



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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World Perspectives 2019: A Volcanic Political Eruption?

PLUS: Joint Statement on Korea and the imperialist Great Powers
Kashmir: Social-Patriotism Among the Indian Left

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.17, April 2019

- Korea: There Is No Peace Without Overthrowing Imperialism
and the Rule of Capital! p.3
- Kashmir: Social-Patriotism Among the Indian Left
On the opportunistic adaptation of various “Stalinists”, “Trotskyists” and “Maoists”
to the chauvinistic wave in the wake of the latest conflict between India and Pakistan p.4
- World Perspectives 2019: Heading Towards a Volcanic Political Eruption
Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle
and the Tasks of Revolutionaries p.10
- What the RCIT Stands For p.27

Picture on the cover is from a rally in solidarity with the Syrian Revolution (Vienna/Austria, 17 March 2019)

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Korea: There Is No Peace

Without Overthrowing Imperialism and the Rule of Capital!

Peace through the Proletarian Socialist Revolution! Down with South Korean imperialism! Down with Great Powers imperialism including the United States, China and Japan imperialism! Down with the imperialist monopoly bourgeoisie of South Korea, the United States, China and Japan!

Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communists of South Korea and the RCIT, 8 March 2019

1. The recent summit between U.S. President Trump and North Korea's leader Kim Jong-un has demonstrated once more that the Korean Peninsula is a key area of the contradictions of the current world situation. Under these conditions, revolutionaries in Korea and internationally must take a joint and consistent stance against imperialism and for the proletarian class struggle.

2. The *Revolutionary Communists of South Korea* and the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) call socialists to oppose all forms of imperialist aggression against North Korea. We defend North Korea against all sanctions imposed by the United Nations as well as against all military threats by the imperialist Great Powers. In any case of aggression of South Korea, the U.S. or any other Great Power, we will call for the defense of North Korea and for the defeat of its imperialist opponent.

3. We state that socialists have to recognize the fact that South Korea has become an imperialist state. Those who shirk this fact and attempt to mislead the working-class struggle by claiming that South Korea is a subordinate or a semi-colonial country and raising the task of the "National Liberation" (NL), in effect, are standing side by side with the imperialist bourgeoisie of South Korea. It is undoubtedly true that U.S. imperialism continues to exercise its superior political and military status in South Korea, and through the "South Korea-U.S. Alliance", South Korean imperialism is bound up as a junior-partner of U.S. imperialism. (This is essentially no different from the case in Japan.) But this does not alter the fact that South Korea is an imperialist state. In other words, the monopoly capital of South Korea ('chaebol') has gone all over the world and is super-exploiting semi-colonial countries. Likewise, the South Korean state is the executive committee of this imperialist monopoly bourgeoisie and the class domination instrument of the *chaebols*.

4. The *Revolutionary Communists of South Korea* and the RCIT call socialists to fight against the evils of the fake anti-imperialist forces within the labor movement, who, speaking of "anti-imperialism!, anti-Americanism!" do not

oppose the imperialist ruling class of their "own" country. We denounce the social-patriot and social-pacifist forces within the labor movement who, under the catchword of "peace on the Korean peninsula!", induces workers to support the Moon Jae-in government of the capitalists. We say in the tradition of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg: "The main enemy is at home!" There is never peace between labor and capital! There is no peace without overthrowing the rule of capital!

5. While we defend North Korea against imperialist aggression, we lend no political support to its leadership. Quite the opposite, the *Revolutionary Communists of South Korea* and the RCIT call the workers in North Korea to fight against the Stalinist-capitalist dictatorship of Kim Jong-un! The working class vanguard on the Korean Peninsula must fight against all imperialist and Stalinist rulers and for a unified Korean Workers' Republic!

6. The revolutionaries should fight for a perspective of international class struggle against all imperialist Great Powers (U.S., China, Japan, Russia and EU) as well as against smaller imperialist states (like South Korea). It is urgent for the revolutionaries in Korea and around the world to build a revolutionary party! The revolutionaries should jointly fight for the creation of a new Revolutionary World Party!

* End the imperialist sanctions against North Korea now!

* Dissolution of the U.S. military bases in South Korea and withdrawal of 28,500 US soldiers stationed there! No deployment of the THAAD missile defense system in South Korea!

* Defend the right of North Korea to possess nuclear weapons!

* In any military conflict between the US, Japan or South Korea on one side and North Korea on the other: Defeat the imperialist forces and their allies and defend North Korea!

* No to Chinese and Russian imperialism!

* For class struggle against exploitation and oppression in both Koreas! Down with the imperialist ruling class in South Korea! Down with the Stalinist-Capitalist ruling class in North Korea!

* For the revolutionary unification of the Korean peninsula! For a Korean Workers' Republic!

O Comunismo Revolucionário

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Kashmir: Social-Patriotism Among the Indian Left

On the opportunistic adaptation of various “Stalinists”, “Trotskyists” and “Maoists” to the chauvinistic wave in the wake of the latest conflict between India and Pakistan

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 02 March 2019

India's right-wing government of Narendra Modi is currently whipping up a wave of chauvinism. It used a successful attack of a Kashmiri guerilla movement against Indian occupation forces on 14 February that killed 49 soldiers as a pretext to instigate war-fever and Hindu-chauvinism against national minorities in India as well as against its arch-enemy, Pakistan.

On 26 February, the Indian Air Force launched a military attack against Pakistan and bombed a supposed “terrorist camp”. The next day, the Pakistani military shot down two Indian aircraft inside its airspace and captured one pilot. Since then the Indian and Pakistani army have targeted each other's posts and villages along their volatile frontier. This has been the worst escalation of the conflict between the two South Asian neighbors since the 1971 war.

As we have elaborated in our statement, the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) repudiates the war-mongering on both sides.¹ We support neither capitalist India nor capitalist Pakistan.² In the military conflict between the two states, we take a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides. In the tradition of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin we say: “the main enemy is at home!”³

However, at the same time we are not neutral in the ongoing insurgency of the Kashmir people against the Indian occupation. The Kashmiri people were never asked if they wanted to join India. To the contrary, they have always opposed the Indian occupation. Since the beginning of the Kashmiri Intifada in 1989 there have been regular mass demonstrations and general strikes, as well as armed guerilla activities. Currently, Kashmir is the region with the highest proportion of foreign soldiers and police in the world. About 750,000 soldiers and police forces are stationed in a region that has a population of only 8 million! They are brutally suppressing the Kashmiri people who are, in their majority, Muslims. Nearly 100,000 Kashmiri Muslims have been killed by Indian security forces and about 10,000 women have been gang-raped by marauding bands of Indian soldiers in the past three decades.

The RCIT and its predecessor organization have always supported the demand of the Kashmiri people for independence.⁴ We do not lend political support to the petty-bourgeois and Islamist forces currently at the top of this liberation struggle. However, we consider this struggle to be completely legitimate. We unconditionally support the national liberation effort against the Indian occupation and combine this with the perspective of an *independent, socialist Kashmir*, i.e. a free and independent workers and peasant republic of Kashmir that unites all parts of Kashmir (i.e. those currently controlled by India, Pakistan and China).

Unfortunately, there are so-called “Marxist” organizations in India that completely fail to take such an internationalist position. In this article we will deal with three

examples of such opportunists that have succumbed to Indian social-patriotism.

The Pulwama attack: was this “Terrorism”?

It is hardly surprising that the arch-reactionary Modi government denounces the Pulwama attack as “terrorist”. Every oppressor calls an attack by the oppressed “terrorist”. Just look to Israel where the Zionist state denounces every single act of Palestinian resistance as “terrorist”. So does the tyrant Assad and his Russian and Iranian masters when faced with the Syrian liberation fighters. It is the same with U.S. imperialism and its puppet regime in Kabul when they suffer strikes by the Afghan resistance.

Revolutionaries in India and elsewhere strongly denounce such reactionary nonsense. The Pulwama attack was not “terrorist” but an act of legitimate resistance against a foreign occupation force. It was a shaheed operation executed by a young Kashmiri man, Adil Ahmad Dar, who had been a militant of the petty-bourgeois, Islamist guerilla movement, *Jaish-e-Mohammad*. This operation was solely directed against enemy soldiers.

Shamefully, some Indian pseudo-Marxist organizations joined the patriotic consensus and denounced the Pulwama attack as “terrorist”. The biggest “Marxist” party – the *Communist Party of India (Marxist)* – issued a statement on the Pulwama attack the same day it took place. The party's leadership stated: “The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the terrorist attack mounted on a CRPF convoy in Pulwama in Jammu & Kashmir. (...) The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families of the personnel who laid down their lives in the line of duty.”⁵

It is not particularly surprising to hear such social-patriotic statements from a Stalinist party that is well integrated into the capitalist state. The CPI(M) currently has nine seats in the *Lok Sabha* – India's federal parliament – as well as many seats at the states level. It ruled West-Bengal, the fourth most populous state in the country, for 34 consecutive years (1977-2011). During this period the party not only suppressed peasant rebellions but increasingly collaborated with imperialist monopolies. It dispossessed peasants whose land was then handed over to multi-national corporations, while unleashing the police and its own party thugs against those who fought back. Unsurprisingly, this provoked massive protests and the CPI(M) lost power in the elections of 2011. The CPI(M) is affiliated with the so-called *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties* (IMCWP), a loose Stalinist alliance that was initiated by the *Communist Party of Greece* (KKE) in 1998.⁶

However, it would be wrong to assume that only such major reformist parties like the CPI(M) have adapted to the wave of chauvinism. The *Communist Party of India*

(Marxist-Leninist) (Liberation) has a Maoist background and holds a few seats in states parliaments. It also strongly denounced the Pulwama attack (“a horrific attack on the CRPF convoy”⁷; “There is no question of justifying the Pulwama attack.”⁸). Like the bourgeois India media it calls Jaish-e-Mohammad a “terrorist” organization.⁹

Another example is “Radical Socialist” – a small group that claims to “stand proudly in the tradition of revolutionary Marxism as developed and exemplified by Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky.”¹⁰ It is affiliated – as a “Permanent Observer”¹¹ – with the so-called “Fourth International” which follows in the tradition of Michel Pablo and Ernest Mandel.¹² This organization has also joined the chorus of the chauvinists denouncing the Pulwama attack as “terrorist”.

In its statement following the attack, *Radical Socialist* justified its denunciation by elaborating a peculiar definition of “terrorism”: “Terrorism is not a reference to any category of persons but refers to a particular method, technique or tactic that involves the killing or injuring of innocent civilians or, outside of a battle or war zone, of even soldiers who by virtue of the distinctive nature of the attack are rendered completely defenceless. Precisely because terrorism is an act of this kind it can be and is carried out by the individual, a group, or larger collectivities like the apparatuses of the state. The car bomb attack that has killed 40 CRPF soldiers is just such an act and deserves the strongest condemnation. As in all cases of terrorism our sympathies and condolences are with the loved ones, families, relatives and friends of the victims.”¹³

No doubt, this is a particularly stupid definition of “terrorism” which could have just as easily come from that “stable genius”, Donald Trump! According to this definition, the Zionist state would be correct to call the Palestinian resistance fighters “terrorist” when one of their snipers kills an Israeli soldier. According to this definition, the British colonial administration in India would have been correct to denounce Indian freedom fighters as “terrorist” when laying an ambush for His Majesty’s soldiers. And, according to this definition, the Japanese would have been correct to denounce Chinese guerrillas in such words and, as well, the Nazis when they assailed the partisans of Eastern Europe and the Balkans during WWII. Marxists have never subscribed to such an idiotic definition of “terrorism”!

For Marxists, the key question is whether or not a given people are oppressed by another state. If such a national oppression takes place and if the oppressed rise up against the enemy state, acts of resistance – armed or unarmed – are legitimate. Tactical effectiveness, however, when considered from the standpoint of advancing the liberation struggle, is another matter entirely. The RCIT is opposed to the petty-bourgeois strategy of guerrillaism. We advocate methods that create the possibility of transforming the mass struggle into an armed uprising of the workers and oppressed. However, our opposition to the tactics of guerrillaism do not lead us to slander such guerrilla attacks as “terrorist”!

There can be no doubt that the Kashmiri people are oppressed by the Indian state. As a result, there has been an ongoing popular insurgency since 1989. Given the crisis of leadership many youth support petty-bourgeois nationalist and Islamist organizations like *Jaish-e-Mohammad* – the organization claiming responsibility for the Pulwama attack. But our rejection of the policies and ideology of such organizations does not lead us to deny the legitimacy of the liberation struggle in which such forces play a leading role.

It is also true that *Jaish-e-Mohammad* (or similar organizations) most likely have relations with sectors of the Pakistani security apparatus. But this does not alter the fact that these organizations have broad support among the Kashmiri people. They are not an artificial creation of the Pakistani state but a product of the resistance struggle against Indian occupation. It is often the case that a given petty-bourgeois guerrilla movement has links with a foreign state that is hostile to the domestic enemy. U.S. and British imperialism supported the Chinese liberation fighters against Japan as well as the partisans in Europe battling the Nazis during World War II. Did this eliminate the fact that these guerrilla forces had a legitimate and popular character? Definitely not!¹⁴

**“Unite against terrorism” –
Modi’s slogan taken up by the Left**

It is hardly surprising that the Hindu-chauvinist Modi government tries to mobilize a “national consensus” against both “terrorism” and Pakistan. Every reactionary

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By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

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government today uses the “threat of terrorism” in order to whip up bourgeois patriotism. Every U.S. government has done so since 9/11; the Putin regime has issued a sustained appeal to the Russian public to close ranks against Chechen “terrorists”; the Chinese follow suit against the Uygur Muslim minority; the Israeli government conducts an ongoing campaign against the Palestinians, and President Duterte of the Philippines continuously assails the Maoist rebels, etc.

Authentic revolutionaries in India can have nothing in common with such reactionary patriotism. Unfortunately, however, certain so-called “Marxist” groups have capitulated to the wave of social-patriotism. The “*Radical Socialist*”, which is neither particularly radical nor socialist, expresses its “*sympathies and condolences*” with the families of the soldiers (but, characteristically, not with the family of Adil Ahmad Dar!): “*The car bomb attack that has killed 40 CRPF soldiers is just such an act and deserves the strongest condemnation. As in all cases of terrorism our sympathies and condolences are with the loved ones, families, relatives and friends of the victims.*”¹⁵

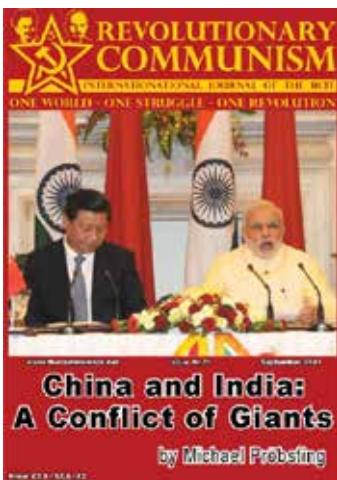
The CPIML (Liberation) is even worse. It fully joins the patriotic wave of “standing with our soldiers”. It not only sends party teams to the families of the soldiers but even organizes “*candle marches ... to pay tributes to the soldiers!*” It reports, in an article under the subtitle “*CPIML Mourns Soldiers, Fights Hate*”: “*The CPIML organised several condolence meetings for Pulwama soldiers in different parts of the country. Candle marches were taken out in different states to*

pay tributes to the soldiers and a minute’s silence was observed in several party meetings and programmes. Party leaders in West Bengal and Bihar visited the bereaved families of the soldiers from the state. Condolence meetings were also organised in several places.”¹⁶

Authentic revolutionaries in India do not join such a pathetic “uniting the nation behind its army” charade! True, the individual soldier is not the real enemy – these are the generals and the ruling class. But it is ridiculous to present an army as acting as an occupation force in Kashmir as “victims”. Revolutionaries have to say that the best and most effective way to save the lives of soldiers is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Indian army from occupied Kashmir!

Calling for the unconditional withdrawal of Indian occupation troops?

But it is impossible to find such words in the copious statements of these parties published in the past weeks! Despite the obvious, oppressive character of the Indian occupation of Kashmir (a fact which even these revisionists cannot deny), these parties don’t manage to mutter more than a few liberal and pacifist phrases that: “hatred is bad” and “human rights should be respected”. But they do not even consider demanding in their statements the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Indian troops from occupied Kashmir. They refrain from calling for the national self-determination of the Kashmiri people and, in-



PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

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cluded with that, the right to separate from India!

In contrast, the RCIT defends the Marxist position on the national question. Friedrich Engels expressed the ever-green sentiment: *"A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations."*¹⁷

Indian workers and oppressed cannot be free as long as Kashmir (as well as other national minorities) remains occupied by the Indian state.

Lenin made it clear that revolutionaries have to understand the crucial difference between oppressed and oppressor people. In his speech on the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 he stated: *"First, what is the cardinal idea underlying our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasize this distinction."*¹⁸

From this it follows that authentic Marxists – in contrast to the pseudo-Marxists – must actively champion the national liberation struggle of the oppressed people.

*"Socialists cannot achieve their great aim without fighting against all oppression of nations. They must, therefore, unequivocally demand that the Social-Democratic parties of the oppressor countries (especially of the so-called "Great" Powers) should recognize and champion the oppressed nation's right to self-determination, in the specifically political sense of the term, i.e., the right to political secession. The socialist of a ruling or a colonial nation who does not stand for that right is a chauvinist."*¹⁹

*"The proletariat must struggle against the enforced retention of oppressed nations within the bounds of the given state, which means that they must fight for the right to self-determination. The proletariat must demand freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by "their own" nation."*²⁰

But, as a matter of fact, the organizations mentioned above do not utter such words in the present situation. They have succumbed, instead, to the chauvinist wave instigated by the Modi government.

Supporting national self-determination for Kashmir?

The *"Radical Socialist"* seems – but only seems – to approximate such a demand. They write: *"The solution of Kashmir lies with the people of Kashmir, not with India and Pakistan. The people of Kashmir on both sides must be the one who decided the fate of Kashmir. A consultative process from both sides must start now. The armies of both countries from both parts of Kashmir must be withdrawn. A civilian solution to a civilian issue must be ensured by the civilians and not by any army means or through a bunch of terrorists, state sponsored or otherwise. (...) There is no military solution of Kashmir."*²¹

This somewhat more sophisticated statement of the Mandelites blatantly avoids taking a consistent revolutionary position. First off, this statement repeats the bourgeois-pacifist nonsense that *"military force is no solution."* What a mockery of history! Would it have been possible to get rid of Nazi fascism without violence?! Would the Vietnamese or the Korean peoples have been able to defeat U.S. imperialism without violence?! Would the Bangladeshi people have succeeded in winning freedom from Pakistan without violence?! One could name many more examples! Repeating such pacifist idiocy is nothing but an adaptation to the liberal petty-bourgeoisie!

"Radical Socialist" also demands that *"the armies of both*

countries from both parts of Kashmir must be withdrawn." What does this mean concretely? It suggests that these Indian *"Trotskyists"* would only actively demand a withdrawal of the Indian army if *simultaneously* the Pakistani army does likewise. Since this is excluded for the foreseeable future, the *"Radical Socialist"* will not aggressively push for the withdrawal of the Indian army.²²

And what is the meaning of the liberal pacifist gibberish about *"a civilian solution"*?! This is nothing but a denunciation of the armed resistance of the Kashmiri people and a reactionary equation of the Indian occupation army and Kashmiri *"terrorists"* (i.e. freedom fighters). This is the language of liberal academics and not of revolutionaries fighting for the cause of the working class and the oppressed people!

Calling upon the ruling classes of India and Pakistan to ensure peace?

Finally, it is absurd to see *"Marxist"* parties appealing to the ruling classes of India and Pakistan to *"ensure lasting peace"* and *"step up diplomatic efforts to prevent terrorism"*. Such wrote the CPI(ML)(Liberation): *"A war between two nuclear-armed countries like India and Pakistan, however limited or short-lived, portends grave danger to the people of India, Pakistan, and the whole of South Asia. We, the people of India, do not want another Pulwama. Neither do we want another war between India and Pakistan. We therefore call upon the governments of India and Pakistan to exercise restraint, stop the situation from escalating and step up diplomatic efforts to prevent terrorism and war and ensure lasting peace across the India-Pakistan border. We appeal to the peace-loving people of both countries to reject the competitive jingoistic clamour in their respective media and strengthen the prospects of peace."*²³

The ruling classes of both states have proven in the past decades (including three major wars) that they are neither willing nor able to *"ensure lasting peace"*. How can they *"prevent terrorism"* if they are themselves terrorist?! Just take the Indian state which has slaughtered an estimated 100,000 people in Kashmir since 1989! THIS is the real bona fide state *"terrorism"* operating in the region and cannot be morally equated to guerrilla operations against a brutal, sustained occupation!

The Mandelite *"Radical Socialist"* calls the reactionary Pakistani state to suppress organizations which are supportive of the Kashmiri guerrilla struggle: *"Yes, the Pakistan government must in any case be pressured to take action against the JeM given its past history. (...) We welcome the ban on Jama'at Dawat-e-Islami and Anjuman Falahi Insaniyat by the state of Pakistan. The state must break all open or hidden contacts with religious fundamentalist groups."*²⁴

Such appeals to the Pakistani state (which is traditionally dominated by the army) to suppress these organizations reveal a thoroughly reformist logic. As Marxists we have no political sympathy for these Islamist organizations. But to encourage the authoritarian Pakistani state to increase repression against organizations that might be giving material aid to the legitimate liberation struggle in Kashmir is shameful! It is an adaptation to the pressure of chauvinist public opinion in India!

It is urgent that authentic revolutionaries in India fight against such revisionist capitulation to Hindu chauvinism. Revolutionaries must support the liberation struggle of

oppressed nations – particularly if they are oppressed by their “own” ruling class!

We also call upon revolutionaries in the Mandelbrite “Fourth International” to publicly denounce such capitulators like “*Radical Socialist*”. It is a shame that their positions are publicly advertised on the official website of this “Fourth International”! An international organization that has such social patriots in its own ranks cannot legitimately claim adherence to Marxism and Trotskyism!

A revolutionary party – in India as well as internationally – can only be built in continuous struggle against all forms of revisionism and social patriotism. It can only be built on the basis of consistent internationalism and support for the liberation struggle of the workers and oppressed. Without this, an application of Trotsky’s strategy of permanent revolution is impossible!

The program of revolutionary defeatism is a combined strategy

As we have stated in our recently published declaration the RCIT advocates, in the India-Pakistan conflict, the Marxist program of *revolutionary defeatism*. This requires the application of Marxist program and the methods of class struggle to the terrain of anti-chauvinist and anti-militarist struggle. It is based on the axiom that the working class is an *international* class. As such, its interests are in sharpest contrast to those of the ruling classes in India and Pakistan. For these reasons workers must utilize every conflict their class enemy is involved in, in order to advance their interests and strengthen their fighting power.

However, we have always emphasized that revolutionary defeatism is a *combined strategy*. This means that it *combines* the *revolutionary struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie with support for all liberation struggles of the workers and oppressed people*. The program of defeatism is either such a combined strategy or is not defeatist at all!

One might object that Pakistan’s military interferes in the Kashmir conflict. This is undoubtedly true. This does not negate the fact, however, that it is the oppression of the Kashmiri people by the Indian state that is the fundamental impulse of the popular struggle – and not the intrigues of Pakistan’s ISI.

The Marxist classics were fully aware of the fact that the bourgeoisie of an enemy state might try to utilize the national struggle in a given country. Lenin explained that in the epoch of imperialism reactionary powers will always try to interfere and exploit national and democratic conflicts. However, this fact should not lead Marxists to automatically adopt a defeatist instead of a revolutionary defeatist position in such conflicts. Rather, the position taken by Marxists should depend on which factor becomes dominant – the national, democratic liberation struggle or the reactionary war of oppression.

“On the other hand, the socialists of the oppressed nations must, in particular, defend and implement the full and unconditional unity, including organisational unity, of the workers of the oppressed nation and those of the oppressor nation. Without this it is impossible to defend the independent policy of the proletariat and their class solidarity with the proletariat of other countries in face of all manner of intrigues, treachery and trickery on the part of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations persistently utilise the slogans of national liberation to deceive

*the workers; in their internal policy they use these slogans for reactionary agreements with the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation (for example, the Poles in Austria and Russia who come to terms with reactionaries for the oppression of the Jews and Ukrainians); in their foreign policy they strive to come to terms with one of the rival imperialist powers for the sake of implementing their predatory plans (the policy of the small Balkan states, etc.). The fact that the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power may, under certain conditions, be utilised by another “great” power for its own, equally imperialist, aims, is just as unlikely to make the Social-Democrats refuse to recognise the right of nations to self-determination as the numerous cases of bourgeois utilisation of republican slogans for the purpose of political deception and financial plunder (as in the Romance countries, for example) are unlikely to make the Social-Democrats reject their republicanism.”*²⁵

Such an approach is not only valid for cases involving the interference of Great Powers but also applies to the current conflict in South Asia. In fact, there are a number of cases of semi-colonial capitalist states which suppress national minorities and where revolutionaries are obligated to support their liberation struggle – despite the fact that neighbouring states might try to utilize such conflicts for their own interest. Such are, for example, the Kurdish minorities in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria²⁶; the Rohingya in Myanmar²⁷; Thailand’s Muslim minority in the Malay Patani Region; the Eritrean people in Ethiopia until 1991, etc.

Likewise, we can see in South Asia that foreign states repeatedly tried to utilize such conflicts for their own advantage. This has been the case in the liberation war of Bangladesh against the Pakistani state.²⁸ And as Pakistan supports Kashmiri insurgents against the Indian state, the latter supports Balochi rebels against the Pakistan army. However, again, the Indian interference does not also negate the progressive and legitimate character of the national liberation struggle of the Balochi people.

We therefore repeat that it is crucial for revolutionaries in India to combine a defeatist position in the conflict with Pakistan with support for the national liberation struggle of the Kashmiri people. Authentic revolutionaries who reject any form of social patriotism should unite their efforts to build a revolutionary party in Kashmir, Pakistan, India and internationally. Only such a party can lead the liberation struggle of the working class and the oppressed people to victory! The RCIT and its Pakistani section call upon revolutionaries to join us in building such a party!

Footnotes

1 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/>

2 Neither India nor Pakistan are imperialist Great Powers. They have both rather a semi-colonial character albeit India contains also certain features of a regional power. For an analysis of Pakistan’s class character see chapter 1 of RWO: Pakistan – Prospects for revolutionary class struggle (2102), <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/pakistan-action-program/>; for an analysis of India’s class character see chapter V in 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/>

3 For a detailed elaboration of the Marxist program of revolutionary defeatism, we refer readers to the RCIT document *Theses on Revolutionary Defeatism in Imperialist States*, 8 September 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-on-revolutionary-defeatism-in-imperialist-states/>; see also our recently published book by 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/> (in particular chapters XVI – XXI)

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9 Central Committee of the CPI(ML)(Liberation): No More Pulwama! No More War between India and Pakistan! 27 February 2019, <http://cpiml.net/Press-Statements/2019/02/no-more-pulwama-no-more-war-between-india-and-pakistan>

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11 Radical Socialist: Pulwama "End the pernicious cycle"! No to war, 25 February 2019, <http://www.internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article5952>.

12 For our critique of the history and tradition of Pabloite/Mandelite "Trotskyism" see the book of our precursor: *The Death Agony of the Fourth International and the Tasks of Trotskyists Today*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/death-agonny-of-the-fourth-international-1983/>.

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27 February 2019, <http://cpiml.net/Press-Statements/2019/02/no-more-pulwama-no-more-war-between-india-and-pakistan>

24 Radical Socialist: Pulwama "End the pernicious cycle"! No to war, 25 February 2019, <http://www.internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article5952>

25 V. I. Lenin: The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination (1916); in: CW 22, p. 148

26 See e.g. Yossi Schwartz: On the Kurdish Referendum in Iraq, 13.10.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/kurdish-referendum-in-iraq/>

27 See RCIT: Myanmar: Solidarity with the Uprising of the Rohingya Muslims! No to the Regime's Buddhist Chauvinism! For the Rohingya's Right of National Self-Determination! 27.08.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/solidarity-with-rohingya-muslims/>

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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 RCIT on 2 March 2019

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.

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 development 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 actio-

ity, 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.

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 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)

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 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 at in the global stock market in the last 12 months. The world stock market capitalisation as measured by the Bloomberg WCAU-WRLD 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. ³ 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.

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 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.

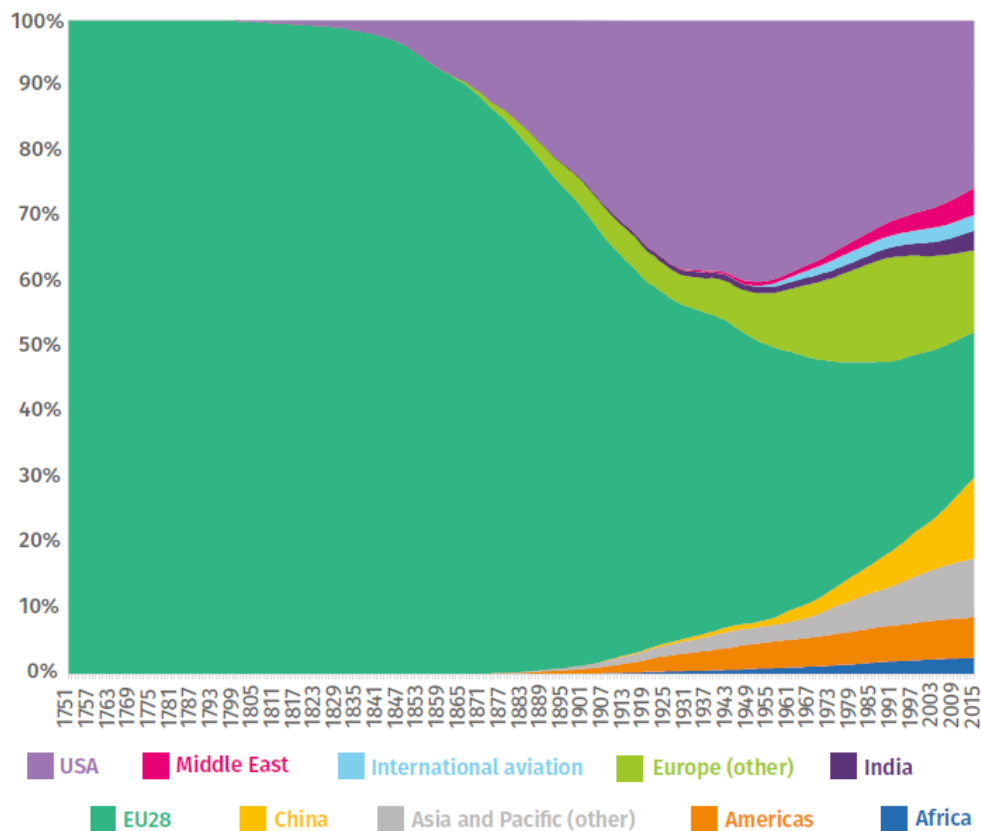
19. Another major result of the accelerating Great Power rivalry is the looming outbreak of the Global Trade War against China.³³ As we have pointed out in our documents on this issue, this conflict is about much more than "only" trade imbalances. It is in fact about China's challenge to the U.S. as 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

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

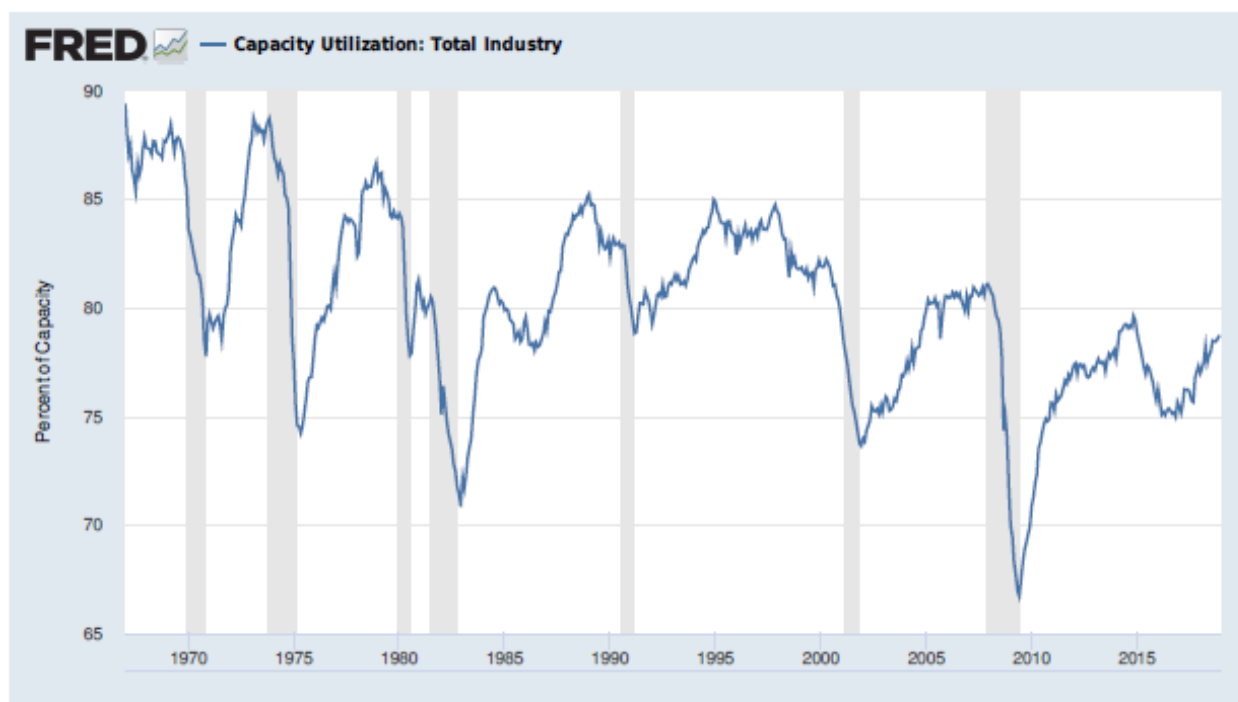
FIGURE 3.1: WEALTHY NATIONS HAVE EMITTED THE MOST CO₂ EMISSIONS SINCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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

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



Source: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (US) myf.red/g/mlib

“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 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 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 vying 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 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

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

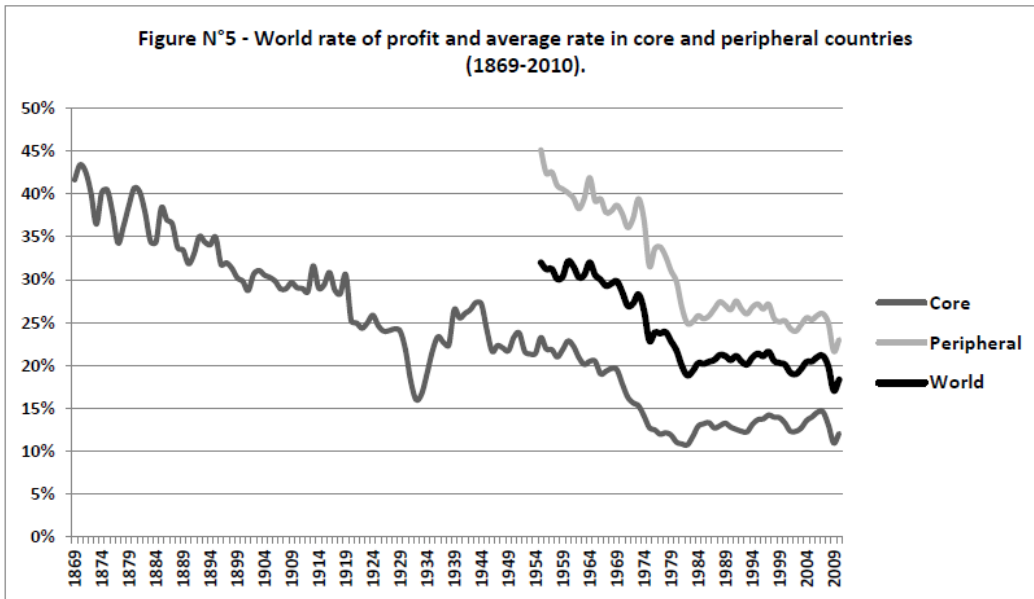


Figure 4. Annual Growth of Global Corporate Profits, 1998-2015¹⁰

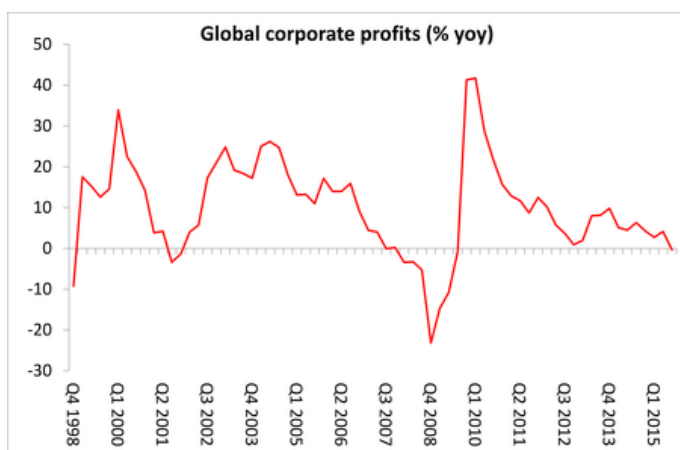
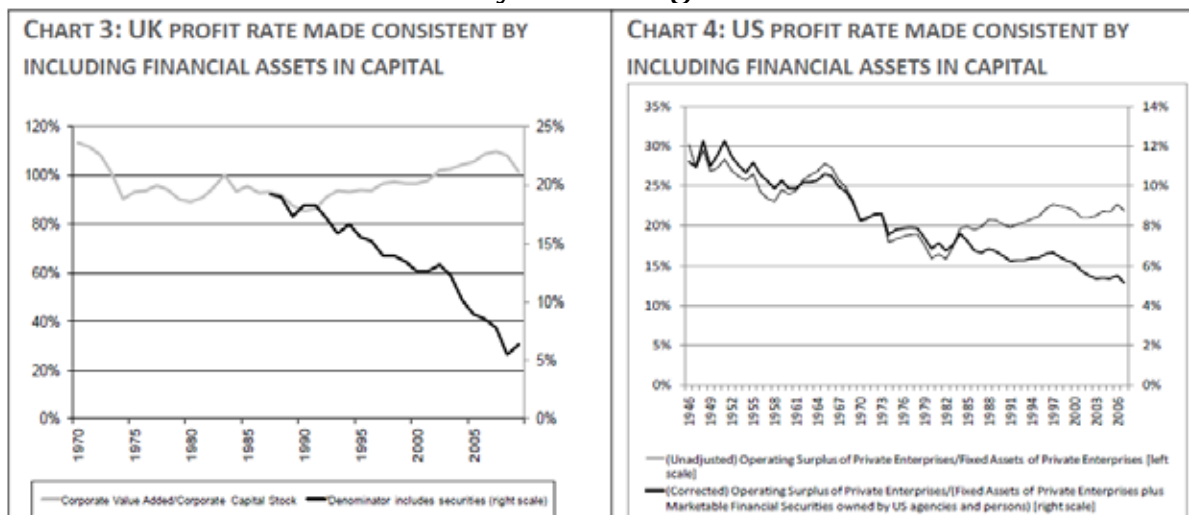


Table 1. Average Annual Real GDP Growth Rates during Business Cycles, USA 1948-2017⁷

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



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 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.

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 widespread 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 As-

tana/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 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

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry

The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan.
A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective

In *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* Michael Pröbsting analyses the accelerating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers – the U.S., China, EU, Russia, and Japan. He shows that the diplomatic rows, sanctions, trade wars, and military tensions between these Great Powers are not accidental or caused by a mad man in the White House. They are rather rooted in the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system. This rivalry is a key feature of the current historic period and could, ultimately, result in major wars between these Great Powers.

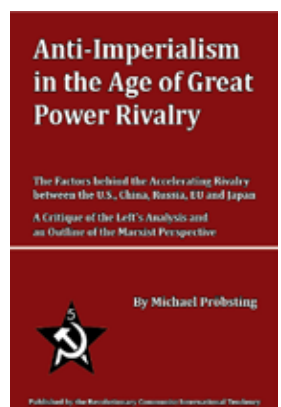
Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry demonstrates the validity of the Marxist analysis of modern imperialism. Using comprehensive material (including 61 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that a correct understanding of the rise of China and Russia as new Great Powers is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

In *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* Michael Pröbsting critically discusses the analysis of modern imperialism by a number of left-wing parties (left social democrats, Stalinists, Trotskyists and others). He demon-

strates that most of these organizations fail to understand the nature of the Great Power rivalry and, consequently, are not able to take an internationalist and revolutionary stance.

The author elaborates the approach of leading Marxist figures like Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg to the problems of Great Power rivalry and imperialist aggression against oppressed peoples. He outlines a Marxist program for the current period which is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future.

The book contains an introduction and 29 chapters plus an appendix (412 pages) and includes 61 figures and tables. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.



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 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 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 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

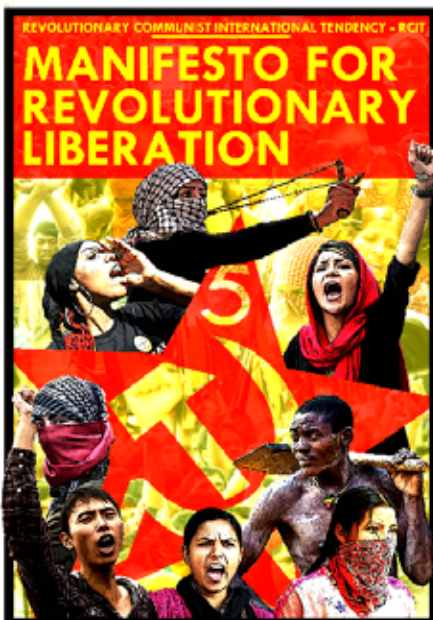
Comrades, Brothers and Sisters!

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 sur-



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

prised 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 inevitable 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,

Books of the RCIT

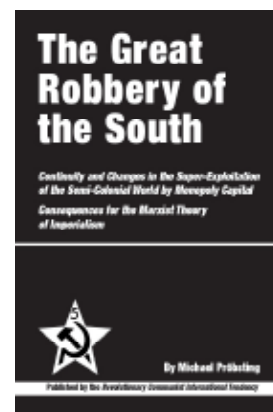
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book called *THE GREAT ROBBERY OF THE SOUTH*. The book’s subtitle is: *Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism*. The book is in English-language. It has 15 chapters, 448 pages and includes 139 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is *Michael Pröbsting* who is the International Secretary of the RCIT.

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the “Third World”) by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and the huge majority of mankind living in the semi-colonial world forms one of the most important elements of the imperialist world system we are living in. The Great Robbery of the South shows that the past decades have been a complete confirmation of the validity of Lenin’s theory of imperialism and its programmatic conclusions. *The Great Robbery of the South* demonstrates the important changes in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Using comprehensive material (including 139 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that never before

has such a big share of the world capitalist value been produced in the South. Never before have the imperialist monopolies been so dependent on the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world. Never before has migrant labor from the semi-colonial world played such a significant role for the capitalist value production in the imperialist countries. Never before has the huge majority of the world working class lived in the South – outside of the old imperialist metropolises.

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting argues that a correct understanding of the nature of imperialism as well as of the program of permanent revolution which includes the tactics of consistent anti-imperialism is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future. Order your copy NOW! \$20 / £13 / €15 plus p+p (21\$ for US and international, £9 for UK, €10 for Europe)



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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Footnotes

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Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book called *BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE*. The book's subtitle is: *Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*. The book is in English-language. It contains four chapters on 148 pages and includes 42 pictures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

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

A few months ago, our movement commemorated its 25th anniversary. In the summer of 1989 our predecessor organization, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) was founded as a democratic-centralist international tendency based on an elaborated program. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) continues the revolutionary tradition of the LRCI. Below we give an overview of our history, an evaluation of its achievements as well as mistakes, and a summary of the lessons for the struggles ahead. This book summarizes our theoretical and practical experience of the past

25 years.

In Chapter I we outline a summary of the Bolshevik-Communists' theoretical conception of the role of the revolutionary party and its relation to the working class. In Chapter II we elaborate on the essential characteristics of revolutionary party respective of the pre-party organization. In Chapter III we deal with the history of our movement – the RCIT and its predecessor organization. Finally, in Chapter IV we outline the main lessons of our 25 years of organized struggle for building a Bolshevik party and their meaning for our future work.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/>

**Building the
Revolutionary Party
in Theory
and Practice**

*Looking Back and Ahead after
25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

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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 Khashoggi, 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 Syr-

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.

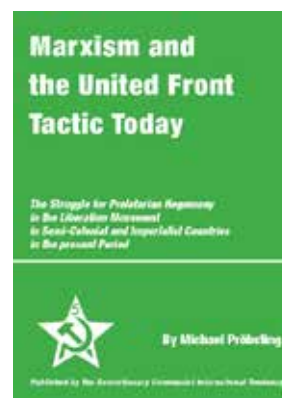
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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.



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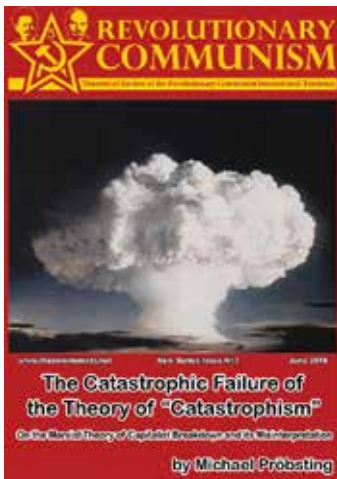
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NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Catastrophic Failure of the Theory of “Catastrophism”

By Michael Pröbsting, May 2018

On the Marxist Theory of Capitalist Breakdown and its Misinterpretation

by the Partido Obrero (Argentina) and its

“Coordinating Committee for the Refoundation of the Fourth International”

Introduction * A Note on the PO's term “Catastrophism” * What did the Marxist Classics Say? A Brief Overview * Empirical Evidence for the Long-Term Decline of Capitalism * What will come after Capitalism? * Epoch and Periods * The Current Historical Period which Opened in 2008/09 * Empirical Evidence for the Decay of Capitalism in the Present Historic Period * The Dialectical and the Mechanistic Interpretation of Cycles on Capitalism * Permanent Collapse? No, there is Collapse and Collapse * Consequences of “Catastrophism” (I): Confusion on Capitalist Restoration * Consequences of “Catastrophism” (II): Confusion on China and Russia as Capitalist Powers * Excuse: The Theory of “Long Waves” and Dialectical Materialism * From Economic Crisis to Revolutionary Situation? * Can the Crisis of Leadership be Solved without an International Democratic-Centralist Organization? * Conclusions * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 32 pages, A4 Format

What the RCIT Stands for

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) is a fighting organisation for the liberation of the working class and all oppressed. It has national sections in various countries. The working class is the class of all those (and their families) who are forced to sell their labour power as wage earners to the capitalists. The RCIT stands on the theory and practice of the revolutionary workers' movement associated with the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Capitalism endangers our lives and the future of humanity. Unemployment, war, environmental disasters, hunger, exploitation, are part of everyday life under capitalism as are the national oppression of migrants and nations and the oppression of women, young people and homosexuals. Therefore, we want to eliminate capitalism.

The liberation of the working class and all oppressed is possible only in a classless society without exploitation and oppression. Such a society can only be established internationally.

Therefore, the RCIT is fighting for a socialist revolution at home and around the world.

This revolution must be carried out and led by the working class, for she is the only class that has nothing to lose but their chains.

The revolution can not proceed peacefully because never before has a ruling class voluntarily surrendered their power. The road to liberation includes necessarily the armed rebellion and civil war against the capitalists.

The RCIT is fighting for the establishment of workers' and peasant republics, where the oppressed organize themselves in rank and file meetings in factories, neighbourhoods and schools – in councils. These councils elect and control the government and all other authorities and can always replace them.

Real socialism and communism has nothing to do with the so-called "real existing socialism" in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba or Eastern Europe. In these countries, a bureaucracy dominated and oppressed the proletariat.

The RCIT supports all efforts to improve the living conditions of workers and the oppressed. We combine this with a perspective of the overthrow of capitalism.

We work inside the trade unions and advocate class struggle, socialism and workers' democracy. But trade unions and social democracy are controlled by a bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is a layer which is connected with the state and capital via jobs and privileges. It is far from the interests and

living circumstances of the members. This bureaucracy's basis rests mainly on the top, privileged layers of the working class - the workers' aristocracy. The struggle for the liberation of the working class must be based on the broad mass of the proletariat rather than their upper strata.

The RCIT strives for unity in action with other organizations. However, we are aware that the policy of social democracy and the pseudo-revolutionary groups is dangerous and they ultimately represent an obstacle to the emancipation of the working class.

We fight for the expropriation of the big land owners as well as for the nationalisation of the land and its distribution to the poor and landless peasants. We fight for the independent organisation of the rural workers.

We support national liberation movements against oppression. We also support the anti-imperialist struggles of oppressed peoples against the great powers. Within these movements we advocate a revolutionary leadership as an alternative to nationalist or reformist forces.

In a war between imperialist states (e.g. U.S., China, EU, Russia, Japan) we take a revolutionary defeatist position, i.e. we don't support neither side and advocate the transformation of the war into a civil war against the ruling class. In a war between an imperialist power (or its stooge) and a semi-colonial country we stand for the defeat of the former and the victory of the oppressed country.

The struggle against national and social oppression (women, youth, sexual minorities etc.) must be led by the working class. We fight for revolutionary movements of the oppressed (women, youth, migrants etc.) based on the working class. We oppose the leadership of petty-bourgeois forces (feminism, nationalism, Islamism etc.) and strive to replace them by a revolutionary communist leadership.

Only with a revolutionary party fighting as its leadership can the working class win. The construction of such a party and the conduct of a successful revolution as it was demonstrated by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in Russia are a model for the revolutionary parties and revolutions also in the 21 Century.

For new, revolutionary workers' parties in all countries! For a 5th Workers International on a revolutionary program! Join the RCIT!

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

