

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency





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New Series Issue Nr.51

March 2021

Nigeria: National Question and Liberation Struggle Today

Studies on COVID-19 Crisis Show: More Profits for the Monopoly Capitalists but less Democracy for the People

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.51, March 2021

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Pictures on the cover: Statue of Bussa, leader of the largest slave revolt in Barbadian history (1816). He was of Igbo descent (left), Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bussa%27s_rebellion#/media/File:Bussa_statue.png; Flag of the Igbo People (right), Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Igbo_people#/media/File:Flag_of_Biafra.svg

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

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COVID-19: That Was A Damn Good Year ...

... for the Billionaires in West and East who massively gained from the anti-democratic Lockdown policy

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 5 January 2021

2020 was a damn good year. Not for you and not for me. But for the richest of the rich, it was a bonanza. This is the conclusion from the latest results of the *Bloomberg Billionaires Index* – a ranking of the world's richest people issued by the news agency of Michael Bloomberg (a billionaire himself). ¹

In an article published a few days ago, Bloomberg summarized the development of last year as follows: "The world's 500 richest people added \$1.8 trillion to their combined net worth this year and are now worth \$7.6 trillion, according to the Bloomberg Billionaires Index. Equivalent to a 31% increase, it's the biggest annual gain in the eight-year history of the index and a \$3 trillion jump from the market's nadir in March. The gains were disproportionately at the top, where five individuals now hold fortunes in excess of \$100 billion and another 20 are worth at least \$50 billion."

Among the biggest profiteers of the current crisis are Jeff Bezos (Amazon), Elon Musk (Tesla), Eric Yuan (Zoom), John Foley (Peloton, an American exercise equipment and media company), Mark Zuckerberg (Facebook), Steve Ballmer (former CEO of Microsoft) Zhong Shanshan (China's richest man and owner of the Chinese pharma giant Wantai), Huang Zheng (another Chinese billionaire businessman and chairman of e-commerce company Pinduoduo), and Ceng Yuqun (Chinese chairman of Contemporary Amperex Technology Co., the largest supplier of electric vehicle batteries in the world. He is also a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, an important institution of China's Stalinist-capitalist dictatorship). Unsurprisingly, Bill Gates did also pretty well. (See also Table 1 in the Appendix below)

At the same time, as well known, 2020 was a devastating year for the workers and popular masses around the globe, as we already warned since the beginning of the COVID crisis. ² Most of the global labor force – about 3.5

billion people – suffered dramatic losses in wages. According to the *International Labour Organization* (ILO), "global loss in labour income during the first three quarters of 2020 amounts to US\$3.5 trillion" which amounts to "a global decline of 10.7 per cent" (compared with the corresponding period in 2019). We can take it for granted that these losses will be even higher when calculations for the whole year will be published. ³

Pay attention to these figures: the world's 500 richest people increased their wealth by \$1.8 trillion which is more than half (!) of the combined losses in income of 3.5 billion workers and poor peasants! (See also Table 2 in the Appendix below)

In short, 2020 has been a year of gigantic redistribution of wealth. While billions of workers and poor around the globe suffered dramatic losses, the richest of the rich, the elite among the elite, accumulated an unprecedented amount of additional profits in their pockets. In other words, a lot of money changed from the pockets of many to the pockets of very few.

Such a massive shift of income from the working class and the popular masses towards monopoly capital is not accidently. As the RCIT has warned since the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis, the ruling elite around the globe is pursuing a counterrevolutionary offensive under the cover of the pandemic. It imposes a series of draconic lockdowns, mass curfews, anti-democratic restrictions on meetings and social gatherings, etc. resulting in the isolation and atomization of the people. This is what we have characterized as the *COVID-19 Counterrevolution*. Under such circumstances it has been very difficult for the working class and the oppressed to organize resistance against these attacks. ⁴

At the same time, such bourgeois Lockdown policy – combined with a massive push to force people getting hastily developed vaccine – serves the interests of the billionaires

Table 1: Biggest Billionaire Gainers in 2020 (in \$ Billion)

	Change in 2020	Net Worth
Elon Musk	139.7	167.2
Jeff Bezos	76.9	191.8
Zhong Shanshan	70.9	77.8
Huang Zheng	43.5	63.1
Dan Gilbert	27.5	34.6

Table 2: Winners and Losers in 2020 (in \$)

500 Billionaires A Gain of \$1,800,000,000,000 3,500,000 Working People A Loss of \$3,500,000,000,000

as the above-mentioned Bloomberg report demonstrates. It is therefore not surprising that these monopoly capitalists have been strong supporter of the anti-democratic Lockdown policy from the very first hour. Bill Gates himself – as we reported in our study on the preparation of the ruling class for the COVID-19 crisis – has been a key force in this policy and even participated in the notorious "war game" called *Event 201*, organized by World Bank and WHO in autumn 2019. ⁵ Given the figures presented above, one can say that the monopoly capitalists had 1.8 trillion reasons to support the reactionary Lockdown policy!

The late David Rockefeller – the head of the well-known billionaire dynasty - is known to have said once: "We are on the verge of a global transformation. All we need is the right ma*jor crisis for the next world order.*" ⁶ This quote (from the year 1994) reflects the approach of strategic thinkers of the top layers of the ruling class. These are usually smart people who think ahead and plan how to advance their interests. The Lockdown policy (including the permanent enforced social isolation of people) and the expansion of the police and surveillance state did not "happen", as a kind of spontaneously improvised ad-hoc policy of governments reacting to an unforeseen crisis. No, the response to the outbreak of the pandemic has been rather advocated and prepared long before by various circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie and, when it took place, it was unanimously implemented by the ruling elite around the globe. Hence, the COVID-19 Counterrevolution is a planned and highly dangerous attack of the monopoly bourgeoisie against which the working class and the oppressed must organize a fight back.

It is only the (criminally) naïve Lockdown Left which reject recognizing the political strategic calculations of the monopoly bourgeoise. Worse, these fools even believe that the capitalist governments around the world supposedly implement the Lockdown policy *against* the interests of the bourgeoisie! As we have shown above, the opposite is true: the monopoly capitalists have at least 1.8 trillion reasons to support the reactionary Lockdown policy!

Consequently, the pro-capitalist Lockdown Left not only support the Lockdown policy, they even demand a *longer* and *more draconic* curfew for the popular masses (see e.g. the notorious "*ZeroCovid*" campaign in Britain). ⁷ Marxists designate such a reactionary policy as "police state socialism", a social-bonapartist support for the ruling class. ⁸

Authentic revolutionaries must break with all full, semiand quarter-supporters of such bourgeois Lockdown "socialism". These are rotten elements of the old order which are both going down hand in hand. The future are the workers and oppressed who rise-up in rebellion against the counterrevolutionary attacks of the ruling class. This is the place where revolutionaries must fight and organize!

Footnotes

- Devon Pendleton and Jack Witzig: Bezos, Musk Smash Records as World's Richest Added \$1.8 Trillion, Bloomberg, 31. Dezember 2020, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-12-31/elon-musk-jeff-bezos-smash-records-as-world-s-richest-people-add-1-8-trillion
- 2 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: See also 3.4 Trillion Reasons. An ILO study shows the consequences of the COVID-19 crisis for the international working class and popular masses. How does this relate to the global rise of state repression? 25

March 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-crisis-3-4-trillion-reasons/

- 3 ILO Monitor: COVID-19 and the world of work. Sixth edition. Updated estimates and analysis, 23 September 2020, p. 11
- The RCIT has analyzed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February we have published more than 60 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special subpage on our website: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/. In particular we refer readers to the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, https:// www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/. In addition, we draw attention to our book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, RCIT Books, April 2020, https://www.thecommunists. <u>net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/</u>. See also our very first article on this issue by Almedina Gunić: Coronavirus: "I am not a Virus"... but WE will be the Cure! The chauvinist campaign behind the "Wuhan Coronavirus" hysteria and the revolutionary answer, 2 February 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/wuhan-virus/; Michael Pröbsting: The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution. On the ruling class strategy in the current conjuncture, its inner contradictions and the perspectives of the workers and popular resistance, 20 July 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/the-second-wave-of-the-covid-19-counterrevolution/; by the same author: The Police and Surveillance State in the Post-Lockdown Phase. A global review of the ruling class's plans of expanding the bonapartist state machinery amidst the COVID-19 crisis, 21 May 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/ worldwide/global/police-and-surveillance-state-in-post-lockdown-phase/; COVID-19: The Great Barrington Declaration is indeed Great! Numerous medical scientists protest against the reactionary lockdown policy, 11 October 2020, https://www. thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-the-great-barrington-declaration-is-indeed-great/.
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- 6 Quoted in Ravi Kant: What the world will look like after Covid, Asia Times, 4 January 2021, https://asiatimes.com/2021/01/what-the-world-will-look-like-after-covid/
- 7 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the "ZeroCOVID" campaign. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and "Trotskyists" call for a "total and indefinite lockdown", 22 December 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-ze-ro-socialism-in-the-zerocovid-campaign/
- 8 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: The Current and Historical Roots of Bourgeois Lockdown "Socialism". Police State and Universal Basic Income are key elements of the new version of reformist "War Socialism" of 1914, 19 December 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/covid-19-the-current-and-historical-roots-of-bourgeois-lockdown-socialism/

COVID-19: An Opportunity Too Good to Be Missed by the Lords of Wealth and Money (Part 1)

An "official" confirmation of the Marxist analysis that the ruling class utilizes the pandemic for expanding the bona-partist state

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 18.1.2021

few weeks ago, the *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance* (International IDEA) published a highly interesting study about the consequences of the global Lockdown policy for democratic rights. This study is a powerful confirmation of the analysis which the RCIT and other Marxists have provided since the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis. ¹

We have warned since spring 2020 that the ruling class around the globe is pursuing a counterrevolutionary offensive under the cover of the pandemic. It has imposed a series of draconic lockdowns, mass curfews, anti-democratic restrictions on meetings and social gatherings, etc. resulting in the isolation and atomization of the people. Hence, the RCIT characterizes this reactionary offensive as the *COVID-19 Counterrevolution*. ²

The study is particularly remarkable since it has been published by a highly "respectable" bourgeois institution. The IDEA "is an intergovernmental organization that works to support and strengthen democratic institutions and processes around the world, to develop sustainable, effective and legitimate democracies. It has regional offices in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific and Africa and West Asia. The organization is headquartered in Stockholm, Sweden. Kevin Casas Zamora is the secretary-general as of August 2019. Previously, Casas Zamora was Costa Rica's second Vice President and Minister of National Planning. Yves Leterme, former deputy secretary-general at the OECD and former Prime Minister of Belgium, was the previous secretary-general from 2014 to 2019." ³ Furthermore, IDEA is an official United Nations Observer. In short, IDEA is an official organization deeply embedded in the global institutions of imperialism. It can hardly be accused of any "Marxist" or "extremist" tenden-

However, even such a thoroughly bourgeois institution like IDEA is forced to admit that many governments around the world have exploited the COVID-19 crisis to expand the police and surveillance state, or what Marxists call the chauvinist bonapartist state apparatus. Unsurprisingly, a bourgeois institution like IDEA formulates its critical remarks in a highly cautious language. But even such a diplomatic-worded document reveals the dramatic counterrevolutionary developments which have taken place in the past 10 months.

Governments Exploit the Pandemic in 61% of Countries in the World

According to the study, 99 out of 162 countries, or 61% of countries in the world, have utilized the pandemic for attacking democratic rights. "Democracy has been one of the many victims of the pandemic. Indeed, more than half the countries in the world have implemented measures to contain the pandemic that present concerns from a democracy and hu-

man rights perspective. By November 2020, more than half the countries in the world (99 out of 162 countries, or 61 per cent of countries covered in the Global Monitor had implemented measures that present concerns from a democracy and human rights perspective, because they were either disproportionate, illegal, indefinite or unnecessary. 'Concerning' developments or measures are defined as those that violate human rights or democratic benchmarks because they are either disproportionate, unnecessary, illegal or indefinite" (p. 10)

Unsurprisingly, such attacks on fundamental rights took place in nearly all countries with authoritarian regimes (90%). However, they occurred also in nearly half of so-called "democratic" states! "Measures or developments of concern for democracy and human rights have been more common in non-democratic regimes than in democracies. Such developments occurred in 90 per cent of non-democratic regimes, compared with 43 per cent of democracies." (p. 10)

"Civil liberties have been severely curtailed across the globe in order to curb the pandemic, in both democratic and non-democratic regimes. The civil liberties that have been most restricted during the pandemic are the freedom of movement and of assembly. However, in nearly 60 per cent of cases, such restrictions were made in the framework of constitutionally defined State of Emergency's and, in many other cases, backed by other legislative frameworks. All countries in the world have placed some form of restriction on freedom of movement during the pandemic, although the countries that delayed the lifting of such restrictions the longest are the authoritarian regimes of Belarus and Burundi and the hybrid regime of Nicaragua. At least 96 countries put in place a lockdown, the large majority (83 per cent) of which were national lockdowns. By end of November 2020, restrictions remained in place in 118 countries, of which 23 countries had reinstated national or regional lockdowns (a few examples include China, Colombia, the Gambia, Iraq, Lebanon, Nepal, the Philippines, Spain and the United Kingdom). Restrictions on freedom of assembly have been placed in 91 per cent of countries since the start of the pandemic, either banning public gatherings or restricting their size. By the end of October 2020, restrictions remained in place in 112 countries." (pp. 16-

"81 countries have passed laws or taken actions to restrict freedom of expression during the pandemic. (...) Concerning developments to restrict freedom of expression during the pandemic were more common in nondemocratic regimes, with 52 per cent of authoritarian regimes and 43 per cent of hybrid regimes experiencing them. However, 14 per cent of democracies also experienced developments that can be considered concerning, and almost a third (32 per cent) of democracies have experienced some form of restrictions to freedom of expression since the start of the pandemic." (p. 18)

The IDEA study also confirms that the COVID-19 Counterrevolution is not limited to this or that restriction but bears a more systematic character, i.e. the expansion of a

bonapartist state apparatus. "The public health emergency posed by the pandemic has led the majority of countries in the world (59 per cent) to declare national State of Emergency's, which by nature increase the powers of executives to respond to the pandemic. Although, in most constitutionally defined State of Emergency's, this shift towards executive decisionmaking is temporary and must follow a series of rules, these measures also carry the risk of executive overreach in a context of lockdowns, closures of key democratic institutions, such as parliaments and courts, and restrictions on free media reporting, which combined can lead to weakened checks and balances. When State of Emergency's are indefinite or extended for excessive periods of time, the risks of executive overreach and democratic weakening are even greater. Executive aggrandizement during the pandemic has played out in the approval, and extension, of State of Emergency's in some countries, where these were made by presidential decree or executive orders and thereby by sidelining parliaments (Egypt, the Dominican Republic, the Gambia, Niger, the Philippines, Thailand). In some of these countries, such as Egypt and Thailand, executives were already powerful prior to the pandemic, with weak and non-democratically elected parliaments. However, the COVID-19-induced State of Emergency's have conferred even greater power to these executives. In other countries, such as the Philippines—an already severely backsliding country prior to the pandemic—the 1.5-year COVID-19 State of Emergency's, now the longest in the world, has conferred extraordinary powers to the executive, reinforcing a tendency seen prior to the pandemic." (p. 24)

The Lockdown Left and the Monopoly Bourgeoisie

These facts and figures provided by a thoroughly bourgeois organization well integrated in the institutions of global capitalism reveal not only the counterrevolutionary character of the Lockdown policy. They also demonstrate the rottenness of the Lockdown Left. "Left" social democrats, populists, Bolivarians, Stalinists, and Trotsko-Revisionists – they all have supported the Lockdown policy since the beginning. They foolishly claim that the capitalist governments around the world supposedly implement the Lockdown policy *against* the interests of the bourgeoisie! ⁴ As a matter of fact, the monopoly bourgeoisie has massively gained from the Lockdown policy! As we demonstrated in a recently published article, the world's 500 rich-

strated in a recently published article, the world's 500 richest people added \$1.8 trillion to their combined net worth this year and are now worth \$7.6 trillion, according to the Bloomberg Billionaires Index! ⁵ We also did show that such a response to the outbreak of a pandemic has been advocated and prepared long before by various circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie. ⁶

It was well-known in circles of the ruling elite that the Lockdown policy is an instrument which can and will be used by governments for their political interests and not for public health interests. A report from the prestigious *Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security* which was commissioned by and prepared for the *Global Preparedness Monitoring Board* (this is notorious institution of World Bank, World Health Organisation and Bill Gates) ⁷ admitted that so-called "Nonpharmaceutical interventions" (NPIs) are not particularly effective from a public health point of view. "While national public health guidelines generally recommend NPIs during an outbreak to limit contact frequency between individuals and to decrease the potential risk of spread of respira-

tory pathogens, there is a broad lack of evidence of efficacy and a lack of understanding about secondary adverse impacts." ⁸

They pointed out that some of such measures are taken by governments because of political interests. "During an emergency, it should be expected that implementation of some NPIs, such as travel restrictions and quarantine, might be pursued for social or political purposes by political leaders, rather than pursued because of public health evidence." ⁹ In other words, the COVID-19 Counterrevolution was not simply an improvised ad-hoc reaction of bourgeois governments overwhelmed by the sudden outbreak of a pandemic. The Lockdown policy and its consequences were rather known and prepared in advance and deliberately instrumentalized by the ruling class!

Nevertheless, the pseudo-socialists not only support the Lockdown policy, but they even demand a *longer* and *more draconic* curfew for the popular masses. They explicitly refer to capitalist dictatorships like China and Vietnam or right-wing conservative governments like Australia as models for their policy (see e.g. the notorious "*ZeroCovid*" campaign in Britain). ¹⁰ Marxists designate such a reactionary policy as "*police state socialism*", a social-bonapartist support for the ruling class. Their "socialist" phrases with which they combine they support for the mass curfews and state of emergencies can not hide the fact that they do not serve the interests of the workers and oppressed but rather those of the monopoly bourgeoisie. ¹¹

Repression Cannot Stop Mass Protests

Finally, the IDEA study is also highly interesting from another point of view. While the petty-bourgeois Lockdown Left supports chauvinist state bonapartism, even institutions like IDEA recognize the relevance of the Lockdown policy under the cover of the pandemic for the global class struggle.

As the RCIT has pointed out repeatedly, the COVID-19 Counterrevolution was a response of the ruling class to the global wave of sharp class struggles and popular uprisings which began in the second half of 2019. ¹² While the bourgeois Lockdown policy succeeded in halting this global wave for some time, explosive mass struggle around the world started again in summer 2020 with the *Black Lives Matter* uprising in the U.S. ¹³

The RCIT has emphasized since the beginning of the CO-VID-19 Counterrevolution that the Lockdown policy in the end will accelerate the explosive contradictions of the capitalist order – a system which is in a state of collapse. We wrote in our above-mentioned Manifesto published in March 2020 that "the accumulation of massive contradictions will sooner or later result in massive political explosions. It is not possible to predict how long this situation will last. It might be a matter of only a few months. However, what is clear is that the counter-revolutionary offensive of the ruling classes will create explosive political contradictions. Sooner or later, it will be difficult for the state-bonapartist regimes to justify their massive attacks on democratic rights. It will become soon obvious that while they give billions of dollars to the big capitalists, many workers face unemployment and wage cuts. (...) Likewise, a massive increase of global tensions between the Great Powers is inevitable. In other words, the global counter-revolutionary offensive can only temporarily cover up the accelerating political and economic contradictions between the classes and the states.

Sooner or later, this will result inevitable in new and massive political explosions, probably in the form of major domestic crisis, wars as well as revolutionary uprisings – in the Global South as well as in the imperialist states of the West and the East."

Far-sighting political observers of the ruling class are also aware of the explosive mass struggles ahead. Thus the IDEA study states: "The financial crises resulting from the pandemic will likely deepen civic dissatisfaction with democracies and non-democracies alike and heighten social mobilization. The world faced a protest wave in 2019 with citizens mobilizing in offline and online protests to demand more equitable policies (in Chile, Colombia, France and the United States), less corruption (in Iraq and Lebanon) and more democracy (in Algeria, Guinea, Sudan). These protests reflected frustration with current societal models, the perceived inability of traditional political parties to tackle them and new forms of social mobilization through more loose networks of individuals mobilizing offline and online, rather than through traditional organizations such as political parties. While restrictions on assembly during the pandemic placed temporary limits on these protests, they have erupted again in force throughout the world a few months into the pandemic, as citizens grow impatient with restrictions, and vent their discontent about pandemic handling and the economic crisis. More protests and social unrest should be expected in the months and years ahead as economic hardship deepens. Despite 96 per cent of countries in the world placing some form of restriction on freedom of assembly since the start of the pandemic, either banning public gatherings or restricting their size, more than three quarters of countries (80 per cent) have experienced protests during the pandemic, despite the restrictions." (pp. 27-

Revolutionaries support such struggles and advance a

program which combines democratic and economic immediate demands with transitional slogans questioning the power of the capitalist class. The task is to transform the COVID-19 Counterrevolution into popular uprisings to bring down the ruling class! The Lockdown Left will play no role in such struggles as they bear the mark of Cain of supporting anti-popular mass curfews and state of emergencies.

Footnotes

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: Taking Stock of Global Democratic Trends Before and During the COVID-19 Pandemic, The Global State of Democracy IN FOCUS, Special Brief, December 2020. Unless otherwise specified, all quotes in the present article are from this study. We provide the page number in brackets after the quote.

The RCIT has analyzed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February we have published more than 60 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/. In particular we refer readers to the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, https:// www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/. In addition, we draw attention to our book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, RCIT Books, April 2020, https://www. thecommunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/. See also our very first article on this issue by Almedina Gunić: Coronavirus: "I am not a Virus"... but WE will be the Cure! The chauvinist campaign behind the "Wuhan Coronavirus" hysteria and the revolutionary answer, 2 February 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/

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.

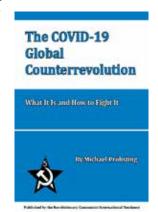
And finally, the world faces COVID-19 – a pandemic which endangers many lives and which is exploited by the ruling classes in order to spread fear, to deflect attention from the capitalist causes of the economic crisis and to justify the turn towards chauvinist state bonapartism.

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 lock-

down and the suppression of democratic rights which the ruling classes are imposing in the name of combat against the pandemic. *The COVID-19 Global Counterre-volution* 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.



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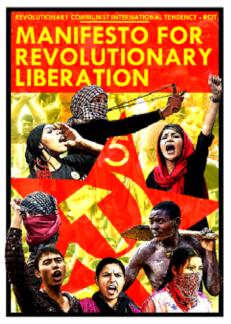
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PROGRAM OF THE RCIT

Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

Adopted at the 1st World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016

Introduction * I. Decaying Capitalism * II. Today's Worldwide Historic Revolutionary Period * III. The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class * IV. A Program for Socialist Revolution to Halt Humanity's Collapse into Barbarism * V. The Crisis of Leadership and the Construction of a Revolutionary World Party * VI. Work in Mass Organizations and the United Front Tactic * VII. The Semi-Colonial South * VIII. The Emerging Imperialist Great Powers of the East: China and Russia * IX. The Old Imperialist Great Powers: The EU, North America and Japan * X. Conclusion

COVID-19: An Opportunity Too Good to Be Missed by the Lords of Wealth and Money (Part 2)

A few examples of how the monopoly capitalists rob the workers under the cover of the anti-democratic Lockdown policy

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 11.2.2021

The RCIT has emphasized from the very beginning of the COVID-19 crisis in February 2020 that the ruling class is utilizing this pandemic as a cover to wage unprecedented attacks on the workers and the popular masses. We explained that the Lockdown policy and the comprehensive restrictions of civil and democratic rights are not motivated primarily by concern for public health but rather by political and economic interests of the ruling class.

On one hand, they are exploiting the crisis for a colossal expansion of the police and surveillance state – a process which we call a shift from parliamentary democracy to *Chauvinist State Bonapartism*. On the other hand, the big corporations utilize the crisis for advancing the process of monopolization and for creating gigantic profits.

For these reasons, the RCIT has characterized this comprehensive reactionary offensive – with all the draconic lockdowns, mass curfews, anti-democratic restrictions on meetings and social gatherings, etc. resulting in the isolation and atomization of the people – as the *COVID-19 Counterrevolution*. We have covered these developments rich in detail in numerous documents which have been published in our journals and website in the past 12 months. ¹

A few weeks ago, we wrote an article which reported about a new study from the *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance* – a highly "respectable" bourgeois institution with close connections to the UN and imperialist governments. Even such a thoroughly bourgeois institution has been forced to admit that many governments around the world have exploited the COVID-19 crisis for expanding the police and surveillance state, or what Marxists call the chauvinist bonapartist state apparatus. The study concluded that 99 out of 162 countries, or 61% of countries in the world, have utilized the pandemic for attacking democratic rights. ²

In the present article we will deal with the massive economic attacks on the working class under the cover of the Lockdown policy resulting in huge profits for the monopoly capitalists. Naturally, we have to limit ourselves to a few examples which however seem to us as highly telling for the profound nature of the economic side of the *CO-VID-19 Counterrevolution*.

Homeoffice: A method for increasing unpaid labor time

"Homeoffice" has become one of the most popular catchwords since the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis. While we do not have global figures, there is no doubt that the share of employees working from home has massively increased in the past 12 months – at least in the imperialist countries. In Germany, before the pandemic 12% of employees worked from home, but during the partial lockdown in April 2020 this proportion rose to 35%. Currently,

this share is at about 28% - still more than double as many than 12 months ago. For the USA, there are reports that in late May 2020, 42% of all employees were working from home full time. Here too, the share has decreased since then but, again, is substantially higher than before the crisis. ³

According to two new study, this transformation has resulted in a substantial increase of labor time – without any corresponding increase in wages. "Employees who work from home are spending longer at their desks and facing a bigger workload than before the Covid pandemic hit, two sets of research have suggested. The average length of time an employee working from home in the UK, Austria, Canada and the US is logged on at their computer has increased by more than two hours a day since the coronavirus crisis, according to data from the business support company NordVPN Teams. UK workers have increased their working week by almost 25% and, along with employees in the Netherlands, are logging off at 8pm, it said. (...) The surveys also showed home workers taking shorter lunch breaks, working through sickness, and more workers being "always on" as the split between working and leisure time is blurred." ⁴

One of the two studies covered the development of labor time in Homeoffice in a number of Western imperialist countries (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, the U.K., and the U.S.). Of these 10 countries, labor time has gone back to the level before the crisis only in two countries (Belgium and Denmark). In all other countries, it is clearly above the pre-crisis level as a chart published by Bloomberg demonstrates. ⁵

Since such lengthening of the workday without any increase in wages means an increase of the unpaid working hours. To put it in Marxist terms, it means an increase of the rate of surplus value – the ratio between the capitalist' surplus value and the wages of the workers – through the increase of *absolute* surplus value (in contrast to the increase of *relative* surplus value via increasing the labor productivity within the same labor time). Increasing profits in such ways is a long-established method of the capitalist as Marx already pointed out in one of his preliminary studies for *Capital*. "The absolute surplus labour which is gained from lengthening the working day is of course the basis from which the individual capitalist proceeds." ⁶

Mass unemployment and mass poverty

Another method of the capitalists – mainly the owners of the big corporations – for increasing the rate of surplus value has been cuts in wages. According to the ILO, as we reported in another article, most of the global labor force – about 3.5 billion people – suffered dramatic losses in wages in 2020. Already in September last year, the ILO reported in a study that "global loss in labour income during the first three quarters of 2020 amounts to US\$3.5 trillion,"

which amounts to "a global decline of 10.7 per cent" (compared with the corresponding period in 2019). We can take it for granted that these losses will be even higher when calculations for the whole year will be published. ⁷

Likewise, unemployment remains historically high with all the devasting consequences for working class families. This is not only true for the popular masses in the semicolonial countries in the South but even for significant sectors of the working class in the richest of all imperialist powers. Bloomberg reported a few weeks ago that employment for the bottom quartile of US-American earners -- those making less than \$27,000 a year -- remains 21% below January 2020 levels.

At the end of 2020, "nearly 30 million adults lived in house-holds where there wasn't enough to eat, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's Household Pulse Survey, up 28% since before the pandemic. In Louisiana, the worst affected state, one out of every five people now faces food scarcity, the survey shows, with the numbers being even more dire among Black Americans." ⁸

Simultaneously, as we reported in our above-mentioned article, the world's 500 richest people increased their wealth by \$1.8 trillion. In other words, this very small number of capitalist parasites shove money into their pockets which is more than half (!) of the combined losses in income of 3.5 billion workers and poor peasants!

All these developments demonstrate once more that the COVID-19 Counterrevolution represents a gigantic attack on the working class and the popular masses. It is particularly shameful that the official leaderships of nearly all workers and popular organizations and most self-proclaimed "Marxist" groups criminally support the Lockdown policy. ⁹ Many of them even call now for a *longer* and *more draconic* curfew for the popular masses (see e.g. the notorious bourgeois "ZeroCovid" campaign). ¹⁰ As the RCIT has pointed out repeatedly, authentic Marxists have

nothing to do with such a reactionary policy which is vulgar "police state socialism" and social-bonapartist support for the ruling class. ¹¹

We say once more that revolutionaries must break with all full, semi- and quarter-supporters of such bourgeois Lockdown "socialism". These are rotten elements of the old order which will both perish hand in hand. Instead, revolutionaries need to orientate to the emerging mass struggles against the counterrevolutionary attacks of the ruling class. This is the place where one must fight and organize!

Foodnotes

The RCIT has analyzed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February 2020 we have published nearly 80 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/. In particular we refer readers to the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, https:// www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/. In addition, we draw attention to our book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, RCIT Books, April 2020, https://www. thecommunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/. See also our very first article on this issue by Almedina Gunić: Coronavirus: "I am not a Virus"... but WE will be the Cure! The chauvinist campaign behind the "Wuhan Coronavirus" hysteria and the revolutionary answer, 2 February 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/ global/wuhan-virus/; Michael Pröbsting: The Second Wave of the COV-ID-19 Counterrevolution. On the ruling class strategy in the current conjuncture, its inner contradictions and the perspectives of the workers and popular resistance, 20 July 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/ worldwide/global/the-second-wave-of-the-covid-19-counterrevolution/; by the same author: The Police and Surveillance State in the Post-Lock-



Publications of the RCIT

The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution

On the ruling class strategy in the current conjuncture, its inner contradictions and the perspectives of the workers and popular resistance

By Michael Pröbsting, July 2020

Introduction * The localized version of Lockdown policy is spreading * New information concerning severity (or not so severity) of the pandemic * Telling figures for Europe, Sweden and Ischgl * The worst pandemic in Africa? Really? * Capitalism and care homes as deadly traps for old people * The real nature of the ruling class bonapartist offensive under the cover of COVID-19 * Why is the ruling class opting for a local lockdown strategy? * Excurse: A crisis characteristic for the present period of capitalist decay * The nature and inner contradictions of the local lockdown strategy * Preparing for a new counter-revolutionary offensive * The Lockdown Left: a never ending embarrassment * The shameful example of the PSTU/LIT-CI * The imperialist aristocratism of the Lockdown Left * Building a Revolutionary World Party * Footnotes

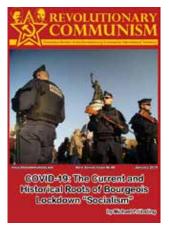
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Publications of the RCIT

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

The RCIT on COVID-19: One Year Ago

The first anniversary of the beginning of the Marxists' struggle against the capitalist counterrevolution taking place under the cover of the pandemic

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 2 February 2021

Larticle about the COVID-19 pandemic and the following global counterrevolutionary offensive of the ruling class. In this article – called "The chauvinist campaign behind the "Wuhan Coronavirus" hysteria and the revolutionary answer" – Almedina Gunić analysed, based on the knowledge at that time, the nature of the pandemic and elaborated several key aspects of its political consequences. ¹ Since then, we have published on this issue more than 70 pamphlets, essays, articles, and statements as well as a book of which a number have been translated into other languages. ²

Today everyone recognizes the historic significance of the political consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is one of these events which cause historians to say that they changed the world forever. However, one year ago, hardly anyone was aware of this. Even now, most of the so-called "left" - social democrats, Stalinists, Bolivarians, Trotsko-Revisionists – have not the foggiest notion about the counterrevolutionary nature of the capitalist state policy which is going on under the cover of the pandemic. Worse, many of them continue to criminally support the Lockdown policy which objectively means support nothing but an expansion of the police and surveillance state. ³ And the most reactionary forces amongst the Lockdown Left – like the notorious *ZeroCOVID* campaign – even criticize the capitalist governments for not imposing more, harder and longer Lockdowns. 4

Our "ability to foretell"

Trotsky once noted that "the strength of Marxism lies in its ability to foretell." ⁵ We are proud that the RCIT – in contrast to the clueless saps and the social-bonapartist servants of the counterrevolution among the left – has been able to comprehend and to analyze the political essence of the developments in the past 12 months. We are even more proud of the fact that have done so from the very beginning of this development which we have characterized as the *COVID-19 Counterrevolution*!

Already in the above-mentioned article by Almedina Gunić we warned about the possibility that this pandemic could be exploited to cause public hysteria. "The 2019-nCoV (short for: 2019 novel Coronavirus) dominates the news since more than two weeks now, broadly labeled as the "Wuhan Coronavirus" respectively "Wuhan Virus". (...) Revolutionaries, however, need to distance themselves from the sensational hype and take a sober look at this phenomenon."

Despite the very limited knowledge about the virus at that time we tried to make a scientific assessment of its nature and concluded. "Therefore we only estimate that the virus is less deadly than SARS—CoV and MERS—CoV but more deadly than Influenza (the flu) compared to the overall contact it gets." This assessment has been turned out as accurately as we did show in a number of documents in the last few months. ⁶

Already at that time, on 2 February 2020, we warned that the major threat is the ruling class trying to exploit the pandemic for a massive chauvinist and bonapartist attack. "The virus itself may or may not become a severe threat to mankind, a danger always looming on the medical horizon. However, the way the bourgeoisie and its media deal with the virus is quite exceptional. One of the most chauvinist examples of bourgeois media coverage on 2019 -nCoV is the French paper "Courrier picard". (The article then goes on and provides several examples, Ed.) The major threat is not 2019-nCov, it is the potential for chauvinism and bonapartism. The major threats are the steps that have been and will be taken by the ruling classes against the workers and oppressed under the pretext of security. China has already forced the people of Wuhan into quarantine, allowing only minimum interaction between the citizens."

Early elaboration of the key elements of our programmatic answer

The conclusions which we elaborated one year ago already contained the key elements of our programmatic answer to the COVID-19 Counterrevolution. "First, revolutionaries have to oppose any form of chauvinism that occurs against people from Asia (or any other part of the world)."

We opposed the policy of Lockdown and called for a response based on public health policy. "Therefore revolutionaries should even oppose general travel bans and forced quarantine. This doesn't mean to ignore the necessity of protection against 2019-nCoV and other diseases. However, the answer is to implement health screens for all travelers and to offer immediate health care for free if any case of infection is detected. Second, revolutionaries should demand that both cure and preventive vaccination must be developed as soon as possible. This means that experts and medical staff all around the world have to collaborate in order to fulfill these tasks in short time. All developments in this field must be accessible for the global public and have to be monitored and controlled by the international workers movement. Health care facilities and hospitals must be built in the same tempo as it was the case with the Huoshenshan Hospital in order to offer sufficient treatment. Third, the general quarantine for all people in Wuhan and other places has to be lifted and replaced by systematic and complete health screening of all people who might have had contact with the virus."

We also emphasized the necessity for an anti-capitalist approach on this issue. "The costs of all measures must be financed by the multinational corporations, especially the pharmaceutical industry which needs to be nationalized under workers control."

We concluded: "2019-nCoV is a virus and its cure has to be developed by medical experts. However, we as the working class are the class which leads mankind into a future of freedom and health. We are the ones to fight against the ruling classes, against capitalism and imperialism. We are the ones to fight for a revolutionary uprising, a world revolution against this class system. A system which is responsible for the unnecessary dead of billions of people in so many forms! Let us make sure that no

brother or sister must die in misery anymore!"

Three days later, on 5 February 2020, the RCIT elaborated this analysis further and emphasized the *political nature* of the COVID-19 policy of the ruling class:

"There can be no doubt: the reason for the global hysteria of the ruling classes does not lie in health precautions but rather in political calculations. The RCIT emphasizes that the hysteria around the 2019 Corona Virus objectively serves the following objectives:

- a) The ruling classes in China as well as in many other countries exploit the hysteria in order to justify the vast expansion of surveillance and control of its population.
- b) They also utilize this hysteria in order to wipe up patriotism and suspicion against "foreigners", people "from outside" or simple "others".
- c) China's regime utilizes the hysteria also in order to create a climate of fear so that anxious people put all their hopes in the state forces.
- d) The ruling classes in other imperialist states utilize the global hysteria in order to wipe up anti-Chinese chauvinism and to advance their stakes in the ongoing rivalry between the Great Powers. US Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross cynically suggested that the outbreak of the 2019 Corona Virus is an opportunity for the US.
- e) Likewise, reactionary forces outside China exploit the crisis in order to foster suspicion and hatred against Chinese or, more generally, against Asian migrants.
- f) The ruling class will exploit the 2019 Corona Virus (and subsequently China) in order to find a culprit for the Great Recession which has recently begun. In fact, while the global measures to supposedly contain the spreading of the virus deepen the slump, the capitalist world economy has entered a recession already in the second half of 2019. The truth is that the reasons for this Great Recession are the same like those for all the others in the past: the frantic drive for profit of the capitalist corporations provokes again and again in economic crashes of the world economy."

Trotsky pointed out that the strength of the methods of a Marxist organization lies in this, that its program and prognoses are capable of withstanding the test of great events. ⁷ The COVID-19 Counterrevolution has been without doubt such a test – in similar fashion like the past two World Wars. In 1914-18 and 1939-45 nearly all organizations of the official workers movement capitulated to the pressure of imperialist chauvinism. Only small forces – the Bolsheviks and the Zimmerwald Left (in World War I) respectively the Fourth International (in World War II) – defended the principles of authentic Marxism.

It is no different today. The RCIT was one of the very few forces who recognized the reactionary nature of the capitalist COVID-19 policy and its chauvinist-bonapartist Lockdown policy from the very beginning. Fighting against the ideological war of the world bourgeoisie as well as against the social-bonapartist capitulation of nearly the whole "left", the RCIT has been able to create a revolutionary tradition. This historical record of authentic Marxism – created under the most difficult conditions of political darkness – will provide a valuable basis for the future work of building a *World Party of Socialist Revolution!* We call all activists fighting for a democratic and socialist future to join us!

Footnotes

- Almedina Gunić: Coronavirus: "I am not a Virus"... but WE will be the Cure! The chauvinist campaign behind the "Wuhan Coronavirus" hysteria and the revolutionary answer, 2 February 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/wuhan-virus/
- The RCIT has analysed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February we have published more than 70 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/.
- 3 For our critique of the Lockdown Left see e.g. chapter V of our above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It; see also by the same author the last chapters in the above mentioned essay: The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution; see also numerous other articles published at https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/.
- 4 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the "ZeroCOVID" campaign. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and "Trotskyists" call for a "total and indefinite lockdown", 22 December 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-zero-socialism-in-the-zerocovid-campaign/
- 5 Leon Trotsky: The Third International After Lenin. The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals (1928), Pathfinder Press, New York 1970, p. 198
- See on this our numerous articles on the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic for total mortality: Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: A Comparison of Historical Data. An analysis of the COVID-19 death figures and those of past pandemics and climate disasters based on data from the World Bank, 19 January 2021, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-comparison-of-historical-data/; by the same author: COVID-19: Sweden's Total Mortality in 2020 Compared with Past Years, 23 January https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ covid-19-sweden-s-total-mortality-in-2020-compared-withpast-years/; COVID-19: Some Interesting Facts (Which Governments & Media Conceal) Some Calculations about Total Mortality in Europe in 2020 compared with 2016 and 2018, 23 December 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/world- wide/global/covid-19-and-total-mortality-in-europe/; VID-19: How Severe is the Pandemic in Sweden Really? Once again, a comparison demonstrates that the mortality rate in 2020 is barely larger than in 2018, 8 December 2020, https:// www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-howsevere-is-the-pandemic-in-sweden-really/; COVID-19: Revealing Figures from Sweden. A comparison of the mortality rates of the first 9 months in 2020 with previous years confirm that this is a serious but not unprecedented pandemic, 23 November 2020, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/ global/covid-19-revealing-figures-from-sweden/; see also the chapter "Telling figures for Europe, Sweden and Ischgl" in the above-mentioned essay "The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution".
- 7 "The power of the Fourth International lies in this, that its program is capable of withstanding the test of great events." (Fourth International: Imperialist War And The Proletarian World Revolution, Adopted by the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, May 19-26, 1940; in: Documents of the Fourth International, The Formative Years (1933-40), Pathfinder Press, New York 1973, p. 323, http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/fi/1938-1949/emergconf/fiemerg02.htm)

Nigeria: For the Revolutionary Liberation of the Southern People! No to Ethnic Jingoism in the North!

Statement of the Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (RSV) [Nigerian Section of the RCIT], 09.02.2021

The push of the Southern nationalist forces show no sign of abating, in fact it seems to be expanding and taking more diverse and independent forms. Apart from the effort by the Eastern Security Network (ESN) of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the acolytes of Sunday Igboho to drive out Fulani invaders masked as herdsmen who kidnap, kill and rape, women of Edo state in the South-South region of the country mounted road blocks at Uromi to protest the atrocities of the same Fulani nomads. This is a telling fact that contrary to the false ethnic equilibrium that many "one Nigeria" activists try to create that all tribes have equal participation in kidnapping, the people know the truth. The Sultan of Sokoto, a Fulani man has confessed that 7-8 out of every ten kidnappers arrested are Fulani.

Yes, President Muhammadu Buhari may have well contributed to the rise in such attacks because of his tribalist stance he himself being a Fulani man but he is in no way the progenitor of the decades long conquest of the South by the North. In our last piece we showed how in the service of Western imperialism the Northern region especially the far North was the gendarme for keeping other regions or nations of the country in submission. This as we have said comes with the subordination of other nations or regions to the Fulani/Hausa or Northern rule.

We held that while it is correct for the ethnic nationalities of the south to gear up for defence against Northern invasion, the slogan for a "multi-ethnic" or "non-sectarian" self defense militia is another attempt at mechanistic unity of the liberal kind as their is no waiting in the fight against oppression. Rather progressive forces must align with or support the fight. We stated that such an ultraradical call by many left associations springs from a denial or a dismissal of the age long national oppression by the North of the South. For the sake of time and space other emergent questions concerning national oppression must be addressed.

What Is Meant By A Tribalist(ic) or Ethnic Jingoist War

The essence or root of racism and other forms of state/ruling class sponsored discrimination such as tribalism or extreme nationalism is to recruit the rank and file of the oppressed in their fight for domination against another section of the ruling class or the working class of a different nation or race. We have tried in our last piece to establish tersely the mechanism of operation of divide and rule stratagem employed by the ruling class, that is, for any such contraption to work the ruling class creates a privilege for the popular masses of the oppressor nation/tribe by taking away material/social benefits from the popular masses of the oppressed nation/tribe.

This is the material bases for racism, tribalism and national oppression that sustains the layer of racists, tribalists and chauvinists. However the oppressed nations or victims of systemic racism even though they fight as a tribe cannot be racist/tribalist because they fight against oppres-

sion as they are on the losing of the divide. So they fight for the equality of nations or the abolition of privileges for one nation over another. In other words, the nationalism of an oppressor/imperialist nation is racism, nepotism, tribalism and chauvinism etc. but the nationalism of an oppressed/semi-colonial/neo-colonial nation is a liberation struggle. That is why Marxists support the right of only oppressed nations to self determination. Thus a war is tribalist(ic) when it is fought by national forces which seek to maintain their position at the expense of other nations.

There are many aspects to this, there are situations where the two conflicting nations are both imperialist/tribalist. An example is the conflict between the US and China. Beijing relies on the oppression of Muslim Uighurs in Xinjiang/East Turkestan and other minority groups such as blacks in order to maintain its dictatorship. The US on the other hand oppresses blacks, Latinos, and other people of color to maintain its so-called democracy. Meanwhile, when we consider the Chinese minority/nation living in the US they cannot be classified as an oppressor nation. This is because despite the decline in the hegemony of the US it is still the most powerful imperialist power. Another one of these conflicts is the recent civil war in Ethiopia, where the Tigraen People's Liberation Front (TPLF) confronted the government of Abiy Ahmed when members of the Tigray region lost positions in Abiy's coalition government which it has been part of for decades. Remember that the TPLF was very active in the aggression against Eritrea an oppressed nation during their struggle for independence from Ethiopia.

When Jimi Agbaje, the governorship candidate for PDP in Lagos state in 2015 promised the Igbo minority in Lagos to give them a traditional ruler of the Igbo kind (Igwe of Lagos) he was brewing a tribalist plot to emerge as governor with an ultra-radical slogan like "Lagos is no man's land". The Yoruba majority were right to have opposed such a policy even though they ended up supporting the reactionary APC government.

A careful study of the instances above show that one must consider the concrete context of the conflict between both nations so as to arrive at which nation is really the oppressor and which one is the oppressed. Or if none of them is oppressed, that is, it is a reactionary war on both sides. The war between Azerbaijan and Armenia in 2020 is illustrative of this as it was reactionary on both sides had Russia sided with Armenia it would have been a proxy war between imperialist Russia and Azerbaijan.

In case of a war between an imperialist nation and a semi(neo)-colony revolutionaries take the side of the semi-colony as long as it is not a proxy of another imperialist in the war. When a war is tribalistic or ethnocentric or imperialist on both sides revolutionaries call for the defeat of both belligerents through the slogan; "the main enemy is at home".

Concretely speaking only northern nationalist forces can in a war against the south be tribalistic or ethnocentric. The Northern region here also serves as the proxy of Western imperialism. The southern agitators for Biafra/Oduduwa cannot be tribalistic as they are fighting for national liberation. Now due to the level of consciousness and the harsh conditions of the masses of the oppressed nations they may take anarchistic or even chauvinist measures yet they cannot be classified equally as the oppressors since they are only responding to/or are only victims of oppression.

Again On Leading Figures

As earlier mentioned the rank and file of the oppressed nations in their resistance of national oppression can be sometimes extreme; sometimes anarchistic; sometimes full of emotional outbursts or spontaneity and sometimes pacifist. This is due to their position as oppressed people and the more excruciating the pain of their living standards or abject poverty the greater the tendency of their activities to be belligerent or even pacifist. The same is true for their leaderships who come from extremely diverse blends and are very capable of emotional outbursts and repeating, in words, the chauvinist policy of their oppressor nation. Exemplary of this is the call by Sunday Igboho for all Fulani herdsmen to leave Igangan and the entire south western region.

The call is spontaneous as the problem, in the real sense, is not that they are herdsmen but the Fulani/Northern hegemony. The hegemony is the real reason why feuds between farmers and the herdsmen turn bloody with the casualties on the side of the farmers considerably greater than that of the herdsmen since they possess more sophisticated weapons. That is why a good number of them go out of their way to kidnap, rape, kill and attack southerners meaning that under pretexts other than that of nomads they can still launch these attacks. Driving all Fulani herdsmen out of the South/South West too does not solve the problem of oppression southerners face in the North.

Chief Sunday Adeyemo a.k.a Sunday Igboho is a stooge of the Southern Western ruling class led by Bola Ahmed Tinubu, former governor of Lagos state. There are revelations that attest to this, otherwise he could not be given the free ride to lead a nationalist onslaught against Northern interests. It seems that the southern ruling class are using his activity to pressure the Northern ruling class to grant concessions or to keep to past agreements part of which could be to negotiate the presidency. He claims that his

only god-father is Rashidi Ladoja, the late PDP stalwart and former governor of Oyo state. Compare him to Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of the (IPOB), a bourgeois liberal no less, who is now in exile abroad because he lacks the support of the South Eastern ruling class and god-fathers. Nevertheless, like Sunday Igboho he also restrains the militants in the IPOB by saying the ESN should focus only on the Fulani herdsmen and called for a ceasefire in the clash between the ESN and the Army in Orlu, Imo state.

While material and physical support should be given to enhance the national liberation struggle of the southern people no political support can be given to either Sunday Igboho or Nnamdi Kanu. Workers and poor peasants must take charge by agitating for the linkage of the struggle for national liberation with the fight against capitalism.

We call for mobilization to defend the people of the South from all Northern aggression by the formation of self-defence militia by workers and the popular masses, which shall pursue the economic and political liberation of the people of the South to the point of regional autonomy or independence. This can only be successful if the workers and masses fight the Nigerian state and all its henchmen in the police and military forces without giving any political support to the Southern ruling class. Prospective Odudua or Biafra nations can only be truly free from imperialist subjugation if they are established on the basis of a planned economy under workers and poor peasant control actualised through the expropriation of the bourgeois without compensation and nationalisation of the economic mainstay. Thus we think it best that these prospective countries be established on a socialist foundation.

Northern workers and branches of the trade unions must cast aside all chauvinism, tribalist sentiments and ethnic bigotry for their southern brothers and sisters and support the right of the ethnic nationalities of the South to self determination. They must support the on-going liberation struggles for no one who oppresses another can indeed be free. They must call for the defence of Southerners living in the North against attacks and aggression of any and all kinds. They must call for the defeat of the Buhari regime and the Northern ruling class, for them "the main enemy is at home". Only on such bases can unity flourish amongst workers of north and south. Such unity remains the path for a socialist victory in Nigeria and West Africa.

For the United Socialist Republic of West Africa!

Long live International Socialism!



Publications of the RCIT

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

Down with the Race to Tribalist Wars!

Defend the ESN! Form Independent Self-Defence Guards Against Marauders and State Aggression! For A National Libera-tion Struggle of the Southern People!

Statement of the Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (RSV) [Nigerian Section of the RCIT], 01.02.2021

The events of the last two weeks in Southern Nigeria stoked up ethnic tensions making many fear a downward spiral to a second civil war. First in response to the overwhelming atrocities committed by armed Fulani herdsmen and marauders which include kidnapping, rape and killings in South Western Nigeria, particularly in Igangan, Ibarapa Local Government Area of Oyo state, Sunday Adeyemo, who is recognized by the media as an agitator for Oodua republic, on 15 Jan, gave a 7-day ultimatum to all Fulanis resident in Igangan to evacuate the area or face the music. In an almost coordinated feat and for the same reason the governor of Ondo state Rotimi Akeredolu ordered the evacuation of all Fulani nomads from the state. On 22 Jan Sunday Adeyemo, who is also known as Sunday Igboho alongside local youths stampeded and razed the house of Seriki Fulani, Saliu Kari, the traditional head of the local Fulani in the community.

Kadri was alleged of being the bridge through which Fulani kidnappers get ransom from the family of abducted victims. On same day the Army attacked the South Eastern town of Orlu, Imo state killing one and injuring many while leaving houses and churches burned to the ground as a reprisal for seizure of some army vehicles by the Eastern Security Network as displayed in a video which went viral on the internet. The Eastern Security Network (ESN) is a sort of military arm of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). The fighting between the Army and the ESN would last for days after the Army command deployed 400 soldiers to Orlu. The clashes left at least 14 civilians dead and four soldiers killed.

While the recent events are greatly underpinned by a conflict between Fulani nomads and local farmers in the South Western part of Nigeria and while the issue has serious implications for the security status of the nation, the root cause of these events cannot be reduced to conflicts between farmers and pastoralists neither can it be solved by increasing the state of security. A telling indication of this is the reports of soldiers escorting some of the Fulani herdsmen back into south western communities they have been chased out from and at the same time brutalizing members of these communities. Many activists have in an attempt to prevent an ethnic crisis and civil war tried to water down the crux of the matter by limiting it to security failings of the Nigerian federal and state governments; the widespread conflict between Fulani nomads and local farmers in West Africa; or the outdated practices of animal husbandry and other agricultural practices. These leftists miss, ignore or refuse to acknowledge that the current issue has its fundaments in the national oppression by the Fulani or the oppression of other regions by the North.

THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION

No serious political analyst can doubt that the British colonists who created Nigeria amalgamated the Northern and Southern regions surrounding the Niger majorly as a tac-

tic to divide and conquer the peoples of this region. A vast number of ethnic groups and nationalities were merged together with the upper hand given to the Northern region. It should suffice to say that since Nigeria is now a neo-colony under Western imperialism this setting is still at play.

If further proof is needed of the oppression by at least the northern of other regions especially the south, one needs only look at the overwhelming number of heads of state or presidents throughout the history of Nigeria since independence who are from the North compared to the number of others from the South. Since the civilian dispensation in 1999 one northerner or the other has been either president or vice president till the present moment. The echelons of the military are also mostly northerners, so are the lower officers and soldiers which is how the rank and file of the military was left by the British since 1960.

As earlier mentioned large sections of the left in Nigeria have rightly stated that the recent conflicts are a sign of the failing of the Nigerian state to provide optimum security but they have failed to correctly articulate why or how this "rise in insecurity" came into existence. True many Fulani nomads and sections of the Northern masses cling to rather outdated or archaic practices or form of living but it is only because the Nigerian ruling class which is dominated by the Northern ruling class allows them to retain such traditions in order to maintain their support and this often includes condoning crimes they commit against other ethnic groups and nationalities of other regions. Just as the racist government of the Western imperialist nations overlook or give a sparse sentence for crimes committed by their citizens against blacks, people of color and other minorities so does the Nigerian government overlook crimes committed by the northerners especially against nations in other regions of the country. That is why Fulani herdsmen can brandish sophisticated weapons in any part of the country. The same reason is responsible for the emanation of the most violent groups of religious extremists from the north.

The many similarities of the oppression of the black nation especially in the US with the case of national oppression in Nigeria are instructive to understanding and navigating scientific ways forward to the ethnic conundrum in Nigeria. It is no coincidence that the only counterpart of US citizens who are armed like the Fulani herdsmen and other Northern groups are the right wing extremists. Such is the case because the situation in the US and Nigeria is that of national oppression.

This brings us to a crucial point of the ruling class tactic to divide and rule the workers and oppressed masses. For the masses to be divided along ethnic/national/tribal lines one part of the divide must be given or have privileges over and above the other. These privileges form the material bases for this division so as to sustain a certain social base otherwise such scheme could not work. This why in the US white people enjoy several benefits over

blacks; other people of color; indigenous Americans and national minorities including far lighter sentences for the same crime especially when these crimes are against oppressed nationalities. These benefits are the similar for the Northern tribes especially the Hausa/Fulani so that they continue with heinous crimes in form of terrorism or banditry and still be compensated by state and national governments.

Of course these benefits or privileges does not change the class characterization of the masses or workers of the oppressor nations, that is, they are still in the class of the oppressed. Just as the ruling class of the semi-colonies still remain oppressors even though they are but servants of Western imperialism. There are a thousand and one examples of these, for further illustration consider the fact that the female gender has been oppressed for centuries by the male gender but that does not mean that the majority of the men are not subjects of the overall oppression of the ruling class. Similarly not all members of the oppressor nations benefit consciously from racism or national oppression just as not all men understand the material benefits of being male in a patriarchal system.

Thus only those workers and members of the oppressor nations who acknowledge their benefits and are ready to give them up can join the progressive train to fight national oppression which is part and parcel of the capitalist system.

We denounce the call of Sunday Igboho and governor Akeredolu for the evacuation of Fulanis/Fulani nomads from Igangan and Ondo state respectively. We call rather for a national liberation struggle which enforces the right of self-determination of oppressed ethnic nationalities in the South. We call for the defence of the Eastern Security Network (ESN) from the aggression of the South Eastern governors unleashed through the military and police.

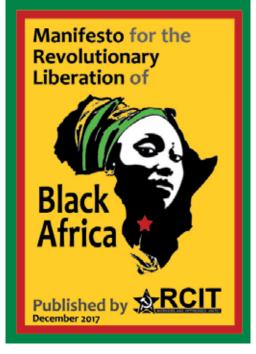
Sometimes in the fight for national liberation the leadership of such movements are often liberals, pacifists, petty bourgeois or even bourgeois forces like Sunday Igboho but this should not discourage revolutionaries from supporting such a movement while retaining the right to criticize its reactionary leadership. In this light it is not enough for the progressives and revolutionaries to decry the call for an Oodua republic simply because it is led by the now reactionary Western Security Network (Amotekun) rather genuine revolutionaries must give military or physical support to the struggle for self-determination of the Yoruba people. At the same time revolutionaries must criticize the reactionary developments in Amotekun and defend innocent locals from their aggression.

The same goes for the South Western governors or ruling class only physical support can be given in the fight against Northern domination. No political approval for the South Western governors meaning they cannot be voted or supported during elections.

A "MULTI-ETHNIC" OR "NON-SECTARIAN" SELF DEFENCE MILITIA?

As events unfold the bulk of the Nigerian left-wing forces continue to admit more and more the need for the people themselves to form self defense units, guards and militias but this is not without a whiff of adaptation to ultra-radicalism or reformism. This time it is through the call for a "multi-ethnic or non-sectarian self-defence unit" which is shared by almost all shades of left and liberal activists. There are many problems with this formulation or slogan but the ones of greatest import are elucidated below.

We must continue to make references to the case of national oppression in the US especially that of the black nation for when we draw necessary parallels we will arrive at concrete conclusions concerning the question. The Anti-Slave movement didn't start in the Americas or any European country but in Africa and the slave ships. It started with the slaves who took their lives on the African coasts in resistance to slavery before they could be forced aboard the slave ships. It started with the slaves who rebelled on the slave ships before it ducked in the Western hemisphere. This trend would later lead to massive slave rebellion across the Europe and America giving birth to the Black Rights movement.



RCIT AFRICA PROGRAM

Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

Adopted at the 2nd World Congress of the RCIT in November 2017

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

Surely at the inception of this anti-slave rebellion blacks were the major participants. Even in the era of the Black Rights movement of the 1950's blacks were in the overwhelming majority because the whites were beneficiaries of black subjugation this made them come so late into the Black Rights movement as we saw in the most significant increase in white participation in the Black Lives Matter protests of last year. So the call for a "multi-ethnic" or "non-sectarian" self defence militia is a betrayal of historical materialism because members or even workers of the oppressor nation will not quickly give up or may never give up their privileges to join the fight against national oppression which is a crucial part of capitalism except in time of systemic crises.

Should the workers and masses of the oppressed nations wait until the working masses of the oppressor nation are ready to join them before they fight? Secondly, if blacks, Chinese, Latinos, Arabs and other national minorities in the US unite against white supremacy or the ethnic nationalities in Southern Nigeria unite against Northern oppression have they still formed a "multi-ethnic" or "non-sectarian" defence guard? One then begins to wonder what truly is the meaning of a "multi-ethnic" militia. This still boils down to the fact that it is the most affected nationalities that will dominate or actively participate in a militia fighting national oppression. Or is it that we are to do a role call of the over 200 ethnic groups in Nigeria before we defend ourselves?

A "multi-ethnic" or "non-sectarian" militia that is not armed with the correct ideology will crumble into tribal politics especially when it is formed mechanically out of liberal ideas of "unity", so what is the essence? Lastly, such a call is an indirect denial or a product of denial of national oppression. This is not so surprising since none of these left organizations have mentioned or acknowledged its existence. When there is public outcry about a woman who was raped by a man and someone objects to the outcry by saying women rape men too, progressives immediately identify such position as an attempt to deny feminine subjugation but now that the Yoruba people of the South West can no longer bear the atrocities committed by armed Fulani nomads and kidnappers our activists are the first to say that there are criminals in every tribe.

Some comrades justify their call for a "multi-ethnic" or "multi-religious" self-defense unit by saying it is in order to prevent the migration of the Fulani/Northern masses into the camp of the Northern ruling class. The problem however with this is that telling the Yoruba&Igbo/Southern masses to wait until some Fulanis/Northerners are ready to join them before they defend themselves will also force them to migrate into the camp of the South Western and South Eastern ruling classes. Another excuse for this is that there will be reprisals against southerners living in the north but can a multi-ethnic militia stop this? No, the US is an example despite the relatively overwhelming participation of whites in the Black Lives Matter protests last year the extrajudicial killings of blacks continue at a rate higher than that of whites. Only the destruction of the capitalist system can bring an end to all forms of racism and national oppression, albeit, a fight against racism and national oppression is a fight against capitalism.

A militia fighting national oppression will at inception be dominated by members of the oppressed nation just as the Arabs are the largest force in the fight against Israeli state oppression in Palestine, they have only but an insignificant number of Jewish supporters. Albeit the agitations and actions of oppressed nationalities will serve to attract supporters from the oppressor nations. Workers or masses of the oppressor nations will join with time, most likely not out of good will nor a change of heart but in time of systemic crises when even those privileges are greatly threatened just as we saw in recent years in the US.

It is important also to stress the independence of such self defence militia from state forces like police and military. These forces create the impression that workers and popular masses should be armed but tacitly allow a section of the population to bear arms so that they can oppress others and go scot-free with crimes. Hence the main goal of such a militia must be to fight the capitalist class which is the sole progenitor of racial inequality; tribalism and national oppression by defeating its police and military which play a major role in executing the wishes of its pay-masters.

We reiterate that unity is only possible between workers of the oppressing/imperialist nations and the oppressed/semi-colonial nations when the workers of the oppressor nations acknowledge their privileged position and are ready to let go of those privileges in order to join their oppressed brothers and sisters in the fight against national oppression and international capitalism. At the same time no one should expect the workers of the oppressed nations/ethnic nationalities to wait or pause the struggle for their national liberation for any reason!

- * For a national liberation struggle of oppressed ethnic nationalities in Southern Nigeria! This liberation struggle shall uphold the right of oppressed nations to political self-determination and fight for the fullest cultural expression of ethnic nationalities including control of their national economy and freedom to use their native languages as the condition for continual participation in one Nigeria!
- * Support the call for an independent state of Biafra! This state in our opinion should be established as a socialist republic which puts the control of the economy in democratic workers councils and which collaborates with other nations based on workers solidarity.
- * Defend the ESN against the South East ruling class and their butchers in uniform!
- * For an independent people's militia to defend the Southern people from Northern marauders and the Nigerian state forces of police and military! No trust in Eastern and Western imperialism in this quest! Defend the South Western people from brutality from Amotekun!

Signed: Oladipupo Jimoh, International Liaison Personnel, Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (RSV).

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 lead 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 lead 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!