

World Perspectives 2019: Heading Towards a Volcanic Political Eruption

Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries

Adopted by the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) on 2 March 2019, www.thecommunists.net

Introduction

1. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) has elaborated a number of documents about the evolving world situation.¹ This analysis has enabled us to understand the dynamic of the political and economic contradictions, to foresee the fundamental lines of development, and to prepare revolutionaries to respond. It is impossible for revolutionaries to find a correct orientation in an increasingly complex world without a correct Marxist analysis. We have outlined the programmatic perspective which the RCIT proposes to the international revolutionary vanguard. We attach, as an appendix, our latest *Open Letter* with our 6 *POINTS* statement. We propose this as a platform for revolutionary organizations and activists around the world to build a *Revolutionary World Party*. Such a party is the key to the most important challenge in the class struggle – overcoming the crisis of leadership. This is a crisis which has condemned the working class and oppressed to a series of bitter defeats. In the following document we shall give a summary of the latest world developments and our view of prospects.

¹ See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective*, RCIT Books, January 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>; 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/>; RCIT: *World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism*, 18 December 2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/>; RCIT: *World Perspectives 2016: Advancing Counterrevolution and Acceleration of Class Contradictions Mark the Opening of a New Political Phase*, 23 January 2016, <https://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*, 11 January 2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-january-2015/>; RCIT: *Escalation of Inner-Imperialist Rivalry Marks the Opening of a New Phase of World Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation Adopted by the RCIT's International Executive Committee*, April 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* (English-language Journal of the RCIT) No. 22, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-april-2014/>; RCIT: *Aggravation of Contradictions, Deepening of Crisis of Leadership. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation Adopted by the RCIT's International Executive Committee*, 9.9.2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 15, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-september2013/>; RCIT: *The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists. Theses of the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*, March 2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 8, www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013

General Remarks on the World Situation

2. The fundamental political and economic contradictions of the global capitalist order continue to shape the world situation. These fundamental lines of developments are based first and foremost on the general decay of capitalism. Such decay manifests itself in an increasing number of wars, environmental catastrophes, economic stagnation, and migratory waves of people fleeing conditions of life that have turned to hell.

3. A recent study of the British *Institute for Public Policy Research* summarized the dramatic consequences of the atrocities committed by the capitalists against the planet in their reckless pursuit of riches. The authors warn that the world is heading towards “*an environmental breakdown*”. They report that the 20 warmest years (since records began in 1850) have been in the past 22 years, with the past four years the warmest ever recorded. Vertebrate populations have fallen by an average of 60% since the 1970s. More than 75% of the Earth’s land is substantially degraded. Since 2005 the number of floods across the world has increased by 15 times, extreme temperature events by 20 times, and wildfires sevenfold. Extinction rates have increased to between 100-1,000 times the historical ‘background rate’ of extinction. Topsoil is now being lost 10 to 40 times faster than it is being replenished by natural processes, and, since the mid-20th century, 30% of the world’s arable land has become unproductive due to erosion. 95% of the Earth’s land areas could become degraded by 2050. The study concludes: “*By driving unsustainable human activity, social and economic systems are inextricably linked to environmental breakdown and so profound transformations in these systems are needed to bring human activity to within environmentally sustainable limits while providing a high quality of life to all.*”² It is obvious that such dramatic ecological changes have massive consequences for economic and political developments and will substantially increase the danger of wars between states.³ While the authors of the study are correct to point out the need for “*profound transformations*”, we consider their advocacy of green reforms within the capitalist system as illusory. It is not humanity that is responsible for the ecological disaster but the ruling classes of the Great Powers dominating the world. (See Figure 1) Only a social revolution expropriating those responsible for the current destruction of the world’s ecological systems – the global monopoly capitalist class – can ensure an environmentally sustainable future that provides a high quality of life to all and, indeed, the possibility of life itself.

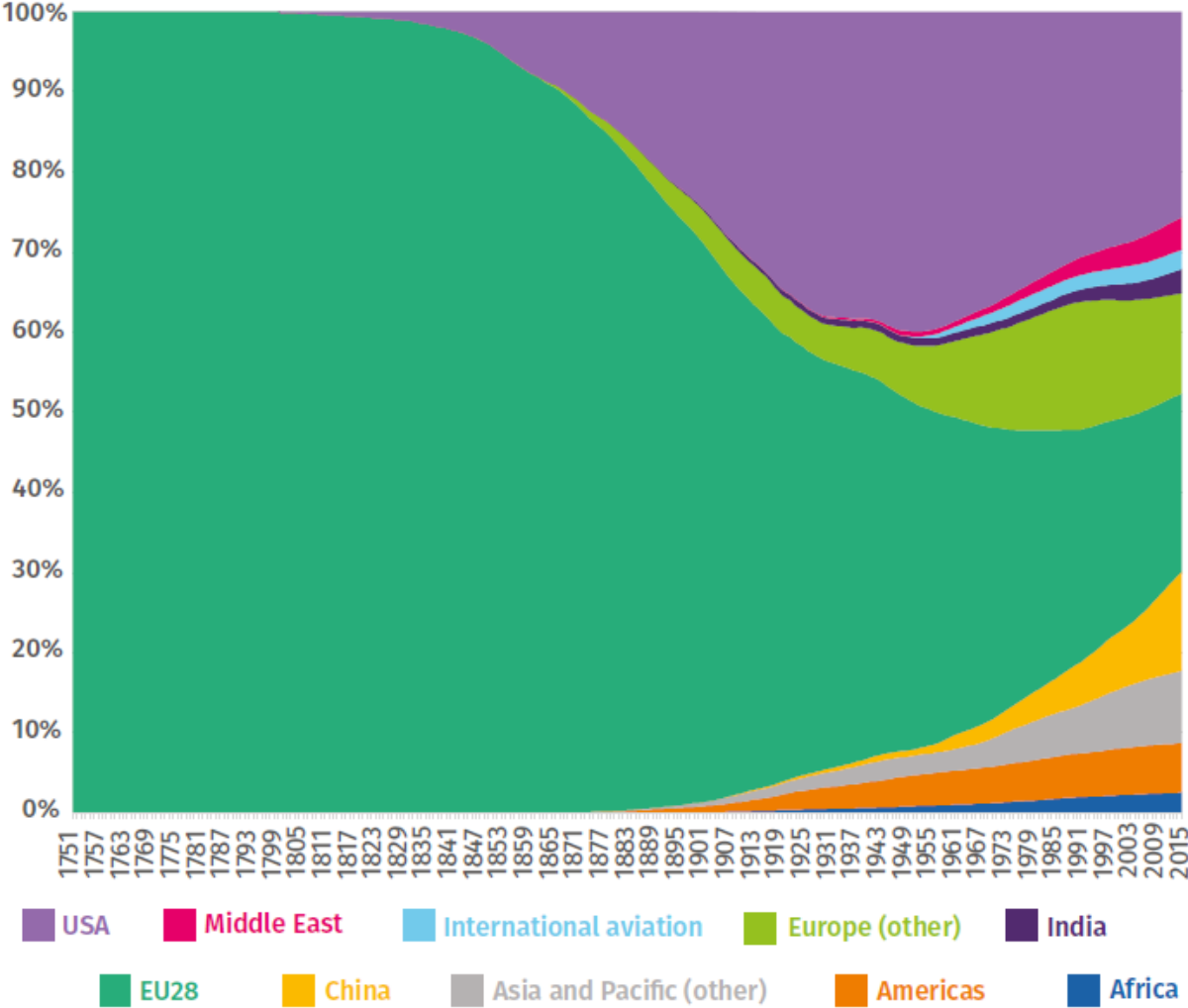
² Laurie Laybourn-Langton, Lesley Rankin and Darren Baxter: This Is a Crisis. Facing Up To The Age Of Environmental Breakdown, Institute for Public Policy Research, February 2019, p. 22

³ See on this e.g. Dahr Jamail: The World Is on the Brink of Widespread Water Wars, Truthout February 11, 2019 <https://truthout.org/articles/the-world-is-on-the-brink-of-widespread-water-wars/>

Figure 1. Wealthy Nations Have Emitted the Most Co2 Emissions since the Industrial Revolution, 1751-2015 ⁴

FIGURE 3.1: WEALTHY NATIONS HAVE EMITTED THE MOST CO₂ EMISSIONS SINCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Cumulative CO₂ emissions by region from 1751 based on production-based territorial emissions and do not account for emissions embedded in trade



Source: Ritchie H and Roser M 2017

4. In our *World Perspectives* documents we have pointed out an acceleration of several lines of contradiction. In particular we stressed that the world capitalist economy has not overcome its fundamental problems but has rather just delayed its explosion (by rising indebtedness, “*Quantitative Easing*”, etc.). Likewise, we have seen a constant acceleration of the tensions between the Great Powers – in particular since the beginning of the Trump Administration. Both these lines of contradiction – the economic crisis as well as the Great Power rivalry – are now experiencing a *transformation from quantity into quality*. It is evident that such an acceleration of contradiction inevitably drives the ruling classes to press ahead with their counter-revolutionary offensive that, in turn, will provoke new

⁴ Laurie Laybourn-Langton, Lesley, Rankin and Darren Baxter: This Is a Crisis. Facing Up To The Age Of Environmental Breakdown, Institute for Public Policy Research, February 2019, p. 31

upsurges of the class struggle. In our book on the *World Perspectives 2018*, we noted: “One could say that we are in a pre-phase of capitalist breakdown, i.e. we are before a phase of catastrophic events like major wars, economic collapse and revolutionary explosions. (...) In summary, the present world situation is characterized by an increasing polarization and instability. It is pregnant with huge possibilities as well as dangers. The multitude of factors and the intertwining of conflicting forces exclude the possibility of a concrete prognosis. But the general tendency of development is absolutely clear: the old world order is breaking down and we are heading towards both devastating regional wars as well as (pre-)revolutionary waves of popular uprisings. This puts an enormous responsibility on the shoulders of all activists fighting against imperialism and capitalist exploitation!”⁵ And indeed, we are exactly in the middle of this process now. A combination of a new Great Recession with the full outbreak of a Global Trade War could trigger the beginning of a new era marked by a Cold War between the imperialist rivals, economic and political crisis resulting in military tensions, wars and a series of (pre-)revolutionary and counterrevolutionary upheavals. The RCIT will mobilize its limited resources to aid revolutionaries around the world arming themselves politically for these developments.

World Economy: The Next Great Recession is About to Begin

5. We have pointed out in our analysis of the capitalist world economy that it is marked by a tendency of decline. It is not necessary to repeat this here. We have also drawn attention to the looming next great recession.⁶ In fact, it seems that this recession is about to begin now. Even the leading economists of the bourgeoisie, who usually prefer to praise the superiority of the free-market system, are forced to admit this. In the 2018 edition of the annual *Economic Report of the President*, the U.S. Administration officially admitted that the current business cycle is marked by the lowest average growth since the end of World War II. (See Table 1). The same declining dynamic can be seen in Figure 2 which shows the capacity utilization of U.S. Industry since 1967. The final cause of this declining dynamic, as Marxists have repeatedly pointed out, is the tendency of the profit rate to fall. This explanation, first elaborated by Karl Marx in *Das Kapital*, has been verified in a number of studies. (See Figure 3, 4 and 5)

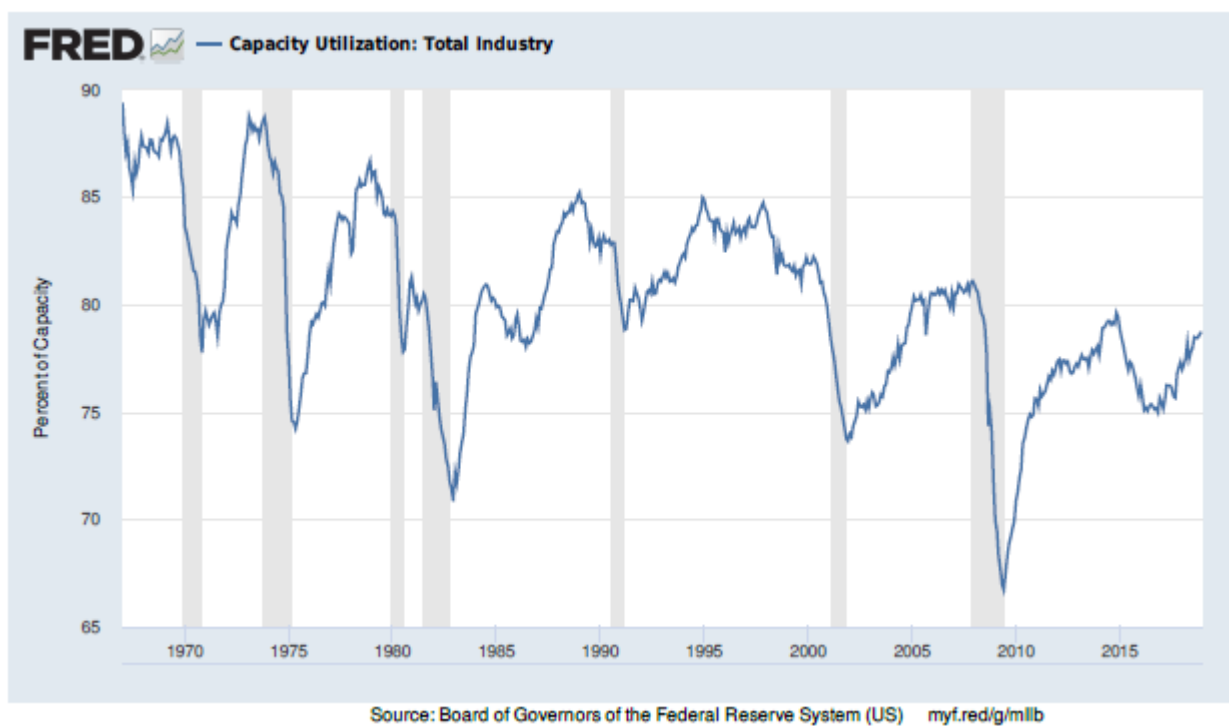
⁵ Michael Pröbsting: *World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings*, Theses 16 and 17.

⁶ Our latest assessment of the state of the capitalist world economy is Michael Pröbsting: *The Next Looming Great Recession. Observations on the Latest Stock Market Slump and the Structural Crisis of the Capitalist World Economy*, 12 October 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-next-looming-great-recession/>

Table 1. Average Annual Real GDP Growth Rates during Business Cycles, USA 1948-2017 ⁷

1948:Q4-1953:Q2	5.5%
1953:Q2-1960:Q2	2.6%
1960:Q3-1969:Q2	4.5%
1969:Q4-1973:Q4	3.7%
1973:Q4-1980:Q1	2.9%
1980:Q1-1990:Q3	3.1%
1990:Q3-2001:Q1	3.3%
2001:Q1-2007:Q4	2.6%
2007:Q4-Present	1.4%

Figure 2. Capacity Utilization, U.S. Total Industry 1967-2018 ⁸



⁷ Economic Report of the President, together with The Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, February 2018, p. 112

⁸ FRB St.Louis: Capacity Utilization, Total Industry 1967-2018, <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/TCU>

Figure 3. World Rate of Profit and Average Rate in Core and Peripheral Countries (1869-2010) ⁹

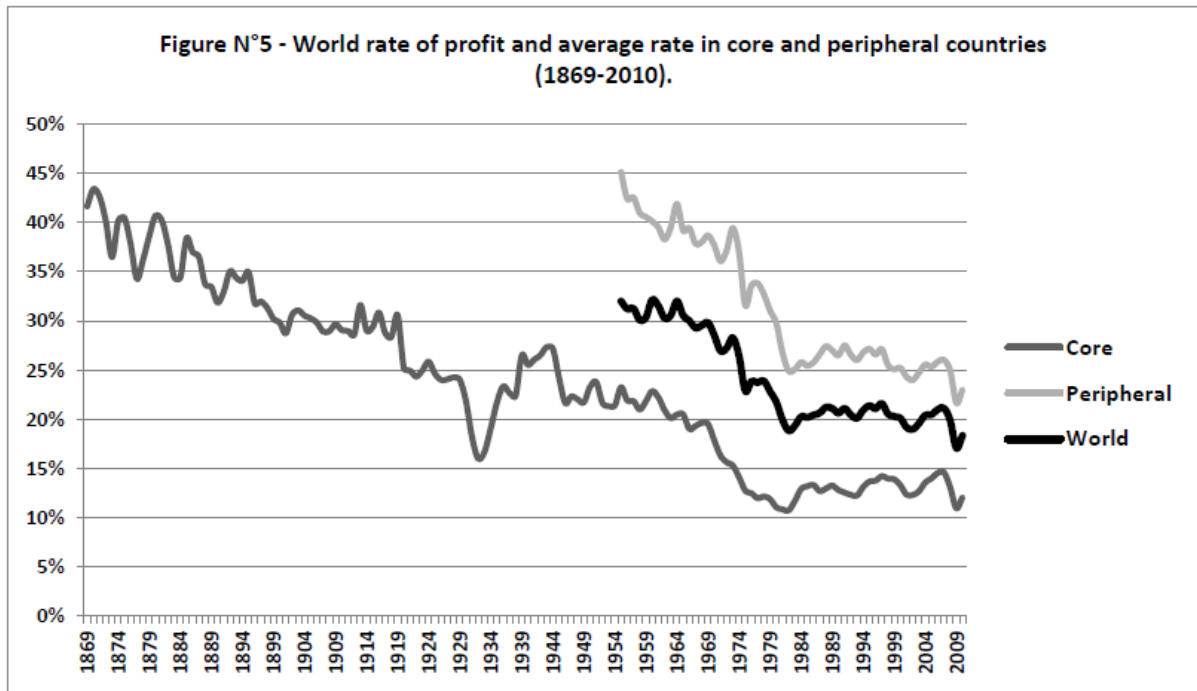
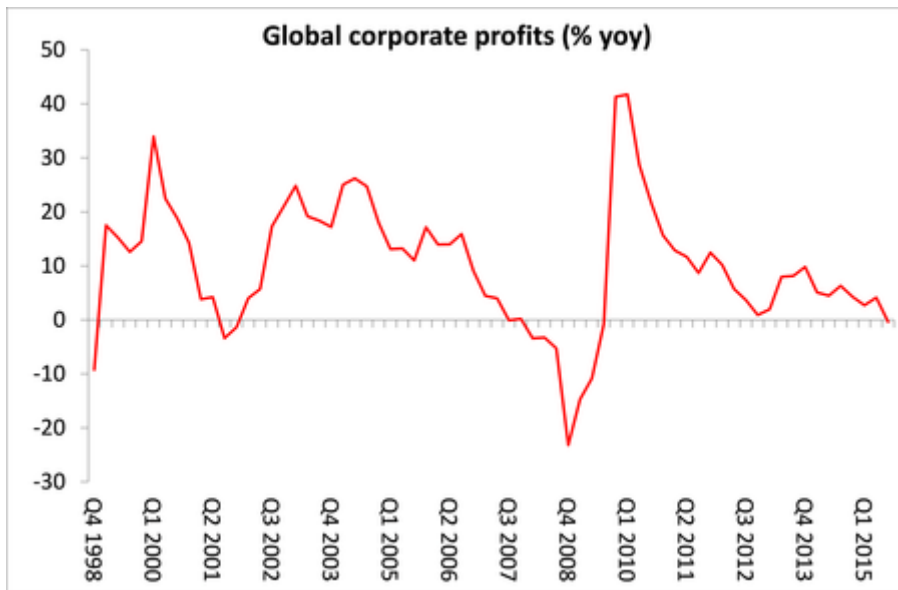


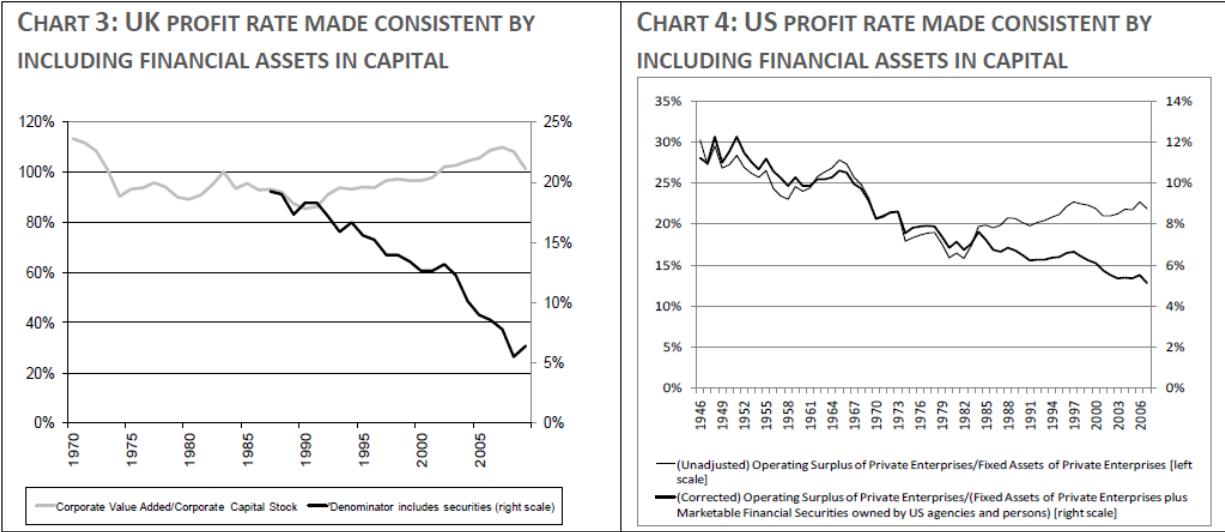
Figure 4. Annual Growth of Global Corporate Profits, 1998-2015 ¹⁰



⁹ Esteban Ezequiel Maito: The historical transience of capital. The downward trend in the rate of profit since XIX century, 2014, p. 13

¹⁰ Michael Roberts: It's greed and fear, 18.09.2018, <https://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2018/09/18/its-greed-and-fear/>

Figure 5. Rate of Profit in UK and US (Uncorrected and Corrected by including Financial Assets) ¹¹



6. The stagnation tendency of the current cycle is about to transform into another Great Recession of similar or even worse magnitude as the last one on 2008/09. The IMF’s January 2019 update of its *World Economic Outlook* cautiously talks, in diplomatic language, about “a weakening global expansion” in which the “risks to global growth tilt to the downside.” ¹² In fact, the world economy is very close to another major recession or it might have already begun. Japan’s economy contracted in the 3rd quarter of 2018 by 2.5% and, according to economists, will contract again by 3% in the final quarter of that year. ¹³

7. China’s economy – the most important driving force of the world economy in the recent past – is also cooling down. According to reports, manufacturing activity has declined and consumer spending has shrunk. ¹⁴ A representative indicator for the fragile state of the country’s economy is the report of the *China Passenger Car Association* that auto sales fell 5.8% in 2018. It was the first annual decline since 1990. ¹⁵ Xiang Songzuo, a professor at Renmin University’s School of Finance and the former chief economist of the Agricultural Bank of China, one of the big four state lenders, recently told a seminar of Chinese business executives that the official growth figures are much overblown. He reported about an internal report of “a research group of an important institution” which “used two

¹¹ Alan Freeman: *The Whole of the Storm: Money, debt and crisis in the current Long Depression*, University of Manitoba, 2016, p. 13, <https://mpr.ub.uni-muenchen.de/84394/>
¹² IMF: *World Economic Outlook Update*, January 2019, *A Weakening Global Expansion*, p. 1
¹³ See Kaori Kaneko: *Japan recession risk rises on U.S.-China trade war, global slowdown: Reuters poll*, January 21, 2019 / <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-economy-poll/japan-recession-risk-rises-on-us-china-trade-war-global-slowdown-reuters-poll-idUSKCN1PF0B0>; William Pesek: *Japan facing major risk of recession this year*, January 23, 2019 <http://www.atimes.com/article/japan-facing-major-risk-of-recession-this-year/>
¹⁴ Gordon Watts: *China’s economy shows more signs of running out of gas*, January 10, 2019 <http://www.atimes.com/article/chinas-economy-shows-more-signs-of-running-out-of-gas/>
¹⁵ Gordon Watts: *China’s cooling economy will increase unemployment pressures*, January 15, 2019 <http://www.atimes.com/article/chinas-cooling-economy-will-increase-unemployment-p pressures/>

measurements. Going by the first estimate, China's GDP growth this year was about 1.67%. And according to the other calculation, the growth rate was negative." ¹⁶

8. Europe is in no better state. Germany faces its worst decline of industrial production since 2009. Its GDP declined by 0.2% in Q3 and had 0% "growth" in Q4. ¹⁷ Britain's industrial production has also contracted for the fourth straight month in December 2018. ¹⁸ And Italy is also already in recession. In the final three months of 2018, the economy shrank by 0.2%, following a 0.1% decline in the third quarter. ¹⁹ Industrial production in the whole Euro Area also declined drastically in November and December 2018 by -3% resp. -4.2% on a year-to-year basis. ²⁰ Russia's gross domestic product is forecasted to grow by 1.3% in 2019. However, Russians' real incomes dropped 0.2% in 2018. At the same time, household consumption increased 2.2% which was only possible due to a massive increase of loans to individuals by 22.4% in the same year, a record jump since 2014. ²¹

9. The U.S. economy seems to be in a better shape. However, this is partly due to one-time effects (e.g. Trump's tax cuts for the super rich) and partly built on sand. Corporate debt has increased massively. What's going on is, less, long term investment and, more, stock buy-back schemes designed to juice up stock prices and generate ever bigger bonus packages for top executives. As a result, over the last 10 years, the value of US corporate bonds outstanding has tripled from about US\$2.5 trillion to US\$7.5 trillion. Of that amount, roughly 45% is rated "BBB" – just one grade above junk. ²² Corporations are pessimistic about business prospects and, as a result, listed companies are shrinking employment. ²³

10. Growing pessimism among the monopoly capitalists has already resulted in a massive slump in the global stock market in the last 12 months. The world stock market capitalisation as measured

¹⁶ Xiang Songzuo: A Great Shift Unseen Over the Last Forty Years, December 28, 2018, https://chinachange.org/2018/12/28/a-great-shift-unseen-over-the-last-forty-years/?utm_source=SupChina+Free+Newsletter&utm_campaign=3e774866f4-20180920+newsletter_COPY_02&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_96063830a5-3e774866f4-165076183

¹⁷ Carolyn Look: See Germany's Industry Shock Raises Specter of Economic Recession, 8. Januar 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-01-08/germany-s-industry-shock-raises-specter-of-economic-recession>; Press release 050 / 2019-02-14: Gross domestic product in the 4th quarter of 2018 at the previous quarter's level, https://www.destatis.de/EN/PressServices/Press/pr/2019/02/PE19_050_811.html;jsessionid=2DA9660940D2D85A1E568DE5B0D14546.InternetLive2

¹⁸ United Kingdom Industry December 2018, <https://www.focus-economics.com/countries/united-kingdom/news/industry/industrial-production-contracts-for-fourth-straight-month-in>

¹⁹ BBC: Italy in recession amid sluggish eurozone, 31 January 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-47068401>

²⁰ Eurostat Press Office: December 2018 compared with November 2018. Industrial production down by 0.9% in euro area, News Release 28/2019 - 13 February 2019, p.4; see also William Horobin and Catherine Bosley: Europe Looks Like the Real Weak Link in the Global Economy, 13. Februar 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-02-13/europe-is-the-real-weak-link-for-global-economy-eyeing-trade-war?srnd=premium-europe>

²¹ Leonid Bershidsky: Russia's Growth Expectations Fall Back to Earth, 13. Februar 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2019-02-13/russian-economy-s-growth-will-be-sharply-lower-for-2019?srnd=premium-europe>

²² Tom Holland: Look to US, not China for the 2019 financial crisis. Here's why, 14 Jan 2019 <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/economics/article/2181593/look-us-not-china-2019-financial-crisis-heres-why>

²³ David P. Goldman: US small business indicators flash warning sign, 2019-02-13 <https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/02/article/us-small-business-indicators-flash-warning-sign/>

by the Bloomberg WCAUWORLD index reached its all-time peak of \$87.79 million on 28 January 2018. However, it bottomed at \$66.02 million on 26 December 2018 – about a 25% drop in 11 months.²⁴

11. As the RCIT has repeatedly pointed out, another Great Recession was only avoided in the past years due to a massive rise of indebtedness. Global debt has grown by over 12% (or \$27 trillion) since 2016. It has reached an accumulated \$244 trillion (318% of GDP) in Q3 2018. $\frac{3}{4}$ of the increase of debt since 2008 was caused by the non-financial corporate sector and governments. Global corporate debt is now at a record high of 92% of GDP.²⁵ Obviously, such a “growth model” has more similarities with a Ponzi scheme, which must collapse sooner rather than later, than it does with any bona fide plan for economic growth and stability.

12. The looming recession goes hand in hand with the tendency in accumulating gold reserves among emerging imperialist powers and semi-colonies. The United States, due to its specific position in the financial sector after WWII, was initially able to impose a gold standard on the global level and, later, it could maintain payments in dollars for its own debt to other states, including imperialists, without depletion of its own gold reserves. Usually, deficit spending in wars was associated with the decline of power or even revolutionary struggle (e.g. Great Britain, Germany, and Russian Empire). However, the USA was able, after defeat in Vietnam in 1975 to maintain dominance in the financial sector. Other powers like France and Japan were pushed to use dollars and failed to challenge USA as imperialist powers. The situation with China and Russia is different. Both states are pushing the world into using domestic currencies and increasing their gold reserves. The economic size of China is at such level that USA cannot simply threaten it without consequences. This is creating a precedent where USA is diminishing its finance hegemony. Moreover, it is combined with aggressive sanctions and threats by Trump administration which is an embarrassment even for traditional U.S. allies, which are determined to reduce their financial dependence on the U.S. and to use their own currencies in trade exchange.

Great Power Rivalry

13. One of the most important features of the historic period, which began in 2008, was the decline of the US as the world’s absolute hegemon. We have seen the rise of China and Russia as imperialist powers and, as a result, the acceleration of Great Power rivalry. Since we have elaborated on this issue in detail in *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* as well as other documents, we will limit ourselves only to the latest developments. We have to point out how difficult it is for pseudo-Trotskyist centrism to comprehend the fact that inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers, East and West, has become a decisive feature of the current, historic period. In contrast, serious imperialist think tanks understand much better what’s going on inside the monopoly bourgeoisie ... and this worries them a lot! Let us provide a few examples.

²⁴ Sabri Öncü: Are We Heading Towards a Synchronised Global Slowdown? Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 54, Issue No. 6, 09 Feb, 2019, <https://www.epw.in/journal/2019/6/h-t-parekh-finance-column/are-we-heading-towards-synchronised.html>

²⁵ Institute of International Finance: Global Debt Monitor. Devil in the details, January 15, 2019

14. The latest edition of the *Munich Security Report* (February 2019) states: *"The post-Cold War period – and the general optimism associated with it – has come to an end. Many of the certainties that most people in the Western world took for granted have been questioned or even undermined. But it is unclear what kind of new order will emerge, whether core principles of the old one can be preserved, whether we will see a world with competing orders, and whether the transition period will be peaceful. What seems clear, in contrast, is that the interregnum will be a phase of prolonged instability and uncertainty. Given the prevailing strategic outlooks in Washington, Beijing, and Moscow, expectations of a new era of great power competition are seeming to turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy. If everyone prepares for a hostile world, its arrival is almost preordained. But it is far from certain what exactly great power competition in the 21st century will look like and where it will be particularly intense and risky."* ²⁶ STRATFOR notes in its 2019 *Annual Forecast*: *"More than a year ago, Stratfor noted that the intensifying competition among the United States, China and Russia would emerge as the defining feature of the international system, creating a conundrum for the middle powers caught in the throes of great power rivalry. It didn't take long for trade wars, cyberattacks, shifting defense strategies and arms races to convince the world that this is the new and uncomfortable global reality. Great power competition is set to only intensify in 2019."* ²⁷ And the *Eurasia Group* writes in its *Top Risks 2019*: *"The geopolitical environment is the most dangerous it's been in decades."* ²⁸

15. Basically, there are several remarkable developments that are currently taking place. First, the official declaration of the U.S. Administration that the United States will no longer play the role as *"a global policeman"*. Trump added: *"We are spread out all over the world. We are in countries most people haven't even heard about. Frankly, it's ridiculous."* ²⁹ This shall result in the withdrawal of all (or nearly all) U.S. troops from Syria (officially there have been around 2,200 troops) and half of the 14,000 troops stationed in Afghanistan.

16. The decline of the U.S. as the world's absolute hegemon is accompanied and accelerated by the deep domestic divisions of its ruling class. A majority of the big bourgeoisie resents the incompetent and erratic Trump Administration that does not follow a clear strategy and alienates nearly all traditional allies of the U.S. Nevertheless, the Trump Administration reflects (in fact personifies) the inevitable decay of the long-time American supremacy that even the most competent Administration could not stop.

17. Anyway, the Trump Administration tries to deal with the decline of the U.S. with an inconsistent mix of aggressiveness and foreign policy conciliation. As already indicated, the U.S. will withdraw a number of troops from Syria and Afghanistan. It is forced to negotiate with the Taliban. Washington is facing defeat by an opponent it overthrew when it first invaded Afghanistan in 2001. ³⁰

²⁶ Munich Security Report 2019. The Great Puzzle: Who Will Pick Up the Pieces? Munich Security Conference, February 2019, p. 16

²⁷ STRATFOR: 2019 Annual Forecast, December 3, 2018, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/2019-annual-forecast-geopolitics-intelligence-global-risk?utm_source=Twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=article

²⁸ Eurasia Group: Top Risks 2019, p. 2

²⁹ See e.g. David Smith: Trump hails foreign policy shift on surprise visit to US troops in Iraq, 27 Dec 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/dec/26/trump-iraq-visit-us-troops-shutdown>; RFE/RL: Trump Declares End To U.S. 'Policeman' Role During Surprise Visits To Troops In Iraq, Germany, December 26, 2018 <https://www.rferl.org/a/trump-surprise-visit-u-s-troops-iraq/29678078.html>

³⁰ See on this e.g. RCIT: Afghanistan: A Successful Strike against the US Occupation, 19.10.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/afghanistan-a-successful-strike-against-the-us-occupation/>; RCIT: Afghanistan: Drive the US Occupants Out! US President Trump escalates the imperialist crusade against the Afghan people! Support the resistance against the occupiers and their stooges! 23.08.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/us-occupants-out-of-afghanistan/>; Defend Afghanistan! Defeat

We are heading towards a repetition of Saigon, 1975. Likewise, the Trump Administration has become conciliatory towards North Korea. This is despite Trump's bombastic threats of only a year ago³¹ and reports that North Korea has continued building nuclear weapons.³²

18. At the same time, Washington is waging an aggressive economic war against Iran and continues to support the ultra-reactionary alliance of Israel and the Saudi Kingdom (plus the United Arab Emirates). This is an alliance that threatens war against Teheran. Similarly, it is instigating a coup in Venezuela and threatens military intervention. Such aggression has a strong, adventurist character as it ruptures relations with traditional allies (e.g. with the European Union, India, and Japan) and provokes massive resistance from its Great Power rivals Russia and China. Furthermore, it is not even clear that the U.S. could manage to invade these countries. At this point, it has not even begun a serious military buildup for such adventures.

19. Another major result of the accelerating Great Power rivalry is the looming outbreak of the Global Trade War against China.³³ As we have pointed out in our documents on this issue, this

Imperialism! October 2001, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/afghan-war-lrci-ft-ks/>; Questions & Answers on the Afghan War, 30.09.2001, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/q-a-afghan-war-2001/>

³¹ See on this RCIT: Has the Trump-Kim Summit Opened the Road to Peace in East Asia? 14.06.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/has-the-trump-kim-summit-opened-the-road-to-peace-in-east-asia/>; RCIT: North Korea: Stop the American Warmongers! Defend North Korea against the Madman of US Imperialism! Down with the imperialist sanctions against North Korea! No political support for the Stalinist Kim Regime! 11 August 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/stop-us-madman-threatening-north-korea/>; RCIT: US Sanctions against Russia, Iran, and North Korea are an Economic Declaration of War, 30 July 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/north-america/us-sanctions-vs-russia-iran-north-korea/>; RCIT: North Korea: Stop the War Mongering of US Imperialism! 4 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/us-aggression-vs-north-korea/>; RCIT: New Imperialist Threats in East Asia: Hands off North Korea! 12.3.2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/defend-northkorea/>; RCIT: No War against North Korea! Call for Protests on the Day when a War starts! 6.4.2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-against-north-korea/>; Michael Pröbsting: US Aggression against North Korea: The CWI's "Socialist" Pacifism, 12.09.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/cwi-and-north-korea/>. On the issue of capitalist restoration in North Korea we refer readers to several essays which we have published recently: Michael Pröbsting: Has Capitalist Restoration in North Korea Crossed the Rubicon or Not? Reply to a Polemic of Władza Rad (Poland), 15 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/has-capitalist-restoration-in-north-korea-crossed-the-rubicon-or-not/>; Michael Pröbsting: In What Sense Can One Speak of Capitalist Restoration in North Korea? Reply to Several Objections Raised by the Polish Comrades of "Władza Rad", 21 June 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/north-korea-and-the-marxist-theory-of-capitalist-restoration/>; Michael Pröbsting: Again on Capitalist Restoration in North Korea, 12 June 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/again-on-capitalist-restoration-in-north-korea/>; 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, Chapter VI. The Korean Peninsula: Imperialist Aggression, Capitalist Restoration and Revolutionary Defensism, pp. 95-105

³² See e.g. David Brunnstrom: North Korea may have made more nuclear bombs, but threat reduced: study, February 12, 2019 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-usa-nuclear-study/north-korea-may-have-made-more-nuclear-bombs-but-threat-reduced-study-idUSKCN1Q10EL>

³³ On the Global Trade War see, in addition to chapter VI in our book *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*, our recently published documents: 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-globaltrade-war/>; Yossi Schwartz: Capitalist Trade and the Looming 3rd World War, 15 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/capitalist-trade-and-looming-3rd-world-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-hasbegun/>; Michael Pröbsting: Where

conflict is about much more than “only” trade imbalances. It is in fact about China’s challenge to the U.S. as a rising power in the field of industrial production and modern technology (e.g. Xi’s project “*Made in China 2025*”). The increasing “security” hysteria instigated by the Trump Administration against the Chinese monopoly Huawei and the call for other countries to exclude it from their national telecommunication systems reflects the aggressive intentions of Washington to stop the rising challenger from the East.³⁴ While it cannot be excluded that Washington and Beijing could delay the outbreak of a total trade war for some time, it is clear that a clash between the two biggest Great Powers is unavoidable. We remark, as a side note, that the Global Trade War is, by far, not limited to the two leading Great Powers but also involves the European Union, Japan, South Korea, Canada, etc.

20. Another front of the emerging Cold War is the initiative of U.S. imperialism to abandon the INF treaty, a key nuclear arms treaty that was signed between Washington and Moscow in 1987. Russia will follow suit and, as a result, this will lead to a renewed global arms race.³⁵ In fact, the U.S. has already started the production of so-called “small” nuclear bombs that do not have the destructive payload of the Trident missiles (100 kilotons of TNT) but “only” five kilotons. This is the equivalent of about one-third of the devastating power of the weapon that the Enola Gay, an American B-29 bomber, dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.³⁶ Smaller payloads have long augured the larger threat of a probable escalation of nuclear conflicts if deployed. The fear has been that their initial use as “tactical” weapons would quickly lead to reciprocal “mutually assured destruction”, also known as MAD.

21. There are a number of other centers of conflict between the Great Powers. The race for control of the South China Sea is accelerating. This sea is not only crucial for China but is also a central route for maritime trade. It carries an estimated one-third of global shipping.³⁷ In addition to the conflicts about control of the numerous islands and reefs in this region (e.g. the Spratly Islands, Paracel Islands, etc.), Taiwan could also become a major issue of rivalry between the Great Powers. Beijing has always insisted that Taiwan – which became part of China under the Qing Dynasty in late 17th century – should be under the control of Beijing. However, since the Chinese Revolution in 1949, Taiwan became the remaining bastion of the counter-revolutionary forces led by Chiang Kai-shek. As a result, it became an outpost for Western imperialism against Beijing. Today, Taiwan’s population is split

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-looming-global-trade-war/>

³⁴ See on this David E. Sanger, Julian E. Barnes, Raymond Zhong and Marc Santora: America Pushes Allies to Fight Huawei in New Arms Race With China, New York Times, Jan. 26, 2019; South China Morning Post: White House executive order that would bar Huawei from US will be released within days, American officials say, 14 February, 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/news/world/united-states-canada/article/2186067/white-house-executive-order-would-bar-huawei-us-will>; Gordon Watts: Huawei controversy hangs over US-China trade talks, January 29, 2019 <http://www.atimes.com/article/huawei-controversy-hangs-over-us-china-trade-talks/>; Lesley Wroughton, Gergely Szakacs: Pompeo warns allies Huawei presence complicates partnership with U.S., February 11, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-pompeo-hungary/pompeo-warns-allies-huawei-presence-complicates-partnership-with-u-s-idUSKCN1Q0007>;

³⁵ See on this e.g. RCIT: Trump threatens to withdraw from INF Treaty: No to a New Imperialist Arms Race! The Acceleration of Rivalry between the Great Powers Increases the Risks of World War III, 25 October 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/trump-threatens-to-withdraw-from-inf-treaty/>

³⁶ See e.g. James Carroll: “Strategic” Atomic Weapons rolled out in Preparation for a Thinkable Nuclear War, 14.02.2019, http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/176526/tomgram%3A_james_carroll%2C_how_many_minutes_to_midnight/

³⁷ How much trade transits the South China Sea? <https://chinapower.csis.org/much-trade-transits-south-china-sea/>

between a preference for reunification or independence. The Xi regime has recently instigated its chauvinist campaign to retake Taiwan. General Li Zuocheng, chief of China's Central Military Commission Joint Staff Department, stressed that "*the Chinese military will do whatever it takes to safeguard national reunification, national sovereignty and territorial integrity*".³⁸ Likewise, Washington hypocritically claims to defend Taiwan's sovereignty.³⁹ In fact, some U.S. strategists already consider making Taiwan a key issue in the conflict with China.⁴⁰ In the period when China was a Stalinist bureaucratic workers state, revolutionaries supported China's claim to reintegrate capitalist Taiwan. However, the situation has changed since the early 1990s when capitalism was restored in China. Today, Taiwan has become a pawn for the Great Powers. In any conflict between the two imperialist Great Powers – U.S. and China – or any of its proxies (like the Taiwanese government as a close ally of Washington), the RCIT will refuse to support either camp. We will advocate a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides.

22. Likewise, there has been a recent acceleration of the tensions between Japan and South Korea. While the trigger is Tokyo's refusal to compensate fully the Korean women who were forced to serve the Japanese occupation army as sex slaves (the so-called "*comfort women*"), the real reasons are the increasing political and economic tensions between these imperialist powers (e.g. about the control of the Dokdo/Takeshima islands).⁴¹

23. Another instance of the accelerating tensions between the Great Powers was the clash between the Russian and Ukrainian navies in the Kerch Strait on 25 November 2018. The Poroshenko government hoped to whip up domestic nationalism as well as the support of its Western allies against Russia. However, neither Washington nor Brussels have been seriously interested in opening another front at this moment.⁴² Russia's increasing military support for the Maduro government in

³⁸ Phil Stewart: U.S. eyes Taiwan risk as China's military capabilities grow, January 15, 2019 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-trump-insight/how-trump-slowed-rush-for-syria-exits-after-huddle-in-iraq-idUSKCN1P92P9>

³⁹ See on this e.g. Yang Sheng: Xi speech shifts Taiwan focus from stability to reunification, Global Times Published: 2019/1/2 <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1134399.shtml>; Bertil Lintner: Why a China invasion of Taiwan would fail. President Xi Jinping's call for 'reunification' of the independent island and communist mainland aims to cement his strongman legacy but would likewise risk a humbling defeat, January 10, 2019 <http://www.atimes.com/article/why-a-china-invasion-of-taiwan-would-fail/>; Charlotte Gao: Is the US Ready to Stand Up for Taiwan Against China? September 10, 2018 <https://thediplomat.com/2018/09/is-the-us-ready-to-stand-up-for-taiwan-against-china/>; South China Morning Post: Chinese President Xi Jinping urges Taiwan to follow Hong Kong model for unification, 02 January, 2019 <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/politics/article/2180391/chinese-president-xi-jinping-urges-taiwan-follow-hong-kong-model>

⁴⁰ Robert E. McCoy: Would Taiwan be better for US interests in Northeast Asia than Korea? 2019-02-11 <https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/02/opinion/would-taiwan-be-better-for-us-interests-in-northeast-asia-than-korea/>; Iskander Rehman: Why Taiwan Matters. A small island of great strategic importance, February 28, 2014 <https://nationalinterest.org/commentary/why-taiwan-matters-9971>

⁴¹ See on this e.g. Todd Crowell: Thinking the unthinkable: A Japan-Korea clash. As tensions between Japan and fellow democracy South Korea ramp up, how nasty could things turn? 2019-02-09 <https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/02/article/thinking-the-unthinkable-a-japan-korea-clash/>; Josh Doyle: Japan-South Korea radar spat shakes stability - when US needs it. Ahead of US-North Korea summit, analysts say latest dispute between neighbours threatens delicate regional dynamics, 30.1.2019 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/01/japan-south-korea-radar-spat-shakes-stability-190130025328509.html>

⁴² See on this e.g. Military Escalation between Russia and Ukraine at the Kerch Strait. Down with the Reactionary Warmongering on Both Sides! Emergency Statement of the RCIT and the Marxist Group "Class Politics" (Russia), 28 November 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/military-escalation-between-russia-and-ukraine-at-the-kerch-strait/>

Venezuela – which is under attack from U.S. imperialism – has created another point of conflict in the festering new Cold War.

24. As we have elaborated in our book on Great Power rivalry, most of the reformist and centrist left have failed to grasp the nature of China and Russia as rising imperialist powers. As a result, these forces (e.g. Stalinists and former Stalinists, PO/CRFI, the Morenoite LIT and UIT, PTS-FT, etc.) have been incapable of advancing a program of intransigent revolutionary defeatism against all Great Powers. It is the responsibility of the RCIT and all authentic revolutionaries to defend and apply a Marxist analysis of modern imperialism and to win the vanguard activists of the working class and the oppressed to such a program. Without such an analysis and such a program it is impossible to find a correct orientation in world politics!

25. The current conflict between India and Pakistan confirms the RCIT's analysis in its document on the World Perspective 2018 that *"the reactionary offensive of the ruling class has provoked a massive acceleration of the tensions between regional powers. (...) We can expect a substantial increase of this type of wars."* As we have explained in this document, this is the result of a major shift in the world political order. *"We are living in a period where there exists no longer a single absolute imperialist hegemony (the U.S.) which acts as a kind of guarantor of the existing world order. Quite the opposite, there are now several imperialist Great Powers which are all rivaling to increase their sphere of influence at the cost of the others. Such circumstances allow the ruling classes of some semi-colonial states a certain, albeit limited, degree of independence and room for maneuver. Furthermore, as we have elaborated in our book 'The Great Robbery of the South', the development of modern capitalism has led to a substantial shift of capitalist value production to countries of the South. These developments have created a number of advanced semi-colonial states which have become, or which desire to become, regional powers. The combination of these factors has created a situation where conflicts up to open wars between non-imperialist states are becoming an increasingly important feature of the present world situation."* As we have stated in our recently published declaration on the India-Pakistan conflict, revolutionaries must not support either side but rather take a revolutionary defeatist position. At the same time, it is crucial to unconditionally support the national liberation struggle of the Kashmir people against the Indian occupation forces and to combine this with the perspective of *an independent socialist Kashmir*. The international workers' and popular organizations must support the liberation struggle of the Kashmiri people. ⁴³

Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class

26. The RCIT has repeatedly pointed out that the ruling classes around the world are waging a reactionary offensive against the social and democratic rights of the working class and oppressed. As we have explained, the bourgeoisie is forced to become more aggressive because of the decay of the capitalist system on which its profits and power rest. An initial turning point for this counter-revolutionary offensive was the military coup of General Sisi in Egypt on 3 July 2013 – a coup that was a major setback for the unfolding Arab Revolution. Tragically, the reactionary essence of this coup was not understood by many of the reformist and centrist left (this coup was even cheered by the

⁴³ RCIT: India-Pakistan: Defeat the War Mongers! Free Kashmir!, 27 February 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/india-pakistan-defeat-the-war-mongers-free-kashmir/>

Stalinists, the Morenoite LIT, Alan Woods' IMT, and, initially, also the Cliffite RS/IST as a "*Second Revolution*"). Another, second, turning point for this counter-revolutionary offensive was Trump's election as U.S. President in November 2016.

27. It would go beyond the scope of this document to deal with all the examples of this counter-revolutionary offensive of the bourgeoisie around the world. They include: Trump's bizarre project to build a wall at the border to Mexico, the Islamophobic and anti-migrant chauvinism in Europe combined with numerous neoliberal attacks, Putin's pension (counter-)reform, the brutal internment of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Muslim Uyghurs in concentration camps by the Chinese state, the arch-reactionary Hindu chauvinism promoted by India's Modi government, the brutal offensive of dictatorial regimes in the Arab world (from Assad and Sisi to Saudi's Crown Prince MBS), the pension reform of the conservative Macri government in Argentina, the ongoing suppression of petty-bourgeois Islamist guerilla movements by African dictators with the aid of imperialist powers (e.g. in Somalia, Chad, Mali) etc. As we have pointed out, the RCIT advocates the united front tactic towards reformist and populist forces in order to jointly fight against such attacks of the ruling class without lending any political support to these forces. In the following remarks we will deal with a few, illustrative flash points.

28. Since the RCIT adopted its *World Perspective* document one year ago, the counter-revolutionary offensive of the bourgeoisie has continued without interruption. This reactionary assault has experienced both successes and setbacks. The most alarming reactionary development in the last 12 months was, without doubt, the electoral victory of the extreme right-wing candidate Bolsonaro in the Brazil elections. This was only possible by throwing the popular reformist ex-President Lula into prison and thereby preventing him from standing as a candidate. The regime of this admirer of military dictatorships (Bolsonaro) with extreme anti-poor, anti-women, anti-LGBT, neoliberal, pro-US and pro-Israel views will wage gigantic attacks on the social and democratic rights of the working class and oppressed of Brazil. It will go down in history as one of the most glaring examples of the bankruptcy of centrism that pseudo-Trotskyist groups like the Morenoite LIT have followed. The LIT advocated a policy of neutrality during the institutional coup carried out by the reactionary Brazilian bourgeoisie against the popular front PT government. This policy equals the criminal "Third Period" idiocy of "social fascism" during Hitler's rise in 1929-33. The RCIT fully affirms the approach taken by its Brazilian section during this period. It advocated mass struggles against the right-wing coup and a united front tactic towards the PT-led parties and unions without lending political support to the popular front government and the reformist leaderships (which had implemented bourgeois policies during its years of reign). The strategic goal was (and remains) to help the working class break with the popular front and wage an independent struggle for socialism under the leadership of a revolutionary party.⁴⁴

29. Currently, the extremely right-wing and pro-US forces are trying to instigate another coup in Venezuela against the Maduro government.⁴⁵ This Bolivarian government has been in power since

⁴⁴ The RCIT has published numerous articles and statements on the recent developments in Brazil. See on this the Latin America section on our website <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/>

⁴⁵ See RCIT: All support to the Venezuelan people against Imperialism and Right-Wing Forces! For an Independent Workers and Popular Government! 26 January 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/support-to-venezuelan-people-against-imperialism-and-right-wing-forces/>

1998 (under the leadership of Chavez until his death in 2013 and by Maduro since then).⁴⁶ It implements a bourgeois state-capitalist policy combined with a left-populist welfare program for the poor – a policy which is doomed to fail as it does not attempt to challenge the root of the misery, capitalist property relations. Its policy always contained anti-imperialist rhetoric but was never anti-imperialist in essence. However, its foreign policy goals clashed with the interests of the U.S. on various occasions (e.g. ALBA, Israel). At the same time, Caracas tried to keep trade relations with the U.S. In the last years, the Maduro government has increasingly become a close ally of Chinese and Russian imperialism and their foreign policy interests. It is a Bonapartist, popular front government that retains significant support among the working class and the poor and their mass organizations (as well as a minority among the capitalists called the “Boliburguesía”). This nature of the Bolivarian government, and the aspirations of the popular masses supporting it, has repeatedly provoked clashes with the traditional bourgeoisie, the right-wing middle class and U.S. imperialism including American allies in the region (e.g. Columbia and currently also Bolsonaro’s Brazilian government). Revolutionaries in Venezuela support independent struggles of the workers and oppressed defending their rights against the Bolivarian government. However, such a policy of independent class struggle remains empty phrase-mongering *if* it is not combined with a policy of intransigent struggle against the right-wing and pro-U.S. opposition and their coup attempts. The criminal Morenoite policy of neutrality between the popular front government of Maduro and the right-wing pro-U.S. opposition led by Guaidó is a repetition of their bankrupt abstention in Brazil. Tragically, there are even examples of close collaboration of pseudo-Trotskyist organizations with the right-wing opposition. (See e.g. the UIT section led by the former workers leader Chirino who ran the trade union FADESS jointly with leaders of the right-wing opposition MUD.⁴⁷) Other sectors of the petty-bourgeois left opportunistically adapted to the Bolivarian popular front (like the Stalinists or the pseudo-Trotskyist IMT). The RCIT’s policy was always based on the model of the tactics of the Bolsheviks during the Russian Revolution in 1917 (united front with Kerenski against the coup of Kornilov while preparing the overthrow of the former). We therefore confirm our program of organizing the working class independently of the Bolivarian popular front in order to prepare a revolutionary struggle for socialist revolution. We likewise take into account that the current coup attempt by Guaidó and the U.S. is a major reactionary danger. Under these conditions revolutionaries have to implement the united front tactic with the Bolivarian forces against the coup-mongers. At the same time, the RCIT denounces the pro-capitalist and pro-China/Russia policy of the Bolivarian government.

⁴⁶ For the RCIT’s analysis of the Bolivarian regime see e.g. RCIT: Presidential elections in Venezuela: There is no alternative for the workers on the ballot paper! Neither Hugo Chavez nor Orlando Chirino should be supported by the workers! For a new workers party on a revolutionary program! Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 3.10.2012, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/elections-in-venezuela/; RCIT: RCIT Venezuela: Action Program for Venezuela. Action Program for Venezuela, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/action-program-for-venezuela/>; ¡UNIDOS CONTRA EL INTERVENCIONISMO IMPERIALISTA EN VENEZUELA! Defender a Venezuela contra las agresiones políticas, económicas y de intervención militar del presidente de EEUU, Trump, 07.09.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/home/espa%C3%B1ol/intervencionismo-imperialista-en-venezuela/>; RCIT Venezuela: The Present Realities in Venezuela, January 25th 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/present-realities-in-venezuela/>

⁴⁷ On the details of this shameful collaboration and the various sources proving this see e.g. RCIT: Presidential elections in Venezuela: There is no alternative for the workers on the ballot paper! Neither Hugo Chavez nor Orlando Chirino should be supported by the workers! For a new workers party on a revolutionary program! 3.10.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/elections-in-venezuela/>

30. However, there have been also a number of events which demonstrate deep divisions inside the ruling class and the unbroken struggle of the popular masses against the counter-revolutionary offensive. The deep popular hatred against the arch-reactionary policy of the Trump Administration (as well as strong opposition from a majority of the ruling class) remains an important element not only for the political situation in the U.S. but also globally. This has become particularly obvious after the barbaric murder of the critical journalist Jamal Khashoggi by the Saudi regime on the 2 October 2018.⁴⁸ This atrocity at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul triggered a major backlash against the dictatorial monarchy in Riyadh – in the Arab world as well as in Europe and the U.S. The outrage about the killing of Khashoggi has become a focus for the wide-spread international rejection of the extremely reactionary foreign policy of Trump, bin Salman and Netanyahu. The repercussions of this backlash are wide-ranging and have resulted, among others, in the stalling of the Saudi war of aggression against the Yemeni people, the failure of the Saudi offensive against Qatar, and the endless delay of Trump's so-called "*Middle East peace plan*". As a result of the growing opposition against bin Salman in the U.S. Congress, the Saudi regime has started to intensify its links with Russia and China. In other words, the counter-revolutionary offensive of the Trump-Saudi-Israeli alliance has suffered a serious setback and undermined their aggression against the Yemeni people as well as against the Palestinian people. At the same time it also weakened the U.S. aggression against Iran to a certain degree. Revolutionaries will continue to unconditionally support all legitimate national liberation struggles without lending any political support to the leaderships of these struggles (e.g. the Palestinian resistance led by Hamas and others against the Zionist apartheid state, Israel; the Yemeni resistance led by the Houthis against the Saudi invasion). The RCIT also supports the struggle of the workers and oppressed in Iran against the Mullah regime while defending the country against any imperialist aggression of the United States and Israel. We denounce those pseudo-socialists who accommodate to Zionism by advocating the so-called "two-state solution" (e.g. the Stalinists and Peter Taffee's CWI). Likewise, we condemn those who refuse to side with the Yemeni resistance against the Saudi aggressors (e.g. PTS-FT and the CWI)

31. The counter-revolutionary offensive of the Assad regime and its Russian and Iranian masters against the heroic Syrian people is also continuing.⁴⁹ They try to strangle the last trenches of the ongoing Syrian Revolution, with the help of the Erdoğan regime, via the treacherous Astana/Sochi process. The Syrian liberation forces remain encircled in the Greater Idlib region in the north of the country. However, the Assadist-Russian-Iranian forces have not dared to invade the liberated areas in Idlib until now. Even more, the enemies of the Syrian Revolution suffered a setback when the anti-Astana/Sochi forces (led by the petty-bourgeois Islamist HTS) defeated the pro-Turkish forces among the rebels (like Zenki and Ahrar al Sham).⁵⁰ Russian imperialism, together with Assad and Teheran, is

⁴⁸ See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: The Barbaric Slaughter of Jamal Khashoggi, 13.10.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-barbaric-slaughter-of-jamal-khashoggi/>; Michael Pröbsting: Kissing the Feet of the Saudi Chainsaw-Crown Prince. On the Shameful Response of the Kurdish YPG on the Killing of the Saudi Journalist Kashoggi, 20.10.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-shameful-response-of-the-kurdish-ypg-on-the-killing-of-the-saudi-journalist-kashoggi/>

⁴⁹ The RCIT has published a number of booklets, statements and articles on the Syrian Revolution which can be read on a special sub-section on this website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>

⁵⁰ See RCIT: Syria: Is the Reactionary Sochi Deal Collapsing? Defend Greater Idlib against All Attacks from Outside! International Solidarity with the ongoing Liberation Struggle of the Syrian People against the Assad Regime and its Imperialist Masters! 9 January 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-is-the-reactionary-sochi-deal-collapsing/>

determined to attack and smash the anti-Astana forces around the HTS. At the same time, the Turkish state is putting massive pressure on the HTS leadership to accept the Astana/Sochi betrayal. The RCIT repeats its warning that the Syrian workers and poor peasants must not trust the leadership of petty-bourgeois Islamist forces who currently stand at the top of the legitimate resistance struggle against the Assad tyranny and its imperialist masters. We will continue to defend the ongoing Syrian Revolution against all enemies and side with those who refuse to capitulate. We call for the organization of the workers and oppressed in independent councils and militias. Likewise, the RCIT calls upon all workers and popular organizations throughout the world to stand in solidarity with the heroic Syrian people and its liberation fighters who have conducted a courageous struggle against the tyrannical Assad regime for the last 8 years!

32. Another important development is the attempt of the SDF/YPG to accommodate with the Assad regime. While the YPG has its historic roots in the legitimate national liberation struggle of the Kurdish minority (which has been oppressed for so long in Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq), it has degenerated in the recent period into foot-soldiers of U.S. imperialism. It is currently acting as mercenaries of the U.S. army as well as oppressors of vast regions with an Arab majority population (e.g. the Deir ez-Zor Governorate). The YPG always refused to support the Syrian Revolution and collaborated repeatedly with the Assad regime. As U.S. imperialism now contemplates its withdrawal from Syria, the YPG leadership is looking to serve another master – Assad and Russian imperialism. While revolutionaries must continue defending the right of national self-determination of the Kurdish people, they cannot lend any support to the SDF/YPG which has always acted as an enemy of the Syrian Revolution and which has become a “*servant of the Dollar*” (and soon of the Ruble too). The RCIT denounces the shameful and uncritical cheering of the YPG by numerous Stalinist and centrist forces around the world.

33. There is the new scramble for Africa between the imperialist powers. China and Russia are increasing their own role on the continent and are providing military and economic assistance for semi-colonial dictatorships like Bashir or al-Sisi. They are trying to use proxies in conflicts for their own benefit (e.g. Haftar in Libya). The old powers like the U.S. are determined to oppose this development and to support its own allies. Such struggles can result in proxy wars or direct wars among imperialist forces. In such situations, the legitimate struggle of African people must be combined with an anti-imperialist fight against all Great Powers and with the strategic goal of permanent revolution.

Upsurge of the Class Struggle

34. The counter-revolutionary offensive has provoked an important upswing of the class struggle internationally. In addition to the conflicts already mentioned (Brazil, Venezuela, Syria, Palestine, Yemen), we draw attention to the following. We are observing a renewed upswing of the revolutionary process in the Middle East culminating in mass demonstrations, strikes and popular unrest in Sudan, Algeria, Tunisia, Iraq, Jordan, Iran and Lebanon.⁵¹ Likewise, there has been an

⁵¹ See on this RCIT statements on Sudan: Bring Down the Regime of Omar al-Bashir! Organize Committees of Action! For a General Strike and Popular Insurrection to bring down the Regime! For a Workers and Poor

uprising in Zimbabwe in February 2019.⁵² There have also been revolts in Nicaragua and Haiti.⁵³ In India we have seen a two day general strike with a historically high number of workers participating. In France, a spontaneous popular mass movement of mostly poor workers (the “Yellow Vests”) emerged in November 2018. Ongoing demonstrations have taken place every Saturday since then.⁵⁴ This movement, directed mainly against unemployment, high taxes and social inequality, has inspired similar developments around the globe (including Lebanon and Taiwan). Another important development has taken place in South Africa where militant trade unions around NUMSA and various left-Stalinist forces have formed the *Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party* – a potentially mass workers party.

35. Finally, it is important to point out the looming defeat of U.S. imperialism in Afghanistan which has faced a popular guerilla struggle since 2001. Despite the reactionary policy of the petty-bourgeois Islamist Taliban, who is leading this resistance, such a defeat would constitute a major blow

Peasants Government! 28 December 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/sudan-bring-down-the-regime-of-omar-al-bashir/>; Iraq: Long Live the Popular Insurrection! Bring Down the Government of Haider al-Abadi! Build Popular Councils! For a Workers and Poor Peasants Government! 17 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/long-live-the-popular-insurrection-in-iraq/>; Jordan: Mass Protest against IMF-imposed Austerity Package. For an indefinite General Strike to Bring Down the Government of Prime Minister Hani Mulki! 04 June 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/mass-protest-against-imf-imposed-austerity-package-in-jordan/>; Tunisia: Solidarity with the Mass Protests!, 10.01.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>; Long Live the Popular Uprising in Iran! For Committees of Action of the Workers and Poor! For Organized Self-Defense against the Police Repression! Down with the Capitalist-Theocratic Regime! Unite the Struggle of the Iranian Masses with the Arab Revolution! 01.01.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/long-live-the-popular-uprising-in-iran/>

⁵² See on this Eddy Ziyera: On the Current Situation in Zimbabwe, 08 February 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/current-situation-in-zimbabwe/>; Zimbabwe: Stop the Repression! Neither ZANU-PF nor MDC – for an independent political alternative of the workers and oppressed! 4 August 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/stop-the-repression-in-zimbabwe/>; The Military Coup in Zimbabwe and the Role of Chinese Imperialism, 29 November 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-military-coup-in-zimbabwe-and-the-role-of-chinese-imperialism/>; The Current Political Crisis in Zimbabwe and the Slogan of the Revolutionary Constituent Assembly, 24 November 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/crisis-in-zimbabwe-and-the-slogan-of-the-revolutionary-constituent-assembly/>; Zimbabwe: The Fall of Mugabe – Victory for the Masses or for the Military-ZANU-PF Alliance? 22.11.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/zimbabwe-after-the-resignation-of-mugabe/>; Zimbabwe: Down with the Military Coup! No to the dynastic Mugabe Regime! For Independent Workers’ and Poor Mobilisations! For Action Committees of the Workers, Poor Peasants and Soldiers to Advance the Struggle against All Factions of the Ruling Elite! 15.11.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/against-mugabe-and-military-coup-in-zimbabwe/>

⁵³ See on this RCIT: Haiti: Popular Uprising overthrows Pro-IMF Government! Build Workers and Popular Councils! Down with the Regime of President Jovenel Moise! For a Workers and Poor Peasants Government! 21 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/popular-uprising-in-haiti/>; Nicaragua: International Solidarity with the Popular Uprising against the Ortega-Murillo Regime! Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), Colectivo Rebelión (México), Grupo Interdisciplinario de Participación Inclusiva (México), 10 August 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/joint-statement-international-solidarity-with-the-popular-uprising-in-nicaragua/>

⁵⁴ See on this RCIT: France: Defend the “Yellow Vests” Movement against State Repression! Build local Action Committees! Push the Trade Unions to Join the Movement! Organize an Indefinite General Strike! 03.12.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/france-defend-the-yellow-vests-movement-against-state-repression/>

for the strongest Great Power.⁵⁵ As is characteristic of the rotten character of Stalinism and centrism, it is either siding with the imperialist puppet regime in Kabul (e.g. the Stalinist OKP allied with the pseudo-Trotskyist PO/CRFI⁵⁶), taking a neutral position (e.g. the CWI) or simply remaining silent on this issue.

36. While all of these struggles have specific national characteristics, they share a common feature: the masses fight heroically against the attacks of the ruling class but they do so encumbered with a confused political consciousness. This goes hand in hand with the lack of independent workers and/or popular councils, militias subordinate to those bodies and, above all, the absence of a revolutionary party.

37. However, these weaknesses must not allow us to stand aside such mass struggles. Indeed, it is a feature of bankrupt reformism, populism and centrism to refuse support for popular mass movements of the working class and oppressed because of their “backward” consciousness. Examples of such shameful treason are the denunciation of the popular uprising in Nicaragua by Stalinists and Bolivarians as a “CIA-led conspiracy”. The same betrayal by most of the left has taken place towards the ongoing Syrian Revolution. Another example is the refusal of the Stalinist leadership of the CGT to support the “Yellow Vests” movement (a shameful act mirrored by the slanderous denunciation of the movement by the small centrist L5I group). No, revolutionaries have the responsibility to intervene in such mass movements by supporting and participating in their struggles. They have to apply the united front tactic, to criticize wrong policies, and to try winning the masses for the creation of action committees, self-defense units, and a socialist program.

38. As we have predicted, the acceleration of the global class contradictions is throwing centrism increasingly into crisis and/or pushing organizations to the right respectively to the left. To name only the latest examples of these contradictory developments we refer to the open pro-Russian/Chinese social-imperialist stand of the PO/CRFI, the recognition of China’s imperialist character by Socialist Action (US), the explosive faction struggle which has erupted in Peter Taffee’s CWI (with Taffee being in a minority for the first time), the crisis in the Cliffite ISO (US) on supporting Bernie Sanders, etc. The RCIT reemphasizes the necessity of revolutionaries to unite on a clear international political platform as we have outlined it in our 6 POINTS. We call revolutionaries in all organizations which are dissatisfied with the confused and disorientated centrist leadership to fight for a correction of the wrong course of their organizations. We propose to get in touch with the RCIT in order to jointly advance a common strategy in building a new Revolutionary World Party.

39. It is impossible to advocate a correct line in the class struggle and to aid the workers vanguard to struggle for a socialist program without the formation of an international revolutionary organization. Only such a Marxist organization can defend and develop a revolutionary program and advance the unification of revolutionaries for the purpose of building a Revolutionary World Party. The deep crisis of leadership demonstrates that such a party is needed immediately for the working class to march forward in its struggle for liberation. In the RCIT’s Open Letter “*Great Tasks Demand*

⁵⁵ See on this RCIT: Afghanistan: A Successful Strike against the US Occupation, 19.10.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/afghanistan-a-successful-strike-against-the-us-occupation/>; RCIT: Afghanistan: Drive the US Occupants Out! US President Trump escalates the imperialist crusade against the Afghan people! Support the resistance against the occupiers and their stooges! 23.08.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/us-occupants-out-of-afghanistan/>; Defend Afghanistan! Defeat Imperialism! October 2001, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/afghan-war-lrci-ft-ks/>

⁵⁶ See on this the relevant quote and sources in our book *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* (p. 293).

Great Initiative!" we have outlined a number of positions that we consider as crucial to advancing the unification of revolutionaries today. (See Appendix). We will continue in our efforts to advance the formation of a powerful international combat organization.

40. In conclusion, all elements of the world situation point to global political and economic earthquakes ahead. Such convulsions will result in a major transformation of the world political situation. The developing Great Recession will destabilize the social fabric in all countries and accelerate the assault of each ruling class against the exploited classes. They will try to rob from the workers and oppressed even more than they have done already in preceding decades. This process will inevitably include increasing attacks on democratic rights and a tendency towards the creation of authoritarian regimes. The Great Powers will intensify their rivalry and so will a number of regional powers. In other words, the war danger will dramatically accelerate. The counter-revolutionary offensive of the ruling class has provoked and will continue to provoke mass struggles and revolutionary upheavals. In short, a phase full of military tensions and saber-rattling, class struggles, counter-revolutionary attacks, and revolutionary explosions lies ahead of us. We are heading towards a volcanic political eruption. This is the environment in which revolutionaries are tested. Only by elaborating a correct Marxist analysis and a corresponding program of struggle will revolutionaries be able to meet these massive challenges. Revolutionaries must strive to combine two tasks: on one hand, they have to support and participate in these struggles; on the other hand, they have to denounce the reformist, populist and centrist forces which are misleading the workers and oppressed. Ultimately, the most important task is to overcome division and confusion among socialists and to advance the formation of a united Revolutionary World Party!

Forward in Building the RCIT!

Forward in building the Revolutionary World Party!

Appendix

Great Tasks Demand Great Initiative!

A call to all revolutionary organizations and activists to fulfill our responsibility in this historic time!

Open Letter from the International Secretariat of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 7 January 2019, www.thecommunists.net

Comrades, Brothers and Sisters!

We are living in historic times. Everyone with open eyes can see that the imperialist world order is in severe turmoil. We are heading towards a political volcano eruption.

The stock markets are in panic, reflecting the capitalists' fear of another, imminent Great Recession which will be even worse this time than in 2008/09.

The tensions between the imperialist Great Powers are rapidly accelerating as indicated by the looming Global Trade War, the tensions in the South China Sea, at the Russian-Ukrainian border, the new imperialist scramble for Africa, etc. President Trump's decision to withdraw substantial numbers of U.S. troops from the Middle East and his admission that the U.S. cannot continue to be "*the policeman of the world*" reflect the official end of the absolute domination of the former super-power. Only a political blind can ignore that the future will be decisively shaped by the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers – the U.S., China, the EU, Russia and Japan.

At the same time we are at the beginning of a *new global wave of liberation struggles of the workers and oppressed*. The current popular uprising in Sudan, the ongoing liberation struggle of the heroic Syrian people against the tyranny of Assad, the mass protests in Tunisia, Lebanon, Jordan and Iran, the steadfast Palestinian people resisting the Zionist oppressor, the powerful "*Yellow Vests*" movement in France which is inspiring similar movements all over the world (as far as Taiwan!), the protesting low-income workers in Hungary, the popular insurrection in Nicaragua, ... all these are powerful signs that we are facing a massive upturn of the international class struggle!

Comrades, Brothers and Sisters! No one should be surprised about these events. This is a complete confirmation of the prognoses which Marxists have repeatedly developed in the past years. We have pointed out since years that the laws of motion of class antagonism in the present historic period must inevitable result in such a development.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) says straightforwardly that each and every one of us bears a great responsibility in such a period! We have seen numerous heroic mass struggles in the past years. Remember the Arab Revolution since 2011 which has given so many martyrs! Remember the mass movements in Latin America struggling for social justice! Remember the South African miners fighting against super-exploitation! Remember the Indian workers and poor peasants launching several general strikes with the biggest number of participants in history! And these are only a few examples!

But all these impressive struggles have suffered major setbacks and terrible defeats! Why? Because the workers and oppressed have lacked an authentic revolutionary leadership! Because they have been disorientated by various bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, reformist and centrist forces! Because the workers and oppressed are misled by parties which talk about “liberation” or even “socialism” but which, in their deeds, are treacherously serving one or another imperialist Great Power or which are looking for a quick road to enter the system of capitalist power!

Comrades, Brothers and Sisters! The time has come to draw conclusions and to act! Great tasks demand great initiative! Do not wait for others, do not hope for “*favorable situations*” in the future! All this is nothing but a “socialist” version of resignation to fate. Such superstition is unworthy of authentic revolutionaries! Each and every one of us is obligated to exercise one's responsibility *now*!

It is *our responsibility* to free the worker and oppressed from such corrupting and bankrupt forces! It is *our responsibility* to provide the masses with a leadership which understands the dynamic of the world situation and which draws the consequential conclusions from this! It is *our responsibility* to organize the best, most dedicated fighters on the basis of a program of struggle and to unite them in a joint international organization! It is *our responsibility* to build a *Revolutionary World Party* which can replace the Stalinist, Bolivarian, reformist and pseudo-Trotskyist bankrupts! This is the only way to help the vanguard of the workers and oppressed to find the correct path of the liberation struggle!

Comrades, Brothers and Sisters! In order to meet the great tasks ahead, we must overcome routine, national-centeredness and complacency! We must join forces now in order to advance building a *Revolutionary World Party* with sections in each country! Such a party should be based on a program of struggle for the period ahead, a program which combines each and every struggle with the strategic goal – for the socialist world revolution!

In the last one and a half years the RCIT has intensified its efforts to expand and deepen its collaboration with other revolutionary forces. Today we have sections, activists and fraternal organizations in 18 countries all over the world. Last year, we have launched joint statements on crucial world events (see e.g. *May Day 2018 Statement*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/may-day-2018-joint-statement/>; *Warmongering in the Middle East*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-warmongering-in-the-middle-east/>; *Global Trade War: No to Great Power Jingoism in West and East!* <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-on-the-looming-global-trade-war/>). Our comrades are spreading the ideas of revolutionary socialism and are actively participating in the class struggles (see e.g. various reports on our activities on a special subpage of the RCIT website, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/activities-on-the-ground/>, as well as on various websites of the RCIT sections).

We are aware that these are still only modest achievements compared with the big tasks ahead. But it is a beginning and it helps us to be better prepared for the tumultuous world situation ahead! It is urgent that we join forces together – by practical collaboration, discussion and clarification of possible differences, etc. – in order to move forward *together* and to *build revolutionary unity on an international level*.

Comrades, Brothers and Sisters! We have no time to lose! The coming months and years will inevitably provoke gigantic battles and political volcano eruptions! It is urgent that revolutionaries around the world achieve a higher level of unity. Below we reissue a slightly actualized version of the

RCIT's *Six Points for a Platform of Revolutionary Unity Today* which we published in February 2018. This is our proposal for a joint program of struggle in the current period. However, we are open to discuss any amendments or alternative platforms. We call all revolutionary organizations and activists around the world to contact us and to jointly elaborate plans for closer international collaboration! If you have proposals and suggestions for joint international campaigns in solidarity with liberation struggles, we welcome you to contact us! Please inform us about YOUR campaigns, YOUR ideas and initiatives for revolutionary unity! We plan to organize an international Skype conference of all those who agree on such joint work.

Comrades, Brothers and Sisters! Great tasks demand great initiative! Let us jointly tackle the great tasks of the year 2019! Let us join forces to march forward!

Unity – Struggle – Victory!

* * * * *

Six Points for a Platform of Revolutionary Unity Today

A Proposal from the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)

We are living in a world of rapidly accelerating contradictions and sudden turns. As capitalism is decaying, the capitalist robbers try to raise their wealth by aggressively attacking the working class and the oppressed, by increasingly destroying the environment and, at the same time, by aggravating their rivalry against each other. The survival of humanity is endangered with the uncontrolled climate change and the accelerating rivalry between the Great Powers which creates the danger of an imperialist World War III. This is why we say that the alternative is "*Socialism or Stone Age!*"

This dramatic situation makes the organized struggle for socialism more necessary than ever. This means that the working class and the oppressed must have a party dedicated to the international struggle for a socialist future!

In our opinion, it is highly urgent that revolutionaries all over the world immediately start collaborating in laying the foundations for a principled unification, so that we drive forward the process of creating a new Revolutionary World Party with stronger forces. The starting point for the creation of such a party has to be agreement on the most important issues of the global class struggle. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) considers the following issues as such programmatic keystones in the present political phase:

1) Recognition of the Accelerating Rivalry between the Imperialist Great Powers – the US, EU, Japan, Russia and China

It is *only* possible to understand the driving dynamic of the present period of capitalist crisis and to take a correct position if one recognizes the imperialist character not only of the US, EU and Japan but

also of the new emerging powers, Russia and China. Only on such a basis is it possible to arrive at the only correct, anti-imperialist program on this issue – *proletarian internationalism* and *revolutionary defeatism*, i.e., the perspective of consistent struggle of the working class independent of and against *all* imperialist powers. This means that revolutionaries refuse to lend support to *any* Great Power in inter-imperialist conflicts under the slogan “*The main enemy is at home!*”

A similar approach is necessary when India enters into a conflict with imperialist China, as India – a non-imperialist regional power – acts under such circumstances as a proxy for US imperialism.

Those who fail to recognize the reactionary and imperialist character of these Great Powers will inevitably fail to take a consistent anti-imperialist, i.e. Marxist, line and will end up, consciously or unconsciously, supporting one or the other imperialist camp as a “lesser evil”.

2) Consistent Struggle against Imperialism and for the Liberation of the Oppressed People

Revolutionaries stand for the *defeat* of imperialist states and their proxies in any conflict with forces representing oppressed people and for the *military victory* of the latter without, at the same time, giving any *political* support to the non-revolutionary leadership of the oppressed (e.g., petty-bourgeois Islamists, nationalists). This is true both in domestic conflicts (e.g., against an oppressed nation like the Chechen people in Russia or the East Turkestanis/Uyghurs in China) as well as in wars abroad (e.g., North Korea, Afghanistan, Syria, Mali, Somalia). Such an approach is not only valid in the countries of the South but also in cases of national oppression and discrimination inside the old imperialist states (e.g. Blacks and Native Americans in the U.S.; Catalonia’s struggle for independence against the imperialist Spanish State.)

Likewise, revolutionaries have to fight for *Open Borders* in the imperialist countries and for *full equality for national minorities and for migrants* (e.g. citizenship rights, language, equal wages).

Furthermore, revolutionaries refuse to lend support to one imperialist camp against another in any given conflict (e.g., Brexit vs. EU; Clinton vs. Trump).

Those who fail to support the popular struggles against oppression, referring to their bad leaderships as an excuse, desert the class struggle as it concretely takes place today and hence leave the camp of the working class and oppressed.

3) Continuing the Revolutionary Struggle in the Middle East and North Africa against Reactionary Dictatorships, Imperialism and Zionism

The mass popular uprisings in Palestine, Tunisia, Iran, Syria, Egypt, Yemen, Sudan and other countries have been the most important and progressive class struggle development so far since the beginning of the new historic period in 2008. True, given the lack of a revolutionary leadership, the masses have suffered a number of terrible defeats – like the coup d’état of General al-Sisi in Egypt in July 2013, or the ongoing slaughter of the Syrian people at the hands of Assad and his foreign backers. However, the revolutionary process is continuing. This is reflected in the ongoing popular resistance in Palestine, Syria, Yemen, Egypt, etc as well as its spreading to new countries like Tunisia, Iran, Sudan and Morocco. The Palestinian and international mass movement provoked by Trump’s

decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital opens a new chapter of the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist powers and against the Zionist Apartheid state and for the creation of a single Palestinian state from the river to the sea (a "*Free, Red Palestine*"). The spontaneous popular uprisings in Tunisia as well as in Iran against the capitalist regime show that the revolutionary wave in the Middle East might be revived and spreads even to non-Arab countries. Authentic revolutionary forces must give unconditional support to these popular struggles against dictatorships and reactionary forces, without giving any political support to their non-revolutionary leaderships (e.g., petty-bourgeois Islamists and nationalists).

Those "socialists" who have failed to support the Arab Revolution since 2011 or who declare it as already finished and defeated, prove to be socialists and democrats only in words but not in deeds.

Revolutionaries oppose any reactionary war between regional power (e.g. Saudi Arabia, UAE, Iran, Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, etc.). They will determine their revolutionary tactics in any given war by analyzing the concrete character of the war and its political background as well as the role of imperialist powers (in particular the U.S., Russia, China) in it.

4) Revolutionary Struggle against Reactionary Attacks on Democratic Rights

Revolutionaries can only serve the interests of the working class and the oppressed if they are able to recognize the class enemy and to mobilize against it. Thus they must consistently fight against all reactionary dictatorships and corrupt and authoritarian pseudo-democracies (e.g. Syria, Togo, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe), against all forms of national and racial oppression (e.g. indigenous people in Latin America, Rohingya in Myanmar, African slaves in Libya), against all coup d'états (e.g. Egypt 2013, Thailand 2014, Brazil 2016) and against all authoritarian attacks (e.g. state of emergency in France since 2015).

All those who fail to recognize and to fight against these reactionary attacks but rather support them or take a neutral position, are traitors of the working class. Between them and us is a line of blood!

5) Application of the United Front Tactic in all Mass Struggles

Revolutionaries oppose *all* forms of sectarianism which refuses participation in mass struggles under the pretext of their non-revolutionary leaderships. Instead they apply the united front tactic in the struggles of the workers and peasants led by reformist or populist forces (e.g., trade unions, mass organizations of the peasants and the urban poor, but also political parties like PT, CUT, MST in Brazil; CGT, CTA, FIT in Argentina; Islamists in Egypt; rebels in Syria; EFF in South Africa; SYRIZA in Greece before 2015, PODEMOS, Basque and Catalan nationalists in the Spanish State). Such an orientation must be combined with a consistent struggle against all forms of popular-frontism and petty-bourgeois populism, and for the breaking of workers and peasants away from these non-revolutionary leaderships and to advance the formation of an independent and revolutionary Workers' Party.

Those who fail to apply the united front tactic in such mass struggles, render their support for these struggles to an abstract statement without any concrete meaning.

6) Start Building a Revolutionary World Party Now!

The struggle for repelling the reactionary offensive of the ruling class and for the liberation of the working class and the oppressed can only succeed if it is combined with the struggle for the socialist revolution. This means nothing less than taking power by the working class and the oppressed and the overthrow and expropriation of the capitalist class so that the road towards socialism will be opened. History teaches us that all struggles of the masses for liberation will ultimately end in failure if they are not led by a revolutionary party. Such a party should organize the most politically conscious and dedicated fighters of the working class and oppressed, it must be free of any bureaucratic degeneration; and it must exist as an international party in order to avoid the dangers of national-centeredness.

Hence we call upon all organizations and activists which honestly strive towards the creation of a new Revolutionary World Party to join forces on the basis of these programmatic keystones. Concretely, the RCIT proposes that revolutionaries constitute a *Joint Contact Committee* in order to politically prepare and organize an *International Conference* which will discuss concrete steps to advance the formation of a Revolutionary World Party. The RCIT is committed to serious discussions and the closest possible collaboration with all forces who share such an outlook.

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The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* has sections and activists in Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Britain, Germany, and Austria. Furthermore, the RCIT has fraternal relations with organizations in Kenya, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Russia and Turkey.