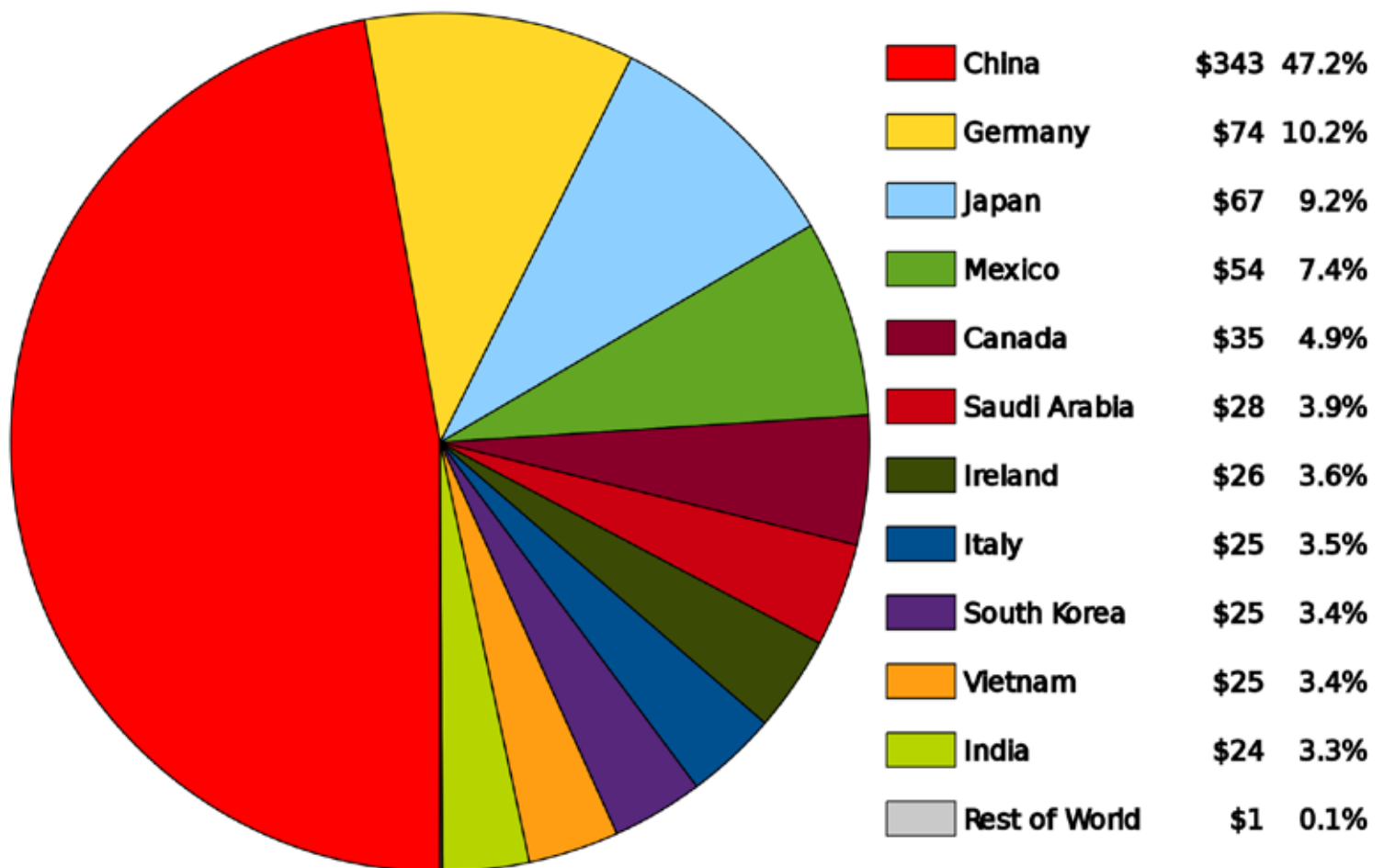




REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

US Balance of Trade Deficit (2014)



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New Series Issue Nr.11

October 2018

The Never-Ending Escalation of the Global Trade War

PLUS: U.S. Imperialism and the Syrian Revolution

Theses on Revolutionary Defeatism in Imperialist States

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.11, October 2018

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How U.S. Strategists View the Syrian Revolution

Revealing Insights from some Documents of the U.S. Military Intelligence Establishment – Another Confirmation of Our Warnings

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25.09.2018

The slanderous apologists of the Assad tyranny and Russian imperialism painted the Syrian Revolution since its beginning in March 2011 as a “conspiracy led by the U.S.” The RCIT and other revolutionaries have always refuted this reactionary smear. (1)

The September issue of *Le Monde diplomatique* contains a highly interesting article which reports about leaked documents from the U.S. military intelligence establishment concerning the Syrian Revolution. (2) These documents confirm, once more, the views of the RCIT and other revolutionaries that U.S. imperialism never supported the Syrian Revolution. Its primary interest has been always to keep the apparatus of the regime and, if possible, to replace the Assad family by a pro-U.S. figure.

The author of the *Le Monde diplomatique* article, Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed, reports extensively about US military documents from 2011 and 2016 obtained via the Wikileaks archive. He reprints, among others, a number of revealing quotes from a draft of an internal US Marine Corps’ (USMC) Intelligence Department forecasting paper written in August 2011.

While U.S. imperialism was not sympathetic to Assad, viewing him as a Russian proxy, it never seriously intended to send troops to Syria in order to overthrow the regime. “We do not anticipate the USMC militarily intervening in either Syria or Lebanon with a mission to stabilize the situation. (...) The sectarian dynamics are far too complex for the United States to afford becoming embroiled in. Instead, this will be a regional crisis for Turkey to manage. Since Turkey is

still early in its regional rise, it will need considerable backing and support from its allies, but even then, is unlikely to be able to effectively deal with such a crisis within the next three years.”

Already from the beginning did the U.S. strategists view the popular uprising as unlikely to succeed in overthrowing the Assad regime (the USMC document from which we quote was written in August 2011, i.e. five months after the beginning of the Syrian Revolution):

“The Syrian Alawite-Baathist regime led by President Bashar al Assad will weaken significantly over the next three years, but its break point is unlikely to be imminent.”

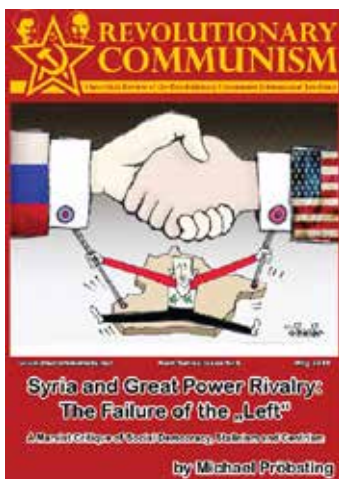
“Fractured opposition forces in Syria are unlikely to overcome the logistical constraints preventing them from cohering into a meaningful threat against the regime within this time frame.”

“... the opposition in Syria does not yet have the numbers, organization or capabilities overall to overwhelm the regime forces. Syria’s opposition is extremely fractured and is operating under enormous constraints inside the country.”

The USMC intelligence officers also warned that Syria would experience “a violent, protracted civil conflict, one that will enflame sectarian unrest (...) The potential for the regime to collapse cannot be ruled out, but the road to regime change will be a long and bloody one.”

The reports put more hopes to an internal coup against the Assad clan: “The more probable threat the regime will be facing will come from within” — in the form of “an attempt by high-ranking military and business elite of the regime to mount a coup”.

The document states also the fact that none of the powers



Publications of the RCIT

Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2018

*The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation
of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia –
A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism*

Introduction * The liberation struggle of the Syrian people against Assad retains its just character * Against all imperialist aggressors! * Old and new Great Powers * The Ex-Stalinist turned social democrats: “God save the United Nations” * The Stalinists (and some caricatures in Trotskyist camouflage): social-imperialist servants of Assad and Putin * The Morenoite LIT, UIT and FLTI: the heart on the right place but not their brains * CWI and FT: failure to understand the imperialist nature of China and Russia * CWI / SWP(UK) / FT: refusing to support the Syrian Revolution * Conclusion * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

in the Middle East would have an interest in the success of the Syrian Revolution. They might not like Assad but they certainly hate a successful popular revolution with all the "destabilising effects in the region."

Conceding that 'external support for a Syrian alternative to the al-Assad regime will grow with time,' the document observes that "none of the major stakeholders in the region, including Israel, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the United States, appear interested in dealing with the destabilising effects of regime change in Syria in the region."

The leaked documents, which the *Le Monde diplomatique* report, are not isolated cases. Their views coincide with other documents of the U.S. military intelligence establishment.

An example for this is a book published by Roby C. Barrett in 2016 titled "The Collapse of Iraq and Syria: The End of the Colonial Construct in the Greater Levant". (3) Barrett is a Senior Fellow with the Air Force Special Operations School and the Joint Special Operations University (a US Special Operations Command's designated agency to educate and advise Special Operations officers). (4) He instructs US military officers in applied intelligence and advises the Pentagon, State Department and intelligence community.

Barrett outlines the approach and the inner contradictions of the policy of U.S. imperialism concerning the civil war in Syria.

"At the same time, the degeneration of the Assad regime in Syria, coupled with the instability bleeding from the collapse of Iraq into eastern Syria and then the Arab Spring, brought on a full-scale revolt there. At almost any cost, the Obama administration wanted to avoid involvement in Syria. Support for the ouster of Assad went no further than verbiage and, even when redlines on the use of chemical weapons on civilians were breached, the administration refused to act and instead deferred to Congress and a Russian mediation effort. This policy was widely supported by the American public, but it led directly to the sudden expansion of the Islamic State and the influence of other jihadist groups. More acceptable groups were starved of support and the jihadists made gains. By 2011, governmental control in the Sunni areas of the Greater Levant had disappeared, and the vacuum awaited the arrival of groups willing to impose their own brand of order on the region." (p. 92)

"Western policy was a paradox; Washington demanded the op-

position fight by acceptable Western rules of warfare that put them at the mercy of all comers in a vicious civil war, and then refused meaningful support. U.S. policy was aimed at bolstering acceptable resistance groups but not enough that they could actually topple the Assad regime." (p. 94)

Assad/Putin Apologists

All these new revelations about the real intentions of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East demonstrate, once again, the idiocy of the Assad/Putin apologists who claimed, year after year and contrary to the reality, that U.S. imperialism was about to overthrow the regime in Damascus. This slander is nothing but Islamophobic chauvinism in the service of Russian imperialism. (5)

In contrast to the servile "left-wing" lackeys of Assad and Putin, the RCIT and other revolutionaries have always warned against the plans of Western imperialism. We have always stated that U.S. and European imperialism had no interest in a successful Syrian Revolution. They rather hoped for a coup d'état from within the Assadist state apparatus in order to replace the pro-Russian lackey with a pro-Western lackey. They were temporarily willing to lend some modest material support to small sectors of the Syrian rebels. But this was always very limited and lasted not for long. (6)

Our Warnings

Authentic revolutionaries are not surprised by the latest revelations about the plans of U.S. imperialism. Such the RCIT stated already five years ago:

"[O]ne must keep in mind the imperialists' interests – both Western and Eastern – to roll back the Arab Revolution as well as the inner-imperialist rivalry. The US, Britain and France want to re-stabilize this strategically important region and offset their loss of influence. The US, British and French imperialists want to contain and if possible to end the Syrian civil war to avoid a new spread of the Arab Revolution. The Western Great Powers as well as the small imperialist power Israel fear that the civil war could result in a situation where popular forces hostile against imperialism and Zionism could gain massive influence and threaten their interests in the region. The highly instable situation in Libya since the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime,

REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION - The RCIT's Monthly Journal

<p>www.thecommunists.net Issue No. 76 December 2017</p>		<p>www.thecommunists.net Issue No. 77 January 2018</p>	
<p>Kenya: Down with the pro-imperialist Kenyatta Regime!</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The Grassroots Regime in Togo * Zambia: Still Not Free * Interview with Ghana's CPP * Interview with Ghana's CPP 		<p>Support the Liberation Struggle of the Palestinian People!</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Interview with Ghana's CPP * Syria: Liberation Struggle at a Crossroad * Brazil: The Shadow of a Military Coup * Catalonia's Struggle for Independence 	
<p>The Imperialists Enslave the African People - Then as Now!</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Successful 2nd RCIT World Congress * MGKP (Russia) & RCIT collaborate * Syria: No to Turkey's Attack on Afrin! * Tunisia: Solidarity with the Protesters! * Palestine: Free Ahd Tamimi NOW! 		<p>The Syrian Revolution is in mortal Danger!</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Balfour's Declaration - Myths vs. Facts * Italy sends Soldiers to Niger * Class Warfare in Zambia * Syria: Turkey's hidden war vs. HTS * Syria: Solidarity with East Ghouta! * Israeli Warplane Shot Down over Syria 	
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where thousands of workers and peasants remain armed and organized in popular militias, is a cautionary tale for the imperialists. (As is well known, Libya has been the country where the US consulate and the French embassy have been attacked and US ambassador Christopher Stevens was killed in September 2012.) These are the reasons why US imperialism supported the counter-revolutionary military coup on 3rd July in Egypt; this is why they didn't intervene in Syria on the side of the rebel movement; this is why they have started to blacklist sectors of the rebels (Al-Nusra and others) as "terrorists".

At the same time the Western Great Powers want to oust Russian and Chinese imperialisms' hegemony in Syria and bring it under their control. For this purpose they are bribing and creating lackeys amongst sections of the leaderships of the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces and the Free Syrian Army. For this purpose they give political and diplomatic backing as well as some material support to them. They also have most likely send some army commands to Syria to strengthen their influence amongst these rebel leaderships.

What the Western imperialists would like to see is an "orderly transition" towards a regime which consists of an alliance of some pro-imperialist factions amongst the leaderships of the Syrian rebels and a sector of the old Assad regime. This would ensure a continuation of the order of Assad's bourgeois state apparatus where Assad is replaced by some more pro-Western and anti-Russian politicians. In short, they want to bring a regime to power in Damascus which is not dependent on Moscow and Beijing but on Washington, Berlin, Paris and London." (7)

Our analyses of the interests of Western imperialism and our warnings against false hopes have been fully confirmed by the real developments on the ground.

No Trust in Any Capitalist Power!

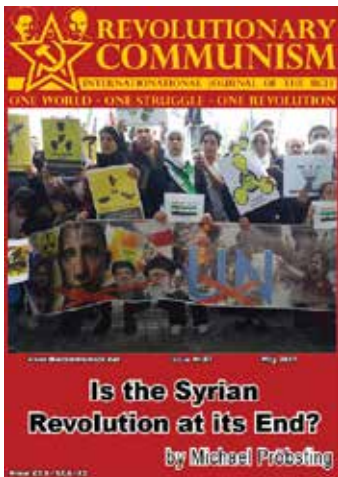
Revolutionaries and socialists all over the world must learn from the profound events in Syria – particularly now when the liberation forces are threatened from all sides. (8)

One crucial lesson must be that imperialist powers – as well as regional capitalist powers (like Iran or Turkey) – are never and can never be a friend of the oppressed masses. These powers will always fight against popular revolution. In the "best case" they will try to temporarily exploit them for their own interests but liquidate them as soon as they can not control it any longer or if they have no interest any longer in keeping them going.

Those Syrian rebel leaders who based their political agenda on the illusionary hope for support by Western imperialism effectively betrayed the revolutionary uprising. Those who are repeating now the same sell-out by offering their service to the Turkish government are no better. The liberation struggle can only be victorious if it is not subordinated to the interests of any ruling class of capitalist powers. It can only succeed if it serves solely the interests of the oppressed people!

Beware of the "Left-Wing" Mohammed bin Salmans!

Another important lesson is that "left-wing" groups must not be judged by their platonic vows on "socialism", "internationalism" or "anti-imperialism". Such empty talk has no meaning at all if it is combined with actual support for Russian imperialism (or Chinese or U.S.) and its local dictatorships like the one of Assad!



Publications of the RCIT

Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified?

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2017

An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution

Introduction * The Nature of the Local Coordination Councils in Syria * The Contradictory Nature of the Petty-Bourgeois Rebel Factions * A note on the adjectival juxtaposition of "progressive" to liberal democrats versus "reactionary" to Islamists * Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham and Other Islamist Militias * The Role of Religion in Democratic and National Liberation Struggles * Some Arguments on the Ongoing Progressive Character of the Syrian Revolution * Have the Rebels Become Agents of US Imperialism and Regional Powers? * On Foreign Powers' Support for Liberation Movements p* Lenin and Trotsky on Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference * What Did Lenin and Trotsky Say about Getting Support from Imperialists? * Imagining Two Different Scenarios of the Revolution's Success & Failure * A Period of Defeats and Retreats: What Are the Reasons? * Some Thoughts on the Future Prospects of the Arab Revolution * The Urgent Need for a Revolutionary Party * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman might swear on the Koran but in his deeds he is the personification of the evil. He lives a most decadent life, collaborates with the U.S., Russia and Israel and sells the Muslim people to imperialism and Zionism. The pro-Assadist “left-wing” groups are the pseudo-socialist version of such “Mohammed bin Salmans”. They serve imperialism and capitalist dictators under the pretext of “socialism” and “anti-imperialism”. The vanguard of the workers movement and of liberation struggles must strongly guard against such pseudo-socialist lackeys of imperialism!

What is highly necessary for the victory of future liberation struggles of the workers and oppressed is the creation of a Revolutionary World Party. Such a party must dedicate its efforts exclusively to the liberation struggle of the working class and the oppressed people. It must fight on the basis of a program of international struggle against imperialist and capitalist monopolies via the socialist revolution. The RCIT is dedicating its forces to achieve this goal as soon as possible!

Footnotes

(1) The RCIT has supported the heroic Syrian Revolution from the very beginning and defended it against the Assad/Putin apologists. Our numerous pamphlets, articles and statements are collected in a special section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>.

(2) Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed : US military document reveals how the West opposed a democratic Syria, Le Monde diplomatique, September 2018, <https://mondediplo.com/outside-in/syria-democracy-documents>. All quotes, if not stated otherwise, are from this article.

(3) Roby C. Barrett: The Collapse of Iraq and Syria: The End of the Colonial Construct in the Greater Levant, Joint Special Operations University, JSOU Report 16-1, The JSOU Press, MacDill Air Force Base, Florida, 2016

(4) <http://www.mei.edu/profile/robby-barrett-0>

(5) We refer readers to extensive article by comrade Yossi Schwartz: The Myth of Assad’s Syria as an Anti-Imperialist Regime, November 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/myth-of-assad-s-anti-imperialism/>; see also Yossi Schwartz: Victory to the Revolution in Syria! The second anniversary of the uprising in Syria, 15.3.2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/victory-to-syrian-revolution/>; Michael Pröbsting: Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“. The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation of Inter-

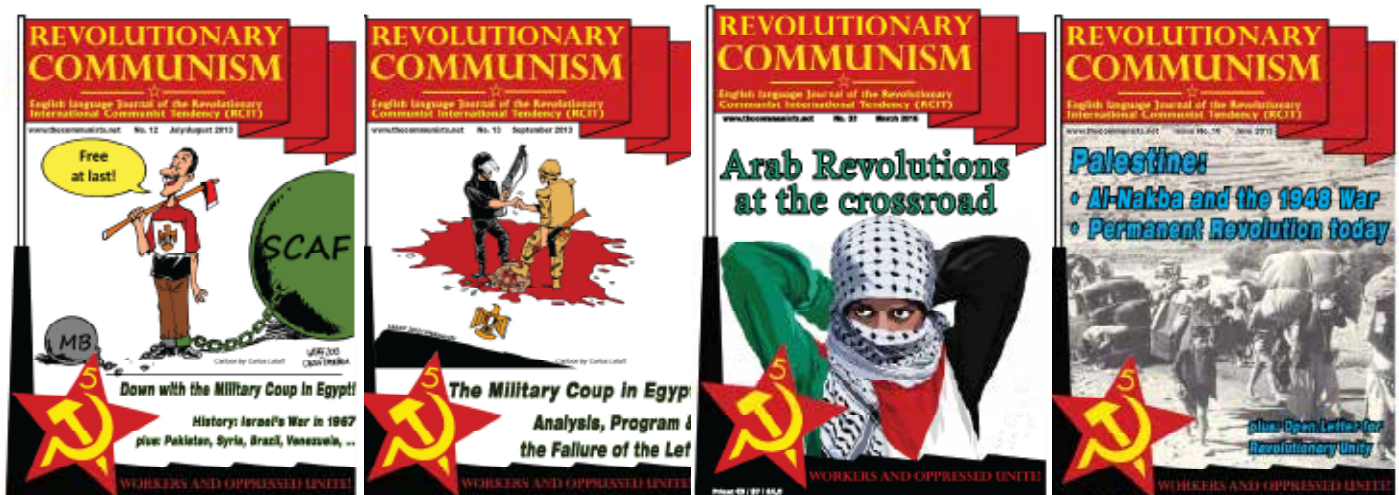
Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia – A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>

(6) The RCIT has published numerous documents which analyse in detail the character of the Syrian Revolution and its obstacles. In particular we refer to Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/>; of Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, February 2018, Chapter V, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/worldperspectives-2018/chapter-v/>

(7) RCIT: Syria: Against Assad and Against Imperialism – Victory to the Revolution! For International Solidarity with the Popular Revolution against the murderous Assad Dictatorship! But Without and Against any Western Imperialist Military Intervention! 27.8.2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-against-assad-imperialism/>

(8) For understanding of the most recent developments in Idlib and the grave dangers for the Syrian Revolution caused by the treacherous Sochi Deal we refer to several articles of Michael Pröbsting published in the past weeks: Syria/Idlib: Down with the Sochi Surrender Deal! Brothers and Sisters in Idlib: Reject the Deal between Putin and Erdoğan! Do not Hand over Weapons! Turkey’s Army is not your Ally! Continue the Struggle against the Regime and Russia! 18.09.2018 (6.30 UTC Time), <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/sochi-deal-on-idlib-is-surrender/>; Syria/Idlib: News Confirm that the Sochi Deal Means Surrender! An additional Analysis: What are the Assadist and Russian Plans behind the Sochi Deal? What has been the Reaction until now of the Rebel Leaders to the Sochi Deal? 18.09.2018 (19.30 UTC Time), <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-idlib-news-confirm-that-the-sochi-deal-means-surrender/>; Syria: Mass Rallies in Idlib against the Regime and Russia. Support the Undaunted Revolutionary People resisting against the Final Onslaught of Assad and imperialist Russia against the last Citadel of the Syrian Revolution! 15.09.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/mass-rallies-in-idlib-against-the-regime-and-russia/>; Erdoğan Offers “My Dear Friend” Putin to Disarm the Syrian Revolution. Mass demonstrations demand continuation of the struggle against the Assad tyranny as the counterrevolutionary forces prepare for a frontal assault on Idlib, 08.09.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/erdogan-offers-putin-to-disarm-the-syrian-revolution/>; Syria: Towards the Final Battle in Idlib. Assad, Russia, Iran and Turkey prepare for the final onslaught on the last Citadel of the Syrian Revolution, 04.08.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-towards-the-final-battle-in-idlib/>

PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT ON THE ARAB REVOLUTION



High-Ranking U.S. Delegation Meets Assad's Security Chief

How Big Gangsters and Small Gangsters Negotiate to Get a Deal

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 30.08.2018

Pro-Assad as well as Western media have reported in the last days about an interesting meeting which took place recently in Damascus. The story was first brought up by the pro-Hezbollah Lebanese newspaper *al-Akhbar*, later basically confirmed by officials both of the U.S. Administration as well as regional governments and then published in various Western media like *Reuters*, the *New York Times* and the Israeli *YNet*. (1)

According to these reports, "an American delegation of senior Defense Department officials" as well as "representatives from other intelligence agencies" met with a Syrian delegation led by Ali Mamlouk, the head of Syria's national security bureau, as well other senior security officials, including the head of the Military Intelligence Directorate. The meeting, which took place near Damascus international airport, lasted for four hours.

The delegation of the US Administration "made a series of demands in exchange for the US vacating war-torn Syria. In addition to the demand that Iranian forces exit southern Syria, the US also sought a Syrian guarantee that the US would receive a share of Syrian oil and that the country transfer information from Damascus to Washington about the terrorist organizations operating in the country, claiming that "the threat of terrorism crosses continents and that the information we receive can likely serve the state's security."

Mamlouk replied that "Damascus would not cooperate with Washington on security issues until they had normalized ties and he also demanded a complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from Syria."

While the two delegations couldn't reach an agreement for now, "it was agreed that the channels of communication between the US and Syria through the Russians would remain in place."

This meeting between these big gangsters and small gangsters tells us more about the state of affairs than 100 empty declarations from the propaganda departments of the

Trump Administration or the Assad regime. It comes as no surprise to us in the RCIT as we have always explained that US imperialism and the Assad regime are not divided by antagonistic interests. The conflict between Washington and Assad is basically a result of the inter-imperialist conflict between the Great Powers USA and Russia. (2)

For some time the US and the European Union desired to replace Assad, known as a proxy of Russian imperialism as well as of the Ayatollah regime in Iran, and to replace it with their own proxy. Hence, in the first years of Syria's popular uprising, Washington gave tacit, mainly diplomatic, support for the pro-Western sectors of the rebels in order to create problems in Moscow's empire. However, when it turned out that Washington could not bring the country into its sphere of influence via a coup against Assad from within the Baathist state apparatus, they reconciled themselves with the prospect of Assad staying in power. As the RCIT has emphasized many time, in the end, Washington and Brussels always preferred the bloody Assad regime than facing the consequences of a violent popular revolution. (3)

For these reasons, the Trump Administration has started to open negotiations with Putin as well as Assad about "making a deal", as the White House's strange man with the orange hair likes to say. Basically, Washington offers to withdraw its troops in exchange for getting a share in Syria's oil business and for guaranteeing Israel's "security" by keeping Iranian troops away from the Southern border.

At the moment, the two sides have not reached a deal. Assad is in a strong position as he has the backing of Russia and Iran. Furthermore, the longstanding proxy of US imperialism in Syria, the Kurdish YPG/SDF (4), is now looking itself for negotiations with the Assad regime. (5) And finally, while the U.S. is still the biggest imperialist power, it is seriously weakened by its vicious domestic faction struggle within its ruling class.

China's transformation into an imperialist power

**A study of the economic, political and military aspects
of China as a Great Power**

By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

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It is quite possible that the negotiations between the U.S. and Russia as well as Assad will get bumpy. This is not unusual in negotiations between big gangsters and small gangsters. As we know the Assadist-Russian-Iranian forces are preparing the final assault on Idlib, the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution. (6) Russian imperialism has deployed a dozen warships to the Mediterranean Sea in what a Russian newspaper called Moscow's largest naval buildup since it entered the Syrian conflict in 2015. (7)

The U.S. will no doubt protest against Russia's expanding influence and make threats. One can not exclude that Washington will launch this or that military strike against Russia's proxy. But such conflicts would not be about the Syrian liberation struggle but simply about the right prize for a deal between the U.S. and Russia respectively the Assad regime. But irrespective of its rivalry with Russia, U.S. imperialism shares Moscow's desire to pacify the Syrian liberation struggle. (8)

These developments demonstrate once more how foolish those leftists have been who always refused any support for the popular uprising by claiming that the Syrian rebels were "agents of the U.S.". As the RCIT has stated from the beginning, all capitalist powers – despite their rivalry between each other – have desired an end of the revolutionary process in Syria. (9)

We repeat once again that all revolutionaries, socialists and democrats must denounce the interference and aggression of all imperialist Great Powers in Syria! (10) The RCIT calls for the immediate withdrawal of the Russian and U.S. troops as well as those of Iran and Turkey. All foreign military bases in Syria must be dissolved! We call the workers and popular mass organizations around the world to rally the support of the Syrian people! Defend Idlib, the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution, against the impending annihilation by the barbaric counter-revolution!

* *Defend Idlib! Defeat the Assadist, Russian and Iranian forces!*

* *Russian, Iranian, U.S. and Turkish troops – out of Syria!*

* *Down with the counter-revolutionary Astana Negotiations!*

* *For a single Intifada from Idlib to Jerusalem, Basra, Cairo and Teheran!*

* *For a Workers and Poor Peasants Government!*

* *Build a Revolutionary Workers Party – nationally and internationally!*

Footnotes

(1) Reuters: U.S., Syrian security officials met in Damascus: official, report, August 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-usa-officials/us-syrian-security-officials-met-in-damascus-official-report-idUSKCN1LD2A4>; New York Times: U.S., Syrian security officials met in Damascus: official, report, August 28, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2018/08/28/world/middleeast/28reuters-mideast-crisis-syria-usa-report.html>; Daniel Salami: Report: US offered to exit Syria if Iran vacates south, YNet, 08.28.18, <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5336680,00.html>

(2) See on this e.g. chapter V of Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, February 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/worldperspectives-2018/chapter-v/>

(3) See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Assad's Massacre in East Ghouta and the Western Hypercritics, 23.02.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/assad-s-massacre-in-east-ghouta-and-the-western-hypercritics/>; Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abandonment Justified?

(4) On the role of the Kurdish YPG/SDF as a U.S. proxy see e.g.

RCIT: "We have 50,000 partners on the ground.", <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/revelations-of-u-s-general-on-washington-s-allies-in-syria/>. Maj. Gen. James Jarrard, the commander of US Special Operations against the Islamic State, once praised the YPG/SDF: "They have an indomitable will. They have been ferocious fighters and excellent leaders and pretty amazing tacticians." (<https://www.defense.gov/News/Transcripts/Transcript-View/Article/1359137/departement-of-defense-press-briefing-by-general-jarrard-via-teleconference-from/>) And Gen. Joseph Votel, the commander of US Central Command, told a congressional committee that the Kurdish-led fighters constitute "the most effective force on the ground in Syria against ISIS." (<https://armedservices.house.gov/legislation/hearings/terrorism-and-iran-defense-challenges-middle-east/>)

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(6) See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Towards the Final Battle in Idlib. Assad, Russia, Iran and Turkey prepare for the final onslaught on the last Citadel of the Syrian Revolution, 04.08.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-towards-the-final-battle-in-idlib/>

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(10) Concerning the Great Power rivalry and imperialist interventions in the Middle East we refer, among others, to a joint statement issued by the RCIT and supported by five other organizations: Warmongering in the Middle East: Down with all Imperialist Great Powers and Capitalist Dictatorships! Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), Alkebulan School of Black Studies (Kenya), Pacesetters Movement (Nigeria), Pan-African Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria), Marxist Group 'Class Politics' (Russia), and Sınıf Savaşı (Turkey), 13 May 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-warmongering-in-the-middle-east/>

U.S. Imperialism Wants to “Re-Engage” with the Assad Tyranny

Comment on an Article by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter published in the New York Times

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 28.08.2018

Irrespective of its rivalry with Russia, U.S. imperialism shares Moscow’s desire to pacify the Syrian liberation struggle since years. This has been articulated recently, once more, by the unofficial voice of the ruling class in Washington, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter.

In a well-placed article in the *New York Times*, published on 24 August, he called for Western support for the Assad regime. He demanded that “Western countries, including the United States, should re-engage incrementally with the Syrian government. (...) In exchange for this re-engagement, Damascus should be required to enact reforms, though the West must keep its demands moderate. Additionally, the West should be prepared to contribute to the reconstruction of Syria, perhaps selectively by sector. (...) Syria’s economy cannot be revived while the country remains under sanctions that hurt ordinary citizens. Lifting sanctions will be crucial to solving the huge challenges of reconstruction, unemployment and economic revival.” (1)

Carter also welcomed the desire of the U.S. proxy YPG/SDF to strive for a deal with the Assad tyranny. Likewise, he called the rebels to lay down the arms and to open a “political dialogue” with the regime. “In July, a Kurdish delegation met with the Syrian government to negotiate a continuation of the de facto autonomy the Kurds secured early in the war. This was a constructive development, and more such talks should be encouraged. The opposition, which is concentrated in Idlib province, should also explore what is possible through political dialogue. Continuing to fight would be futile.”

This might come as a surprise to those foolish leftists who always claimed that the Syrian rebels were “agents of the U.S.”. In fact, all capitalist powers – despite their rivalry between each other – have desired an end of the revolutionary process in Syria since years. (2)

Surely, the US and the European Union do not like the Assad regime as it is not their but rather Putin’s proxy. Hence, in the first years of the uprising, Washington gave tacit, mainly diplomatic, support for the pro-Western sectors of the rebels in order to create problems in Moscow’s empire. However, when it turned out that Washington could not bring the country into its sphere of influence via a coup against Assad from within the Baathist state apparatus, they reconciled themselves with the prospect of Assad staying in power. In the end, Washington and Brussels always preferred the bloody Assad regime than facing the consequences of a violent popular revolution. (3)

As a consequence U.S. imperialism has never seriously attacked the forces of the Assad regime but rather fought against Daesh/ISIS or the most determined sectors of the anti-Assad rebels (e.g. the petty-bourgeois Islamist HTS which Washington recently classified once more as a “terrorist organization”). (4)

While Washington bombed a few empty ware-houses under control of the Assad regime or an air base after official warning, it carpet bombed Raqqa and assassinated with killer-drones various leaders of the Islamist anti-Assad

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018 -

A World Pregnant With Wars And Popular Uprisings

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – WORLD PERSPECTIVES 2018: A WORLD PREGNANT WITH WARS AND POPULAR UPRISINGS. The book’s subtitle is: Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries.

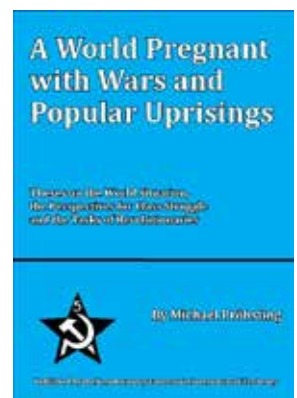
This book is a major contribution of our organization to keep the Marxists’ analysis of the world situation and its accelerating contradictions updated. As we emphasize in the document, we consider it as crucial for revolutionaries to understand the nature and the inner dynamics of the current historic period. Without such an understanding it is impossible for socialists, indeed for all liberation fighters, to possess the necessary political compass on which they can base their program, strategy and tactics.

Since several years does the RCIT publish annual studies on the world situation in which it analysis its most important developments and changes. This book updates the Marxist analysis of the state of the world economy, of the relations between the Great Powers, of the struggle between the classes and the tactics of revolutionaries. We also deal in depth with new issues respectively extend our theoretical analysis on several questions. In particular we have deepened in this book,

among others, our understanding of the nature respectively the transitional character of the present world political phase, of the nature of different types of wars and the tactical conclusions arriving from this, of the complex nature of the conflicts in the Middle East, of the capitalist restoration in North Korea and, finally, we have elaborated a new proposal for an international platform for the unification of revolutionary forces in the present phase.

The book contains a preface, introduction and seven eight chapters plus an appendix (118 pages) and includes 23 figures , 9 tables and 2 maps. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>



rebels. (5)

We can expect a similar approach of the U.S. with the upcoming bloody assault on Idlib by the Assadist, Russian and Iranian troops. (6) Surely, Washington will shear a few crocodile tears about the massacres committed by Assad's mercenaries. One can not exclude one or another symbolic retaliatory strike. But in essence all the Great Powers – the U.S., Russia, EU, China and Japan – share the interest to liquidate the Syrian Revolution and to pacify the country under the bloody bayonets of Assad. (7)

The RCIT denounces the interference and aggression of all imperialist Great Powers in Syria! (8) We call for the immediate withdrawal of the Russian and U.S. troops as well as those of Iran and Turkey. All foreign military bases in Syria must be dissolved! We call the workers and popular mass organizations around the world to rally the support of the Syrian people! Defend Idlib, the last citadel of the Syrian Revolution, against the impending annihilation by the barbaric counter-revolution!

Footnotes

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(2) See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“. The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia – A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>

(3) See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Assad's Massacre in East Ghouta and the Western Hypercritics, 23.02.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/assad-s-massacre-in-east-ghouta-and-the-western-hypercritics/>; Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified?

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(5) See on this e.g. Down with Imperialist Warmongering of All Great Powers! Syria attack, Protectionist Tariffs and Salisbury poisoning: Against all imperialist diplomatic, economic and military aggression! In U.S., EU, Russia and China: The Main Enemy is at Home! Support democratic and national liberation struggles of oppressed people! Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) and the Marxist Group 'Class Politics' (Russia), 13.04.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-down-with-imperialist-warmongering-of-all-great-powers/>; ISL: On Trump's attack on Syria, 15.04.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/on-trump-s-attack-on-syria/>

(6) Michael Pröbsting: Syria: Towards the Final Battle in Idlib. Assad, Russia, Iran and Turkey prepare for the final onslaught on the last Citadel of the Syrian Revolution, 04.08.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-towards-the-final-battle-in-idlib/>

(7) See on this various statements which are collected in a special section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>. In particular we refer to Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/> and chapter V of Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, February 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/worldperspectives-2018/chapter-v/>

(8) Concerning the Great Power rivalry and imperialist interventions in the Middle East we refer, among others, to a joint statement issued by the RCIT and supported by five other organizations: Warmongering in the Middle East: Down with all Imperialist Great Powers and Capitalist Dictatorships! Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), Alkebulan School of Black Studies (Kenya), Pacesetters Movement (Nigeria), Pan-African Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria), Marxist Group 'Class Politics' (Russia), and Sınf Savaşı (Turkey), 13 May 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-warmongering-in-the-middle-east/>



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

The Global Trade War is Escalating

Trump's new Tariffs on about \$200bn worth of Chinese Imports Reflect the Accelerating Rivalry between the Great Powers

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 19 September 2018

As the RCIT has pointed out repeatedly in the past years, the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers – the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan – is one of the key features of world politics since the beginning of the current historic period in 2008. (1) These tensions have accelerated in the past years on various levels. There are increasing political and military conflicts in the Middle East as well as in East Asia. And, as we have predicted and analyzed on various occasions, there are also increasing economic tensions which have resulted now in the Global Trade War. (2)

This Global Trade War has now entered a new stage. US President Donald Trump has announced on 17 September that he will impose 10% US tariffs on about \$200bn worth of Chinese imports. The new tariffs will take effect from September 24. It will increase to 25% on January 1 if Beijing refuses to offer trade concessions. Furthermore, Trump also warned China not to take retaliatory action. *"If China takes retaliatory action against our farmers or other industries, we will immediately pursue phase three, which is tariffs on approximately \$267bn of additional imports."* (3)

On the next day, Beijing announced retaliatory tariffs on \$60 billion of U.S. goods ranging from wheat to textiles, with 5% to 10% tariffs. *"China is forced to respond to US unilateralism and trade protectionism, and has no choice but to respond with its own tariffs,"* the finance ministry in Beijing said in a statement on 18 September. (4) Tariffs of between 5 and 10% will take effect on some 5,200 US products on the same day as the new US duties. (5)

This is the latest round of an escalating Global Trade War. It brings all Chinese imports subject to added tariffs to \$250 billion, roughly half of China's shipments to the U.S. last year. The Trump administration in July and August already imposed 25% tariffs on \$50 billion on Chinese goods, sparking in-kind retaliation. If the U.S. would go ahead with it threat to impose tariffs on additional \$267 billion of imports from China, this would push the cumulative total beyond the amount of goods the U.S. bought from the Asian nation last year.

The capitalist stock markets – both in Asia as well as in the West – have reacted calmly to these developments until now. The reason for this seems to be that, as investors said, *"the markets had already priced in 10 percent tariffs and that it could've been worse"*. (6) There is still hope that the U.S. and China might still be willing to reach a trade deal. China's finance ministry said that Beijing is still willing to negotiate. And Kevin Hassett, the chairman of Trump's Council of Economic Advisers, said he expected that U.S.-China talks can still take place. (7)

China's Options to Strike Back

China has announced it is lodging a new complaint at the World Trade Organization in its tariffs battle with the United States. It has already done so before but, unsurpris-

ingly, the mills of the WTO bureaucracy grind slowly – particularly if a complaint is directed against Washington!

One important factor in the Global trade War is the limitation of option for China to retaliate in the field of trade tariffs and, at the same time, its manifold possibilities to strike back in other areas. On one hand China faces difficulty in responding on a scale equal to Trump's new tariffs because its annual imports from America total only about \$130bn, while its exports to the US total more than \$500bn. In other words, China can not hit back as much as the U.S. as long as the conflict remains contained to trade tariffs.

However, China has several other options to retaliate. First, it can devalue its currency and, by this, partially offset the effects of the additional costs for exports caused by Trump's new tariffs. And indeed, China's yuan has weakened by about 6% against the US dollar since mid-June, offsetting the 10% tariff rate by a considerable margin.

Secondly, Beijing can target specific US companies – like Nike, General Electric and Apple – operating in China by increasing the regulation (termed *"weaponising of regulation"* by economists). Such disruption could range from invasive health and safety checks to tougher labour controls or rules on fire standards. Mergers and acquisitions could be made more difficult, and state contracts could be withheld from US firms.

This points to an important issue which is often overlooked (or brushed under the carpet). Trump always talks about China's huge trade surplus against the US (\$376bn in 2017), so that US goods exports to China are worth only a quarter of US imports from China. This is true. But it is also true that U.S. companies, which are operating in China, sell a huge amount of commodities to the Chinese market. In fact, they sell much more than Chinese companies operating in the U.S. sell to American consumers. As a result, the net balance between the U.S. and China looks very different compared to the trade balance only.

A recently published study by the Deutsche Bank arrives to the following conclusion: *"Our March 25 report corrected for these biases and found that US firms sold \$372bn of goods and services to China in 2015, while Chinese firms sold \$403bn to the US. The net balance, which we defined as "aggregate sales balance", is a surplus of \$30bn from China's perspective, much smaller than the \$367bn bilateral trade balance. We estimate that from the US perspective, this balance has turned from a deficit of \$30bn in 2015 to a surplus of \$7bn in 2016 and \$20bn in 2017."* (8)

This means that the Chinese government can hit U.S. interests substantially by *"weaponising of regulation"*. It is therefore hardly surprising that leading U.S. multinationals like Apple are outraged about the trade warmongering of the Trump Administration.

Finally, as we have pointed out repeatedly in the past, China can put pressure on the U.S. since it is the largest foreign investor in U.S. Treasuries. This is an important

factor as the U.S. is the largest debtor in the world and massively relies on foreign lenders. And indeed, similar to the currency, Beijing has also started to make the U.S. feel its weight on this terrain. China's holdings of U.S. Treasuries fell to a six-month low in July, just as a trade war between the world's two largest economies began heating up. China's ownership of U.S. bonds, bills and notes slipped to \$1.17 trillion, the lowest level since January and down from \$1.18 trillion in June, according to data released by the Treasury Department. (9)

Obviously, each of these economic weapons bears a huge potential for escalation. It could add to the Global Trade War a Global Currency War as well as a stock market crash. In other words, the current trade conflict between the two biggest economic powers could easily trigger a major slump – worse than the Great Recession in 2008/09.

Is Global Trade War the New Normal?

The RCIT has pointed out since a number of years that the emergence of China and Russia as new imperialist powers is one of the key features of the current historic period. (10) Likewise, we have analysed in various studies the historic crisis of the capitalist world economy. (11) In the light of these historic tendencies, it is inevitable that the rivalry between the Great Powers is accelerating. We drew attention to this fundamental law of the present historic period already in our program six years ago.

"In the period of accelerated decline of capitalism the tensions between the ruling classes and states increase inevitably. If the prey gets smaller, the bandits fight harder for their share. Therefore, it is no wonder that the rivalry between the major imperialist powers exacerbates. The U.S. brace themselves against the end of its absolute hegemony as the imperialist leading power which lasted for more than half a century long. China has en-

tered the arena as a self-confident new imperialist power and is expanding its influence. The EU is trying hard to become a unified and powerful force, and Russia are trying to increase its share in this geopolitical power struggle. Ultimately, the rivalry between the great powers threatens to lead to a new world war." (12)

As a result of our analysis we have warned at the beginning of 2018 of the danger of a Global Trade War: *"Given the aggressive protectionism advocated by the Trump Administration there is a realistic possibility that a trade war could start in 2018 between the U.S. and China which would trigger another recession."* (13)

This trade war has now entered a new stage of escalation. And, if negotiations between the U.S. and China in the next three months will not result in a compromise, another, even more dramatic, stage of the Global Trade War might begin. Of course, as we have said in the past, it would be foolish to exclude the possibility of a temporary compromise. But given the gravity of the economic and political antagonistic contradiction a full-blown Global Trade War is inevitable sooner or later.

It seems that this Marxist insight becomes more and more accepted even in bourgeois circles. A growing number of bourgeois economists and big capitalists take note that a long-term trade war is the new normal. Chang Shu, a Bloomberg economist, wrote: *"The U.S.-China trade war is shaping up to be a long confrontation. In our view, piling pressure on China is unlikely to result in concessions. A strategic misstep by the U.S. risks further escalating the tariff war, which would add to the drag on growth -- with larger implications for Asia's supply chains."* (14)

Likewise, the *Asia Times* write: *"What started off as a low-level squabble has become a full-blown trade conflict with no end in sight, except a Cold War-style standoff."* (15)

Britain's *The Guardian* warns: *"Growing US-China strategic*

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today.

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – MARXISM AND THE UNITED FRONT TACTIC TODAY. The book's subtitle is: The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today. On the Application of the Marxist United Front Tactic in Semi-Colonial and Imperialist Countries in the Present Period. It contains eight chapters plus an appendix (172 pages) and includes 9 tables and 5 figures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

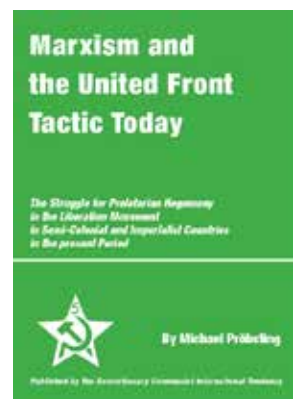
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

The united front tactic is a crucial instrument for revolutionaries under today's circumstances in which the mass organizations of the working class and the oppressed are dominated by social democratic, Stalinist and petty-bourgeois-populist forces.

The purpose of this document is both to summarize the main ideas of the Marxist united front tactic while at the same time explaining its development and modification which have become necessary due to political changes which have transpired in the

working class liberation movement since the tactic's original formulation.

In this book we initially summarize the main characteristics of the united front tactic and elaborate the approach of the Marxist classics to this issue. We then outline important social developments in the working class and the popular masses as well as in their political formations in recent decades. From there we will discuss how the united front tactic should be applied in light of a number of new developments (the rise of petty-bourgeois populist parties, the decline of the classic reformist parties, the role of national minorities and migrants in imperialist countries, etc.). The eight chapters of the book are accompanied by nine tables and five figures.



rivalry is a fact of 21st century life. Yet at present, Trump is relying on Chinese restraint in a wide range of problem areas as he focuses obsessively on his trade vendetta. It cannot be assumed Xi will be content indefinitely to play the role of "adult in the room". His patience could snap. Few people predict a new cold war, just yet. But the warning signs are there for all to see." (16)

An even more important statement has come from China's billionaire Jack Ma, chairman of the Alibaba Group and the Chinese equivalent to Mark Zuckerberg. Showing the possession of a certain historic insight, China's richest man said that the conflict between the U.S. and China "could last 20 years and persist beyond the presidency of Donald Trump, as the world's two strongest economic powers battle for global supremacy." He added: "This thing will last long. If you want a short-term solution, there is no solution." In conclusion, he advised his country "to strengthen its economy to deal with the conflict and shift trade relations from the U.S. to regions like Southeast Asia and Africa." (17)

In summary, even the smarter figures among the bourgeoisie recognize that capitalism is increasingly incapable to reconcile its accelerating contradictions. The Global Trade War is becoming the new normal of present-day capitalism.

The Need for a Socialist and Internationalist Response of the Working Class

As we have pointed out in past documents, most of the so-called "left" are incapable to understand the nature of the Great Power rivalry and, consequently, they fail to raise a program of struggle for consistent anti-imperialism directed against all Great Powers. They often fail to recognize the imperialist nature of China and Russia and, in the case of numerous Stalinist (and other) parties, they even praise imperialist China as a "socialist model". A number of so-called "Marxists" see China and Russia not as "socialist" but nevertheless as a "lesser evil" which they, openly or hidden, support. An example for this is the misnamed "World Socialist Website" which denounced the RCIT's stance as a "right-wing, bourgeois and pro-imperialist orientation". (18) Other left-wing organizations don't go that far but also fail to draw the necessary conclusions. (19)

However, the international working class needs a program of struggle which does not accommodate with this or that imperialist camp. It rather needs a socialist and internationalist response. It needs a program of revolutionary defeatism as it was developed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks and later carried forward by Trotsky's Fourth International. (20) It needs a program which unconditionally supports the struggle of the workers and oppressed people against Great Powers and their local lackeys (as it is e.g. currently taking place in Syria). (21)

Consequently, revolutionaries must oppose the Global Trade War and deploy a set of anti-imperialist tactics. In our recently published joint statement with a number of other revolutionary organizations we named the following slogans and tactics as crucial for a consistent socialist and internationalist response of the international working class:

"In view of a looming global trade war, socialists call the workers and popular organizations around the world to act decisively on the basis of the principles of international working class solidarity. Such principles are valid in times of peace and war, in

case of economic sanctions as well as in case of military aggression.

** No to a global trade war! Oppose Great Power jingoism in West and East! Against militarist saber-rattling! In imperialist states, socialists say: "The Main Enemy is at Home!" In case of sanctions or a trade war between the U.S., China, European Union, Russia, Canada, Japan, or other powers, socialists in all countries involved must oppose such sanctions.*

** Down with imperialist sanctions against semi-colonial countries like North Korea, Iran, Zimbabwe, Venezuela and others! Defend these countries against all forms of imperialist aggression! But no political support for the anti-working class regimes in these states!*

** Down with the imperialist border regime! Open the borders for refugees! Defend Muslim migrants against Islamophobic racism!*

** Neither imperialist globalization nor imperialist protectionism! Against all Great Powers and capitalist corporations in West and East! For international solidarity and joint cross-border struggle in defense of the interests of workers and oppressed!" (22)*

Such a program is now, given the further escalation of the Global Trade War, more relevant than ever!

Footnotes

(1) For an overview of the development of our analysis of the present historic period see e.g. chapter 14(i) in Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>, pp. 372-382 as well as Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice, RCIT Books, Vienna 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/>, pp. 81-84, pp. 101-103

(2) See e.g. our recently published documents: Global Trade War: No to Great Power Jingoism in West and East! Neither Imperialist Globalization nor Imperialist Protectionism! For International Solidarity and Joint Struggle of the Working Class and Oppressed People! Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), Marxist Group 'Class Politics' (Russia), Alkebulan School of Black Studies (Kenya), Pan-African Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria), Courant des Jeunes Penseurs Congolais (Democratic Republic of Congo), and Sınıf Savaşı (Turkey), 4 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-on-the-loom-ing-global-trade-war/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Global Trade War has Begun. What is its Meaning and what should be the Response of Socialists? 13 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-global-trade-war-has-begun/>; Yossi Schwartz: Capitalist Trade and the Looming 3rd World War, 15 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/capitalist-trade-and-loom-ing-3rd-world-war/>; Michael Pröbsting: Where Do Socialists Stand in Face of the Looming Global Trade War? A Showcase of the Practical Consequences of the Assessment of the Class Character of the Chinese State, 17 June 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/where-do-socialists-stand-in-face-of-the-loom-ing-global-trade-war/>; Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, RCIT Books, Vienna 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>

(3) Richard Partington and Dominic Rushe: Trump imposes \$200bn of new import tariffs on China as trade war escalates, 17 Sep 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/sep/17/donald-trump-united-states-threatens-to-impose-200bn-import-tariffs-on-china-in-trade-war>

(4) China hits back at latest US tariffs with measures on \$60bn, 2018-09-18 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/china-hits-latest-tariffs-measures-worth-60bn-180918135819697.html>

(5) For an overview of the escalation of the Global Trade War in the last days see here: Alex Wayne: Trump Threatens 'Retaliation' If China Targets U.S. Farmers, September 18, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-18/trump-threatens-retali>

[ation-if-china-targets-u-s-farmers?srnd=premium-europe](#); China hits back at latest US tariffs with measures on \$60bn, 2018-09-18 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/china-hits-latest-tariffs-measures-worth-60bn-180918135819697.html>; Enda Curran, Andrew Mayeda and Jenny Leonard; China strikes \$60 billion of US goods in widening trade war, Bloomberg Sep 18 2018. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-17/trump-ratchets-up-tariff-pressure-on-china-with-200-billion-hit?srnd=premium-europe> Richard Partington: China hits back at US with \$60bn of new tariffs, 18 Sep 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2018/sep/18/china-us-new-tariffs-donald-trump-trade-war>; Andrew Mayeda, Jenny Leonard, and Enda Curran: China Vows to Retaliate After Trump's \$200 Billion Tariff Hit, September 17, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-17/trump-ratchets-up-tariff-pressure-on-china-with-200-billion-hit?srnd=premium-europe>; US slaps tariffs on \$200bn in China goods as trade war escalates, 2018-09-18 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/slaps-tariffs-200bn-china-goods-trade-war-escalates-180918000824791.html>; Enda Curran, Andrew Mayeda, and Jenny Leonard: China Fires Back at Trump With New Tariffs on \$60 Billion, Bloomberg, September 18, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-18/china-fires-back-at-trump-with-tariffs-on-60-billion-of-goods?srnd=premium-europe>; Richard Partington and Dominic Rushe: Trump imposes \$200bn of new import tariffs on China as trade war escalates, 17 Sep 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/sep/17/donald-trump-united-states-threatens-to-impose-200bn-import-tariffs-on-china-in-trade-war>; Kollateralschäden im Handelskrieg, 19.09.2018 <https://www.german-foreign-policy.com/news/detail/7727/>

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(8) Zhiwei Zhang and Yi Xiong: US economic balances with partners, Deutsche Bank Research, 11 June 2018, p. 1

(9) Sarah McGregor and Katherine Greifeld: China Cuts U.S. Treasury Holdings as Trade War Intensifies, Bloomberg, September 18, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-18/china-cuts-u-s-treasury-holdings-as-trade-war-starts-heating-up>

(10) On the RCIT's analysis of China and Russia as emerging imperialist powers see the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>. Concerning China, we refer readers in particular to Michael Pröbsting: The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences. What are the background and the nature of the tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region? What should be the tactical conclusions for Socialists and Activists of the Liberation Movements? 18 August 2017, Revolutionary Communism No. 71, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-india-rivalry/>; Michael Pröbsting: The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/>; Michael Pröbsting: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>. Concerning Russia, we refer readers in particular to Michael Pröbsting: Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power. On the Understanding and Misunderstanding of Today's Inter-Imperialist Rivalry in the Light of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>; Michael Pröbsting: Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics, 18 March 2014, Special Issue of Revolutionary Communism No. 21 (March 2014), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>.

(11) On the RCIT's analysis of the world economy see For the RCIT's analysis of the capitalist world economy since the Great Recession in 2008/09 see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, see link above;

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, Chapter I, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 59, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/>; RCIT: Advancing Counterrevolution and Acceleration of Class Contradictions Mark the Opening of a New Political Phase. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries (January 2016), Chapter II and III, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 46, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/>; RCIT: Perspectives for the Class Struggle in Light of the Deepening Crisis in the Imperialist World Economy and Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation and Perspectives Ahead (January 2015), in: Revolutionary Communism No. 32, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-january-2015/>; Michael Pröbsting: World economy – heading to a new upswing? in: Fifth International, Volume 3, No. 3, Autumn 2009, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-economy-crisis-2009/>; Michael Pröbsting: Imperialism, Globalization and the Decline of Capitalism (2008), in: Richard Brenner, Michael Pröbsting, Keith Spencer: The Credit Crunch - A Marxist Analysis, London 2008, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-and-globalization/>

(12) The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto, Programme of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, Vienna 2012, p. 61

(13) Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, see link above, p. 40

(14) Andrew Mayeda, Jenny Leonard, and Enda Curran: China Vows to Retaliate After Trump's \$200 Billion Tariff Hit, September 17, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-17/trump-ratchets-up-tariff-pressure-on-china-with-200-billion-hit?srnd=premium-europe>

(15) Gordon Watts: Typhoon Trump signals stormy times ahead in China trade war, Asia Times, September 18, 2018 <http://www.atimes.com/article/typhoon-trump-signals-stormy-days-ahead-as-china-vows-to-retaliate/>

(16) Simon Tisdall: Donald Trump's reliance on Chinese restraint is risky, 18 Sep 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/sep/18/donald-trumps-reliance-on-chinese-restraint-is-risky>

(17) Lulu Yilun Chen: Alibaba's Ma Warns U.S.-China Trade War Could Last 20 Years, September 18, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-18/alibaba-s-jack-ma-warns-u-s-china-trade-war-could-last-20-years?srnd=premium-europe>

(18) See Johannes Stern: Behind the designation of Russia and China as "imperialist": A case study in theoretical charlatany, WWSWS, 14 April 2016, <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2016/04/14/prob-a14.html>. We have published two replies: Michael Pröbsting: The Involuntary Self-Exposure of the WWSWS. A Brief Reply to a Lengthy Attack by David North's WWSWS Attack against the RCIT, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 18.4.2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-wsws-short/>; Johannes Wiener: In Response to the Self-Proclaimed "Leadership" of the World Socialist Movement- A Reply to the Recent Polemic of the ICFI/WWSWS against the RCIT, 30 April 2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-wsws-long/>

(19) For our criticism of the analysis of China and Russia by various socialist organizations, see e.g. the RCIT pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“. The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia – A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>. Furthermore we have elaborated our criticism of various organizations on this issue in the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>

(20) See on this e.g. RCIT: Theses on Revolutionary Defeatism in Imperialist States. Resolution of the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8 September 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-on-revolutionary-defeatism-in-imperialist-states/>

(21) See the numerous articles and statements of the RCIT in support of the heroic Syrian Revolution. They are collected in a special section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>.

(22) Joint Statement: Global Trade War: No to Great Power Jingoism in West and East! See link above

Theses on Revolutionary Defeatism in Imperialist States

Resolution of the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8.9.2018

1. The rapidly accelerating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers (US, EU, China, Russia and Japan), which is experiencing a qualitative aggravation with the onset of the Global Trade War, makes the program of revolutionary defeatism one of the most important issues for all socialists in imperialist states.

2. The emergence of new imperialist powers (China and Russia) and the subsequent acceleration of such rivalry between all Great Powers are key features of the historic period which opened in 2008, as the RCIT has explained many times. In such a period of historic crisis of capitalism, the ruling classes of all imperialist states strive for:

- i) Intensification of the exploitation of the working class;
- ii) Intensification of the oppression and super-exploitation of the migrants in these countries;
- iii) Intensification of the oppression and super-exploitation of the semi-colonial countries;
- iv) Intensification of military interventions and wars of aggression in the semi-colonial world under the hypocritical phrase of "War on Terror" (in particular in the Middle East and in Africa);
- v) Increasing use of sanctions and trade wars against rivals;
- vi) Acceleration of armament and militarist propaganda against rivals (US and Japan vs. China, US and EU vs. Russia, etc.).

3. For these purposes, the ruling classes of the imperialist states (represented by the Administrations of Trump, Putin, Xi, etc) have massively accelerated Great Powers chauvinism and militarism and will inevitable continue to do so. Such jingoism (militarist, aggressive chauvinism) is directed against the rivaling Great Powers and, in particular, against the oppressed nations and minorities (i.e. against people in the semi-colonial countries as well as the migrants and national minorities in the imperialist states).

4. If the working class does not mobilize against the imperialist warmongers and eventually overthrow them, these trade wars and sable-rattling will ultimately result in World War III. While this is not likely in the near future, the RCIT alerts the workers vanguard to fully understand the historic dangers of the Great Power rivalry and to unite as soon as possible on the basis of a revolutionary program of struggle.

5. It is of utmost importance for revolutionaries in imperialist countries to fight unconditionally against such imperialist chauvinism and militarism. The RCIT stands on the classic program of our movement which usually has been summarized by the formula of *Revolutionary Defeatism*. Basically this means nothing else but the application of the Marxist program and the general methods of the class struggle to the terrain of anti-chauvinist and anti-militarist struggle. It is based on the axiom that the working class is by its very nature an *international* class. As such, its interests are in sharpest contrast to those of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Just as the workers of a given

enterprise have no common interests with their boss, so has the working class no common interests with the ruling class of a given capitalist state. Quite the opposite, as the workers want to weaken, defeat and finally expropriate the owners of "their" corporation, so do the workers of a given capitalist country desire to weaken, defeat and finally overthrow the ruling class. (Hence, historically, the category "defeatism" derived from the position of the Bolsheviks to call for the defeat of the ruling class in Russia's imperialist wars.) For these reasons the workers will utilize every conflict in which their class enemy is involved in order to advance their interests and to strengthen their fighting power.

6. In cases of *conflicts between imperialist states*, the RCIT calls workers and popular organizations around the world to act decisively on the basis of the principles of *international working class solidarity*. This means that they *must not support either camp*. They must refuse to side with their own ruling class as well as with that of the opposing imperialist camp: *Down with all imperialist Great Powers – whether the US, EU, Japan, China or Russia!* Socialists totally reject any chauvinist propaganda of the ruling class. Instead of supporting their "own" ruling class, they propagate irreconcilable class struggle (following the famous phrase of Karl Liebknecht in World War I "*The main enemy is at home*"). This strategy implies in the case of war, as formulated by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in 1914, that revolutionaries strive for the "*transformation of the imperialist war into civil war*", i.e. the advance of the proletariats' struggle for power under the conditions of war. In the same spirit, we advocate the *transformation of the Global Trade War into domestic political class struggle against the ruling elite*. Such a program is the only way to *unite the international working class on an internationalist basis and to break any "patriotic" unity of workers with "their" imperialist bourgeoisie* as well as their lackeys inside the workers movement. The program of revolutionary defeatism is not a program which starts to be relevant only once a war breaks out (if one begins fighting for it only by then, it will be too late) but one which has to be implemented from now on.

7. More concretely, the RCIT urges socialists to deploy the following tactics in conflicts between imperialist states:

- i) Socialists resolutely oppose all forms of imperialist chauvinism which is wiping up hatred of one people against the other. Such jingoism is aimed at poisoning the consciousness of the working people. Hence, they must launch a determined campaign against any form of political or ideological support for any Great Power – be it their own imperialist bourgeoisie or a foreign one.
- ii) It is the duty of socialists to oppose all kind of sanctions and measures of trade wars against imperialist rivals.
- iii) Likewise, they have to struggle against all forms of militarism, armament and wars between Great Power rivals.
- iv) Where working class organizations have repre-

sentatives in parliamentary bodies, they are obligated to vote against all such chauvinist measures. However, the crucial area of class struggle is not the parliament but workplaces, neighborhoods, schools, universities and barracks. It is here where socialists have to distribute their propaganda and to agitate for class struggle actions (e.g. demonstrations, strikes up to general strikes, uprisings, etc. – according to conditions and relation of forces).

v) It is of utmost importance for revolutionaries to advocate cross-border joint statements and activities of socialists, trade unions as well as other workers and popular mass organizations of the respective imperialist countries involved in the conflict. Such measures can be a strong signal of concrete internationalist working class solidarity!

8. In cases of *conflicts between the imperialist bourgeoisie and oppressed people*, the RCIT calls workers and popular organizations around the world to act decisively in the spirit of *revolutionary anti-imperialism and working class internationalism*. They must *unconditionally support the oppressed people against the imperialist aggressors* and fight for the defeat of the latter. They must apply the *anti-imperialist united front tactic* – this means siding with the forces representing these oppressed people without giving political support to their respective leaderships (usually petty bourgeois nationalists or Islamists; sometimes even semi-colonial bourgeois states). Socialists in the imperialist countries are obligated to fight merciless against the social-chauvinist supporters of the Great Power privileges as well as against the cowardly centrists who abstain from actively supporting the struggle of the oppressed. Socialists support the *Anti-Imperialist Patriotism* of the oppressed and help them to develop a socialist, internationalist consciousness. *Only on the basis of such a program* will it be possible for socialists to create the conditions for trust and unity of the workers and poor peasants of the oppressed people with the progressive workers in the imperialist countries. Only on such a fundament will it be possible to unite the international working class on an internationalist basis.

9. This means, more concretely, that the RCIT advocates the following tactics:

i) In cases of imperialist non-military aggression against semi-colonial countries (e.g. sanctions against North Korea, Iran, Zimbabwe, Venezuela etc.), socialists must unconditionally oppose it and support measures to undermine, break and, if possible, stop it. While we fight for a world without nuclear weapons, we strongly reject any imperialist aggression against semi-colonial country which possess (or strives to possess) nuclear weapons.

ii) In cases of imperialist wars and occupations of semi-colonial countries (e.g. US in Afghanistan since 2001, in Iraq since 2003, France in Mali since 2013, Russia in Syria since 2015, Israeli settler state occupying Palestine), socialists call for the defeat of the imperialist aggressors and the military victory of the forces representing the oppressed people. The same tactic is required in cases of aggressions by proxy armies for the Great Powers (e.g. AU forces in Somalia, G5 forces in the Sahel countries in West Africa)

iii) Likewise, socialists unconditionally oppose the oppression of national minorities and fully support the right of national self-determination of oppressed people (e.g. the Chechen and other Caucasian people in Russia, the Uyghurs and Tibetans in China, Catalonia in Spain).

This means supporting all their national, democratic and cultural rights, including the right to have an independent state if they wish so. Likewise we support local self-government for ethnic minorities like the Roma, the Native Americans in the U.S., etc.

iv) In the same spirit, socialists defend migrants and refugees against national oppression and racist discrimination. Such defense includes the struggle for full equality for migrants (use of native language, citizen rights, equal wages; full solidarity with Muslim migrants against Islamophobic racism, etc.). We also call for a united front in order to physically defend migrants and refugees against racist attacks (self-defense groups, etc.). It also means to fight against racist immigration control in imperialist states and to defend 'Open Borders' for refugees. Actual examples for such issues are Trump's mass deportations of migrants and his "Muslim Ban", the EU's racist Frontex regime in the Mediterranean Sea and on the Balkans, Russia's discrimination against people from the Caucasus and Central Asia, etc.).

v) The strategic goal is to free the working class of the oppressed people from any dominance by bourgeois or petty-bourgeois forces and to advance its independent organization. Only on the basis of such political and organizational independence will the working class be able to lead the other classes and layers of the oppressed people towards liberation from the yoke of imperialism and capitalism.

vi) To advance the struggle for these goals, socialists have to agitate in workplaces, neighborhoods, the schools, universities and in the trenches. They will support all practical actions which help to advance the struggle of the oppressed to defeat the imperialist aggressors. Such activities embrace all forms of class struggle (e.g. demonstrations, strikes up to general strikes, uprisings, participating in wars, etc. – according to conditions and relation of forces). It also includes practical actions which sabotage the aggressions of the imperialist masters (selected strikes against the imperialist war machinery, collective refusal to do work serving the oppression, helping refugees to overcome the barbaric walls of the imperialist fortresses, etc.). Furthermore, socialists should conduct political agitation among the rank and files soldiers of the imperialist armies in order to undermine the reactionary control of the generals, to advance mass desertion as well as fraternization with the "enemy", etc. We defend the right of oppressed people to get military and other material aid from other states (incl. imperialist states) as long as it does not lead to political subordination to these states. A negative example for this is the petty-bourgeois Kurdish YPG in Syria which became proxies of US imperialism. Workers in such states must support and not block such material aid for the liberation struggle.

vii) There have been rare cases in recent history where the United Nations (or individual states) – under the pressure of progressive mass movements – have formally imposed sanctions on particularly reactionary powers (e.g. sanctions against the South African Apartheid state before 1994). Today many Muslim states have imposed sanctions on the imperialist Israeli state. We critically support such sanctions imposed by semi-colonial countries while pointing out their limitations. In case of imperialist states imposing such sanctions we are aware that these are not the

same as reactionary sanctions of imperialist states against rivals or against insubordinate semi-colonies. However, as Marxists we advocate workers and popular sanctions against such reactionary forces like the Zionist state. This means workers actions to stop trade and military aid for Israel, consumer boycott, etc. Hence we critically support the BDS campaign against Israel despite its limitations.

viii) Likewise, revolutionaries advocate cross-border joint statements and activities of socialists, trade unions as well as other workers and popular mass organizations of the respective imperialist and semi-colonial countries.

10. The two fundamental aspects of *Revolutionary Defeatism* – (i) refusal to side with any camp in conflicts between Great Powers and (ii) active support for the struggle of oppressed people in order to defeat the imperialists – are *inextricably linked with each other*. The tensions between the Great Powers are based, to a large degree, on the desire of each ruling class to expand its sphere of influence in the South at the cost of its rivals. The oppression and super-exploitation of the oppressed people is determined by the Great Powers' drive for global dominance. Opposition against the Great Powers without full support for the liberation struggles of the oppressed people is "*platon-ic anti-imperialism*" at best or "*hidden social-imperialism*" at worst. Support for this or that liberation struggle without steadfast opposition against *all* Great Powers involves the risk of siding with one imperialist camp against the other and, hence, of transforming a liberation force into a proxy for this or that Great Power.

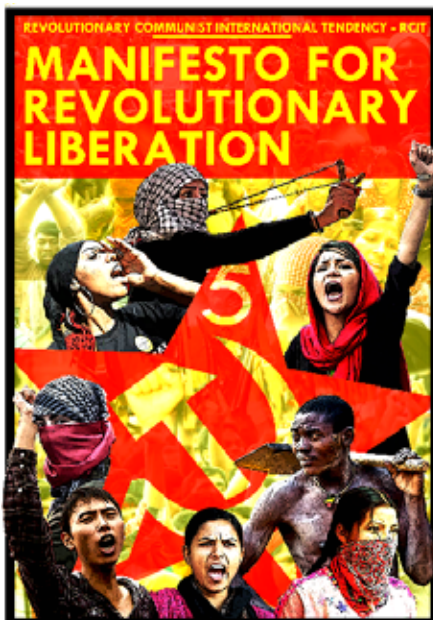
11. The RCIT point out the fact that recent developments of accelerating contradictions between the Great Powers underline once more the basic truth of Marxism that capitalism in general and imperialism in particular is a *world system* and can only exist as such. Hence, the socialist answer to the global misery is not national isolation – an illusionary alternative inevitable resulting in poverty and backwardness given the international nature of the modern productive forces. No, we are neither for imperialist globalization nor for imperialist protectionism – the way forward is international class struggle for the creation of a *socialist world economy* and a *world-wide federation of workers and peasant republics*. Such a program requires a

world party, i.e. an *international* organization and not *national-isolated* groups.

12. From this follows the urgency to bring together the numerous movements against this or that neoliberal attack, against this or that war, etc. on an *international* scale. At the moment, all these movements are nationally isolated. In the best case, there exist regional co-ordinations. But in times of Global Trade Wars, of global tensions between the Great Powers, of imperialist aggressions all over the world – in such times it is decisive to unite the workers and popular movements (including the trade unions) on an international level. The global day of action against the Iraq war on 15 February 2003 with 15-20 million people participating, the world social forum movement, the international trade union federations are examples that international unity is possible. But we need international unity which last longer than one day, which is free of bureaucratic manipulators and libertarian muddle heads. *We need a new world mass movement of the workers, youth and oppressed people!*

13. The RCIT denounces the *petty-bourgeois program of pacifism*. It spreads the illusion that it would be possible to overcome imperialist aggression without violence of the oppressed. History has proven otherwise! Furthermore, the pacifists' focus on simple ending a war by any means so that "peace" prevails is not progressive in any way. As long as such a struggle is not combined with the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie, such a strategy simply means to advocate the creation of the pre-war conditions of imperialist "peace", i.e. the very conditions which inevitable led to the imperialist war. While revolutionaries fight uncompromisingly against the professional pacifist confusers, they have to deal pedagogically with the wish for peace among the ordinary masses. The slogan for peace can play a progressive role if it is integrated into a revolutionary program of anti-militarist struggle.

14. The RCIT draws attention to important social developments in imperialist countries which have taken place in the past decades and which have crucial consequences for the program of revolutionary defeatism. Such developments are, on one hand, the *massive increase of mi-*



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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format

gration and, as a result, *the high share of migrants in the imperialist metropolises*. These migrants (including the second and third generation children) are *systematically oppressed and super-exploited as national minorities* and constitute a *significant part of the working class* in the imperialist countries. These migrants are therefore of *strategic importance for building a revolutionary workers party in general and for the revolutionary defeatist strategy in particular*. In fact, the policy on migrants and refugees is the preparation and a litmus test for every progressive organization which will demonstrate if it will be able to withstand the pressures of an imperialist war. While there are some social climber and Quisling-like “super-patriots” among the migrants, the huge majority of them have a *substantially lower identification with their new imperialist “homeland”* as they usually come from poorer, semi-colonial countries. This is symbolically proven at every football match between an imperialist country and the original mother country of migrants living in the given imperialist state. In such cases the migrants will always enthusiastically side with their original mother country and not with the imperialist host country (e.g. Germany or Austria vs. Turkey; France vs. Algeria, U.S. vs. Mexico). In summary, revolutionaries strive for the *transformation of the chauvinist hatred against migrants and of the hysteria about the so-called “Refugee Crisis” into the creation of international unity of workers and oppressed from different countries*. Such unity can be achieved on the basis of *joint struggles for immediate economic and political demands, for democratic rights of migrants and for international solidarity with the liberations struggles of the workers and oppressed in the South*.

15. Another important development of recent past is that more than ¾, i.e. *the huge majority, of the international working class is located no longer in the old imperialist states* (U.S., Western Europe and Japan) but in the semi-colonial countries as well as China. Hence, the struggle of the workers and oppressed in these countries directly effects the global production of capitalist value on which the living standard in the old imperialist countries depends.

16. On the other hand, the imperialists have today a *thick web of capitalist media* at their service (TV, internet, social media, free papers, etc) which enables them a round-the-clock constant stream of chauvinist manipulation of the working class and oppressed. This is utilized with particular effect for provoking a sentiment in the society of being in permanent danger of “terrorist attacks” and “waves of refugees coming”. Likewise, the bourgeoisie also often utilizes the monopolized media to support the reduction of social and economic rights of workers or to even to support coups d'état in semi-colonial countries such as Brazil in 2016. However, it is also true that the massive spread of the internet (incl. social media) offers workers and oppressed much better opportunities to exchange information and mobilize on a global scale. It is crucial for socialists to encourage the workers vanguard to utilize these media in order to advance the voices of the oppressed.

17. Economic and social developments of the capitalist societies have created a situation where the ruling classes are *more dependent on political support of the working class and the popular masses at the home front*. This has led to the situation that the imperialists are determined to limit the causalities among their armies as much as possible. This is

proven by the fact that the US was forced to withdraw the bulk of its troops from Afghanistan and Iraq despite the fact that their losses were much less than during the Vietnam War or the Korean War 1950-53. Likewise, Israel lost its war against Hezbollah in summer 2006 with only 122 soldiers killed (out of 30,000 soldiers deployed). In short, the decadent, imperialist societies which are robber states can absorb *much less blows* than the oppressed people who fight for a just cause! Revolutionaries in imperialist states can utilize this for aiding the struggle of the oppressed by further undermining the chauvinist “moral” among the people and by advocating internationalist solidarity.

18. The Marxist tradition has always identified the reformist forces as *agents of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement* and the centrists as *opportunistically adapting to these reformists*. Given the massive bourgeoisification of the workers movement in the old imperialist countries, the increasing limitation of the reformist parties to the labor aristocracy and the primarily orientation of most centrist forces to the petty-bourgeois world of reformist and academic circles – all this has resulted in a *further political degeneration* of these forces in general and in relation to their approach to imperialism in particular.

19. The revisionism of many reformists and centrists contains the following characteristics:

i) *Refusal to recognize the Great Power rivalry as a key feature of the present period* and, related to this, *refusal to recognize the imperialist character of China and Russia* (e.g. PSTU/LIT, PTS/FT, UIT, PO/CRFI, FLTI); the *Party of the European Left* de facto openly rejects the whole Marxist conception of imperialism; organizations like the CWI or the IMT occasionally recognize the imperialist character of Russia and China but draw no conclusions from this; most Stalinists and some centrists (e.g. Altamira's PO/CRFI, the so-called Spartacists) even characterize China as a “socialist” or “deformed workers” state. Consequently, many of the reformist and centrist forces opportunistically adapt either to the Western or the Eastern Great Powers (pro-Western resp. pro-Eastern social-imperialism). Examples for this are, among others, the South African CP's pro-China stance; support of Greece's SYRIZA (which is part of *Party of the European Left*) for EU's sanctions against Russia; the support of Zyuganov's KPRF, Lakeev's UCP or Tyulkin's RKRP for imperialist Russia in the Ukraine since 2014; the Japanese CP's support for Tokyo's territorial claims against China; the CWI's adaption to Western imperialism (disguised support for Britain in the Malvinas War 1982, support for Zionism, refusal to defend Iraq or Afghanistan against the US/UK), etc.. We also see the phenomena of reformist and centrist forces preaching pseudo-defeatism which in fact is *inverted social-chauvinism*, i.e. opportunist adaption to Great Powers which are in conflict with their own imperialist bourgeoisie (historical examples for this are the pro-Allied position of German, Austrian and Italian reformists and centrists in 1933-45; the Stalinists' flirt with Nazi-Germany in 1939-41). Today we see various Stalinists and centrists in the US and Western Europe supporting Russian and Chinese imperialism. (As a side-note we draw attention to the fact that such reactionary “defeatism” is also followed by various ultra-reactionary and fascist groups in Western Europe which subscribe to Dugin's *Eurasianism* and lean towards Russian imperialism.)

ii) *Refusal to support the national and democratic liberation struggles of the oppressed people against the imperialist aggressors and their local lackeys in the South.* Various Stalinists and centrists even support unashamed imperialist wars (e.g. the French PCF's backing, as a government party, of the wars against Yugoslavia in 1999 and Afghanistan in 2001 as well as of the military interventions in Mali in 2013 and in Iraq in 2014; another example is the support of the KPRF, UCP, RKRK and other Stalinists for Russia's war in Syria). These Stalinists and various centrists also side with pro-imperialist dictatorships like Assad in Syria or General Sisi in Egypt (e.g. the WWP, PSL, ANSWER in the US; CPB, Counterfire and the "Stop the War Coalition" in Britain; Alan Woods IMT and the Morenoite LIT praised the military coup in Egypt in July 2013 as a "Second Revolution").

iii) *Refusal to consistently support the full equality for migrants and to fight for Open Border for refugees* by nearly all reformists and centrists. Greece's SYRIZA as a governmental party bears full co-responsibility for the EU imperialist assault on refugees (Frontex program, etc.). Various pseudo-socialists support social-chauvinist struggles for the exclusion of migrants from the labor market (e.g. "British Jobs for British Workers" strike in 2009, supported by the trade union bureaucracy, the Stalinist CPB, the centrist CWI and IMT, etc.). Other example of social-chauvinism are the PCF's support for the reactionary *Je suis Charlie* campaign for the Islamophobic *Charlie Hebdo* magazine as well as its vote in the parliament for the declaration of the state of emergency by the Hollande government after the terrorist attack (both in 2015).

20. In summary, the RCIT emphasizes the crucial importance of the program of *Revolutionary Defeatism* in order to meet the challenges of the current historic period. Without such a program it is impossible for any socialist organization to find a correct orientation in a period marked by the rapid acceleration of the rivalry between the Great Powers as well as by the incessant aggression of the imperialists and their lackeys against the working class and the oppressed people. The RCIT calls all liberation fighters to join us in the struggle to build a *Revolutionary World Party* – a party that consistently fights for the global overthrow of imperialism and the foundation of a socialist society without oppression and exploitation. Building such a world party requires, among others, intransigent struggle against all social-imperialists adapting to their own Great Power or any other; it requires also systematic pushing back of all those revisionists who refuse to support the struggles of the oppressed people against the Great Powers and their local regimes in the South. Without a world party it is impossible to fight for a consistent program against imperialism and militarism on an international scale.

21. Naturally, building such a party requires a longer process of building roots among the masses, education of cadres, practical tests, etc. Today the RCIT is a pre-party organization committed to build such a world party. Currently, we are only the nuclei of the future world party. But such a world party will not fall from heaven! It can not be built on a national terrain alone as this will only result in the creation of national-centered organizations with all the inevitable political deformations. No, the process of building a world party can only take place in the

trenches of international class struggle on the basis of an internationalist program. The RCIT calls all revolutionaries around the world to join us in this most important task!
Workers and Oppressed: Fight all Great Powers in East and West!

International Unity of Struggle against all Great Powers – U.S., China, EU, Russia and Japan!

In Conflicts between Great Powers: The Main Enemy is at Home! Transformation of the Global Trade War into Class Struggle against the Ruling Elite! Transformation of the Imperialist War into Revolutionary Civil War!

Support All Liberation Struggles of the Workers and Oppressed against any Great Power and their local Regimes in the South! But No Political Support for the Non-Revolutionary Leaderships of these Struggles!

Transformation of the Chauvinist Hatred against Migrants and of the Hysteria about the so-called "Refugee Crisis" into the Creation of International Unity of Workers and Oppressed from different Countries! Fight together for Immediate Economic and Political Demands, for Democratic Rights of Migrants and for International Solidarity with the Liberations Struggles of the Workers and Oppressed in the South!

Workers and Oppressed of all Countries, Unite!

No Future without Socialism! No Socialism without Revolution! No Revolution without a Revolutionary World Party!

Forward in Building the RCIT! For a new World Party of Socialist Revolution!

We refer readers also to the following documents of the RCIT:
Joint Statement: Global Trade War: No to Great Power Jingoism in West and East! Neither Imperialist Globalization nor Imperialist Protectionism! For International Solidarity and Joint Struggle of the Working Class and Oppressed People! 4 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-on-the-looming-global-trade-war/>

Joint Statement: Warmongering in the Middle East: Down with all Imperialist Great Powers and Capitalist Dictatorships! 13 May 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-warmongering-in-the-middle-east/>

Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>.

