

**TEXTS SUBMITTED  
FOR VOTE  
18<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS**

- ***International situation***
  - ***Palestine***
  - ***Ukraine***

At its meeting on 24-28 February 2024 the International committee of the Fourth International adopted the resolutions proposed to the 18th World Congress scheduled for February 2025.

The IC approved the four resolutions submitted by the Executive Bureau. Four alternative texts submitted by two IC members were rejected.

The texts published in this bulletin update and replace the document on the international situation published in bulletin no. 2.

## Table of Contents

<b>As the crises converge, the challenge of how to take forward the exploited and oppressed</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>Introduction</i>	3
<i>I/ A multidimensional planetary crisis</i>	3
1.1. What distinguishes the current "polycrisis"?	3
1.2. Crises are strengthening each other: wars, social reproduction and algorithms	4
1.3 The economic and social situation	5
<i>II/ The far right challenges "neoliberal democracies", workers and the oppressed</i>	5
<i>III/ The workers, the oppressed sectors and the peoples of the world responded with mobilizations. And now?</i>	6
<i>IV/ An era of war and geopolitical chaos. Towards a reconfiguration of the world order</i>	6
4.1 . Wars and geopolitical tensions are multiplying	7
4.2 Generalized instability	7
4.3. The United States, a hegemon in crisis	8
4.4. The nature of China today	8
4.5. Imperialist Russia	8
4.6. Europe under threat	8
<i>V/ The emergence of "campism"</i>	9
<i>VI/ The central requirements of a new era</i>	9
<b>Palestine: An imperialist attack on the whole of the Middle East</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Resolution on Ukraine</b>	<b>15</b>

# As the crises converge, the challenge of how to take forward the exploited and oppressed

This updated version of the international resolution was submitted to the Bureau on 12/13 October and finalized by the secretariat on 28 October 2024. Two accompanying resolutions, on Palestine and Ukraine, were also approved by the Bureau on 12/13 October 2024.

### Introduction

Almost none of us would have been able to predict, two years ago, the speed at which the multi-crisis has gathered pace. By the end of 2024, we are experiencing the consequences of the qualitative degradation of the climate system brought about by "fossil civilization": warming, drought, melting ice caps, violent floods and species extinction. The global crisis affects all areas of ecology, food systems, health (with pandemics), the dominant international order and the geopolitics of powers.

Simultaneously, we are witnessing on television and social media the genocide of the Palestinian people in Gaza and the West Bank, a barbarism that has now transmuted into a multi-pronged offensive by the Zionist state aimed at redrawing the borders of the entire Middle East. Backed by the US, the Israeli offensive against neighbours and anyone who opposes the massacre of hundreds of civilians and the leaders of Hamas and Hezbollah is already provoking Iran's reaction, in an alarming approach to a situation of open regional war between states.

There is no imperialism, hegemonic or emerging, interested in taking serious measures against global warming, nor in putting an end to the bloody expansionism of Netanyahu or Putin. The war unleashed by Russian imperialism's invasion of Ukraine has been going on since February 2022, with no prospect of a favourable solution for the Ukrainian people under attack or for the Russian opposition silenced by Putin's authoritarianism. Given the ineffectiveness of the United Nations in the face of conflicts such as the invasion, plunder and apartheid practised in Palestine by the

Zionist Israeli state, the international political architecture that emerged after the Second World War is in deep crisis.

As economic and geopolitical competition between the US and China intensifies, the world is militarized, the nuclear threat resurfaces, conflicts and tensions multiply. The post-pandemic economic crisis is further fraying the fabric of societies already weakened by neoliberal restructuring and precariousness. Coupled with the discrediting of (neo)liberal democracies, this is helping to strengthen the far right of the 21st century. All over the world, they are using the disappointment with former neoliberal or social-liberal governments, the deep insecurity in a changing world and the deregulated technologies of social networks to move fractions of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and popular sectors towards fascist, anti-worker, anti-left, xenophobic, misogynist, homo and transphobic, disabilist opinions.

Accelerated climate change, wars and social and political crises that threaten to exterminate expressive parts of humanity. It is to this bleak and challenging scenario, devoid for the moment of left social and political alternatives, that the militants and sympathizers of the Fourth International respond with revolutionary understanding and action. If the multidimensional crisis of neoliberal capitalism is bringing the planet closer to collapse and humanity closer to extinction, our immense task is to collaborate in building the necessary emergency brake.

### I/ A multidimensional planetary crisis

The great problems of humanity are being internationalized as never before.

The capitalist crisis has clearly become multidimensional, of human society and of the planet. There is a dialectical articulation of the different spheres, without hierarchies, between (a) the environmental crisis - which for some years now has been producing increasingly extreme climatic phenomena and shortening the deadlines for measures to ensure the very survival of humanity on Earth, (b) the period of lasting economic stagnation and its disintegrating social consequences, (c) the advance of the extreme right along the path opened up by democracies and neo-liberal governments in crisis, (d) the intensification of the dispute for hegemony in the inter-state system between the United States and China; (e) the dangerous multiplication and intensification of wars.

The crisis of neoliberal globalization has opened a new moment in the history of capitalism. A period qualitatively different from the one we have lived through since the establishment of neoliberal globalization at the end of the 1970s, and particularly more conflictual from the point of view of the class struggle and the struggle between states compared to the one that opened 33 years ago with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratic regimes of Eastern Europe.

#### 1.1. What distinguishes the current "polycrisis"?

There are two major differences between this situation and the convergence of crises in the early 20th century that led to the "age of catastrophes" (1914-1946), including two bloody world wars. The most immediately threatening facet, which did not exist a hundred years ago, is the ecological crisis

# International situation

provoked by two centuries of predatory capitalist accumulation.

The globalized corporate economy, based on burning fossil fuels and increasing consumption of meat and ultra-processed food, is rapidly exacerbating the climate crisis. A climate that will shrink humanity's future on the planet. Melting poles and glaciers are accelerating the rising seas and the water crisis. Agribusiness, mining and hydrocarbon extraction are advancing (not without resistance) on tropical forests, essential for maintaining the planet's climate systems and biodiversity. The effects of the climate crisis will continue to manifest themselves violently, destroying infrastructure, agricultural systems, livelihoods and causing massive human displacement. None of this will happen without a leap in social conflict.

The second element to note (very different from a hundred years ago) is the absence of mass revolutionary alternatives. In fact, in the midst of ever more rapid changes, the problem of the absence of an alternative to capitalism that is credible in the eyes of the masses, the lack of an anti-capitalist force or set of forces leading economic and social revolutions becomes more serious. The extremely unstable moment for capitalism and its inter-state system is also that of a great political and ideological fragmentation of the social movements and the left. The phenomenon of fragmentation is related to the collapse of what was seen by many as "real socialism", in combination with the structural changes undergone by the wage-earning classes, their geographical (relocation of most of the industrial working class to Asia), technological-organizational (restructuring of production) and ideological (neoliberal hyper-individualism, exacerbated by social networks as a new political space) reconfiguration. Added to this are the negative results of "left" governments such as Syriza in Greece (2015), and so-called "progressive" or center left governments such as PSOE-Podemos in Spanish State (2020-2024), Lula and Dilma presidencies from 2003 to 2016 in Brazil, Hollande government in France (2012-2017), etc., giving rise to a situation in which struggles are more difficult and their impact on political awareness and organization weaker.

## 1.2. Crises are strengthening each other: wars, social reproduction and algorithms

A multidimensional crisis is not a simple sum of crises, but a dialectically articulated combination, with each sphere impacting on and being impacted by the others. The link between the war in Ukraine (before the conflict in Palestine broke out) and economic stagnation has aggravated the critical food situation of the world's poorest, with over 250 million more hungry people than ten years ago (2014-2023). The flow of people displaced by wars, climate change, the food crisis and the spread of repressive regimes is increasing, especially among the poorest countries.

One cannot explain the growing regional and international military tension, as well as the rapid militarization of government discourse and budgets or the recent growth of the arms industry, without taking into account this exacerbation of competition in global markets, the intensification of neo-colonial extractivism and the struggle for strategic minerals (whether for the production of electric vehicles or the latest generation of weapons, or to feed the digital economy and artificial intelligence monster). No region of the planet is free of its tension zone: the Middle East, the China Sea and Africa are good examples of this. Nor can the sequence of ecocides on the five continents and in all the seas be explained if they are not linked to this upsurge in inter-capitalist and inter-imperialist competition, which once again shows that the arms economy - especially after the Second World War - is a constituent and permanent element of imperialism in all its forms, geographies and times.

Climate change, the impoverishment of the land, the grabbing of the most fertile territories by the oligarchies, together with the fall in the share of wage earners in national incomes, the abandonment and deterioration of basic services (health, education, water, etc. by the neoliberal states, have generated an increase in inequality between individuals - but above all a greater distance in access to income, goods and wealth between countries, social classes, communities and peoples, and between men and women, racialized people and others.

The disastrous environmental and economic outlook pushing some bourgeois factions in different countries to

abandon the project of formal democracy as the best way to obtain increasing profits. Increasingly important business sectors are shifting to support authoritarian alternatives within liberal democracies, resulting in the strengthening of right-wing fundamentalist movements and the rise of extreme right-wing governments on all continents. There is a fracture - the permanence of which must be observed - between bourgeois fractions within the various countries, with one part of the ruling class turning to the extreme right and another part remaining with the bourgeois-democratic project. The most notable example of this split between capitalist factions is the polarization between Trumpism (which has taken the Republican Party by storm) and the Democratic Party in the United States.

The expansion of a hyper-individualistic neoliberal sociability, combined with the right's use of social networks and possibly now AI, further encourages depoliticization, fragmentation of the working classes and conservatism. Digital technologies, in addition to the impact on employment and the productive organization of wage earners, also contribute to deepening the subordination-clientelization, if not the direct reduction, of the small and medium peasantry, considered to be the main food producers in the world. Today's neoliberal capitalism introduces digital devices and algorithms as new productive forces, giving rise to the emergence of labour on digital platforms - what some call uberization, which already occupies more than 200 million workers - and to various social relations mediated exclusively by the market.

On the other hand, by continuing to violently attack what remains of welfare states, imposing the super-exploitation of industrial and service workers and particularly care and social reproduction work, the system throws women, particularly women workers and, even more violently, racialized women (Afro-descendants, Roma, descendants of indigenous peoples, Africans and Indians in the Global North) into a dilemma between surviving (badly) or fighting back. Neoliberalism keeps women in the formal labour force (largely in the North) or in less structured and more informal forms (across the globe but particularly in the Global South), further reducing the wages and incomes of those in wage labour (whether in industry, services or commerce). The

ideology of the return to the traditional family, a constituent of the neoliberal matrix and taken to the extreme far right-wing fundamentalisms, serves to burden all working women with the tasks of caring for children, the elderly, the sick and disabled people; work that used to be covered by the welfare state, especially in advanced capitalist countries, but which is now being brutally cut back. With social reproduction networks in crisis, more so in neo-colonial countries than in the metropolises, neoliberal society is domesticating (returning to the family) and racializing (handing over to non-whites, blacks, indigenous women, immigrants) the tasks of care, but does not take responsibility for social reproduction as a whole.

### 1.3 The economic and social situation

We are still living under the impact of the great economic crisis opened by the crash of 2008 (bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers), which started the previous year and which opened a great global recession. We are experiencing the crisis of neoliberal globalization. Firstly, because this mode of capitalist functioning is no longer capable, as it used to be, of guaranteeing the rates of growth, profit and accumulation of the late 1980s and 1990s. Secondly, because geopolitical polarization, aggravated by wars and the rise of nationalism, is shaking up super-internationalized value chains (e.g. the Europe-Russia energy chain and global chip production, the target of US fury to prevent Chinese leadership in telecommunications and artificial intelligence). However, none of these difficulties prevent the neoliberal imperialist governments and their subordinates from continuing their ruthless adjustments and attacks on wages, social budgets and the commodification of agriculture.

Since the crash, the neoliberal economy has been trying to find a way to recover the rates of profit and accumulation, plunging headlong into more of the same: intense concentration of capital, more privatization, more financialization, with growing public and private debt. Stagnating or slowing growth, with inflation (aggravated by the Russian invasion of Ukraine) and the application of the same old neoliberal policies only exacerbate social, regional, racial and gender inequalities between and within countries.

The digitalization of production and

consumption processes, which has been going on for 30 to 40 years and was the basis of the so-called neoliberal restructuring of production, is now intensifying with the accelerated introduction of AI. This is again to increase the productivity of labour and boost profits, again reducing employment, making workers more precarious and giving more and more power to Big Tech.

In addition to its recessionary character - which shakes the living standards of the working masses - the rise in interest rates to combat inflation increases sovereign and private debts, creating the conditions for new crises of default, as already exploded in Sri Lanka, Ghana, Zambia or avoided in extremis through emergency lending given by the IMF and China to dozens of countries like Argentina, Nigeria, Pakistan, Egypt, Kenya, Bangladesh, Tunisia. The unbridled search for "crisis protection" (i.e. maintaining profits) by corporations encourages financial speculation. This permanently threatens the system with waves of bankruptcies like the one in 2008.

### II/ The far right challenges "neoliberal democracies", workers and the oppressed

Since the post-2008 depression, but more clearly since 2016 (Brexit and Trump's victory), a constellation of new far-right forces has been advancing on states and societies. Their global vanguard today is the genocidal Benjamin Netanyahu and his racist colonial settler role in Middle East. In addition to growing strength in Europe, Asia and Latin America, the far right threatens the United States and the world, with the possibility of Trump returning to the White House.

The far right of the 21st century has strengthened and multiplied with electoral victories and then with anti-immigration measures and restricting freedoms, and social rights. They present themselves as "counter-systemic" (against political systems which they hypocritically identify with worsening living conditions, corruption and insecurity), although they are not at all. They are the ultimate expression of the defence of capitalism in its current stage. To ensure the implementation of their ultra-liberal policies or, in some cases of xenophobic nationalism, they use reactionary traditionalist discourses and the most violent racism, usually in funda-

mentalist religious disguises - Pentecostal Christianity in the United States and Brazil, Hinduism in India, Islamism in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran.

Taking advantage of their extensive and early experience in the use of increasingly gigantic and unregulated social networks, they declare war on the rights of workers in general, but especially on the rights of immigrants, women, LGBTQIA+ people, disabled people, internal ethnic or religious minorities (or majorities), racialized peoples in general, and environmental activists. With their scientific denialism of all kinds and their use of conspiracy theories, they are at open war against environmental movements and anyone who believes in climate change.

Like their classic Nazi ancestors, they are essentially racist towards different ethnic groups - such as second, third and fourth-generation migrants in Europe and black people, Asian, Arab and Latino populations in the United States, and often particularly violent towards the most recent waves of migrants, whom they blame for employment and insecurity problems. In Southeast Asia, the 'chosen enemy' is minorities of a religion other than the official one, as Modi does with the country's nearly 300 million Muslims.

This combination of extreme neoliberalism with fundamentalist traditionalism and racism is deeply functional to the capitalist system: it is the expression of the search of broad bourgeois fractions in the North and South for a "backward" economic-political and ideological way out of the structural crisis of the system. These capitalists go on to support those who promise to introduce authoritarian rule, to destroy rights (of course any vestige of a social welfare state), to return women to the domestic sphere (i.e. to the simple reproduction of labour power), racialized people and sexual dissidence to the most brutal oppression and invisibility, the expulsion of migrants and descendants, to control mass movements with an iron fist, to impose brutal adjustments and disposessions, in particular of what remains of peasantry and communal societies. All this in order to achieve a super-exploited majority society, ideally free of conflict, in which the lost rates of accumulation can be recovered.

The rise and advance of this constellation of radical rightists is the result of decades of crisis of (neoliberal) democracies and their institutions (including all

# International situation

traditional parties, including “left” parties, that have administered states under neoliberalism). These governments and regimes committed to neoliberalism have increased inequalities, corruption, insecurity, as well as misery, wars and climate disasters - which encourages migration from the South to the North. They have given unsatisfactory answers to the aspirations of peoples and workers. In this way, they have helped the property-owning middle classes, the privileged salaried sectors (white-collar workers) and even some of the most vulnerable classes to turn to authoritarian alternatives.

The new extreme right is the complex result of the disintegration of the social fabric imposed by 40 years of neoliberalism, the desperation of impoverished social sectors in the face of the worsening crisis since 2008, combined with (1) the failures of the “progressive neoliberal” right and the “alternatives” represented by the social-democracies (social-liberalism and “progressivism” in the South and East) to curb impoverishment, job insecurity, insecurity in the face of crime and (2) the generalized lack of popular revolutionary alternatives that present a radical opposite way out.

This situation presents the Fourth International with the task of fighting, on all terrains, against the forces of the extreme right, authoritarianism and traditionalist neo-fascism, but also against the neo-liberal and reactionary policies that gave rise to them and continue to mark them. Understanding the deep roots of the advance of the extreme right demands, on the one hand, united policies to defeat them in elections and struggles and, on the other hand, to uphold the transitional and ecosocialist demands, the only ones capable of leading to a strategic defeat of capitalism.

### III/ The workers, the oppressed sectors and the peoples of the world responded with mobilizations. And now?

We have had in this century at least three waves of democratic and anti-neoliberal struggles (the turn of the century, 2011 and 2019-2020), a renewed women’s movement, the anti-racist movement that emerged in the United States and a constellation of struggles for climate justice across the globe. However, these major struggles have objectively

confronted not only neoliberal capitalism and its governments, but also the dilemmas of the structural reorganization of the world of work.

The working class in the broad sense (wage earners), which is currently preparing to face the impacts of Artificial Intelligence (as the resistance in the US screenwriters’ and actors’ strike has shown), remains a lively and numerous force. Large industrial complexes with tens to hundreds of thousands of workers are spreading across China and Southeast Asia. However, in the context of the loss of social weight of the industrial working class in much of the West, the oppressed sectors, the youth and the new strata of precarious workers are not yet organized on a permanent basis and, in general, find it difficult to unify with the weakened trade union movement. At the same time the traditional ways of organising unions often fail to adequately meet the needs of today’s precariat. For their part, peasants in Africa, South Asia (India and Pakistan) and Latin America are courageously resisting the invasion of imperialist agribusiness. Indigenous peoples, who make up 10% of the world’s population, are resisting the advance of capital over their territories and defending the commons essential for all humanity. The defeat of the Arab Spring, the Syrian tragedy and now the expansionist advance of Zionism will delay and further delay the resilience of the peoples of the Middle East; despite this, we have witnessed the heroic uprising of the women and girls of Iran.

After the 2008 crisis, mass mobilizations re-emerged all over the world: Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, Plaza del Sol in Madrid, Taksim in Istanbul, June 2013 in Brazil, Nuit Debout and yellow jackets in France, mobilizations in Buenos Aires, Hong Kong, Santiago, Bangkok. This first wave was followed by a second wave of uprisings and explosions between 2018 and 2019, interrupted by the pandemic: the anti-racist rebellion in the US and UK, with the death of George Floyd, women’s mobilizations in many parts of the world, revolts against autocratic regimes such as in Belarus (2020), a mass mobilization of Indian peasants that triumphed in 2021. The year 2019 witnessed demonstrations, strikes or attempts to overthrow governments in more than a hundred countries: in six of them governments were successfully overthrown or modified against reforms.

In the aftermath of the pandemic, the three months of resistance in France against Macron’s pension reform; and the workers’ and students’ and popular uprising in China that helped to defeat the CCP’s repressive Zero Covid policy stand out. In the USA, the process of unionization and struggle continues in the new branches of production (Starbucks, Amazon, UPS), with the emergence of new rank and file anti-bureaucratic processes, with strikes by workers in education and health. In 2022/2023 the big strikes of Hollywood screenwriters and actors stand out, in addition to the historic and so far victorious strike of the workers of the three big car manufacturers in the country.

Of course, the current correlation of forces is not offensive at all, as it was not during the pandemic - which, however, gave way to Black Lives Matter, so important for Trump’s defeat in 2020, and to the French strike against the pension reform - so fundamental to explain the remarkable electoral responsiveness of the French left a few months ago. To point out that the previous wave of struggles has declined and that the rising extreme right is a dangerous and fundamental enemy of the conjuncture (correct statements) cannot lead us to conclude that the exploited and oppressed of the world are defeated, crushed, in the long run. On the other hand, to say that we are not historically defeated does not mean to say that we are in an offensive or revolutionary situation. Beyond “offensivism” and defeatist impressionism, there is the realistic bet on the capacity of the exploited and oppressed to continue resisting, with difficulties, capital and its evils, fighting for their survival and better living conditions in the midst of wars, climatic convulsions and adjustment plans, although under new forms of organization and with more difficulties than before.

### IV/ An era of war and geopolitical chaos. Towards a reconfiguration of the world order

The international geopolitical situation is dominated by the confrontation between the US, the dominant imperialism, and China, an emerging imperialism. A special feature of this conflict is the high degree of economic interdependence between the two, a legacy of neoliberal

globalization. There is no longer globalization as we knew it until 2008, but neither is there de-globalization. Geopolitical conflicts are a symptom of this structural crisis, and here too we are entering unprecedented territory.

The disorder under construction makes the world much more conflictual and dangerous. The “geopolitical chaos” of a few years ago has worsened since the Trump administration and its concentration on the economic war with China, but it took a first qualitative leap with the invasion of Ukraine by Putin’s Russia in February 2022, and a second leap forward with the war provoked by Israeli expansionism, openly supported by the US and less openly by the European imperialisms. The situation has escalated with the strengthening of NATO to answer Putin and the financial and military support of the US for Netanyahu’s goal of redrawing borders throughout the Middle East. Thus, the war industry makes billions of dollars in profits, at the cost of the blood of hundreds of thousands of people.

Despite its role in NATO, its leadership and its support for Israel’s imperialist war, there is a relative weakening of US hegemonic power from a historical point of view - and there is nothing more dangerous than a challenged hegemon - because it now has economic and geopolitical competitors. New imperialisms assert themselves, such as Russia, or emerge in less warlike forms, such as China. It is a continuous reconfiguration in a global context of immense instability, with nothing consolidated. In any case, the unipolarity of the bloc under US leadership (after the collapse of the USSR) no longer exists. India seeks to assert itself as a regional (or at least sub-imperialist) power by playing a double game: it maintains a political alliance with the US and a rivalry with China, but nurtures an intense relationship of economic (oil) and technological (war industry) cooperation with Russia and participates in BRICS.

#### **4.1 . Wars and geopolitical tensions are multiplying**

We are witnessing the proliferation and intensification of wars, of all kinds: civil wars (such as in Sudan and Myanmar), inter-imperialist wars and tensions, imperialist wars of colonization (such as that of Israel in its neighbourhood). The war drums are beating in Europe and throughout the parts of the Middle East

as yet untouched by Israeli expansionism. In East Asia, geopolitical tensions are growing, China’s claims to the South China Sea flout the maritime rights of other nations. China has been deliberately provoking, especially Philippine vessels, in a policy of indirect defiance of the US. The US objective is to maintain its military dominance over the strategically important region and to contain China. In a slight reversal of President Duterte’s course, the Philippine government of Marcos Jr. has moved closer to the US. Demilitarization of the South China Sea is urgently needed.

Since the beginning of 2024, tensions between North and South Korea have again escalated after a period of dialogue. North Korea has abrogated the 2018 inter-Korean agreement to reduce tensions and in October 2024 amended its constitution to designate the South as a hostile state. Both the North and South Korean governments, backed respectively by China and the US, are taking a confrontational hard line.

In Myanmar, resistance against the military junta is growing and has made significant military and diplomatic gains. A military defeat of the junta is possible. Although China gave decisive support to the junta after its 2021, it is taking a pragmatic approach. If the junta cannot guarantee the protection of Chinese investments, Beijing would be willing to engage with an authority that could.

The nuclear threat is becoming more concrete. There are already four localized nuclear hotspots. One is in the Middle East: Israel. Three are in Eurasia: Ukraine and Russia, India-Pakistan and the Korean peninsula. The latter is the only one that is active. The North Korean regime regularly tests and launches missiles in a region where the US naval air force is stationed and where the largest US base complex abroad is located (in Japan, especially on the island of Okinawa).

#### **4.2 Generalized instability**

In Southeast Asia, India maintains its nuclear rivalry with Pakistan. Bombs and drones kill in Palestine, Lebanon, Sudan, Yemen and the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. In addition, we see covert civil wars, such as the case of the constant struggle of Latin American states against criminal organizations and, in turn, of these against the population, as evidenced in Mexico, Brazil and Ecuador.

This conflict situation is advancing the geo-economics and geopolitics of Africa, where Russia competes economically and militarily with France and the United States, especially in the former Francophone colonies of West Africa. For its part, China continues to try to increase its economic influence in all parts of the African continent and in Latin America and the Caribbean.

After forty years of neoliberal globalization, colonial and semi-colonial countries continue to concentrate higher proportions of inequality, hunger, lack of social protection systems, authoritarian governments, expropriations and bloody social conflicts. However, financial, productive, commercial and cultural internationalization has also produced a perverse equalization with the North in terms of problems and political polarization: rise of the extreme right (Duterte, Bolsonaro, Modi, Milei), growth of the power of criminal organizations, climatic tragedies (as in India, Bangladesh, Philippines, Brazil), crisis of state and political systems, civil wars (as in Myanmar, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti) and wars between countries.

Since the beginning of the century, South America has been the scene of a series of struggles, mass demonstrations, popular outbursts, the election of reformist governments born out of these struggles and much political polarization - because neo-extractivism, predatory exploitation of nature, social decomposition, inequality, daily violence, militarization and political crises are growing, which also feed extreme right-wing alternatives. From 2018 to 2022, a new cycle of mobilizations has radically swept the Andean countries. Resistance, outbursts and social struggles - which have combined democratic and economic demands - on the one hand, and the permanence of the extreme right as the central enemy on the other, have combined. These struggles are sometimes channelled through the election of the so-called “progressive” governments of the second wave.

Africa, a region of 1.2 billion people, and in particular sub-Saharan Africa is a victim of the “uneven” part of unequal and combined capitalist development. The World Bank estimates that 87% of the world’s extremely poor will live in Africa by 2030. Africa is only responsible for 4% of global carbon emissions, but 7 of the 10 countries most vulnerable

to climate disasters are in Africa. Four years of drought in the Horn of Africa have displaced 2.5 million people. The continent is experiencing a wave of conflicts, many of them related to new oil and gas discoveries, the race for control and extraction of rare earths and other critical minerals (cobalt, copper, lithium, platinum) for the low-carbon technologies needed for the “green economy” of the imperialist countries.

Alongside the former colonial powers, the United States, China and Russia play an important role in extracting wealth through forms of super-exploitation and fuelling conflict on the continent. Regional wars, coups and civil wars continue to define their political economy. Russia is taking advantage of the fighting in several African countries to challenge Western influence and increase its own. A series of coups in West Africa undermined the power of French neo-colonialism, and new regimes turned to Washington’s competitors for military and financial aid.

### 4.3. The United States, a hegemon in crisis

The emergence of rivals does not detract from the nature of the United States as the richest and most militarily powerful country, with unprecedented war power and the bourgeoisie most convinced of its “historic mission” to dominate the planet at any cost, and therefore to wage war for the continuity of its hegemony. Indeed, it is Uncle Sam who continues to have the last word in the Western imperialist “collectivity”. The point is that, even if the United States is unbeatable in coercion, it has as never before (at least since the Vietnam War) a serious problem: an imperialist hegemony, like all hegemonies, can only be sustained if it also convinces its allies and its domestic public. The US has serious problems of external legitimacy, but also, and more seriously, of internal legitimacy, elements that did not exist in the previous period of supposed “unipolarity” and “war on terror” in the 1990s. Its business, bureaucratic and political elite is more divided than ever over the project of domestic domination and is forced to confront the imbroglio of unravelling the value chains that have deeply linked the US economy to China’s for the past 40 years.

In addition to its relative economic decline, the United States is a bourgeois-democratic society and regime in

open crisis since the Tea Party and Trump took control of the Republican Party from within – with pretensions to change the rules of the world’s oldest bourgeois democracy – and polarization deepened. The tendency of this crisis is to deepen further and, with Trump or Harris in the White House, contribute to weaken the once all-powerful “America”, which will face onslaughts between Executive, Congress and Justice, capable of harming its global objectives.

### 4.4. The nature of China today

The nature of the Chinese “great leap” of the last 30 years was capitalist. Heir to a great social revolution and a turn towards restoration from the 1980s onwards, essential to the neoliberal redesign of the world (carried out in partnership with the US and its allies), the emerging Chinese imperialism has specific characteristics, like all imperialisms. It is based on a planned statist capitalism centralized in the CCP and the Armed Forces (PLA, People’s Liberation Army): a developmental capitalism with overtly developmentalist policies where most large corporations are joint ventures between state-owned or state-controlled enterprises and private companies.

China’s emerging imperialism is, of course, still under construction. In the last 10 years China has made a leap in capital exports: it has acquired large stakes in energy, mining and infrastructure companies in neo-colonial countries (Southeast and Central Asia, Africa and Latin America) and has become the world’s largest patent registrar. As of 2022, China is a net exporter of capital (it exports more capital than it imports). It has been increasingly investing in armaments and warning with growing vehemence that there is a line (or lines) - Taiwan and the South Sea - that rivals and weaker states must not cross.

It has not yet invaded or colonized “another country” on the European or US model, although its policy towards Xijiang (and with the small territories historically disputed with India and Bhutan), is essentially colonialist. China is today the leading non-Western power exploiting Africa’s wealth. It is estimated that 12 per cent of Africa’s global external debt is held by Chinese creditors. China is already the main trading partner of all Latin American countries, as well as a major investor (energy sector in particular). It uses its economic power to impose unequal

trade, whether in the form of natural resource-backed loans, trade agreements or through its investments in extractive industries and infrastructure.

### 4.5. Imperialist Russia

Today’s Russia is the state resulting from the massive destruction of the foundations of the former Soviet Union, and the chaotic, non-centralized restoration that took place there, based on the takeover of old and new businesses by bureaucrats-turned-oligarchs. At the turn of the century, Putin and his group, drawn from the old espionage and repressive services sectors, devised the project of re-centralizing Russian capitalism, using Bonapartist relations between oligarchs and a 21st century version of the old national-imperialist ideology of Greater Russia. This became the main instrument to reassert Russian capitalism in competition with other imperialisms, and to qualitatively increase the repression of the peoples of the Federation, including the Russian people. The ultra-repressive nature of Putin’s regime can be seen as evolving towards fascism.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine had been years in the making. It was part of a grand plan to restore the Russian Empire within the borders of the Stalinist USSR, but with the tsarist empire as a reference point. For Putin, Ukraine’s existence was nothing more than an anomaly for which Lenin was to blame and it had to be brought back into the Russian fold. The military occupation of Donbass, Luhansk and Crimea in 2014 was a first phase of the invasion. The current so-called “Special Operation” was to be very swift and continue all the way to Kiev, where a subordinate government would be established. The Western forces, caught off guard, could only bow to the fait accompli, and were caught by surprise. What stopped Putin’s war machine was the scale of Ukrainian resistance, unforeseen by Putin, but also by the West.

### 4.6. Europe under threat

Europe is particularly affected by the global situation. The continent is warming twice as much as the rest of the planet, with extreme precipitation events, marine heat waves, etc. The economic crisis has hit the region hard, with productivity growth of only 10% since 2002, compared to 43% in the US, and a deep crisis in the car industry. The labour movement is in great



difficulty, especially in Spain, Italy and Greece, where the left has suffered a huge setback after managing a system that no longer provides anything to redistribute. The building of an independent working-class political force is a very slow process, with different rhythms in different countries. However, the working class still has a considerable capacity for intervention, as we saw in France with the pensions movement and the New Popular Front, or in Britain with the reaction to the racist riots and the movement on Palestine.

Relative economic decline, the structural weakening of the class, combined with bad experiences with so-called left governments and the growth of migration resulting from wars, climate change and imperialist interventions, explain the growth of the far right in most countries, including countries such as Portugal, Germany and the Scandinavians, which until now seemed protected. Fascism is an increasingly real threat.

## V/ The emergence of “campism”

Over recent years we have unfortunately seen the growth – and the spread to new layers of the ideology of campism as an expression of the search for alternatives to capitalism. An expression originating from the idea of the existence of “two camps” confronting each other on the international arena in the past times of the Cold War, campist ideology is based on the idea: that against the “camp” of hegemonic imperialism, any enemy or adversary of the United States (the enemy of my enemy is my friend) is worth allying with. So, they defend the regimes of Bashar Al Assad in Syria, Putin in Russia, Ortega in Nicaragua or Maduro in Venezuela. According to some campists, China, surely in serious friction with the US, would be not only better than the adversary, but also a model of socialism.

This dangerous trend is based on preconceptions and misdiagnoses of the world, which is no longer bipolar (besides “multipolarity” in itself is no guarantee of anything positive). It gains strength because it is much easier to believe in alternatives represented by real states (even if they are not alternatives) than to face the challenge of building them from below. In addition, China wields a powerful soft power (financial and propaganda capacity) to convince progressive activists and

intellectuals around the world of its status as an “alternative model”. This harmful “campist” ideology is particularly appreciated by various so-called communist organizations, heirs of the remnants of the old communist parties, which, contradictorily, are growing among sectors of the youth of Europe and Latin America (at least). In some countries it also infects sections of the left from an anti-Stalinist tradition. The situation obliges us to make an organized and permanent effort of propaganda, training and specific concrete actions in support of the victims of campist reasoning – such as the peoples of the Ukraine, Venezuela and Nicaragua.

## VI/ The central requirements of a new era

In the face of the growing inequality between countries, imposed by the imperial capitalist system; in the face of wars and nationalist disputes, which claim millions of lives, the Fourth International unconditionally opposes all imperialism and colonialism. We stand for the full independence of all colonies and neo-colonies. We stand for a world in which no state or ethnic group oppresses or restricts the rights of others. The peace we propose is an egalitarian and anti-colonial peace.

We fight for the dismantling of all military blocs: NATO, CSTO, AUKUS. We oppose any logic of sharing out “spheres of influence” at the expense of the peoples and any neo-liberal and political conditioning of the aid provided. We oppose the cynical use of the war in Ukraine to increase military budgets, as in Europe.

We denounce nuclear blackmail. We continue to fight for world disarmament, in particular with regard to nuclear and chemical weapons, for a world peace in which no state imposes, invades or oppresses another, i.e. a peace without colonizers and without cemeteries of colonized peoples. The question of disarmament, of the new arms race, of nuclear power, must be an imperative part of the activities of anti-war movements everywhere.

We oppose head-on the campist ideology, which leads to seeing China and Russia in the “allied camp” of the exploited and oppressed against the United States, in a farcical repetition of the era of confrontation during the Soviet Union. The proliferation of this totally distorted idea of the real world imposes on us the

task of waging an intense ideological and political battle against campism.

In Africa, we reject the Western imperialist discourse which, under the pretext of restoring constitutional order, wants to support military intervention to preserve its interests. We fight for the complete withdrawal of French military troops from the whole region, the closure of the US military base of Diego Garcia in the Mauritanian Chagos islands, and the US and Chinese bases in Djibouti. We fight for an end to the civil war in Sudan: we reject the interference of the United Arab Emirates, which has armed one of the warring military factions. We demand the withdrawal of the troops of the Wagner group. We support all efforts to conquer the political and economic sovereignty of the peoples, in the direction of a new and anti-systemic movement for the unity of the countries and peoples of Africa.

In the face of reformist or class conciliation governments, we say that they are not “our governments”, nor are they the governments of the exploited. We do not participate in them, nor do we owe them unconditional support, even if we can support their measures favourable to workers. With them in power, our policy must be to combine support for the struggles against the neoliberal and predatory measures of these governments, denouncing what is most reactionary in them, promoting the best forms of struggle against the extreme right, with the indispensable maintenance of the independence of movements and parties where we act.

Faced with the extreme right of the North and the South, the united policies of the exploited and oppressed, including the united front, remain an important part of our repertoire, but never negotiating or accepting the loss of our political independence, nor that of the social movements.

In authoritarian regimes (such as in China, Russia, Belarus, Nicaragua, Syria, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Iran and the other caliphates) or with elected but authoritarian governments (such as Turkey, Venezuela, the Philippines), our policy is one of frontal opposition to the rulers, of all-out struggle for democratic rights and unconditional support for insurgents, such as those in Myanmar and Yemen.

In this context, the initiative to hold, in Brazil, a broad conference of activists against fascism in 2025 is of great impor-

# International situation

---

tance for the International. It must be part of our priorities for action in all continents to support and strengthen this idea by working towards its realization through regional or continental pre-conferences.

We fight for the fulfilment of basic demands such as universal and free health care, state-guaranteed health infrastructures, decent housing, decent work, wages and pensions, and access to water and energy at low prices.

We defend the right of women workers and society in general to compensation for care work (with children, the elderly or the sick) guaranteed by state policies. We fight for the right to decide to have daughters, for the right to abortion and all contraceptive methods, for sex education at all levels, for quality public day-care centres, for quality full-time schools, for equal pay, equal job opportunities and equal income for men and women.

Against structural racism that discriminates against blacks, indigenous peoples and all racialized ethnic minority groups, particularly when they are migrants in the North, we propose and fight for anti-discrimination policies, reparations for slavery and land theft, as well as affirmative action. We stand with all migrants against xenophobia and expulsion policies. For an end to all walls.

Against conservative homophobia and transphobia, which attack the LGBTQI community worldwide, we raise our voices for the fullest right to dispose of our bodies as we see fit and as we wish. For full citizenship and rights for gay, lesbian and non-binary couples, with the possibility of marriage, conception and adoption. We defend the rights of transsexuals, the fight against violence and their full integration into social life.

All these struggles must unite to defeat the new fascisms, to overthrow the regimes of exploitation and oppression, to lead to the confrontation with imperialism, colonialism, capitalism in one word.

One of our central tasks at this stage is to encourage and support socio-environmental struggles, working to ensure that anti-capitalist ecological demands are those of all working and oppressed sectors. Only the strength of the movements of the exploited and oppressed on the socio-environmental plane can confront the ongoing climate collapse and move humanity towards an ecosocialist alternative, as set out in our Manifesto.

The Fourth International fights for a

world in which no state oppresses, invades or oppresses the other, where peace among equals is possible, with respect for the self-determination of peoples. We fight for a decolonial, ecological and socialist - ecosocialist - world where the defeat of capitalism and its logic allows everyone to be equal in their differences. A feminist world, of all ethnicities and colours, of all sexual orientations and identities, of all beliefs, of all forms of human life in symbiosis and balance with nature.

*28 October 2024*



# Palestine: An imperialist attack on the whole of the Middle East

The war against Palestine is opening a new chapter in history. It is a genocide carried out by Israel with the active support of the United States and the active support or complicity of many other states.

Of the 2.4 million Palestinians in Gaza, 1.9 million, or 86% of the population, have been internally displaced. Of the more than 41,000 deaths that have been identified, 40% are women and children, and the actual carnage is estimated at between 150,000 and 200,000 deaths, or around 10% of the population of Gaza. Through its siege of the territory's population without food or support and its many other violations of international law, the murder of hundreds of journalists and doctors and the blocking of humanitarian aid, Israel is demonstrating that its objective is to regain total control of the Gaza Strip. At the same time, 16 Palestinian communities have been forcibly displaced from the West Bank and 1,285 Palestinians had been displaced by July 2024.

It is an attack and a threat against all Palestinians and the majority of people in the Middle East, with major implications both for the region as a whole and for global geopolitical relations.

The Israeli attacks on Lebanon since September 2024 represented a new stage in the war: several thousand people were killed by indiscriminate attacks and massive bombardments, and tens of thousands fled the south of the country. On 27 September, the assassination of Hezbollah Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah and several of its leaders completed what proved to be a systematic decapitation of the organization after sabotaging its communications network.

Subsequently, it has become clear that the focus of Israel's military and political attack has shifted from Gaza to southern Lebanon - i.e. the areas of that state where Hezbollah's rear base is located - along with attempts to redirect propaganda, presenting Iran as the main threat to the so-called civilized world. In fact, Netanyahu has been conducting «limited military incursions» into this region since November 2023, but one of the main

manoeuvres now is to obtain military and political support from the United States in a situation where the White House, in the run-up to the elections, has less influence over the situation.

Biden's actions revealed the depth of his hypocrisy: the call on 26 September by the United States and other countries for a three-week ceasefire between the Zionist state and Hezbollah quickly gave way to a statement by Biden hailing Nasrallah's disappearance, clearly showing that his administration supports the Israeli offensive in southern Lebanon as well as in Gaza.

Israel is therefore waging mass terror as part of an asymmetrical war, with the aim of silencing all political, militant or military dissent. This war is not simply a continuation of the 75-year-old war of apartheid and colonization and ethnic cleansing against those who inhabited Palestine before the imposed creation of the State of Israel. There has been a qualitative leap in the desire to eradicate the Palestinian people, through the dehumanization of Palestinians and in a supremacist logic, in a total betrayal of the memory of the Shoah.

The current carnage is also linked to the neo-fascist nature of the Netanyahu government. Very weakened by months of popular protests against his arrogance towards the judiciary and the clear evidence of his corruption, Netanyahu, who has exploited the extreme weakness of the anti-Zionist left, has seized the opportunity of the bloody attack on 7 October 2023 to try to regain the initiative and control of the internal situation. The aim of establishing a Greater Israel - which could include southern Lebanon as far as the Litani River - the internal objectives of Israeli policy and the headlong rush to war are all part of the "clash of civilizations" rhetoric put forward by the Western powers, a discourse which perfectly suits their needs in the context

of the global crisis of the system of imperialist domination.

Netanyahu is now the vanguard of the global far right, which has pushed its traditional anti-Semitism into the background favour of a global racist and Islamophobic offensive. We are witnessing the emergence of a new world order whose historic mission is to allow mass massacres for the benefit of the domination of the great imperialist powers over the world.

Part of Netanyahu's tactic in focusing more on Hezbollah and Lebanon in the second half of September 2024 is to try to both the coalition to his right and the so-called centre of opposition leader Benny Gantz.

While Netanyahu's potential successors may agree to a prisoner swap with Hamas or have other tactical differences with him over the conduct of the war, they remain just as committed to Israeli control of Gaza and the West Bank, and just as opposed to any possibility of Palestinian sovereignty, however limited, in these areas. The repression of the Palestinians is not due to the whims of one man, but to the logic of the ruling classes of the Israeli state, at the expense of the Palestinian people.

Nevertheless, Israel is not acting alone. This is the first time since the offensive against Iraq in 2003 that the United States has intervened so directly. Its support of millions of dollars and weapons to Israel is decisive in the historic massacre of civilians. It is being carried out with the complicit silence or hypocritical protests of the major Western powers, the belated protests of China and the tightrope walking of Putin's Russia. The imperialist powers are ignoring the various resolutions of the UN or the International Criminal Court, which have no influence on events.

As for most governments in the Arab world, their logic of «normalization» of relations with Israel and invisibi-

lization of the Palestinian cause, which prevailed before 7 October, makes their critical statements on the bombing of Gaza, conceded under popular pressure, pathetic and tragic. For millions of people in the Arab-speaking and Muslim countries of the region, the Arab regimes are clearly perceived as collaborating with Israel and the imperialists. This policy leads them, as is the case in Algeria, Morocco, Egypt and Jordan, to step up repression against their populations, because they know that any mobilization in solidarity with Palestine would inevitably turn into a protest against their governments.

The pro-Assad battalions in Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon and the Houthis in Yemen, in rebellion against a Saudi-controlled government - all forces with links to Iran's theocratic and deeply repressive regime - claim to be acting in the interests of the Palestinian people, while in reality trying to advance their own interests.

It is therefore a colonial and imperialist offensive with multiple targets, with violent repression and the encouragement of new settlements in the West Bank, the disappearance or mass exodus of Palestinians, military incursions into south-west Syria, bombing raids on the Houthis in Yemen, who are trying to block the manoeuvres of the American navy and merchant ships at the entrance to the Red Sea.

What Israel is doing is not self-defence but one of the most shameful massacres in recent history, rightly denounced as genocidal by South Africa before the Hague Tribunal. The ongoing tragedy is causing political and ideological upheaval throughout the world. It is becoming increasingly difficult for their allies to defend both the United States and Israel.

The carnage in Gaza is having a particular impact on peripheral youth around the world. The solidarity movement has met with widespread repression: demonstrations have been banned, participants have been repressed and even imprisoned. Hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated, blockading arms factories and pressing for the agreements between their countries and Israel to be broken. The movement exerted influence in artistic circles and the boycott movement spread. Millions of young people who had not experienced the two Intifadas rediscovered this struggle and made it their own. Racialized young people in working-class

neighbourhoods, victims of rising Islamophobia, have identified with the Palestinian cause.

While actions in support of this cause are quickly accused of anti-Semitism by those who defend Israel's actions, young Western Jewish humanists have shown an evolution of consciousness by developing a non-Zionist or anti-Zionist orientation, against the tide of pro-Israeli reactions in the United States to 7 October and organizing a historic mobilization that challenges the powers that be in the United States. The movement played a major role in replacing «genocidal Joe» Biden with Kamala Harris. Like many leaders in the Western world, she is obliged to adopt a critical public stance towards Israel, even though her real policy is unwavering support for the genocidal regime.

The mobilization went through several phases. Firstly, in the months following 7 October, it was very difficult to cope with the political pressure supporting Israel's pseudo-«right to defend itself». Then, there were major mobilizations, with a magnificent rebound when the universities mobilized. Today, we are faced with a new situation with the extension of the war to Lebanon, which follows targeted attacks in Iran. The threat of a regional war is more present than ever, and the headlong rush into war that we feared and predicted seems to be underway.

It is now more than ever our responsibility to build a global movement of solidarity with Palestine. This movement must be broad-based and united, demanding :

- stop the massacres,
- the withdrawal of troops,
- the reconstruction of Gaza,
- access to humanitarian aid for the population,
- the release of prisoners,
- the right of return for refugees,

All these humanitarian demands are fundamental. To achieve this, we need to step up demonstrations, occupations and boycotts, demand the requisition of companies collaborating in the genocide, block arms sales, and call on governments to end all links, particularly trade links, and all support for the genocidal state.

But we know deep down that this movement is also an anti-imperialist, decolonial, anti-war movement, that it resonates with the threat of a chaotic world where relations between the great powers are settled by arms. As part of this movement, we want to affirm the need

for the peoples of the world, the working classes and racialized people, to rise up to wrest power from the criminals. We support the resistance of peoples, armed or unarmed. Only a massive mobilization, particularly in the Middle East, can change the current totally unbalanced balance of power and force states and organizations to mobilise against this genocide.

We do not share the political project of Hamas or Hezbollah, nor their reactionary visions of society. However, given the retreat of the left in the region and the absence of other forces of resistance to colonialism, these organizations are de facto recognized tools of resistance, both in the region and by some in the solidarity movements. We therefore denounce the rhetoric of the Western ruling classes that labels them as vulgar «terrorists», without conceding an inch of ground to their vision, which is repressive and reactionary. For Israel and its allies, the very act of resisting is a terrorist act. For us, the violence of the victims stems from the violence of the oppressors. While we do not support Hamas politically, we do support its democratic right to exist, and we demand the removal of the PFLP, Hamas and Hezbollah from the lists of terrorist organizations drawn up by the United States and the European Union in particular.

In Palestine more than anywhere else, the victorious struggle of the exploited and oppressed can be the path to a fairer world. We reaffirm that only a free, democratic, secular and egalitarian Palestine, where everyone can live, whatever their religion, as long as they accept this decolonial framework, can bring a just and peaceful solution to the people of the region. The balance of power needed to bring about such a solution, far from the mirages of a Palestine limited to Bantustans, implies worldwide mobilization, and particularly regional mobilization, to stop the imperialists, the United States in particular.

The attack on Lebanon further isolates Israel on the international stage. We must also be prepared for an attack on Iran. This will inevitably be justified by Islamophobic and racist rhetoric, exploiting the legitimate democratic demands of the Iranian people, particularly women. We will assert our opposition to any imperialist attack on Iran and that the emancipation of the Iranian people will be achieved through their social struggles against the current regime.

# Palestine

---

Palestine has the support of the majority of the working classes. It's up to us to turn this support into mass action!

*13 October 2024*

# Resolution on Ukraine

In February 2022, Putin launched the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in an attempt to turn the country into a Russian satellite. Russia's war on Ukraine is an imperialist attack which has caused hundreds of thousands of dead and wounded, and every day the number of casualties is increasing. For the Russian regime, the daily increasing human cost of its invasion is no reason to cease its aggression. On the contrary, in the summer of 2024 the regime intensified its war, launching new military offensives and increasingly targeting the civilian population and infrastructure in an attempt to terrorize the Ukrainian people into submission.

Inside Russia and its satellite Belarus, attempts to mobilize and protest against the war have been crushed violently and efficiently. The authoritarian character of Putin's regime has further deepened since the start of its full scale invasion. Anti-war, feminist and democratic activists have been prosecuted and sentenced to long prison terms on trumped charges. Socialist organizations, such as that of our comrades in the Russian Socialist Movement, have been forced to disband and comrades have been forced into exile.

As internationalists, we defend the Ukrainian people's right to self-determination and support their right to resist invasion. Ukrainian people's movements, feminists and trade unions are an integral part of the resistance to the Russian invasion and attempted occupation of parts of Ukraine, waging a struggle on two fronts, against the Russian invasion and against the Zelensky government. We call on the internationalist left to develop political and material solidarity with trade unionists, social and democratic activists in Ukraine. Together with other forces the Fourth International has been doing this since the beginning of the invasion, and we will continue to do so.

We have no illusions in the current Ukrainian government. It is a right-wing, neo-liberal government which is just as keen to satisfy Ukrainian capitalists as it is to reassure the Western powers of its ability to adapt to their demands, in particular with a view to obtaining the country's accession to the European Union. Its anti-social and anti-democratic policies are counter-productive in terms of defending Ukraine, because they oppose the needs of its working classes, provoke

their resentment and, as a result, the government relies on increasingly authoritarian measures. This makes international solidarity with the Ukrainian working class and its organizations all the more important, against the Russian attack and in complete independence from the Ukrainian authorities. We cannot abandon them at a time when they need solidarity on many levels more than ever. All the more so because our vision of the emancipation of the Ukrainian people is that of a struggle from below, where the people rise up, in particular their working class, to fight in complete independence from power and the great powers.

Russia's attack on Ukraine is part of the global crisis of capitalism, the difficulties of the major powers and a global rise in militarism and inter-imperialist tensions. Russia is constantly invading and attacking Ukraine, maintaining its presence in Syria in support of Bashar El Assad's reactionary regime and increasing its presence in Africa, thanks in particular to the private company Wagner; the United States is manoeuvring in South America, Asia-Pacific, Europe and Africa, constantly arming Israel and supporting all its aggressions, France, for its part, is trying to hold on in Africa and is repressing the Kanak independence fighters. All in all, the major Western powers are strengthening NATO under Washington's leadership and sharply increasing their arms spending, as are Russia, China and Japan.

In the West, governments are strengthening and expanding NATO and imposing more neo-liberal policies and market opening on Ukraine as a condition for its eventual entry into the European Union and NATO. These measures and the

increase in arms spending are presented as part of the effort to contain Russian aggression. More than ever, we must campaign against the insane programmes of strategic rearmament, particularly nuclear, against the arms trade, which is very often directed towards dictatorships, and for democratic control (nationalization) of the arms industry - at the same time as we support the right of colonized peoples to defend themselves, including by arms. Moreover, by invoking the Russian invasion, Western governments pretend to be powerless to support those hit by inflation and increasing energy costs. Meanwhile, right-wing forces are increasingly targeting Ukrainian refugees, or pit them against other migrants.

The support that the USA and Western governments are giving to Ukraine is clearly not based on anti-colonial solidarity (at a time when they are allowing Israel's colonialism to go unchecked, at a time when France is trying to lock in its colonialism in Kanaky and Mayotte...). Western imperialist powers are using the war to try and weaken their Russian rival. Ukraine's need for aid is used by Western imperialist powers to impose their own stranglehold on the Ukrainian people. This is no reason for the Ukrainian people, which in its hour of need deserves all the means necessary to defend itself, to refuse such means. It is up to the left to mobilize and demand that support to the Ukraine people is given unconditionally, instead of being conditioned on implementing and deepening of neoliberal measures.

This is why we call for the immediate and full cancellation of Ukrainian debt, respect for labour law, and maintenance of public services, the expropriation of big

# Ukraine

capitalists, the fight against corruption as a way to aiding the Ukrainian people and oppose imperialist power.

Russia's escalation of the war in the summer of 2022 and its annexation of large parts of Ukraine, including parts that are not under Russian control, make abundantly clear that it intends to continue the war. Russian aggression and annexation have forced populations to flee and inside occupied areas, a dictatorial regime has been imposed. The destruction of whole towns, infrastructures and entire ecosystems are means to impose the hold of Greater Russian imperialism, as are the displacement of populations, the abduction and forced adoption of children and the destruction of Ukrainian culture in the occupied zones.

It is clear that part of the far right in the West would prefer an agreement with Putin that would enhance their shared ultra-reactionary agenda, and that would leave Ukraine powerless and divided, reduced to a neo-colony of Russia. The government of China provides concrete support to Russia while presenting demands for Ukrainian surrender as proposals for negotiations. A section of the European and US ruling classes may also be tempted at some point by a peace that gives Putin some satisfaction but that would restore international relations that has been damaged by the continuation of the war. Parts of the self-proclaimed anti-war left agree with this and are prepared to leave Ukraine at the permanent mercy of the Russian regime, either out of anti-U.S. campism or pacifism. Any 'peace' based on such conditions will only be the prelude to more occupation and violence in the future. It is up to the Ukrainian people alone themselves to decide on any negotiations and determine their outcome.

The only end to this war can be through:

- The complete withdrawal of Russian troops;
- Negotiations and possible agreements subjected to the democratic control of the Ukrainian people.

A lasting peace is possible only when it is based:

- on the right of the Ukrainian people and its different components or minorities to freely determine their future, independent of Russian aggression, the interests of the oligarchy or the current neoliberal capitalist regime or the conditions of the IMF or the EU.

- on the right of all those who are refugees and displaced persons as a result of the war (from Ukraine, Russia or neighbouring countries) to return or to settle in the countries where they are now resident.

We see our fight against the war in Ukraine and for the defeat of Russia as part of a struggle against militarism and imperialism. The fight against war and for international solidarity requires:

- The dismantling of all military blocs – NATO, CSTO, AUKUS.
- The cancellation of the Ukrainian debt
  - Creation under the control of the Ukrainian citizenry of a fund for reconstruction, defence and improvement of living conditions, financed by exceptional taxes on the profits of arms firms and other war profiteers, as well as by the expropriation of the wealth of the Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs.