because of its lack of qualitative nutrition. In addition, our bodies are not built to process such a quantum of calories. The creation of quantity with very low to no quality transforms our bodies into ailing shells. Today, more than 1.9 billion people are overweight or obese compared to 462 million who are underweight. (2) Both however suffer from malnutrition. Growing quantity with lower quality is the principal which capitalist production applies also when it comes to its waste.

4. Every life on earth creates waste but it is interlinked with other life in a cycle of recreation. Capitalism has not only stopped to nurture the soil with human waste, instead cultivating the use of mostly chemical fertilizers while human waste enters energy-intensive landfills. (3) The *capitalist machine of annihilation* also created huge amounts of waste which cannot decompose fast enough as its components are lacking fast-rotting organic material. The accumulation of waste is the accumulation of inorganic material suppressing organic material. The extremely slowly rotting waste takes away space that should belong to life. Same is true for the sheer number of bituminized

roads, factories, buildings, vehicles, and other forms of inorganic material with which we are surrounded. It is not the number of humans, i.e., the number of human lives born on earth, which creates a lack of resources. This is an imperialist-led attack on the living reality of the poorer semi-colonial countries which have little to no responsibility for climate change. It is the capitalist greed especially from imperialist countries, polluting earth with inorganic material that devours energy and resources, destroying biodiversity on its way. Municipal solid waste alone makes up 2.24 billion tons per year worldwide, most likely double the amount than 40 years ago. (4) More than 55% of humanity lives in cities and it is estimated that this number will be 68% by 2050. (5) No wonder, capitalist think tanks estimate that municipal solid waste will increase by at least 60% until 2050. (6)

5. The widespread introduction of Artificial Intelligence is yet another form of pollution through inorganic material, in this case the pollution via dead capital. It takes up energy and resources from living forms and replaces human labour, if not humans themselves. There are capitalists who plan to utilize machines and robots as complete replacement for humans. There are capitalists who work on methods to implant elements of Artificial Intelligence directly into the human body merging it with dead capital. Some of the A.I. experts even calculate when singularity (artificial intelligence surpasses human intelligence) will be reached. Those factions of the bourgeoisie which are very much in favour of expanding the role of Artificial Intelligence, have an inhuman strategy for our future. They will de facto let billions of people suffer and ultimately die in the climate catastrophe, with the hope to maintain or even improve their own living standard by replacing big parts of human labour through AI. Truly, dead capital is the capitalists' golden lamb.

6. In stark contrast to this, small farmers (who are producing one third of the worldwide food supply) embody the old world with multiple inner contradictions. (7) They are part of the oppressed, as most are concentrated in the global south respectively in its poor rural areas. At the same time, they are part of a heterogeneous and ancient class – the peasantry. As a social class, the peasantry is not independent from either bourgeois or proletarian influence – it orientates itself towards the political leadership of the one or the other. Authentic Marxists understand that this does not minimize the importance of the small farmers, but the opposite is the case: The working class needs this ally both in the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois class *and* in the building of a socialist future in harmony with nature.

7. The "*idiocy of the countryside*" (i.e., the isolation of rural regions from the world as such) as Karl Marx famously called it, was fundamentally transformed in the first half of capitalist history, when highly populated cities emerged. However, the more developed capitalism, especially in its latest stage of imperialism has accelerated *an idiocy of the cities* like human history has never seen before. The alienation from nature by billions of people who live

in cities, surrounded mostly by inorganic matter, has created a seamlessly never-ending amount of *decadency and decay*. Many of the laws of nature and life were put in theoretically advanced formulas and scientific explanations, even taught in schools to little children. Theory in isolation of any practice, however, is not worth the paper that it is written on.

8. Marxists have always known that the alienation of humans in capitalism is not reduced to the alienation of labour. Moreso, the alienation of humans from nature today includes the alienation from its own existence as *complex living matter in dialectic exchange with its living surroundings*. Human bodies (including their minds) repulse this alienation in very drastic ways. Unsurprisingly, atopic diseases (allergies), auto-immune diseases, inflammations with no clear cause and mental health problems – to name a few examples – are on the rise. Authentic Marxists understand that the process of alienation from nature will not be solved overnight. Even if it marks a very important step on the road, not even a successful socialist revolution can eliminate decades of decadency and decay which capitalists created. Russian revolutionary Leo Trotsky has correctly explained the permanence of the revolutionary process, the necessity of destruction and recreation, and destruction and recreation, and destruction and recreation...a process which will last for a long period of time.

9. The theory of the permanent revolution is also crucial in understanding the character of all social classes. The bourgeoisie and the wealthy landlords, when expropriated internationally, are the first social classes to die in the socialist process. The working class itself, as well as the smaller peasantry, transforms at first and dies out later. During the transformation process of both the working class and the small peasantry, the gap between those two formerly oppressed is closed. The proletarian strength of collective planning and working, a global mindset, innovation and waiver of private property will fuse with the virtue of the peasantry, namely dedication to *cultivation of land, building roots and willingness to obey to certain laws of nature*. The alliance of the working class and the poor peasantry is therefore not a tactical one, rooted in a short-term perspective. It is rather a mutually beneficial and respectful permanent alliance to liberate and, to paraphrase Karl Marx, (8) to transform *both the exploited parts of human society and the exploited earth*. Such an alliance can only exist based on mutual trust.

10. It is the duty of the vanguard of the working class to fight not only for the interests of the working class but also to equally support the interests of the poor peasantry and all oppressed worldwide. Agriculture and soil do neither belong in the hands of wealthy peasants who operate like landlords, nor do they belong to capitalists respectively multinational corporations. Saving the earth from the environmental catastrophe that capitalism nurtures, needs both the dedication *and* the skills of the poor peasants supported by the workers.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) invites all revolutionaries, all socialists, all workers and poor peasants, all oppressed to fight for the following demands as part of a revolutionary program for a sustainable agriculture and the future of our planet:

Free the exploited land which belongs to the poor peasants

ants respectively the indigenous people!

** For the expropriation of the big landlords, the church, and the multinationals!*

** Nationalize the land under the control the poor peasants in alliance with the working class! The land belongs to those who cultivate it!*

** Only local democratic action councils representing the poor and landless peasants should decide the question of the allocation and use of the land! Agriculture specialists can be integrated in this process as advisors if the councils wish so.*

** Promote voluntary agricultural cooperatives and the formation of larger state production units based on the experience and training by the peasantry! The state should provide the necessary tools and other means to improve agriculture for peasants!*

** For the creation of local schools for peasants to promote learning of modern ways to develop sustainable and green agriculture! In such schools however, it is the task of educated and experienced peasants trusted by the local community to teach, since "agricultural experts" who have no connection to the land may be good advisors in some cases, but, overall, they lack practical understanding of the needs of the local land!*

** It is the task of the working class to defend and support the rights of peasants and indigenous people to live according to their traditions and costumes! Religious respectively spiritual beliefs must be respected as long as they do not physically harm others!*

** Authentic Marxists understand that many believes in powers of certain lands, animals, trees and plants in general result from centuries-old experience of the rural population cultivating the local land. Today, even pharmaceutical multinational corporations research on healing plants and often synthesize certain extracts to produce medicine. However, natural components act and react in a dialectical relationship which reduces both safety and effectiveness of phytomedicine by the process of synthetization. Socialist understanding of science is based on a dialectical, materialist understanding which must learn from the centuries-old experiences of the peasants respectively indigenous peoples! For the respectful integration of ancient knowledge and culture to invigorate scientific understanding by the praxis of the people who cultivate earth!*

** Cancel debts and abolish rents for the peasants! Interest-free loans for small peasants! The crimes of both the brutal colonial history and imperialist present age cannot be reversed – but the immediate expropriation under workers control of all companies, multinational corporations and wealthy families who committed respectively benefitted from such crimes can and should at least mobilise the resources for comprehensive compensations for the poor peoples and the indigenous peoples based on their demands!*

** No to any forms of genetic mutation of crops or any other organic material! Multinational corporations which are based on genetic mutations like Monsanto need to be expropriated immediately under workers' control, - and in fact, dissolved – stopping any further spread of the genetically modified crops! In all areas, be it agriculture, medicine, scientific research or others, gene manipulation needs to be stopped immediately! As long as capitalism reigns, there is no chance to truly know about the long-term problems created by human-induced gene mutation in the lab! All peasants who are affected by genetically modified crops need to be immediately compensated!*

Save planet earth by an emergency program based on true internationalism of the alliance of workers and poor peasants!

* Convert the energy and transport system - global phasing out of fossil fuels and nuclear energy production in shortest time possible!

* Massive research into the use of alternative forms of energy! At the same time, all energy-intense ways of capitalist production and the society as such need to be examined under workers' control! In collaboration with poor peasants and environmental activists, the working class must implement the reduction or replacement of energy-intense production, transport and all other parts of the economy! To save the planet we need savvy energy-saving, ecologically sustainable methods for living!

* For a program for global reforestation, which respects the needs and demands of poor peasants and indigenous people! It is first and foremost the duty of the imperialist part of the world to adapt its lifestyle to the needs of planet earth by fast and radical means! This includes a strong depletion of technologically-driven gadgets which seemingly eases the lives of people in imperialist countries but truly are only the result of massive consumerism! Focused on a program of de-centralisation and de-concentration as well as radical transformations of the big cities into ecologically healthy areas, the international working class in close alliance with the poor peasants and oppressed must control all measures! The living standard of the people in semi-colonial countries needs to be raised immediately and drastically to align with the living standard of the so-called first world! This, however, needs to happen via a program based on ecologically sane methods which also drastically increase the health of the peoples!

* Nationalization under workers' control of all energy companies and all companies that are responsible for basic supplies such as water and agricultural products as well as the airlines, shipping, and rail facilities!

* The war on natural resources, especially on water and food needs to end now! For the immediate reorganization of agricultural land to massively reduce the demand for water and other vital resources! Mulching, terra preta and similar known

methods can help to largely reduce the water consumption and chemical fertilizers in agriculture but are not applicable with the production methods and standards of capitalism. For a re-organization of agriculture under control of the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry to establish alternate forms of cultivating the land! All green areas in the imperialist world and developed semi-colonial countries which are based on commercially forms of gardening, down massive amounts of water and must be immediately reorganized to sustainable cultivation!

* Immediate reorganization of the waste industry on a global scale! Imperialist countries must take back all waste which was dumped in semi-colonial countries and deliver compensation payments for the ecological aftermath, especially to the people living in or near the region of the waste dump! Immediate reorganization of the complete capitalist waste cycle to stop both the further production of extremely slowly rotting waste as well as the energy-intense and ecologically damaging methods of waste incineration!

* Air pollution as well as water pollution must be stopped immediately! Multinational corporations and all capitalist companies as well as rich peasants guilty of air respectively water pollution must be expropriated under workers' control in close alliance with the poor peasants! For immediate retrofitting of all polluting industries into sustainable, ecologically healthy forms of economy! Abolishment of all forms of emission trading and replacement by immediate reparation payments by all the big polluters – countries as well as corporations – in order to repair the damage done to our planet and to the health of people!

* Don't trust bourgeois science as it is under the guidance of capitalism and serves those who are willing to pay most, respectively who are willing to provide the highest prestige! Our bodies and minds are negatively affected by the various forms of exploitation, pollution and destruction of our planet and need to be cured in a sustainable way. Scientists need to operate under workers' control in close alliance with the poor peasants, based



Publications of the RCIT

Marxism and Artificial Intelligence

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A Critical Marxist Approach

By Medina Avdagić and Michael Pröbsting, June 2023

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on socialist principles which include that all living is understood in its contradictoriness and complexity – only such a science can be trusted!

Fight for a socialist world in harmony with nature, achieved via a global revolution of the workers, poor peasants and all oppressed!

** End all forms of capitalist greenwashing! Reject the strategy of “green” urban middle-class advocates who support and demand a strategy of high taxes for cars, fossil fuels and alike. Those people live in a wealthy bubble believing that a strategy of fiscal punishment teaches ecology to all, while they remain completely blind for the needs and living realities of the poor people and those living in rural areas! Revolutionaries support protests like the Yellow-Westes in France who are politically confused but correctly directed against the ignorant wealthy elite!*

** Reject threats and punishment against peasants who are part of the meat industry, who use chemical fertilizers, etc. It needs a national plan under workers’ control to restructure agriculture and to help the peasants financially! Provide them with enough workforce to reorganize the methods of farming into a sustainable and healthy agriculture! Expropriation of rich peasants, the blood brothers of the capitalists who build their wealth on the destruction of nature and the oppression of poorer peasants! Only a global, socialist plan can reorganize the meat and fish industry in a way which enables access to animal protein for people worldwide on a level that is healthy for both human bodies and our planet!*

** Immediate stop of all further developments of complex Artificial Intelligence, which only serves the interest of capitalists and embodies immense destructive power! Against all forms of techno-totalitarianism and bonapartism! Instead of investing into escape to other planets, all of humanity needs to fight to save the very planet we live in!*

Saving the planet also means that the overall health of all people must increase drastically. Cleaner water, better air, natural climate, and nutritional crops play a crucial role in our overall health. In addition to this, only if we end all forms of exploitation and oppression, only if we reverse the unhealthy isolation of city life versus country life, only then we can truly end all forms of suffering. Only the closest and most respectful alliance of the working class with the poor peasantry, with all oppressed can build such a future.

Fight with us for the planet and humanity by fighting for a socialist global revolution! For the building of a new, revolutionary world party!

Footnotes

- 1) Fruits and Vegetables Yielding Fewer Nutrients Than in the Past. By Greg Seaman, eartheasy, May 1, 2009, <https://learn.eartheasy.com/articles/fruits-and-vegetables-yield-ing-fewer-nutrients-than-in-the-past/>
- 2) Malnutrition. Fact Sheets. By the World Health Organization, June 9, 2021, <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/malnutrition>
- 3) “Excretions of consumption are of the greatest importance for agriculture. So far as their utilisation is concerned, there is an enormous waste of them in the capitalist economy. In London, for instance, they find no better use for the excretion of four and a half million human beings than to contaminate the Thames with it at heavy expense.” [Karl Marx: Capital, Vol. III, Part I: The Conversion of Surplus-Value into Profit and of the Rate of Surplus-Value into the Rate of Profit. Chapter 5. Economy in the Employment of Constant Capital. IV. Utilisation of the Excretions of Production, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1894-c3/ch05.htm>]
- 4) International Day of Zero Waste 2023. UN Environment Programme, March 30, 2023, <https://www.unep.org/events/un-day/international-day-zero-waste-2023>
- 5) 68% of the world population projected to live in urban areas by 2050, says UN. By the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, <https://www.un.org/uk/desa/68-world-population-projected-live-urban-areas-2050-says-un>
- 6) Publication: What a Waste 2.0: A Global Snapshot of Solid Waste Management to 2050, By Kaza, Silpa; Yao, Lisa C.; Bhada-Tata, Perinaz; Van Woerden, Frank, DC: World Bank, September 20, 2018, <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/30317>
- 7) Small family farmers produce a third of the world’s food. By the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, April 23, 2021, <https://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/1395127/icode/>
- 8) “Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil; all progress in increasing the fertility of the soil for a given time, is a progress towards ruining the lasting sources of that fertility. The more a country starts its development on the foundation of modern industry, like the United States, for example, the more rapid is this process of destruction. Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth — the soil and the labourer.” [Karl Marx: Capital, Vol. I, Part IV: Production of Relative Surplus Value. Chapter Fifteen: Machinery and Modern Industry. Section 10. Modern Industry and Agriculture, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch15.htm#S10>]

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Bourgeois Democracy in the Age of Capitalist Decay and the Revolutionary Struggle for Democratic Rights

Theses of IV. Congress of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), September 2023

1. Bourgeois democracy has been an important form of political superstructure in the history of capitalism – first and foremost in the old capitalist heartlands of Western Europe and the U.S. but, to a certain degree, also in later developed capitalist countries. However, with the decay of capitalism, bourgeois democracy becomes more and more hollow, impotent and discredited and, as a result, the ruling class increasingly turns to authoritarian, bonapartist forms of domination. This provokes, at the same time, with increasing frequency, political struggles of the popular masses in defence of democratic rights.

The class nature of bourgeois democracy and its democratic limitations

2. Marxists have always recognised the (limited) progressive value of bourgeois democracy for the working class and the oppressed. The existence of democratic rights facilitates the class struggle and makes it easier for the masses to recognise the class nature of the capitalist system. At the same time, however, Marxists insist that bourgeois democracy is no real democracy for the labouring masses but is rather a political form which disguises the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. *„In explaining the class nature of bourgeois civilisation, bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois parliamentary system, all socialists have expressed the idea formulated with the greatest scientific precision by Marx and Engels, namely, that the most democratic bourgeois republic is no more than a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, for the suppression of the working people by a handful of capitalists.“* (V. I. Lenin: *Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, 1919)

3. The basis of such class character of bourgeois democracy is the capitalist nature of the social formation based on private ownership of the production means. Such concentration of wealth in the hands of a small minority of capitalists automatically ensures this class not only economic domination but also huge direct and indirect influence in all political and ideological spheres of the society. They control political parties, influence and bribe the top layers in the state apparatus, etc. In the epoch of imperialism, it is first and foremost the monopoly bourgeoisie which dominates the political and economic spheres of the society.

4. On the basis of the capitalist mode of production, a gigantic bureaucratic apparatus of bourgeois superstructure towers. This capitalist state machinery has the police, army, and justice as its core, furthermore a bureaucratic administration, parliamentary institutions, education sector, etc. It often controls – directly or indirectly – sizeable sectors of the economy. Other elements of bourgeois superstructure are the media (usually controlled by a few monopoly capitalists), religious institutions, entertainment sector, etc. All these sectors of bourgeois superstructure – aside from parliamentary institutions – are not

even formally elected by the popular masses but either directly owned by capitalists or indirectly influenced via non-elected bureaucrats.

5. Historically, bourgeois democracy has included (more or less) forms of political participation of (larger or smaller) sectors of the popular masses. People could elect a parliament and possess several political rights (freedom of assembly, speech, religion, press, etc.). However, bourgeois democracy has nearly always been limited – even by its own bourgeois-democratic standards. First it is often combined with forms of absolutist rule (monarchy) or extraordinary powers for a single person (e.g. President) respectively for the military. As Trotsky once noted: *„Every bourgeois democracy bears the features of Bonapartism.“* (Leon Trotsky: *Again on the question of Bonapartism*, 1935)

6. Secondly, full bourgeois-democratic rights have hardly ever applied to all sectors of the population. In the early times of bourgeois democracy, rights were denied to the poorer sectors of the population, to women, young people, native people, etc. Today even the most democratic capitalist states in Europe and North America withhold the right to vote from migrants without citizenship (who often constitute sizeable minorities of 1/5 – 1/3 of the population in major cities).

7. It is a principle of bourgeois democracy in any form that it excludes democracy from the core sectors of the society. At the workplace, decisions are made by the owner(s) resp. by (unelected) managers and directors. Furthermore, leading position in police, army, and justice – core sectors of the political superstructure – are usually neither eligible nor accountable. Furthermore, aside from the possibility to cast a ballot every few years, the popular masses have no possibility whatsoever to influence which government / administration is formed and what decisions it is making. In short, for the popular masses the possibility of participation in bourgeois democracy is limited to make a cross on the ballot every few years. In all the years in-between, decisions are made over their heads and against their interests.

The decay of bourgeois democracy

8. The Marxist analysis of bourgeois democracy as ultimately a form of capitalist dictatorship does not mean that the (monopoly) bourgeoisie rules as a united class or without alliances with other classes and layers. In fact, the monopoly bourgeoisie is often divided into several political camps which both collaborate and compete. Furthermore, the capitalist class – numerically a small force of usually not more than 1%-3% of the total population – could not dominate the society without basing themselves on other, allied, classes and layers. Such allied forces have been, in former times, semi-feudal classes of landowners and the nobility. In modern times, the bourgeoisie rests its rule basically on integrating sectors of the middle class and the labour aristocracy – constituting a kind of ruling

bloc. In semi-colonial countries, the domestic bourgeoisie basically rules as a junior partner of the imperialist monopolies and Great Powers and tries to integrate sectors of the middle layers and the petty-bourgeoisie. The political structures of bourgeois democracy constitute the framework in which such collaboration and competition between the different camps of the ruling class take place.

9. Hence, bourgeois democracy – formulated in a sociological way of class analysis – basically represents a pyramid-shaped system with the (domestic and/or foreign) monopoly bourgeoisie at the very top, followed by other sectors of the bourgeoisie, and then sectors of the middle class, the petty-bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy. Such a social formation of class rule can be relatively stable in a period of long-term boom of capitalism. However, the more capitalism is characterized by political and economic crisis, the more such a political-social system becomes instable.

10. This is even more the case in a period of acute capitalist decay as we saw it in the first half or the 20th century or since the Great Recession in 2008 which opened a new historic period of catastrophes and revolutionary crises. Such a period is characterised by sharp crisis, economic and ecological catastrophes, and political explosions. It sees an acceleration of the rivalry between imperialist Great Powers, between different camps within the ruling class as well as the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the oppressed classes. Hence, in such a period of decay and revolutionary and counterrevolutionary crises, the relationship between the classes and class fractions within the ruling bloc becomes highly instable and crisis-ridden. Consequently, bourgeois democracy becomes more and more instable, hollow, and corrupted, an empty shell for bourgeois cliques grabbing power.

Civilization threats, bonapartist attacks and democratic rights

11. With the ruling bloc in crisis, the (monopoly) bourgeoisie is increasingly forced to undermine bourgeois democracy, to attack democratic rights and to turn towards more authoritarian and bonapartist forms of domination. This is a general trend and not limited only to one specific sector of the ruling class. In its most brutal and obvious forms we have seen such shift to bonapartism in countries where the ruling class has carried out a military coup and created an undisguised dictatorship (e.g. Egypt 2013, Thailand 2014, Burma/Myanmar 2021, in a more gradual way in Tunisia in 2021/22). However, there also have been more subtle shifts towards bonapartism which leave some remnants of bourgeoisie democracy (e.g. Putin in Russia, Erdoğan in Türkiye, Modi in India, Orbán in Hungary). On the other hand, China – the most important imperialist power aside from the U.S. – has been a Stalinist-capitalist dictatorship since many years.

12. It would be utterly mistaken to imagine that attacks on bourgeois democracy and a shift towards bonapartism would be a policy only of “right-wing” sectors of the bourgeoisie. In fact, we see a similar tendency among the so-called “liberal” sectors of the bourgeoisie. This was most obvious in the period of COVID Counterrevolution in 2020-22 when “right-wing” as well as “liberal” sectors of the ruling class imposed a policy of lockdowns and

“Green Pass” control. More generally, we have seen in nearly all capitalist states an expansion of surveillance, of police power, and of protectionist power of control of the capitalist national states. This is a development which the RCIT characterises as *Chauvinist State Bonapartism* and which has become an increasingly important feature of bourgeois rule in the present historic period.

13. To put it more generally, the increasing number of civilization threats – real or exaggerated – both undermine capitalism and, at the same time, provide a pretext for the ruling class to justify its attacks on democratic rights and its shift towards bonapartism. Examples for such civilization threats are climate change and its devastating consequences (heat, water shortage, drought, floodings, etc.), nuclear power, Artificial Intelligence (AI), pandemics etc. We can expect an even more drastic acceleration of this tendency with the further development of AI and its deployment in all sectors of the society. Likewise, one can expect that the ruling class will use the worsening climate crisis as a pretext to attack democratic rights and to justify the expansion of power of the capitalist state apparatus.

14. Hence, the difference between “right-wing” and “liberal” sectors of the ruling class increasingly disappears. As a general tendency, both are turning towards *Chauvinist State Bonapartism* and both undermine and attack democratic rights. Of course, this does not mean that “right-wing” and “liberal” forces of the bourgeoisie necessarily attack in the same form or at the same time. During the period of COVID Counterrevolution, it was rather the “liberals” which were the driving force of bonapartism. On other occasions (e.g. attack on democratic rights of ethnic minorities, women, LGBT+, etc.), it is usually the “right-wing” forces which are pushing. In any case, there is no fundamental difference in the anti-workers and anti-popular character between these sectors of the bourgeoisie.

15. This tendency of all the fractions of the bourgeoisie and its parties towards Bonapartism, is not only a tendency produced by the current crisis but is the product of a long agony of the bourgeois democratic regime. For some time, the ruling class has tried to supplant bourgeois democracy with forms of Bonapartism, but this attempt was cut short with the defeat of the Covid Counterrevolution and in cases where Bonapartism is sustained, as in China, it was weakened by mass actions of the working class.

16. The result is a phenomenon of transition, in which representative democracy is dying and is no longer sufficient to exercise class rule, the relationship of forces does not allow the capitalists to advance uniformly against the still existing democratic freedoms – fundamentally it has been not able to impose more authoritarian regimes around the world. But, at the same time, the revolutionary, Soviet alternative has not yet emerged, although the crisis and the pace of class struggle create exceptional conditions for the emergence of forms of direct democracy, such as those we saw in the Arab Spring in 2011.

17. This process is the symptom of the end of an era. Bourgeois democracy had its origin and highpoint in the 19th century. However, with the transformation of free competition capitalism into monopoly capitalism, into imperialism, the bourgeoisie needed other forms of domination, more in line with the centralization that occurred in the economic base. However, the struggle of the working

class throughout the world, for democratic freedoms and elementary rights, prevented the capitalists from leaving behind the bourgeois democratic regime. The socialist revolution in Russia was fundamental in that process.

18. Today the depth of the crisis and the long cycle of agony of the bourgeois democratic regime objectively leads the capitalists to curtail rights and eliminate democratic liberties, which is why the fight for those liberties can only be carried out consistently by the working class. This also objectively converts this struggle and the slogans necessary to promote it into transitional ones, in a phase that cannot be separated from the struggle for the socialist revolution.

Workers democracy versus bourgeois democracy

19. Recognizing the anti-popular and anti-democratic character of bourgeois democracy, Marxists advocate not an illusory concept of a "more progressive" version of bourgeois democracy but the socialist system of workers democracy (or "council" resp. "Soviet democracy" as it has been called after the experience of the Russian revolutions in 1905 and 1917). Such a system is built from below to the top, from councils – assemblies of the toiling and exploited masses – in workplaces and neighbourhoods to councils on local, regional, national and international level consisting of delegates from the respective bodies below. Such delegates must be electable and recallable by the grassroots, and they must not earn more than the average wage of skilled workers. Such a system based on council democracy can be established only as a result of a social-

ist revolution of the working class led by a Bolshevik-type party. It is such a system that is based on councils which will constitute what Marx called the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

20. Councils respectively pre-forms of councils do not emerge only when a socialist revolution has already taken place. In fact, soviets start as organs of struggle, as an instrument where the workers and oppressed organise themselves to fight for their interests. Naturally, socialists recognise the importance of traditional mass organisations like trade unions, popular associations, etc. and fight within such entities for their transformation into fighting organisations. However, at the same time, we advocate the formation of soviet-type organs in all struggles and mass movements and call to make such organs the centre of the struggle. Socialists will work within such bodies even if they constitute only a minority. In such a situation, they will – on the basis of the united front tactic – criticise the reformist or populist leadership and work towards their replacement by a militant leadership.

21. At the same time, the RCIT rejects all reformist utopias which advocate a combination of "councils" and parliamentary democracy (e.g. the so-called "participatory democracy" promoted by various Bolivarian and reformist forces). Councils in a Marxist sense are organs of struggle of the workers and oppressed in order to fight and eventually overthrow capitalist rule. A reformist distortion of "councils" is rather a trap for integrating the popular masses into the bourgeois system. Marxists insist that bourgeois democracy can not be reformed – it must be replaced by a workers and poor peasants government based on popular councils and militias. Naturally, this does

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution

What It Is and How to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle

In *The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution* Michael Pröbsting analyses the dramatic events in spring 2020 which have opened a new historic era. A triple crisis has shocked the world. The Third Depression has begun, characterized by a devastating economic slump of the capitalist world economy which is certainly no less dramatic than the crisis which started in 1929.

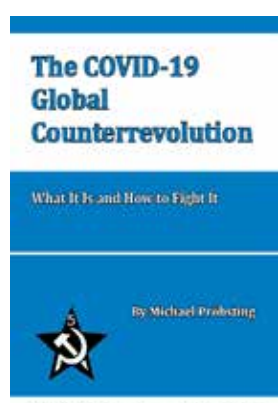
In addition, there is a wave of anti-democratic attacks of a scale which has not been seen in the imperialist countries since 1945. This has triggered a global turn towards Chauvinist State Bonapartism and the creation of a monstrous Leviathan-like state machinery.

And finally, the world faces COVID-19 – a pandemic which endangers many lives and which is exploited by the ruling classes in order to spread fear, to deflect attention from the capitalist causes of the economic crisis and to justify the turn towards chauvinist state bonapartism.

The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution also shows that large sectors of the reformist workers movement and the

so-called left fail to understand the meaning of this triple crisis. Similar to the situation in 1914 after the beginning of World War I we can observe a gigantic wave of opportunist capitulation by many self-proclaimed socialists as they support or at least do not denounce the global lockdown and the suppression of democratic rights which the ruling classes are imposing in the name of combat against the pandemic. *The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution* offers a Marxist analysis of this historic crisis and elaborates a revolutionary perspective for the struggles ahead.

The book contains an introduction and 6 chapters plus an appendix (176 pages) and includes 5 figures and a diagram.



not exclude that socialists utilise the possibility to agitate within such reformist “councils” – similar to the socialist concept of utilising bourgeois parliaments for such purpose.

Tactics in the struggle for democratic rights

22. The fundamental rejection of bourgeois democracy by Marxists must not be confused with indifference to democracy as such or to concrete democratic rights. Quite the opposite, the RCIT considers the revolutionary struggle for democratic rights as an essential part of the liberation struggle of the working class. We resolutely defend democratic rights; we defend bourgeois democracy against capitalist dictatorship, and we defend a more democratic form of bourgeois democracy against a less democratic form.

23. Our approach to the defence of democratic rights is similar to the defence of national, women’s or LGBT+ rights. We do not imagine that national oppression would end if language rights of an ethnic minority would be recognised or that women’s liberation would be achieved if abortion becomes legal. Likewise, we do not suggest that capitalist exploitation will be abolished if workers get higher wages. However, socialists energetically fight for every single democratic right because it is such struggles which improve the living conditions of workers and oppressed and which help them to get political and organisational experience for the class struggle and, eventually, for the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class.

24. However, Marxists do not spread the illusion that any form of bourgeois democracy could be fully democratic or could satisfy the needs of the working class and the popular masses. We do not defend rotten and corrupted bourgeois democracy against bonapartist attacks because we would view it as a system which has any vitality but because even the smallest democratic rights can be used by workers vanguard as a *springboard for the class struggle*.

25. It is such an understanding that encourages socialists to view each and every anti-democratic attack by a bourgeois government from the angle how such can be utilised to weaken the class enemy as well as to advance the consciousness and organisation of the workers and oppressed. Hence, socialists have to be highly sensitive to even the slightest attack on democratic rights and to any attempt of reactionary forces to enable a shift towards bonapartism. It is from such an angle that revolutionaries view a conflict between two bourgeois camps. Is it a conflict between two equally reactionary forces with neither of these reflecting any progressive interests (e.g. in the Sudanese civil war between General al-Burham and Hemedti in spring 2023); or is it a conflict between two bourgeois forces where one camp represents the main sector of the ruling class while the other camp, albeit bourgeois-populist in nature, reflects the aspirations of sectors of the popular masses. The latter was the case e.g. in Peru when the

erratic bourgeois-populist President Pedro Castillo was overthrown and arrested by an institutional coup in December 2022, against which sectors of the masses responded with months-long militant street protests; another example is Tunisia where the trade union federation UGTT and bourgeois-Islamist forces around the opposition party Ennahda protest against the anti-democratic shift towards bonapartist dictatorship by President Kais since July 2021.

26. The RCIT strictly differentiates between political support for any (petty-)bourgeois force and practical siding with such forces in struggles against anti-democratic attacks. The first is absolutely illegitimate for Marxists and represents a kind of popular front capitulation. The latter is not only legitimate but also necessary since authentic socialists often represent a small minority among the masses while (petty-)bourgeois reformist or populist forces are able to lead sectors of the masses. In such situations it is imperative for socialists not to keep aloof but to intervene in mass struggles and to join forces with the camp opposing the anti-democratic attack. Such a united-front approach has to be combined with clear propaganda explaining the bourgeois-reformist limitations of the leadership as well as the necessity to build an alternative, revolutionary leadership.

27. The strategic task is to combine the struggle for democratic rights, the united front tactic towards reformist and populist forces with agitation for the independent organisation of the workers and oppressed and with the goal of revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class and the establishment of a workers and poor peasant government. This is an essence of the strategy of permanent revolution, of combining the struggle for democracy with the goal of socialist expropriation of the bourgeoisie. The struggle for such strategy can only be successful if the most advanced elements of the workers vanguard create a revolutionary party – nationally and internationally – in time. The RCIT calls all authentic revolutionaries to join us in this struggle of creating such a party!

Unity – Struggle -Victory!

No future without socialism! No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

RCIT documents on Women’s Liberation

on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/oppressed/>

Women's Liberation is an Inherent Part of the Revolutionary Struggle...or the Struggle is Lost!

Declaration of the IV. Congress of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), September 2023

Women's oppression is neither independent from class struggle nor it is separated from all other forms of oppression. The exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, the exploitation of the semi-colonial countries by the imperialist states as well as all forms of racism potentiate when they affect women. They feed women's oppression and are fed by women's oppression.

When a black woman's hair is surprisingly touched by white strangers without respecting any boundaries, even if it is put forward as an alleged compliment, it reminds not only of the way a black person's body was treated as commodity during slavery. It is not only racist. It also reminds how women's bodies are objectified. It is also sexist.

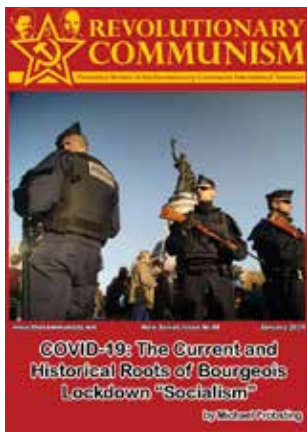
When an indigenous woman fighting to protect the environment is murdered by members of a gang or cartel, it might be because a multinational corporation from an imperialist country wished so. It is reflecting imperialist oppression. It might also be caused by an attempt for human trafficking or because she was targeted by a jealous ex-partner. It might be all of that combined.

When factory workers are sexually assaulted by managers, it is not only a reflection of women's oppression. It is also often enough a deliberate strategy to intimidate and therefore undermine any attempts of unionization of the workers. Women (likewise LGBTQIA2S+ people) are often enough targeted physically (including sexual assault)

by provocateurs in protest movements to intimidate and weaken the mobilizations. This is especially the case because women play such a decisive role in revolutionary situations.

The so-called Arab spring, the wave of revolutions through the North African and Middle East region beginning in 2011, was one of many impressive examples how prominent women are in and for revolutionary events. The biggest general strikes in history took place in India, where the women workers (especially from the textile industry), played a militant and decisive role. Even in the farmers march to New Delhi, many of the protesters were women. We see the same experience in the struggles against counterrevolutions like the heroic struggle against the coup in Egypt by General Sisi or the civil war against the dictator Assad in Syria. Impressive mass mobilizations against gender violence took place in India, Latin America and even sparked protests in the United States as well as in parts of Europe. In whatever revolutionary struggle of the workers and oppressed in the recent past, women entered the battlefield and became its backbone. The increasing and decisive role of women in revolutionary situations has even pushed bourgeois forces to adapt their strategies.

Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feminism in its most modern forms adapted a terminology like *intersectional feminism* to become more appealing for working class women, women of color and women in semi-colonial countries.



Publications of the RCIT

COVID-19: The Current and Historical Roots of Bourgeois Lockdown "Socialism"

Police State, Universal Basic Income & a new version of "War Socialism" of 1914

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2021

Introduction * 1. An Overview of the Policy of the Lockdown Left * 2. A Marxist Critique of Lockdownism and Universal Basic Income * 3. The Bourgeois Ideology of the "Caring State" (The Capitalist Handout State) * 4. The Objective Basis for Lockdown Socialism: Changes within the Political and Economic Physiognomy of Capitalism * 5. A Historical Analogy: The Mobilization of the Imperialist State for World War I * 6. War Socialism in 1914: The Social-Chauvinist Lensch-Cunow-Haenisch Group in German Social Democracy * 7. Lenin and other Marxists Declare War on War Socialism * 8. The Lockdown Left: A Worthy Successor of Social-Chauvinist War Socialists * 9. Once Again, the State Question: Marxism versus the Opportunist Left

A RCIT Pamphlet, 32 pages, A4 Format

Bourgeois, “intersectional” feminism hopes it can piggy-back struggles of the oppressed to utilize their achievements and strengthen the influence of bourgeois women in capitalism. Furthermore, bourgeois, “intersectional” feminists hope that they can deradicalize any anti-capitalist revolutionary energy by both never-ending discussions and guilt-tripping that everybody oppresses somebody. It is a perfect deflection from the capitalist enemy that is also partly female.

Petty-bourgeois feminism that is orientated towards “intersectionalism” is not guilty of the same crimes. However, they reign on all individualistic respectively pacifistic forms of politics. Therefore, “intersectionalism” is a welcomed version for petty-bourgeois feminist ideologists to weaken revolutionary collectivism that might force them to sacrifice their inherent need to dictate others by individualistic chaos.

Authentic Marxism emerges from and renews itself permanently through the experiences of the working class and all oppressed. Revolutionaries of all genders understand the indivisible unity of all forms of oppression and exploitation and how they nurture each other. The experiences of women are therefore a crucial part not only for women's liberation but for every other revolutionary task too.

The congress of the RCIT declares its goal to take all necessary steps to internationalize the experiences of the women cadres in its ranks. We dedicate ourselves especially to integrate and internationalize the knowledge, experiences, and skills of the women comrades from Argentina who participated in the building of, and who are leading in the collective *Defensorías de Géneros*.

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.

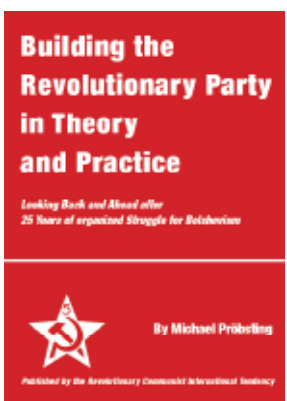
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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 Bolshevick-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 Bolshevick 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/> ■



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!

