



17th World Congress - 2018

Role and party-building tasks of the Fourth International

11 April 2018

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1. Introduction

Our task today is building parties that are useful in the class struggle. That is to **say parties that can assemble the forces and decide on actions that have an effect and advance the class struggle** on the basis of a **class struggle approach and programme**, the ultimate goal of such a party being obviously to get rid of the existing capitalist system, in whatever general terms this may be

expressed. This perspective commits the forces of the FI to being an integral and loyal part of building and leading these new parties, not simply aiming to recruit or wait to denounce eventual betrayals. Our strategic objective is the building of mass revolutionary parties and a mass revolutionary International.

Our orientation follows as a conclusion from the analysis of the world situation discussed in the other two reports developed in the perspective of the World Congress, which note on the one hand the geopolitical chaos, and on the other the uneven and contradictory processes of radicalization, against a background of a crisis of class-consciousness.

The key idea is that we cannot generalize a model for what FI has to do, although it is obvious that some apparently more successful experiences will tend to be imitated; but we have to get used to a situation in which the concrete experiences are different and maybe sometimes apparently going in a different direction. One of the problems that we have had is the involuntary tendency sometimes to consider only what is going on in some key countries (France a few years ago, etc), and not internationalize enough our thinking; the discussion on different experiences in the last ICs has been good to pluralize more our perspective; and this is the focus of this role and tasks resolution. [1]

2. A reorientation in the 1990s

In the 1995 World Congress, in the new situation created by the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of the Soviet bloc - reconfiguring the delimitations between organizations - we noted that it was possible to build radical class-struggle parties involving more forces that could have a positive and weightier effect on the class struggle. [2]

The resolution described the context in this way: *"The project of a socialist society offering an alternative both to capitalism and to the disastrous experiences of bureaucratic "socialism", lacks credibility: it is severely hampered by the balance sheet of Stalinism, of social democracy, and of populist nationalism in the "third world", as well as by the weakness of those who put it forward today.*

"In a large number of dominated countries, broad vanguard forces are now sceptical about the chances of a success of a revolutionary break with imperialism; and sceptical about the possibilities of taking power and keeping it in the new world balance of power"... "revolutionary internationalism appears as a utopia". (Chapter 1)

We should note that the reports to this

World Congress do not indicate any qualitative improvement in the relationship of forces and level of political class consciousness. This is not to say that the situation has not changed at all since 1995, there have been important movements that have left their mark on political consciousness (among others the Zapatistas, the Global Justice movement, Bolivarian revolution, the Occupy movement, the Arab revolutionary process as well as some massive workplace strikes and feminist mobilizations) but they have not been sufficient to roll back the unremitting attacks and thus have not changed the overall balance of forces. No strong political current has emerged on the left that has restructured the game, thus the building of new parties remains a viable perspective.

The two terrains for such party-building were indicated as follows): *“the collapse of the Stalinist system has had the positive effect of serious shaking sectarian prejudices against us in the ranks of the working class, trade-union and political vanguards. The triumphalism of capital has also had the effect of encouraging the unification of all anti-capitalists who are now conscious of their weakness. We are better able today to build up relationships of active solidarity and unity in struggle with forces that until recently balked at the very idea of talking to us.”*(Chapter 2)... *“We hope to welcome into our ranks revolutionary Marxist organizations which do not necessarily claim to be “Trotskyist” nor identify with out history, but which join with us on the basis of a real programmatic coming together.”*(Chapter 3)

“We should also take up the new topics of political thought that interest the young generations, which will develop, from now on, in a “post-Stalinist” context, where new ideological concerns and experiences must be combined with the century old lessons once more confirmed by capitalism in crisis. Taking up new topics is not simply a question of ‘pedagogy’ towards the struggling youth, but much more fundamental question of our capacity to elaborate theory, update our programme and assimilate the new political

experiences, original forms and themes of struggle, socio-economic changes, etc.”

The document went on to outline different methods of moving towards this aim of strengthening our organizations:

A) *United front in concrete struggles and mass movements.*

B) Unity with other revolutionary organizations

C) Broader regroupment with other left organizations

Already in 1991 the resolution on Latin America had stated: **“It is obviously impossible to offer a single orientation for all our sections. There is no one single model for party building nor a single line for party building valid for all times and all places. It is now clear that the Nicaraguan revolution and the constitution of the Brazilian PT gave rise to attempts to repeat these two experiences. We are for building big mass revolutionary parties, but there are countless different variants possible for getting there.”** (emphasis added).

It enumerated the different options chosen by our organizations at the time:

The emergence of a mass workers’ party like the PT made possible the growth of a revolutionary Marxist current within it that works in the most loyal possible way to build it. ...

The Mexican PRT has basically developed as an **independent revolutionary party with mass influence**. Before the emergence of neo-Cardenism, we were close to obtaining the convergence of the bulk of the revolutionary left around the PRT. ...

Entering revolutionary organizations already existing or in formation. This is the path followed by our Colombian section. Our comrades went into A Luchar on the basis of political agreement, basically around the situation in Colombia. ...

Participation in a revolutionary

political front while maintaining an independent existence. At this level, the experience of our Uruguayan comrades in forming the MPP through the convergence of several currents - the MLN-Tupamaros, the PVP, the MRO and good section of independent individuals - is very important. ...

3. In 2003 we reaffirmed

“(1) Our goal is to form proletarian parties that:

- *are anti-capitalist, internationalist, ecologist and feminist;*
- *are broad, pluralistic and representative;*
- *are deeply attached to the social question and steadfastly put forth the immediate demands and social aspirations of the world of labour;*
- *express workers’ militancy, women’s desire for emancipation, the youth revolt and international solidarity, and take up the fight against all forms of injustice;*
- *base their strategy on the extra-parliamentary struggle and the self-activity and self-organization of the proletariat and the oppressed; and take a clear stand for expropriation of capital and (democratic, self-managed) socialism.*

In the case of Latin America, our objective is to build broad, pluralistic anti-capitalist parties and/or regroupments with a real presence in the proletariat and the social movements, that express a resistance to neoliberalism in the framework of the struggle against capitalist globalisation. As a revolutionary Marxist current, we are in favour of building a “hard core” of the left. This perspective cannot be successful if it takes the place of strategic thinking, radical action, and bold initiatives, through a sectarian attitude of “self-affirmation” striving to maintain “our own identity:

(2) The struggle for such Parties will go through a series of stages, tactics and organizational forms, specific to each country. Such an anticapitalist recomposition must pursue a key objective from the outset: creating an effective, visible polarization between it and all the forces loyal to social neoliberalism (social democracy, post-

Stalinism, ecologists, populists) in order to accelerate their crisis and give it a positive outcome.

This requires:

- the presence of significant political forces, in which revolutionary marxist currents collaborate with important or emblematic currents or representatives who are breaking with reformist parties without necessarily arriving at revolutionary marxist positions;

- a respectful but close relationship with the social movement, where the recomposed organisation puts forward the movement's demands and actions;

- a formation recognized as representing something real in society, breaking the monopoly of parties loyal to social-neoliberalism, thanks to the presence of elected representatives in assemblies on the local, regional national and (possibly) international (European) level elected by universal suffrage;

- a pluralist functioning that goes beyond simple internal democracy in a way that fosters both convergence and discussion, allowing for the functioning of a revolutionary Marxist current as an accepted part of a broader whole."

4. In 2010 our emphasis had largely shifted from stressing the possible relations with already existing left organisations of different types to rebuilding the left

"4. We want to get involved in this reorganisation to create a new left that is capable of meeting the challenge of this century and rebuilding the workers' movement, its structures, its class consciousness, its independence from the bourgeoisies at the political and cultural level. (our emphasis)

- An anti-capitalist, internationalist, ecologist and feminist left;

- A left that is clearly alternative to social democracy and its governments

- a left which fights for a socialism of the 21st century, self-managed and democratic and which has a coherent programme for getting there;

- a left that is conscious that for this goal it has to break with capitalism and its logic and thus that is cannot govern with the political representation with which it wants to break;

- a pluralistic left rooted in the social movements and the workplaces which integrates the combativity of the workers, the struggles for women's and LGBT liberation and emancipation and ecologist struggles;

- a non-institutional left which bases its strategy on the self-organisation of the proletariat and the oppressed on the principle that emancipations of the workers is the task of the workers themselves;

- A left that promotes all forms of self-organisation by workers and by the popular classes that encourages thinking, deciding, and doing things for itself and on the basis of its own decisions;

- a left which integrates new social sectors, new themes such as those expressed by the World Social Forum in Belem, and above all the new generations because you cannot make new things with old material;

- an internationalist and anti-imperialist left which fights against domination and war and the self-determination of the people and which lays out the framework for a mass democratic international;

- a left able to link the precious heritage of critical and revolutionary Marxism with developments of feminism, ecosocialism and the indigenous movements of Latin America.

- an independent and class-struggle left which fights for the broadest united action against the crisis and for the rights, the gains and the aspirations of the workers and all the oppressed.

These are the criteria and the general content of our orientation for building new useful anti-capitalist instruments for fighting the current system."

5. Different paths to the same objective, breaks and bifurcations

As we reiterated in these different resolutions, the decision about which political instrument fits **this definition in any particular country at any particular time has to be based on a concrete understanding of the situation** - the dynamics, the existing forces. No recipe from outside with whatever label can replace that understanding of the actual situation.

Because the usefulness of a political instrument can only be determined by this understanding it follows that **the type of political instrument necessary changes as the situation changes**. The best scenario is that the instrument we are involved in building changes in tune with the changing needs - therefore we fight to develop the political basis and programme of the parties of which we are part so that they do so.

But it may be the case that it does not, indeed that it betrays what is necessary. In that case we have to be prepared to break and form a new instrument when we judge that we have lost the political battle. The risk of failure is always present in any political choice.

However this does not mean that the previous choice was wrong (we also know that parties that proclaimed themselves to be based on the full programme of the Bolshevik revolution betrayed/ became reformist etc). We have to assess whether at the point in time that they were formed and in their first (more or less long) period they had a positive effect on the national situation.

Therefore while we may judge the evolution of the Brazilian PT, or Rifondazione in Italy, as in the end leading nowhere this not mean that we were wrong to participate in them or that at some point (for a shorter or longer period) they were not a positive expression of the aspirations of those

desiring systemic change or were not able to achieve concrete gains.

It may also be the case that very rapidly it becomes obvious that the political instrument is a transitional one and its goal must be to wage the battle to create a new political party.

Because we say that the nature of the political instrument necessary evolves with the situation, we know that when the revolution is on the horizon we will need a party capable of understanding and seizing that opportunity. However we know that proclaiming the revolutionary party today does not necessarily/in most cases lead to fulfilling the criteria we give for being useful to the class struggle.

This is not to say that we cannot point to experiences in which parties that openly characterised themselves as revolutionary had a real impact: the US SWP in the anti-war movement, the French LCR, or from outside our movement the British SWP with its launching of the Anti-Nazi League in the 1970s. However their impact was the product of a particular political situation and can only be understood in that context. Moreover, their impact was still moderate and these parties did not achieve a critical weight in the political life of their countries - with the exception of the LCR through the two Besancenot campaigns in 2002 and 2007, during the last decade of its existence.

6. The balance sheets of our experiences since the beginning of the 1990s

Almost all the national organisations of the Fourth International have tried, in the ways they thought corresponded to their national situation, to build and be part of broader political formations. There are different evaluations of these experiences, both in our national sections and in the International, but it is more valuable to learn from them rather than insisting on the conclusion.

The first experiences were in the 1980s, and they have taken many different forms. The comrades in Brazil participated in the creation and building of the Workers' Party from 1980 onwards. We can note the formation of Solidarity in the US by the regroupment of three organisations from the revolutionary left in 1986, and of the Red Green Alliance in Denmark in 1989 by an agreement between the Communist Party, the Left Socialist Party and our own section. [3] Ten years later, in 1999, the Left Bloc in Portugal was also created by the FI section, a current from the CP and a Maoist organisation.

In Asia substantial organisations coming from other currents (the Philippine comrades breaking with Maoism, the Pakistani comrades formerly in the Militant Tendency, the Sri Lankan comrades with their origins in the former Sri Lankan section of pre-1964 and also having been for a while in the CWI, Bangladesh, originally Maoist but become Gramscian) have joined us through the 1990s and 2000s.

These organizations in particular have had to confront situations of extreme violence although in different ways, in the Philippines through the self-organization of the threatened communities and clandestine armed organization supporting negotiation with government, and in Pakistan an open political campaigning activity denouncing the violence of the state and the Talibans.

Some of our national organisations, particularly but not only in Europe, have participated in several attempts to build lasting broader organisations during these decades, for example in Italy or Britain, but also South Africa and Puerto Rico. The Brazilian comrades also, following the betrayal of the PT, participate in the building of the PSOL.

Some attempts at fusion of revolutionary currents have failed more or less rapidly (in the Spanish state with the Maoist MC/MKE (dates), in Germany with the post-Stalinists in the VSP), while others such as Solidarity US or Socialist Resistance in Britain continue after 15

or more years. A central point in the balance sheets has been that these initiatives survive when there is agreement on tasks in the national situation.

Other experiences have also failed to reach their hoped-for potential, one of the most notable being the creation of the New Anti-Capitalist Party (NPA) by the French section in 2009, as well as Left Unity in Britain in 2014. In both these cases **one** factor was the unexpected emergence of a left current from within social-democracy (the Parti de Gauche in France, the Corbyn phenomenon in Britain) which undercut the dynamic of these new projects. However, although in neither case have these developments yet been proved to be a longterm credible new radical political instrument, they show that although in its decline social democracy is not yet dead. (This is not to say the crisis of the NPA was caused by this single factor.)

On the other hand both the RGA of Denmark and BE in Portugal continue to have a certain role and influence as left parties in their respective countries - as does Podemos whose impetus and base is much more linked to the development of the spontaneous resistance movements and radicalization that characterised the Indignad@s movement.

Podemos is at this point the only political force that can be characterised as being a product of that type of movement, although the support for Sanders in the US or Corbyn in Britain has some common elements. However these latter phenomena seem to be in contradiction to one of the characteristics of the new radicalizations: rejection of political parties in general, most often as a result of disillusion with the established parties, although in the cases of more radicalised elements also because of the elitist and or sectarian behaviour of far left groups in the social movements.

However in the last period in Europe and US it is possible to note that although there is still suspicion towards parties and so on, a strategic shift towards political-electoral arena has taken place, because of several

factors: the depth of the economic/social/political crisis; the example of the Arab revolutions that were projected towards bringing down governments and regimes; the difficulties in obtaining victories only through the social struggle; and because of the deepening of the discredit of the political elite itself that offers a image of weakness.

Tragically the Arab revolutionary process did not give rise to strong organized political forces capable of giving leadership to the mass movement, with the partial exception of the Front Populaire in Tunisia.

Our experiences in building useful parties for class struggle have in general been through participation in parties that achieved a certain influence in their countries, although they were minority parties (a percentage of vote usually under 10%, membership of few thousands, etc), in political situations in which there was a certain relative stability and in which it was not possible to foresee a collapse of traditional parties and where the "question of power" was not posed, or was only posed in terms of what links with social-democracy. But there are a few cases in which we have been involved in another type of situation that has other potentialities and poses other problems: situations of political crisis, where it was foreseeable that non-ruling class parties become a political majority, form a government and so on. The case of PT is one, Podemos another, and the case of a group with which we have comradesly relations, DEA in Syriza is another; there is also Marea Socialista that was in the PSUV for some years, although in this case in a long process of a left government in power.

It would be time consuming to list all the different experiences of the different countries and a number of contributions on balance sheets have been made and published notably in *International Viewpoint* "[Building new parties of the left](#)". However as a general conclusion we can say that while no one model has led to important breakthroughs, the failure to seize opportunities that arise when a qualitative or quantitative advance in assembling useful class-struggle

forces could be made will have a long-lasting negative effect.

As noted above, agreement on tasks in the national situation is an indispensable factor in creating new parties that have a lasting character, all the more so when there seems to be formal "programmatic" agreement, for example in the case of fusion between self-defined revolutionary currents. The ability to grasp the key task in the national situation, such as for example the question of the referendum for the legalisation of abortion in Portugal in 1999 - agreement on which was a key factor in the creation of the Left Bloc - is, as we have underlined several times, essential in determining our orientation to other forces.

7. Lessons from the balance sheets

The lessons that we have drawn out collectively from these different experiences have been codified in the resolutions of World Congresses, and in the contributions since the 2010 World Congress in the series of balance sheet discussions that have been held in the IC meetings.

They have turned around the need to wage political battles within the political forces we are building on a series of key programmatic principles. These principles in their developed form are not necessarily a precondition for building a new political force, but without the basis to have such discussions and to move forward then the prospects of building a truly useful party for the class struggle are unlikely. The level of initial agreement required on each of these points must be judged on the basis of the nature of the existing political currents and audience of the new party.

The points we have highlighted are:

• participation in the social movements and struggles of the oppressed and exploited, not as a political elite intervening from the outside but as an organic part of those movements and struggles in developing political analyses and

demands, continuing the fight for those demands to the end. In this process we also learn from these movement to deepen and enrich our own programme-as we have on feminism, ecology, LGBTIQ questions;

• building active, radical and class-struggle trade-unions, either through activity in existing unions or where necessary and appropriate building new workers' unions. In the unions, act with autonomy and independence in relation to employers, governments and parties and ensure democracy in union structures and processes. Challenge the limits of the bureaucratic machine and the legislation that binds the unions to the state. Participate in and strengthen trade unions where possible, in the direction of democracy and unity, but fight against bureaucratism, getting too close to governments and class collaboration. Understand that the struggle goes beyond the unions and their structures.

Create spaces that take into account the diversity of the working class, organize with popular social movements, of informal, cooperative, precarious, outsourced, unemployed, homeless and artisan workers, as well as with native and traditional peoples and with fighters against racism, LGBTophobia, machismo and in defence of ecology.;

• the attitude to the state, institutions; to elections **as a support** to the activity in the mass movement, which must remain the centre of gravity of our activity; the role and relationship to the party of elected representatives who are often the most visible representatives of the party, whose actions (through votes) may be seen to have the most effect, and who are often the most under pressure to be "useful" in the short term. It is the party's responsibility to determine the political framework for their action;

• the importance of an international and internationalist understanding of the world political situation leading to activity in international campaigns and active and practical solidarity, as well as participation in the FI (see below);

the necessity for democratic and transparent functioning with broad democracy including tendency rights, against verticalist functioning, based on the rank and file membership's participation in the activity and decision-making of the party, with the necessary organizational structures to ensure this; understanding the oppression that continues to exist even within parties that are against all forms of women's and other specific oppression and developing structures, functioning and procedures appropriately;

the importance of addressing the questions thrown up in the struggles and fightbacks of the oppressed and exploited (notably feminism, ecology, LGBTQI, and others);

The party is committed to a policy of activity on demands and campaigns combating women's oppression, in the context of participation in the class-struggle oriented groups, campaigns and movements, with an understanding of the strategic goal of building an autonomous women's movement. The party's preoccupation with both education and activity on these questions is a permanent one, not to be put aside in moments where there is a lower level of mass activity.

The party seeks to build a feminist profile both externally and internally to not only encourage women to join but to build internally a positive vision of women in the leadership.

In addition to ensuring that the democratic functioning of the party enables all members to fully participate as outlined above, the party understands that social dynamics tend to exclude women from political participation, therefore it accepts the need for specific mechanisms (women only meetings, priority for women in speakers lists etc) that encourage women's participation, and the recognition of further problems to be overcome.

The party does not tolerate any form of sexist (or transphobic or homo/lesbophobic) behaviour. The implementation of this political position is the responsibility of the party which ensures not only political education on these questions but also

that the structures, functioning and procedures put in place work to ensure that the parties we are building, although they cannot be "islands of socialism" in a capitalist world, strive to prefigure the society we want.

an unremitting fight against all forms of racism - including against indigenous populations, anti-Semitism, islamophobia and for free movement of migrants, on the basis of solidarity and unity;

the importance of renewal of organisations through an open and dynamic attitude to recruiting radicalizing youth and integrating them into the party through autonomous youth sectors where young radicalized activists can gather their own experience, develop their own political work and programme, gather around question related to the questions of the youth.

the need for continuing educational programmes including on strategic questions such as the state or the question of power, and international questions.

8. The importance of the Fourth International

A crucial element that has come out in the balance sheets, starting from that of the DS current in the PT, is the absolute necessity of maintaining at national and international level the bodies of the Fourth International as a place to exchange, contrast and debate not only our understanding of the worldwide political situation but also of the actual experiences of building political organizations. This means being organized as Fourth Internationalists, maintaining the possibility to discuss among the comrades sharing this political framework - renewing it on the basis of the ongoing experiences - and the possibility of making autonomous political decisions. In the coming years we will continue to discuss these experiences, on how to keep a programmatic and organic collective while working in broader

organisations.

We actively seek to build organisations with forces and individuals who do not share our whole historical programme, although within the perspective of creating a political force based on the essential elements of it. Nevertheless we consider that our shared political framework, shaped by the whole scope of historical and political events, notably since the first contributions of Marxist thought and analysis but right up to the experiences and contributions up to the present day, creates an irreplaceable framework for fruitful discussion, where the weight of national experience can be counterbalanced by others, where the sharing of experience and opinions can help to chart perspectives for our comrades in their different national contexts. Thus the annual face to face discussion in the IC meetings between leading comrades from the maximum number possible of our organisations, and those with whom we have comradely relations such that we invite them to participate, are indispensable.

At national level the exact forms of these discussions and the corresponding forms of organization will vary as do the broader forms of political organization. There will be a tension between on the one hand going beyond the contours of the political currents that originally participated in building new parties, implying the dissolution of existing organizations, and on the other our conviction that maintaining a framework of the Fourth International is indispensable, for the reasons already given. Resolving this tension in the appropriate way in each specific context is one of the challenges facing us.

At an international level our press, in both printed and online versions, are also an important element of this exchange. This presence must be strengthened as a priority by the launch of a Fourth International multi-lingual website that is both up to date publication but also an archive resource for our resolutions and other important texts in at least the three working languages of the International, and the other languages

in which they are available. The Arabic website Al Mounadil by the Moroccan comrades is of fundamental importance given the importance of events in the region. It is also an absolute necessity that the educational material from the IIRE is easily available to uphold our common history and theoretical background.

Our schools and seminars are invaluable opportunities to educate our comrades and also to invite comrades from political forces with whom we are developing relations. Participation in the schools played a crucial role for example in the strengthening of our relations with the Philippine comrades before they joined. The development of the IIRE in the regular Manila sessions and Islamabad seminars is a crucial aspect in developing our real presence as an International in this region of the world. We will continue to develop our schools and seminars, both on the political content, but also with more seminars on different political topics and movements, with the possibility of deepening political discussion and strengthening our theoretical background. We will also develop our publishing programme in collaboration with the publishing houses of the different sections to give the intellectual work of our current a greater visibility.

Even given our limited means we have carried out concrete solidarity work and significant coordination, to a large extent, but not exclusively, through our schools (the IIRE). In the coming period we are going to discuss the possibility of relaunching work linking up class struggle trade unionists, for example in the car, health and merchant shipping (containers) sectors.

The youth camp is, essentially of course for the European organizations, a unique opportunity to bring young comrades, sympathisers and friendly organisations to a political initiative where, around the core elements of the FI programme, it is possible to engage them in discussion around the real activities they are engaged in as young people.

This is a very important part of training new cadre with an internationalist understanding of the complexities of our different experiences. While the camp has to remain a European initiative for practical reasons (cost, making self-organization in practice a reality through preparing and evaluating the camp together) the participation of young comrades from elsewhere, notably if this can be combined with attendance at the youth school or a seminar, is also an important investment in our future. We will try to collectivize the political output from these camps, and share it outside the camp, and at the same time we will try to organize a youth convention as well as the camp, with the aim of generating a new political analysis on the political situation of youth and their role in the class struggle

9. Towards a new International?

The difficulties of building new organisations at a national level would only be greater at an international level. Nevertheless international contact between radical left political organizations is a priority for us. This can be through the development of our one to one relations with different organizations either from traditional far left organizations or newly emerging currents.

At the same time we participate in forums of such organizations organized by others or indeed take the initiative in promoting such forums. With the decline of the Social Forum movement the possibilities are less frequent than in the 2000s decade but we should be actively proposing that the parties in which we participate should be seeking to meet and collaborate with other organisations at an international level, and taking the initiative to do so.

Footnotes

[1] A motion at the 2010 World Congress decided to hold a seminar on the balance sheet of the orientation of building “broad parties”. The IC in 2011, on the proposal of the Danish comrades, decided to make this part of the regular IC meeting. And in 2013 decided to continue with this discussion as part of the IC meetings. In all the IC discussed balance sheets of the following experiences: 2012: PT in Brazil, Red Green Alliance Denmark, Left Bloc Portugal, Rifondazione/Sinistra Critica Italy; 2013: LPP/AWP Pakistan, LCR to Anticapitalistas Spanish State, LCR to NPA France; 2014: RPM-M Philippine, Respect to Left Unity Britain, Antarsya/Syriza Greece; 2015: Podemos Spanish state; 2016: Podemos Spanish state, Left Bloc Portugal. A general “discussion on some interim conclusions” in 2013 led to the decision to continue the “seminar” discussions. The texts prepared in the context of these discussions (and others) can be found in this rubric of *International Viewpoint* “**Building new parties of the left**”.

[2] In 1968, basing ourselves on the analysis of a worldwide youth radicalization, the 9th World Congress resolution concentrated solely on building revolutionary youth organizations linked to the party. In 1974 we posited “winning hegemony” in a “new vanguard of mass proportions” and thus building “qualitatively stronger revolutionary organizations”. In 1979 the orientation was to building working-class based revolutionary parties through the turn to industry. This orientation was developed in 1985 as a turn to the people, women and youth.

[3] “From the beginning the Left Socialist Party was a mixture of all elements of the New Left: hippies, anarchists, Maoists, Trotskyists, other self-declared Leninists, anti-imperialists and many other shades of anti-establishment opposition.” Michael Voss, SAP.

Social upheavals, fightbacks and alternatives

11 April 2018

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III / Questions of political change, struggles and anti-capitalist strategy

Introduction

Recent years have been marked by waves of political and social mobilization that have met different

fates. In the Maghreb and the Middle East, through the waves of the Arab Spring, though they are not exhausted, have faced a combination of reactionary forces. In Latin America, we have arrived at the beginning of a new cycle after the defeat of the Venezuelan PSUV in the elections. In Europe, after the capitulation of Tsipras, Syriza did not follow through on the dynamics opened by its election or the massive OXI vote of July 2015.

In 2008, Lehman Brothers' bankruptcy sparked off an international financial crisis that provoked many further crises, especially the sovereign debt crisis in Europe. It triggered new social attacks in addition to the upheavals caused since the 1990s by political, economic and social reorganization following 1989 and the new phase of capitalist globalization.

This text aims to provide a succinct analysis of social changes underway in this context and as well as the capacities and experiences of struggles of the exploited and oppressed and developments in social, trade union and political resistance movements and struggles against capitalist attacks.

The question we face is the reality of power relations between classes internationally. This means analysing:

â€¢ **The social reality of the working and other exploited classes** which have experienced many changes over the last thirty years, with globalization and global reintegration of Russia and China into a worldwide capitalist economic system.

â€¢ **The organized strength of the labour movement and social movements fighting exploitation and oppression overall**, which have undergone many upheavals at various levels. The disappearance of the USSR and the end of the USSR / China competition for "socialist" hegemony over anti-imperialist resistance

movements have largely changed the political geography in what we called "the three sectors of the world revolution". But now what is the real strength of each of the movements of struggle organizing the exploited and oppressed in these sectors?

â€¢ **The new fields of radicalization in the last two decades, especially among younger generations.** Although the global justice movement is weaker now than at the beginning of the century, nevertheless the question of social justice, the need to fight the power of banks, major international corporations and institutions remains a strong vector of radicalization. There is a clear link between social justice, fair work in factories, peasants' right to farm their fields, and environmental issues. We can also see, in terms of climate change and useless major projects, the desire to exert democratic control over big decisions and against the professional system of power by a lot of uncontrolled politicians. The liberating desire to live without violence and the enforcement of unfair laws is also a strong impetus to LGBT+ and feminist mobilizations. This has also been the case in struggles against racist discrimination and violence and to put an end to the legacy of colonialist and slaveholding societies. Finally, we can observe the power of new ICT, especially social networks, as an organizer of demonstrations, as a means of information and mobilization in all parts of the world.

â€¢ **Above and beyond these demands for democracy and social justice, the degree to which these struggles take on political coherence where they can be integrated into a global struggle against the system in a situation where an "international workers' movement" no longer exists.** Refusing the consequences of capitalist policies does not automatically provoke an anticapitalist consciousness. The social identity of workers does not create a class

identity as such. What is the capacity to include these struggles in a strategic political programme of radical challenge to capitalist society and the oppressions it has created or restructured? In this context, how can we evaluate the global justice movement and various international networks that have sought to coordinate struggles in one sector or another? Finally what is the strength and direction taken by the political currents in these resistance movements, whether they define themselves as democratic, anticapitalist or revolutionary at the national, regional and international level?

I. Some analytical elements

1 / What is the evolution of the situation of the working class and the exploited worldwide?

Several important phenomena should be noted. Globalization has accelerated industrial and economic growth in a number of countries (India, China, Turkey, Mexico...) a phenomenon that should logically continue and diversify.

This leads to two important phenomena in so-called "emerging" countries: urban concentration, an increase of the number of waged workers at a faster rate than that of the population (75% increase between 1992 and 2012 for a 30% population increase). Obviously, this corresponds to the development of new centres of economic development. Another significant feature has been the relative growth of the service sector as compared to manufacturing, together with the proletarianisation of many jobs previously seen as "professional" such as teaching and health care, with the consequent impact of these groups being increasingly likely to participate in industrial action to defend conditions against increasing speedups, pay freezes, privatisations and other attacks.

But we must always take into consideration that, in the aggregate, a large majority of the workforce in

these countries consists of workers in precarious employment according to ILO criteria (unpaid family workers or self-employed workers) and this proportion has been increasing since 2008, which is therefore a counter trend. Similarly, the ILO expects a steady increase in unemployment in the next five years in Asia, Africa and Latin America, already noted since 2008. The consequence is obvious: significant urbanization, rural populations becoming a minority with the concomitant destruction of the social fabric, (with the elimination of social services and educational institutions in the rural zones and their concentration in the big cities), obviously leading to a deterioration in living conditions, even if peasants' solidarity networks persist.

So we see a numerical increase of the working class, but with different overall characteristics shaped by the overall development of societies where this development occurs.

In the "old industrial countries", the development of the proletariat, has most generally gone hand in hand with trade union and political struggles against the bourgeoisie in a national framework and, whatever the violence of twentieth century class struggles, with obtaining social rights on the nation-state level, crystallizing power relations between classes. Recognition of working class collective rights did not only concern employment contracts at the company level but also collective social rights as part of civil society. The bourgeoisie conceding that a share of capitalist profits should finance systems of contribution and tax redistribution on which most industrial societies were built in the twentieth century. Thus there were social compromises, development of the "welfare state", related to the ideological legacy of positivism and social Christianity. These ideologies and compromises were the necessary antidote to the significant development of Marxist and socialist currents. All this is no longer required today and industrial development in emerging countries has not at all come about in the same context. For instance, the automotive production industry "moving east": except for Mexico, Argentina and Brazil, the major development areas

are in Eastern Europe, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India and China. In these cases, production lines and qualifications are the same as in old industrialized countries, but social rights and labour legislation are not at all the same. There are similar schemas in many other industrial sectors. In these new areas of industrial development, the social compromises of the last century no longer hold sway. In the old industrial countries, neoliberal austerity policies are already broadly challenging these compromises. Moreover, we can observe semi-slavery situations, especially for migrant workers, and underground factories escaping any legislation.

2 / Evolution of the worldwide rate of exploitation.

The economic changes of recent years have also produced various consequences. Not only have wages stagnated in the old industrialized countries, recent years have seen an increase in productivity at the expense of wages, accentuating the trend seen since the 1980s of payroll losses for the benefit of capital. In the same vein, more precarious contracts and moves to introduce new, more restrictive labour laws have been a key element in these productivity gains in the old industrialized countries (zero-hour contracts in Britain, the Italy Jobs Act, mini-jobs in Germany...). This rise in precarious employment and the degrading of working conditions targets and affects young people so they have a fragile relationship with the labour market and. That is used as a lever for the general strategy of a global change in the labour market starting with the weakest link of the working class. Despite the sudden brake on production in 2008, in most new production areas workers have won real wage increases, especially in China. Although these have been economic strikes, carried out workplace-by-workplace or company-by-company, they have had tangible effects.

In this context, we note what has been called the "feminization" of the labor market and poverty. This can be understood in two senses: on the one hand, conditions that historically have

been typical in the formal employment of women: instability and job insecurity, flexible contracts, salaries less than those necessary to pay for the family's needs, have been generalized to the whole workforce. On the other hand it also explains the increase in job opportunities for women notably in sectors that continue to be feminized, such as care work. The workday is doubled for those women who also perform tasks of unpaid domestic work.

So, elements of social tension in the labour market persist in both the "emerging" countries and in old economies, either through the increased pressure of unemployment or by a gradual deterioration of employment conditions and social protection systems. Almost half of the workers in the world live outside wage labour, in extreme precarity. And the trend is the spread of precarious contracts and legislation minimizing legal protection against layoffs. These developments increase the flexibility and ability of capitalists to alter maximum working hours and number of employees according to daily needs. This goes along with a logistical organization of chains of production and distribution that reduces costs as much as possible by resorting to myriad subcontractors. Many new treaties allow big corporations to escape national laws: TTIP, TISA, etc.... Within the European Union, every month, new laws are superseding old national laws. De facto, at the international level there are now two levels of power: state power and corporate power and the second one is stronger and stronger in terms of trade organization and workforce contracts.

The debt crisis over the past decade has shifted from the South to the advanced capitalist countries: household debt crises in many countries (USA, India,) and the sovereign debt crisis in Europe. These crises accelerate social attacks, workers' precariousness and situations of social misery. They also sharpen the requirements for auditing, increase the control of populations and can open up calls for social control to block these policies. The notion of the feminization of poverty refers to the fact that it is on this point

that women also become the priority "target" of this type of policies. As mothers, they are called on to take responsibility for implementing these policies. They are also involved in the "bankification" and financialization of their economies, which can add an extra burden to their labor.

All these changes weaken the capacity for lasting collective organization and structuring collective resistance within companies. At the same time, they stimulate the need to fight back and the dynamics of self-organization. This also calls for the development of local social organizations able to regroup isolated or temporary workers above and beyond the workplace level.

The processes of feminization referred to - as well as the weakening of some identities that were once collectivizing, such as union identity - also explain the emergence of "new" social actors with an unprecedented role, such as women and, in many countries, the LGBT + community

3 / Concerted attack on peasant populations

Although fewer and fewer people are farmers, agriculture employs 1.3 billion men and women, 40% of the working population. Peasants are still the majority of working people in Africa and Asia. Over the past two decades, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, peasants have faced "conservative modernization" policies that have posed deep challenges to peasant societies in the attempt to adapt them to capitalist globalization. The peasantry faces many threats, over and beyond the future of food systems and environmental balance: the powerful rise of agribusiness, land grabbing, the expansion of export-based monocultures at the expense of food-producing agriculture and the pressure on natural resources. Takeover of lands is a global phenomenon, undertaken by local, national and transnational elites as well as investors and speculators, with the complicity of government and local authorities. It leads to the concentration of landownership and of natural resources in the hands of major investment funds, plantation owners and major firms involved in forestry, hydroelectric power stations

and mines. It is also caused by the tourism and real estate industries, and authorities managing port and industrial infrastructure.

This concentration of property has entailed local populations facing expulsion from their lands and forced displacement - especially of the peasantry. It has brought about human rights violations, in particular of women's rights.

Financial institutions such as banks, pension funds and other investment funds have become powerful motor forces for land spoliation. Simultaneously, murderous wars and conflicts are waged at this very time to seize control of natural resources.

Land grabbing goes hand in hand with growing control by private business over agriculture and food through greater control over resources such as land, water, seeds and other natural resources. In this race for profit, the private sector has strengthened its control over food production systems, monopolising resources and gaining a dominant position in decision-making processes.

Peasant women and men, landless people and Indigenous peoples, and especially women and youths, precarious farm workers, are dispossessed of their means of subsistence. These practices also destroy the environment. The indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities are chased from their lands, often by force, which makes their lives more precarious and in certain cases amounts to their enslavement.

On all continents peasant movements lead mobilizations. These acts of resistance have multiplied over the past two decades, centred on food sovereignty. Moreover, these peasant populations are at the heart of all the crises the world is facing now; economic crisis and the consequences of public and private debt, food crisis, climate change that fuels migration, attacks on the rights of women and minorities. Governments of countries in the South, most often under the pressure of debt payments, have in recent years multiplied agricultural export and extractivist policies. There again, peasant populations have borne

the brunt of the consequences via environmental destruction and control over their lands by agrifood trusts.

4 / What are the consequences of the significant increase in migration?

There are significant population displacements in several regions of the world: 250 million international migrants, 750 million internal migrants (displaced persons...). These movements are often due to structural economic changes with significant regional disparities: thus South Africa and Angola attract migrants from neighbouring countries, as do Argentina and Venezuela in Latin America, Australia and Japan in East and Southeast Asia. The Gulf States attract large numbers of migrants from the Horn of Africa, Turkey, the Indian subcontinent and the Philippines. In the latter country, nearly 20% of the working population live and work abroad, 50% in the Middle East, mostly women. Two-thirds of international migration is between countries of a comparable level of development and a third turn to the USA (Mexico) and Europe, mostly from its former colonial empires. But added to these phenomena are also permanent displacements due to wars, in particular from Syria, Iraq, Eritrea and Afghanistan, and now climate change.

Women's migration in the current context of crisis, along with the capitalist globalization of the economy, deepens and increases their oppression and has multiple impacts in very diverse ways on the exploitation of women. The context in which migration takes place expresses the extreme impoverishment and loss of rights of large sectors of world's population.

Women migrate because they need better living conditions for themselves and their families, and because in their countries of origin they cannot find decent employment. Also they emigrate because of political persecution, or as a consequence of wars, that threaten their lives.

We also find women and their families being part of the flow of refugees

heading to various countries in Europe, fleeing their original countries plagued by violence and war, notably in the case of Syria and other Middle East regions. In this case, we are faced with the brutal drama of the migrants who try to reach Germany and other countries. This tragedy is taking place on the borders of Europe, on the coasts, on the Mediterranean Sea, in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries. In this context women face gender discrimination, racism and exploitation.

Another facet of migration is related to the trafficking of women in the countries they manage to reach: England, Denmark, the Netherlands and others.

In countries where organized crime and drug cartels are very strong, women face different risks, like getting kidnapped and 'disappeared' by the cartels who use them in the prostitution business, within the national and international networks of trafficking of women. In other cases the trafficking is organised through more sophisticated mechanisms, like matchmaking women for supposedly love relationships in which whole families of traffickers are involved. Then another method is to deceive women with promises of jobs which are a cover for forcing them into prostitution.. In some places there is a correlation between migration and the sex tourism business.

Xenophobic campaigns are used politically, to present migrants as enemies, even of the working class, as it was done during Brexit in Great Britain and then in the United States by Donald Trump. In some European countries such as Denmark, xenophobic campaigns have taken the form of a "femonationalist" rhetoric which claims that migration is undermining the rights of native women in the destination country. The discourse of "femonationalism" is closely related to "homonationalism" where the xenophobic right is claiming that migration is a threat to the rights of the LGBT community.

At the same time, another expression of the problem has to do with

economically-driven migration, in which poverty, inequality, lack of jobs and opportunities due to the devastating consequences of neoliberalism pushes millions of people to leave their countries to look for a job in other places. This particularly involves young people and who are a challenge to organise in trade unions or other social organisations.

In the case of the Philippines, more than ten million people are working outside the country, in places as far afield as Saudi Arabia and the rest of Middle East. The monetary incomes sent by Filipino workers to their families through remittances constitute a central part of the foreign currency income of the country. In this case, the predominant presence of women among Filipino migrants is supposedly because it is easier for them to get a job, even though they are often forced into prostitution, which implies deep and serious consequences for them and their families.

In the many regions of world where migrants face oppression and exploitation, women are also suffering 'new' forms of work practically akin to slavery - confinement, prostitution and being trafficked.

If we refer to the displacements and migration in Latin America, Mexico is one of the most dramatic examples and, at the same time, also the place of many experiences of resistance. This country is the obligatory route for hundreds of thousands of migrants, not only Mexicans but also Central Americans and from places as far as Africa, trying to cross over into the United States at any of the points along the more than one thousand kilometer border between Mexico and the US, seeking a job or refuge (running away from violence in Central America, for example). That is why Donald Trump runs his demagogic campaign against Mexican workers, accusing them of stealing jobs from US workers in US factories and insists all the time about building (actually to finish building) a wall along this long border.

On top of this longstanding critical situation with migration to the US, we

can now add the threat of Trump's xenophobic and racist policy that intends to expel in the short term around three million Mexican workers. During Obama's presidency, in fact, three million workers were expelled; the problem now is that Trump wants to deport the same number only in 2017, which would trigger a social crisis with unpredictable consequences in Mexico, in the middle of an existing human rights and political crisis. These deportations would go alongside restrictions on Mexican workers sending money from the US to their families in Mexico.

Remittances represent the second largest foreign exchange income in the country, only surpassed by the exports of automotive companies (companies that Trump wants to take back to the US). This remittance income is greater than foreign direct investment, tourism and oil exports. Mexico is the fourth largest economy for remittance income, after China, India and the Philippines.

The consequences of these policies are especially significant for women. The new laws that Trump seeks to impose, like ending the "sanctuary cities" (where the police are not allowed to request migrant documents from somebody committing a minor offence, such as traffic violations) will lead to deportations which break up families. If an undocumented migrant woman has children in the United States, they acquire nationality and, after a long, costly and risky process, the mother can also become an American citizen. With the new legal provisions, families are split up, their children are taken and the mothers deported to Mexico. Another legal provision that Trump wants to implement is to give a 10-year jail to those undocumented immigrants who, having been deported to Mexico, are arrested in a new attempt to return to the United States.

In addition to being a bridge to the US, Mexico is also the arrival point of migrants from other countries. With restrictions in the US, thousands of migrants are stranded in Mexico, especially in border cities like Tijuana and Nuevo Laredo. Hours before leaving the government, Obama cancelled the legal order known as

"dry feet" that granted immediate asylum to Cubans who arrived in the United States by land and not by sea. In February of 2017 thousands of Cubans in Nuevo Laredo were demanding to go to the US but now they had no rights, neither do they have any in Mexico.

The same situation arose in Tijuana where the crossing of the border is blocked for thousands of Haitians and Africans who pay a lot of money to traffickers from their countries to supposedly take them to the US. Among Haitians there are complete families and many qualified people.

In addition to the social and economic crisis of these thousands of stranded migrants, without jobs and without rights there is now racism among the Mexican population against Haitians and Africans who are stigmatized as delinquents. While Mexico may complain about the bad treatment that migrants receive in the US, that bad treatment also applies to the migrants that arrive in Mexico or are going towards the United States.

As well as the racism that robs and exploits them, the drug cartels (that frequently have the support of the Mexican authorities), assault buses of Central American migrants in places like San Fernando and Tamaulipas. In addition to stealing from and murdering a number of these migrants, others are recruited for quasi slave labor or as hit men, and women are taken to be used as prostitutes in their business or for the use of traffickers themselves.

The tendency of reducing the labour force, as a result of capitalist globalization, also translates into an increase in the migration of women and children in perilous conditions (including an increase of children traveling alone to the United States). According to official data, migrant women made up 44.7% of the total number of migrants in the 2004-2006 period whereas this has risen to 47.5% in the 2013-2015 period. Migrant women have also a higher rate of unemployment than men.

The migration of Mexican women shows an increase from the 1970s to the present. In 2012, women residing

in the United States were about 5.5 million, representing 46% of the Mexican population residing in that country. Their conditions of labor and employment are linked to traditional gender roles.

Several organizations point out that abuse against migrant women has become normalised and that rape has become a spectacle. The roles and stereotypes that accompany these women make them more vulnerable to becoming victims of sexual violence, disappearances, prostitution, human trafficking, extortion, separation from their families (many travel with children), arbitrary detention, illness, accidents and femicide. As they are often responsible for the care of children traveling with them, they become double targets and the difficulties increase because their status as undocumented workers makes it more difficult to obtain employment, housing and resources, as well as any social services for them and their children.

This acceleration of migration is obviously an important political question and an ongoing social phenomenon. The industrialized countries are perfectly capable of welcoming migrants who wish to go there, but the latter have become the target of xenophobic campaigns in many countries including the US, Australia, Europe and South Africa. The dual challenge to the labour movement is to fight this xenophobia while helping the welcoming and organization of these migrant workers who are strengthening the working class in many old countries. That presents us with a challenge when we try and organise these workers into trade unions. Some Gulf countries and even Israel resort to reducing immigrants to a situation of semi-slavery on a mass scale to develop industrial activity.

5 / Impact of the environmental crisis

We are facing environmental disasters of unprecedented scale with anthropogenic climate change as their most dangerous feature.

Desertification, salinification and floods are making large areas of the

planet unsuitable for human habitation or growing food. Climate chaos is creating extreme weather events in which loss of life and destruction of dwellings and infrastructure have brought death, disease and further poverty to millions.

In many parts of the world, the last decades have also seen population movements provoked by climate change and other facets of environmental catastrophe. These will become increasingly important, involving people who are among the poorest on the planet. One of the effects of capitalist projects (megadams for example) and devotion to even more extreme methods of fossil fuel extraction in many parts of the world has also taken the form of a new offensive against entire communities: in the Philippines, Canada, the Amazon, plans to transform entire regions are frontally attacking people who often belong to First Nations and other groups already facing discrimination. Fronts of popular self-organization and struggle against climate disasters and destructive projects are taking form in these areas.

The overall picture is that of a world undergoing massive changes in many regions with an increase of the number of waged workers bringing about significant social upheaval. This is happening at a time when economic development is not occurring alongside nation-states developing structures and services able to ensure better living conditions. Exactly the opposite in most cases; we observe a worsening of daily living conditions in many ways, aggravated in many regions by war and climate change. Women and young people are the most severely affected by this situation.

II / Resistance on different fronts

1 / The uneven development of the labour movement

We obviously see a significant growth of trade unionism among new employment sectors, in countries

where there is expanding industrialization and significant resistance to management demands through strikes. But this occurs, overall, in a situation where the social gains won by the "old working class" (pensions and social security, in particular) far from being extended to emerging countries, are being challenged in Europe and other industrialized countries in the name of austerity plans. Likewise, in China, which has experienced in a large number of local strikes in recent years, especially over wage issues, this has not led to the creation of trade unionism independent of the state apparatus.

Quantitatively, the working class is constantly growing. It should be noted that its centres of growth have strongly shifted to Asia, probably tomorrow to Africa. In these areas the development of trade-union forces follows numerical growth, the growing social weight of wage workers, lay the bases for class consciousness but in general they do not have the strong political structures that provided a political backbone to the European labour movement, although the contradiction in that model was to often delegate "political" questions to political parties.

Powerful workers' struggles are still taking place not only in the old industrial countries, in Latin America, but also in South Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, in Turkey, in the Indian Subcontinent, and in Asia.

But in the era of globalization the need for trade unions to take up broader issues including racism, all forms of discrimination and housing has become greater and a spur to radicalization. While there have been some attempts to organize some of the most precarious workers, such as fast-food workers in the US and to a lesser extent in Britain, in general, in old industrialized countries, the most precarious workers (younger with a higher proportion of migrants and women) are the least organized.

Other strategic questions are also posed by the current situation. Unions in many sectors are exploring the question of whether "chain of value" organizing should replace industrial

unionism in the era of globalization, i.e., a coordination of all sectors that make a single production possible. This is all the more important as the maximization of profits leads to splintering of production processes, resorting to subcontracting, on the same site, or most often, on an international level. Further, the question of union democracy is essential in building effective organizations.

The creation of a single trade union, ITUC, bringing together the vast majority of union forces worldwide, cannot hide wide disparities especially in terms of the capacity to defend the interests of employees and to oppose capitalist plans. The weakness of unions and political organizations with a Marxist and class-struggle background that conduct education among their membership has led to a lack of class-consciousness

The trade union movement is thus confronted with several crucial problems:

• Its ability to integrate all the social issues that arise in society (racism, homophobia and discrimination against women, housing). The need to integrate environmental dimensions is also a major imperative. The tension between safeguarding jobs and the struggle against harmful factories and production require establishing a system of demands making it possible to go beyond these contradictions.

• to take into account the reality of precarious work in all its forms and therefore stimulating and creating the structures to organize all those concerned, in particular by the development of structures beyond enterprises, in the zones of industrial activities, neighbourhoods and localities. This particularly affects young people who often themselves take the initiative for creating trade union branches.

• the imperative need to co-ordinate this organizing on an international scale, relying on the actual networks of the production chains in which the workers are competing against each other.

• the pressing need to create, out of

the struggle for rights, a class identity providing resistance movements the programmes necessary to challenge the capitalist structures of society and to carry through a project of overthrowing this system.

2 / Self-organization and cooperatives

In many countries, in the face of layoffs and business closings, most often by major international companies, there has been a movement to take back such firms, on the model of Zanon in Argentina, where in the wake of 2002, there are now more than 300 firms taken back by the workers. In the same vein, in Europe, a network of self-managed firms is developing around Fralib, Viome, and Rimaflo...

Moreover, up against major companies and agrifood trusts, many struggles by peasant communities have led to the founding of production cooperatives that seek to control distribution themselves.

These experiences, albeit limited, raise the question of control, of workers taking back the means of production, and also the choice of production linked to social needs. What is missing everywhere is the power of a social connection based on the solid experience of: occasional but long struggles; embryos of alternative societies; strongholds which can withstand attacks and develop alliances; spaces of confrontation; political and cultural discourses which really raise the question of the nature of an economic and social alternative.

We must try to link up in a dialectical way, the 'for' and 'against'; models of resistance and alternatives; mutualism/cooperatives and struggles for rights. We must support and encourage experiments of new forms of the direct organisation of work both salaried and cooperative. Self-management is a tool for achieving in practice the objective of rebuilding class consciousness and putting forward a new democracy from below. We need to set up bodies that finally break the old dichotomy between spontaneity and organisation and finish with the idea that political consciousness only resides in the party form which is then imported into

the struggle. Both aspects can exist beside each other in a particular phase where social practice must not be separated from theoretical and cultural analysis and discussion.

3 / Debt struggles

Over the past ten years and since the beginning of the financial crisis, the debt crisis has reached a scale far exceeding its previous dimensions. Beyond the North American sub-prime crisis and the sovereign debt crisis in the European Union, the populations of India, the Spanish state and many European countries have been and are affected. Especially with the more than ten million families expelled from their homes in recent years, and also, as in the US, the burden of student debts.

These illegitimate debts have been the vector of the creation of many movements and struggles for audits.

4 / Peasant struggles

Many local struggles have rallied peasant and indigenous movements in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe. The questions of land monopolies and of food sovereignty are at the heart of all these struggles. They have all been marked by the transversal struggles, anticapitalist, environmental, feminist, against discrimination and ethnic oppression, for migrant rights. The question of democracy, of sovereignty and the right to decide in the face of governments and multinationals is also at the heart of their demands. Via Campesina, which federates more than 160 organizations in 70 countries, has succeeded in over 20 years to bring together millions of peasant men and women, small producers. In particular it puts feminist, indigenous and environmental issues at the heart of its concerns.

In Central America, in Latin America, the struggles for the rights of Indigenous communities and the right to the land play a part, and they often face murderous repression, as in Brazil and Honduras. In Asia, in Africa - for example, in Mali - peasants mobilise against land monopolization.

5 / Role of democratic and social justice movements

Starting out from the Indignad@s movement, the movement of Public Squares in major cities in the Arab regions, the Occupy movement, since 2011 a long wave of democratic struggles emerged in Africa, in Europe and in Asia, in Mexico, with a strong youth influence which linked democratic and social issues. The wave of revolutions in the Arab region, in the Maghreb and the Middle East, had its source in democratic and social justice issues. The Indignad@s and Occupy movements in the USA and in Europe had the same roots. Recent years have seen many movements in Sub-Saharan Africa to impose democratic consultations (Nigeria, Senegal, Burkina Faso). In South Korea, President Park was brought down in March 2017 following a long democratic mobilization against corruption. Questions of dictatorships and presidents for life, postponements of elections, and corrupt regimes have been powerful motor forces for mobilization in recent years. In countries facing the emergence of authoritarian political regimes (Brazil, Eastern Europe, the Philippines...) struggles to defend democratic rights take on and will continue to occupy a central place on the political agenda.

6 / Place of youth without jobs in society

In Africa, as in Latin America, young people, particularly young students, form a social stratum exposed to unemployment and the crisis. The revolts of young Brazilians against transport costs, the student strikes in Chile, Québec, 15M, and the various Occupy movements echo the strength of social mobilization in Tunisia, and in Egypt. In the many democratic and anti-corruption mobilizations that have taken place in many West African countries, the question of living conditions and the future of youth was very present.

In all these mobilizations, the strength of youth is on the scale of the structural insecurity, the mass unemployment experienced by young people in many parts of the world. Rising educational levels have raised the expectations of an improvement in living standards. But it has only exacerbated the revolt and increased

demands for a better future for society as a whole. These movements highlight demands for political democracy, challenging the political system controlled by the capitalist and rentier oligarchies. Young people have been in recent years the driving force of revolutionary mobilizations, and have also played a key role in progressive political developments from the election of Jeremy Corbyn in Britain, the birth of Podemos or the movement behind Bernie Sanders in the US.

7 / Women's rights and mass mobilizations against violence, rape and femicide, for the right to abortion

In general terms, as regards the key issues of feminist struggles, the situation in recent years has been contradictory, given the growing presence of women in the labour force. The women's movement has developed multiple structures and mobilizations in all regions of the world, but faces a reactionary offensive in many countries, linked to the rise of neoconservative and fundamentalist currents. This offensive once again attacks fundamental rights: the right to live; the right to financial and social independence from men (parents, brothers or husbands); the ability to dress as they want; and the right to control reproductive capacity, especially through legal, free and safe access to abortion.

In recent years, an important factor of social mobilization has been the response to violence against women, in the first place femicide, in India, Turkey, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay or Mexico. Since the gigantic demonstrations in India in December 2012, many other mobilizations have taken place in as many cities: on 7 November 2015, 500,000 women mobilized in Madrid against the increase in violence and murders of women; in Argentina, hundreds of thousands of women mobilized in 2015 in response to several murders that impacted the country; in Mexico, the spread of murders and disappearances of women marked by drug trafficking to a hitherto unknown level also resulted in strong mobilizations in the country.

These mobilizations remind us of the high level of violence in many countries, violence that affects women in the first place and also weighs on the social reality: most of the countries of Central America, Mexico and Brazil and almost all of sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa have reached their highest level of homicides not linked to war.

Among the noticeable new factors, we find a tendency to fruitful dialogues with social subjects that until now had not felt themselves to be a full part of the women's and feminist movements: trans collectives, black women, indigenous women, lesbians, among others. New forms of mobilization are also present, which in some countries have included using methods such as the strike, in dialogue and debate with the trade union movement. For example, the 8 March 2017 mobilization that was called as the Women's International Strike, with a significant increase of mobilization, which allows us to foresee the rise of the feminist movement and the diversification of its alliances.

The election of Donald Trump provoked an international wave of protests on 21 January 2017 at the initiative of the women's movement, not only in several cities of the United States, but also in many cities of the world, placing the women's movement at the forefront of political struggles against reaction. The various reactionary governments that have come to power in the wave of liberal offensives, try to challenge the right to abortion won by the struggles of previous decades. In this situation mass mobilizations have had to defend and extend this right, notably in the Spanish State in 2014 and in Poland in 2016.

We should point out the international character of this new movement, which gives it a potential for growth. Countries like Argentina and Italy inspire in different latitudes the possibility of shaping emerging structures that connect struggles, tactics and strategies. The role that new technologies have played in this regard, particularly social networks as a platform for dissemination and communication, is undeniable.

8 / LGBT+ struggles

In many countries (apart from the Muslim world and most of sub-Saharan Africa), the strength of LGBT+ organizing has made possible decriminalization of same sex relations and to limited rights for trans people. In this process, same-sex marriage has obtained recognition in many places, not just rich countries, but also for example South Africa and increasingly in Latin America with most often, a broad consensus in society. Other battles are still to be won - particularly full rights for trans people and for LGBT+ parents.

The issue of violence and homophobic campaigns weighs heavily. The key role of the reactionary religious currents in opposition to the LGBT+ movement is evident everywhere, whether these currents are Christian - Catholic or Protestant -, Hindu or Muslim as well as the violence and bigotry of far right groups not tied to any religion. In emerging countries, anti LGBT+ violence is often justified by a discourse against European/American cultural models. At the same time in recent years a homonationalist current has developed justifying imperialism, notably US imperialism, against the Arab countries, as a force that can contribute to progress in LGBT+ rights. This also poses the question of intersectionality, the need to build links among all struggles against oppression.

9 / Organizations against racism and in defence of migrants

The organization of the black-led Black Lives Matter movement in the US focused particularly against police racism but highlighting broader questions of state racism is the most significant development on racism in the US since the demise of the civil rights movement. This movement has also inspired struggles led by Black youth in many other countries such as Brazil and South Africa. In many cases this includes a reaction to the war on drugs carried out by the state which is used as a pretext for the assassination of many young people in countries like Brazil, the Philippines, the USA, Mexico, Colombia... In Europe, as the murderous effects of borders and

immigration policies become more visible we have seen the growth of important movements of practical solidarity as well as political demands most notably in Greece but also in Italy, Germany, Britain and in Catalonia. The context of the struggle against terrorism as well as austerity policies have led to the resurgence of a racist discourse, a legacy of the colonial past and restructuring discriminations against racialised popular classes, the first victims of unemployment and precarity, in particular in Europe and North America.

10 / The growing movement against global warming

The rise of powerful movements against climate change in many countries can and must play a leading role in the coming years in challenging the overall system. These changes are harming and will harm the lives of hundreds of millions of women and men in the coming years. Indigenous peoples, populations living in the most precarious conditions are often the first affected, as they are affected by the policies of deforestations and large capitalist projects encroaching on their living areas. In many regions, the populations organize themselves and seek to build networks integrating other social organizations.

This shows that the questions of unemployment, working conditions are intertwined in many regions with many other social issues of prime importance and perceived as such by the populations concerned.

III / Questions of political change, struggles and anti-capitalist strategy

The essential question is of course emancipatory perspectives able to structure these social and political movements. The experiences of Via Campesina, of several labour union sectors, and of climate coalitions show that, especially among youth, undertaking action directly on the

international field and challenging capitalist society is a natural process.

But many of the structures resulting from the rising wave of ultra-globalization (WSF, World March of Women, ATTAC, ...) experienced a brake on their development in this confrontation and entered into crisis. In recent years Via Campesina and the CADTM have managed to ensure their development, with the central focus on the one hand on peasant resistance struggles and on the other on the debt issue as well as the process of citizen audits. The situation is difficult for the traditional labour movement on which national policies of consensus or compromise with austerity policies weigh heavily. And even the wave of alternative unions in Eastern Europe has run out of steam in recent years. Similarly, all the experiences of large-scale anti-capitalist groupings in the aftermath of the social forums were halted; also linked to the crisis of European organizations that were involved in it (SWP, SSP, LCR / NPA, etc.).

We must address new challenges in the construction of an international revolutionary movement, an anti-capitalist movement based on the defence of rights and social justice.

There is, of course, a battle of a new order in many parts of the world.

As discussed above, social attacks, austerity policies, and the fragmentation of old structures of social compromise create an increasingly powerful social anger. This anger turns against the national and international institutions, the leaders and the parties responsible for these attacks, which were often the traditional pillars of political systems. This wearing out, this erosion, poses a strategic question at the international level: it gives the revolutionaries, the currents of the social movements which fight against these reactionary policies, the responsibility of proposing a political perspective that can give a progressive, revolutionary vector to the rejection of the system. We are seeing a whole generation of young socialists who have been mobilising on issues such as the climate, the women's movement, etc. That will help develop our

organisations as well as the trade union and student organisations. This facilitates a better gender balance and encourages the raising of political questions in these movements (this also applies to Europe where the emergence of young women's organisations in various universities can be a basis for an international network of student movements).

Struggles for democracy and social justice as such do not automatically lead to a struggle for the overthrow of the systems of oppression.

The last few years have brought forth a clear political question. Confronted with the challenge to the dictatorships in Tunisia and the Middle East, the progressive regimes in Central America or the anti-austerity social eruptions, reactionary forces have taken an offensive course everywhere, notably by strengthening authoritarian regimes capable of confronting these movements of emancipation. This calls for implementation of a strategy capable of both organizing popular mobilization and being able to confront reactionary counter-offensives.

Moreover, a struggle is resurfacing among the popular classes, between class struggle or clearly socialist currents, and reactionary religious or fascistic far-right currents. The influence of religion has always been very strong in popular milieus; often when they organize, rural or urban communities use religious references in putting forward demands for social justice against the rich and the powerful. Cohabitation with organizations with such references is of course possible for revolutionary socialist organizations. But the problem we face in various regions is reactionary religious currents and far right currents. In Europe and the USA, these currents in working class communities play on the usual mechanisms in times of crisis to deflect the anti-capitalist struggle (fear of immigrants and foreigners, nationalist nostalgia...) plus, notably in Europe, on rampant Islamophobia. In other traditionally Muslim regions, organizations have built hegemony over a section of the popular classes that diverts aspirations for social justice or the fight against the

imperialist countries to a mythologizing of the ancient times of Islam. All these ideologies are based on the popular anger provoked by the crisis and / or the disappearance of the systems of social protection, of public services, the rise of precarious work. They divert people from an anti-capitalist struggle towards the return to religious order, an imaginary identity or a nation, carrying all the ready-made reactionary submission to natural order, the patriarchal family, homophobia and misogyny. Often, identity-based issues thus become a structural framework both in imperialist metropolises as well as in dominated countries, which can lead to an infinite logic of falling back on confessional identities.

But this competition for the popular audience makes it necessary for anti-capitalist organizations in the social and political movements to give a new life and energy to the perspective of social equality in a society free from capitalism and exploitation.

But on another level, we must answer another challenge: building mass organizations in the social movement to face the attacks and aggressions of the system, and at the same time constructing all the links necessary to bring together resistance on all fronts. The dangers of falling back on identities, the weakness of political responses advocating social change can become a common reference, imposing intersectionality more than

ever, to work towards convergence of anti-oppression movements, as in the example of the dynamics of Black Lives Matter in the USA.

On the political terrain, the whole question is how to build political strategies which, far from being limited to institutional perspectives, provide the space needed for self-organization of social movements. Such forces must champion popular demands; and put experiences of institutional administration at the service of this social movement, while directly addressing the capitalists' economic power. On this point, the latest experiences are hardly positive.

In the first decade of this century, only Latin America witnessed the election of governments identified as the extension of these social movements, but without transforming the living conditions of the populations so as to revitalize prospects for social emancipation. The evolution of the Ecuadorean, Bolivian, and Venezuelan governments has not brought about a change of cycle and the need to break with perspectives based on, in particular, extractivist policies. Trade unions and social movements find themselves having to resist politicians who have not kept their promises.

In another way in the Maghreb (North Africa) and Egypt, popular movements, based on the mobilization of youth and trade union forces, made it possible to overthrow dictatorial regimes. They also now find

themselves in a stance of resistance. However, we can see the emergence of elements of regional dynamics between movements in the Maghreb countries and those in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In Greece, the betrayal by the Tsipras government brought to power by the rejection of austerity policies is now leaving the social movement with the responsibility of rebuilding a political alternative with the radical left political currents. In the Spanish State, Podemos, a direct outcome of the Indignad@s social mobilizations, is today confronting the social movement with a similar situation. The strategic discussions in Podemos carried by Anticapitalistas for a direct confrontation with austerity policies is in resonance with the demands carried by the social movement from which it emerged.

Finally, in the various regions where political changes have taken place through social mobilization, social movements are facing a defensive situation in a context of the development of strong fightbacks that are signs of hope.

The key issue in the coming years will not only be organizing adequately to counter the attacks sustained, but also the political capacity to build, alongside the social mobilizations, a political movement for emancipation capable of frontally challenging capitalism.

The capitalist destruction of the environment and the ecosocialist alternative

11 April 2018

In memory of Berta Caceres, indigenous activist, ecologist and feminist from Honduras, assassinated on the 3rd of March 2016 by the henchmen of the multinationals and in memory of the martyrs in the struggles for environmental justice.

1. Introduction

1.1. The pressure humanity exerts on the Earth System has been growing ever more rapidly since the 1950s. Geologists consider that we are now in a new geological era, the Anthropocene. At the beginning of the 21st century, it has reached an extremely alarming level, and

continues to grow in almost all areas. Thresholds are already exceeded in some areas, particularly greenhouse gases concentration in the atmosphere. This increasing quantitative pressure, observable everywhere and in most fields, leads to a qualitative shift that could be abrupt (within a few decades) and largely irreversible. The Earth System

would then enter a new dynamic equilibrium regime, characterized by very different geophysical conditions and an even more marked decrease in its biological richness. At the least, in addition to the consequences for other living creatures, the transition to this new regime would endanger the lives of hundreds of millions of poor people, especially women, children and the elderly. At the most, it cannot be excluded that it contributes to a collapse of our species.

1.2. The danger increases day by day, but the catastrophe can be averted, or at least limited and contained. It is not human existence in general that is the determining cause of the threat, but the mode of production and social reproduction of this existence, which also includes its mode of distribution, consumption and cultural values. The mode in force for about two centuries - capitalism - is unsustainable because competition for profit, its driving force, implies a blind tendency to limitless quantitative growth. During the 20th century, the countries of "really existing socialism" were unable to offer an alternative to the productivist destruction of the environment to which they also contributed in an important way. At the beginning of the 21st century, humanity is confronted with the unprecedented obligation to control its development in all fields in order to make it compatible with the limits and the good health of the environment in which it has developed. No political project can ignore the conclusion of scientific studies on "global change". On the contrary, every political project must be assessed first of all by how it takes into account the risk, the systemic responses it brings, the conformity of these responses with the fundamental requirements of human dignity, and their articulation with its program in the other areas, particularly in the social and economic sphere.

2. A deep gap between the urgency of a

radical ecosocialist alternative on the one hand and the relationship of forces and the levels of consciousness on the other hand.

2.1. An entirely different relationship of humankind to the environment is an urgent necessity. This new relationship, based on a caring model for both humans and the environment, will not be simply the result of individual changes in behaviour. Rather it needs a structural change in the relationships between humans: the total and global eradication of capitalism as the mode of production of social existence. This total eradication is indeed the necessary condition for a rational, economical and prudent management in the exchanges of matter between humanity and the rest of nature. Sciences and technologies can facilitate this management, but only on the condition that their development is not subjected to the dictates of capitalist profit. The dichotomy between the country and the city makes the development of ecosocialist consciousness difficult. Cities, particularly the big urban centres, literally devour biodiversity. There is an alienation both in terms of the management of common resources and people's relationship to them - the urban population does not know where the water and the food they consume comes from or who produces them and under what conditions.

2.2. The decision of the COP 21 to fix the danger threshold for global warming at 1.5 degrees centigrade is a success and something that helps the movement. Nevertheless green capitalism and the Paris agreement do not allow us to get rid of the environmental destruction in general and of the dangers of climate denial in particular. The struggle to defend the planet and against global warming and climate change requires the

broadest possible coalition involving not just the power of the indigenous movements and the labour movement but also the social movements that have strengthened and radicalized in recent years and have played an increasing role in the climate movement in particular. The alternative can only come from a worldwide policy which satisfies real human needs. These are not determined by the market but by a democratic discussion that allows people to take their destiny in their own hands, liberated from market alienation. This will break the impersonal logic of productivist accumulation typical of capitalism.

2.3. The key demands of this alternative are:

1- the socialization of the energy sector: this is the only way to break free of a fossil energy economy, stop nuclear energy, reduce radically the production/consumption of energy and realize as fast as possible the transition towards a renewable, decentralized and efficient energy system according to ecological and social imperatives;

2- the socialization of the credit sector: this is essential given the interweaving of the energy and financial sectors in heavy and long-term investments and in order to have the necessary financial resources for transition investments;

3- the abolition of private ownership of natural resources (land, water, forests, wind, solar energy, geothermal energy, marine resources, ...) and intellectual knowledge;

4- the destruction of all stocks of arms, the suppression of useless (weapons etc.) or harmful products (petrochemicals, nuclear energy), the production of use values decided democratically instead of exchange values;

5- a common and democratic management of resources at the service of real human needs, with respect for the good functioning and the capacities for renewal by the ecosystems;

6- the abolition of all forms of

inequality and discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual preferences; emancipation of all the oppressed, particularly the emancipation of women and people of color;

7- the abolition of imposed working hours for the production of commodities as an alienating category that destroys leisure time and discourages non-commodified human activities;

8- a long-term socio-economic policy aiming at rebalancing urban and rural populations and overcoming the opposition between town and countryside;

2.4. There is a deep gap between this objectively necessary alternative and both the social relationship of forces and the current levels of consciousness. This gap can only be closed by concrete struggles of the exploited and the oppressed in the defence of their living conditions and of the environment. By winning immediate demands, broader layers will radicalize and their struggles will converge. They will formulate transitional demands incompatible with capitalist logic.

In this strategic framework, some key demands are:

1 - disinvest from the fossil fuel sector; stop subsidies for the development of projects based on fossil energy and its combustion; oppose public-private partnerships that currently dominate the energy sector worldwide;

2- mobilize against all extractivist projects - especially new oil exploitation such as shale gas (fracking) and large-scale useless investments at the service of the fossil sector (airports, motorways etc.);

(These three demands can be raised agitatingly using the slogan 'Keep the oil in the soil and the coal in the hole' which expresses our willingness to mobilize against climate catastrophe.)

3- stop nuclear energy, end the exploitation of coal, tar sands and lignite;

4- support for mass educational

programs concerning ecological sustainability;

5- refuse any capitalist appropriation of land, of oceans and of their resources;

6- defend women's rights beginning with the fight against all attempts to criminalize women's decisions concerning their reproductive capacities. Free abortion and contraception on demand, paid for by the social security/health care system. De-feminize and de-privatize caring for the young, the sick, the elderly. These are communal responsibilities;

7- recognize the first nations/indigenous people's right to self-determination. Recognize their knowledge and their sustainable management of the ecosystems;

8- give refugee status to the victims of ecological/climate disasters; full respect for the democratic rights of refugees including freedom of movement and settlement;

9- ensure a decent social security system with guarantees for all individuals, and including adequate pensions;

10- abolish multilateral and bilateral free trade agreements; remove ecological technologies from GATTs;

11- respect the Green Fund commitments (\$100 billion / year) to be made in the form of grants not loans. Public management of the Green Fund, not by the World Bank but by representatives of the countries of the South, under the control of communities and social movements;

12- tax international air and maritime transport; the product of this tax should go directly to the countries of the South as a (partial) compensation of the ecological debt and this tax rate should be regularly raised.

13- recognize the ecological debt to the countries of the South. Abolish (without compensation except for small shareholders) public debts used by imperialism to impose an unjust and unsustainable development model;

14- tax financial transactions and

construct a redistributive fiscal reform so that owners of capital and their inheritors pay for the transition;

15- abolish the patent system and in particular, stop all patents on life and on technologies concerning energy conversion and storage. End the theft of indigenous peoples' ancestral knowledge, notably by pharmaceutical companies;

16- reorganize public research; end the system that submits research to private industry;

17- promote food sovereignty and the protection of biodiversity by agrarian reforms;

18- put in place an ecological, local agriculture, without GMOs nor pesticides and recognize it as a public good;

19- abolish industrial animal breeding; strongly reduce production/consumption of meat. Respect animal welfare;

20- ban advertising and institute recycle, reuse, reduce: end the consumerist, wasteful and energy-demanding model imposed by capital;

21- establish free energy and water for basic necessities and, above this threshold, impose strongly progressive tariffs tied to usage in order to fight against waste while insuring basic access; develop a strategy to extend distribution of free goods (basic food products) and services (public transport, education, health care, etc.);

22- guarantee to workers, whose companies are to be closed within the framework of the transition, the right to propose alternative production needed to build a sustainable infrastructure, if those plans prove unrealistic, workers will maintain the right to retraining, new work or retirement ;

23- develop public enterprises aimed at job creation through the implementation of the ecological transition regardless of profit, under workers' and citizens' control (in particular in the fields of electricity generation, water management, construction-insulation-renovation of

buildings, mobility of people through the exit of the "all-car" system, recycling of waste and repairing of ecosystems);

25- reduce working time without wage loss, with lower work rates; implement proportional hiring (especially of youth, women and minorities): together with the development of the public sector, this is the best way to reconcile the reduction of production and energy consumption with full employment and a democratic transition;

24- guarantee workers' right to organize and exert control in the workplace, in particular on occupational health, product sustainability, production efficiency, etc. Protection of whistle blowers;

26- reform of urban areas aimed at breaking land speculation, "de-artificialising" the city (through fostering community gardening and urban agriculture, restoring biotopes embedded in the urban framework) and freeing it from the car in favour of public transport and "soft" mobility (developing areas exclusively for walking and biking);

27- denounce the militarisation of the climate issue by the big powers who cynically aim to take advantage of the catastrophe for geo-strategic aims.

2.5. This program is not exhaustive; it is and will continue to be enriched by concrete struggles. In an ecosocialist perspective, this enrichment must be guided by the main aspects of a just transition: environmental and social justice, common but differentiated responsibilities, fight against inequality and for an improvement of living conditions, the end to green colonialism and environmental racism, prioritising collective solutions, internationalism, the principle of precaution. Above all, the exploited and the oppressed must develop their empowerment by democracy, decentralization, control and the collective appropriation or re-appropriation of the commons. What is common is defined by the social process of its democratic construction, not by nature which would make certain things as "commons", while others would be doomed to private

appropriation.

The above demands do not therefore constitute a bespoke, finished solution: they indicate the general way forward for an anti-capitalist, internationalist, ecosocialist and ecofeminist perspective that will change all spheres of activity (production, reproduction, distribution, consumption) and will be accompanied by a profound change in cultural values. They are applicable separately, but an end to the crisis is possible only through their coordinated and planned application. These measures form a coherent whole, incompatible with the normal functioning of the capitalist system. There is no other way to deal with the urgency of the situation.

3. Wage-labour, alienation and ecosocialism

3.1. The exploited and the oppressed alone can lead the environmental struggle to its goal because the abolition of the capitalist system corresponds to their class interests. Yet capital incorporates the worker by the purchase of his/her/their labour power. Commodification and destruction of the environment are the result. Under the "normal" circumstances of the capitalist mode of production, daily existence of working people depends on the functioning of the system which mutilates them directly and, by mutilating their environment, indirectly. This contradiction makes it both very difficult and of decisive importance to mobilize the labour movement in the ecological struggle. In the present moment given the restructuring of the economy with its mass unemployment and deterioration in the relationship of forces between capital and labour this difficulty has increased. Certain sectors lean towards a protectionist position, indeed to climate denial. Indeed in certain cases climate defence is used as a pretext for capitalist attacks, or unionists have the illusion that doubting this reality could help to avoid the destruction of jobs in fossil fuel sectors. Fostering a debate on

ecosocialist alternatives and helping to develop a left wing breaking with class collaboration is therefore a task of prime strategic importance

3.2 Left-wing sectors are taking part in environmental struggles - e.g "Trade Unions for Energy Democracy", "Labor Network for Sustainability" and the "Climate Jobs Campaigns". These initiatives engage trade unions and their membership to overcome the fear of massive job losses. All those important union initiatives attribute the responsibility for getting out of the fossils economy to polluting companies and the governments who protect and subsidize them. As such, they develop anticapitalist demands which can be amplified and coordinated when workers are confronted with the severity of the ecological crisis. For example, "Trade Unions for Energy Democracy" defends the socialization of energy. The demand for a Just Transition expresses at one and the same time a consciousness of the necessity of ending the use of fossil fuels and a workers' refusal to pay the costs of de-carbonisation. It is clear that pro-capitalist forces will try to limit the radicalism of these campaigns by insisting that they remain within a framework of "respect for the competitiveness of companies" (ITUC, Vancouver Congress, resolution on "Just Transition"). Furthermore, campaigns for climate jobs are sometimes based on too optimistic projections concerning the "growth" of employment thanks to the transition. Sustainability creates the necessity of a reduction of production, and this is not always taken into account. The closure of harmful industries - from the production of weapons to coal-fired electricity plants - and the reconversion of the production of cars into the production and maintenance of a system of mass public transport are priority measures of the transition. Indeed, the transition will create a growth of employment in other sectors. For example, the dismantlement of agribusiness in favour of ecological farming and the development of a public or community sector, under democratic control, will offer possibilities for reconversion.

We must also take into account the fact that reorganizing activities

according to social needs, and the reduction of inequalities, constitute objectives which are not limited to a specific region. They constitute global objectives implying new jobs for repairing the damage inflicted on the countries of the South. However, a global reduction of material production is necessary. The workers movement must give an answer to this by demanding a reduction of working hours without loss of wages. A radical reduction of working hours is the antiproductivist demand "par excellence". It constitutes the best way to "manage in a rational way the exchange of matter with nature and at the same time respecting human dignity", reconciling full employment and the suppression of useless and wasteful production and planned obsolescence.

3.3. The deterioration of the balance of power between capital and labor has resulted in a deterioration in working conditions. The health of the most precarious workers is especially endangered. Thus the fight against the increase in occupational diseases constitutes a lever to increase workers' awareness of the fact that Capital destroys both the Earth and the laborer. This destruction includes rising psycho-social risks, resulting not only from the forms of organization and control of workers, but also from the environmental damage that many workers are forced to implement by the dictates of capital. The defense of workers health is also a lever for the often difficult convergence of demands by the workers of polluting companies with the surrounding populations - who also suffer from this pollution - and movements for the environment. The asbestos scandal has shown that hard struggles can be carried out when the workers of a polluting factory, their families and the local community are victims of the callous bosses who expose them to these toxic products

4. Women's struggles and ecosocialism

4.1. Indigenous peoples, peasants and youth are at the forefront of

environmental struggles, and women play a leading role in these three sectors. This situation is the product of their specific oppression, not their biological sex- as the non-essentialist ecofeminists have shown. Patriarchy imposes social functions on women directly linked to "caring" and places them at the forefront of environmental challenges. Because they produce 80% of the food in the countries of the South, women are directly confronted with the ravages of climate change and agribusiness. Because they take on most of the child-rearing and home maintenance tasks, women are directly confronted with the effects of environmental destruction and poisoning on the health and education of their communities.

4.2. On the ideological level, women's movements remember how women's bodies have been used in the name of science (forced sterilization campaigns, etc.). This instrumentalist view has been another tool of domination and manipulation.

4.3. Women's struggles also have a special, valuable and irreplaceable contribution to the development of a global anticapitalist consciousness that favors the integration of struggles. According to the UN the full range of modern family-planning methods still remain unavailable to at least 350 million couples world-wide. More than 220 million women are denied basic reproductive services "which can be (and often are) the difference between life and death. 74,000 women die every year as a result of failed back-street abortions" a disproportionate number of these in the Global South. Every year, around 288,000 women die from preventable causes related to pregnancy and childbirth and 99% of them occur in developing countries. By fighting against the patriarchal appropriation of their bodies and against the exploitation of their free domestic work, women grow to realize that capitalism relies not only on the appropriation of nature and the exploitation of the labor force through wage labor but also on the patriarchal invisibility of the labor of care and reproduction of the labor force. Added to these three pillars of capitalism is a fourth, exploitation based on race. All have a common denominator that is

the appropriation of natural resources, in which the human workforce is a part. Women's struggles (i) for the right to control their bodies, sexuality and reproductive capacities, free of violence, (ii) against sexist and racist discrimination in the wage labor market and in production in general, and (iii) for social recognition and reorganization of domestic work are thus an integral part of the ecosocialist struggle. The struggles of women deepen and enlarge the horizon of liberation.

5. The agrarian question and ecosocialism

5.1 Around the world farmers, landless peasants and agricultural workers are the world's most heavily involved social sector in the fight for the environment in general and climate in particular. This vanguard role is attributable to the brutal aggression of capital, which wants to eliminate the independent peasants and replace them with agricultural workers, subcontracted workers and the unemployed (in order to put pressure on wages). The industrial agricultural system produces cheap goods at low cost for the market rather than quality food for local populations. Peasant unions such as Via Campesina carry out organizational and awareness-raising work, including helping the landless take over abandoned lands.

5.2 Unlike salaried workers, small-scale farmers are not incorporated into capital. Although production for the market tends to impose productivist objectives and methods on them, they also retain the mentality of the craftsperson anxious to do "fine work". Despite a powerful capitalist enemy, they mobilize to retain or reconquer the ownership of their means of production. But the very unequal balance of power in the face of agribusiness and large-scale distribution forces them to seek alliances with other social movements, in particular with wage-earners and the environmental movement. Agricultural workers, especially undocumented seasonal workers who

are over-exploited, have little prospect of leaving the ultra-precarious margins of wage-earners. Despite employer intimidations and even repression, some have managed to form unions and raise their wages and working conditions. Their struggle is objectively anti-capitalist.

5.3 The importance of the agrarian question should not be judged only by the proportion of farmers in the labor force, but based on five objective facts:

5.3.1 The industrial modes of agricultural production and fisheries are at the center of decisive human health issues (obesity, cardiac diseases, allergies, etc.) and the protection of the environment, which reveal the destructive force of capital. Changes in behavior by consumers will not lead the ecological transition, but choices made in food consumption can support the reorientation of agriculture and have a significant ecological impact. The demand of "food sovereignty" makes it more difficult for multinational companies to use food as a weapon against the struggles of the people. It makes it possible to unify consumers and producers around practices generating anti-capitalist consciousness.

5.3.2. Women play an important role in agricultural production, making up 43% of the agricultural workforce in so-called "developing" countries. Patriarchal discrimination is reflected in the smaller size of their farms and livestock, the lower level of mechanization, a heavier workload for a lower yield (due to the weight of what are considered 'non-productive' chores - such as obtaining water and firewood), less access to training and credit (but a more important part than men in microcredit). The emancipation of women farmers as women is one of the decisive conditions for addressing both the challenge of food sovereignty and ecological agriculture. It is therefore an ecosocialist issue in itself.

5.3.3. The agricultural-forestry sector as a whole is responsible for more than 40% of greenhouse gas emissions. Agribusiness is also a key agent for chemical poisoning of the

biosphere, while industrial fishing and water pollution by agribusiness are key determinants of the biodiversity loss in aquatic environments. At the same time, warming threatens land productivity and acidification, caused by rising CO2 levels, threaten aquatic ecosystems.

5.3.4. Biodiversity loss will not be stopped fundamentally by the creation of nature reserves but by the development of ecological agriculture. Moreover, reducing greenhouse gas emissions to zero is no longer sufficient to curb climate change. In the coming decades carbon must be removed from the atmosphere. Given the logic of profitability, capital can only react with dangerous technologies such as geo-engineering and a general appropriation of "ecosystemic services". Peasant farming and rational forestry are the only means of achieving this removal efficiently and safely while respecting social justice. Thus the protection of biodiversity and the climate reinforce the need for the ecosocialist alternative. The decisive role of agro-ecological farming is materially grounded in this overall alternative.

5.3.5. The transition to environmentally friendly agriculture, fisheries and forestry is a major condition for building an ecosocialist society. This aspect is of the same importance as the democracy of producers and the use of 100% renewable energy. However, agro-ecology is more labor-intensive than industrial agriculture. The transition to sustainable forestry and the restoration / protection of ecosystems entail an increase in the share of the population invested in these activities. To answer this challenge requires a long-term policy of upgrading agricultural trades, training workers, equipping rural areas with infrastructure, personal services and building urban gardens.

6. Indigenous peoples, buen vivir and ecosocialism

In North, Central and South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania, indigenous

peoples are on the front line. Their struggle often combines with that of peasants and rural communities, but it is specific. Indigenous peoples produce their social existence from a direct relationship with the environment they have shaped and which constitutes their way of life. As a result, these peoples are blocking many powerful capitalist players eager to plunder natural resources: oil, gas, mining, wood, pulp, meat multinationals, agribusiness, pharmaceutical sector and those who finance carbon offsetting disguised as ecological defenders of the forest. All of these extractivist plunderers generally act with the complicity of national governments and local authorities, who invoke development goals and ecological needs to conceal their greed and neocolonial contempt for indigenous peoples. For their part, these peoples generally have no title to property or the resources of their environment. They have no other means but to struggle against displacement. Through their struggle indigenous peoples protect and make known their world outlook, which is a precious asset to the whole of humanity and an inspiration for ecosocialism. As capitalism seeks to push them aside and appropriate their resources and their knowledge, they play a vanguard role in the struggle for a society of ecological balance. Even when indigenous people live in urban areas, they maintain ties to their communities and culture although they also face particular problems within cities, including discrimination. They rightly look for allies to strengthen their fight.

7. Self-management, control and political prospects

7.1. The profound changes in lifestyle and development prospects that ecological transition requires cannot be imposed from above, either authoritatively or technocratically. They are only feasible if the majority of the population acquires the conviction that they are indispensable and compatible with a significant

improvement in their living conditions, hence desirable. This requires a major shift in consciousness to value time, control over what is produced, and unalienated labour over endless material things. Therefore popular education about the severity of environmental destruction and its causes is essential. In the face of capitalist deception, the movement for sustainability must stimulate democratic processes of active control, take charge of the transition, intervene in public decision-making, and even take over production and social reproduction, as well as protect endangered ecosystems. By their very nature, these processes combine with the struggles of oppressed nationalities for their social rights and democratic right to self-determination. It is a matter of sketching in practice the invention of emancipated relationships between human beings, and between humanity and the rest of nature, to show that "another world is possible". These practices of the social sectors most involved in struggles encourage the workers' movement to combat the influence of protectionism and productivism within it.

7.2. The movement for the divestment of fossil fuels and the transition towns' movement must be actively supported. In general, the experiences of workers' control, citizen control, participatory management and self-management, as well as women's struggles for social recognition and the sharing of domestic tasks, favor an anti-capitalist consciousness and project that includes the ecosocialist dimension at its core. Experiments in cooperative ecological agriculture, particularly in Europe but especially in Latin America, demonstrate this and also have an influence in the labor movement. Many self-management production experiments also involve fired, excluded and precarious workers, even undocumented migrants and asylum-seekers. These alternatives provide an immediate response to massive and permanent social exclusion, which degrades the lives and dignity of people. They have an important place in an ecosocialist strategy because they refuse fatalism, create solidarity and enlarge the circles of environmental activists.

It is, however, an illusion to believe

that their generalization would make it possible to avoid ecological catastrophe. Structural socio-economic measures, in particular the socialization of credit and energy, are absolutely necessary. Transitional initiatives must be based on democratic planning, meeting social needs while respecting ecological constraints. Without such an articulation, these initiatives may have an effect of depoliticisation, or even constitute long term coexistence with a profit-based system.

7.3. The struggle against major fossil infrastructures is a key element in the general movement of interference, control and transition. Mass demonstrations, occupations of sites, mines, and civil disobedience campaigns make it possible to concretely oppose the "growth" and "extractivist" dynamics of capital. These fights have a key importance in defending the ecosystems and the human communities that live there and shape them. They are of strategic importance in defending the climate because the current level of infrastructure constitutes a bottleneck in the development of fossil capital. Thus they constitute a privileged means of building bridges between the struggles of peasants, indigenous peoples, youth, women and from there, to challenge the labor movement to join the struggle. The international networking of these resistances makes it possible to improve the balance of power, to dispel the accusations of NIMBYISM and to reinforce the legitimacy of the demands. In some cases, this can impose reforms which, while remaining within the capitalist framework, serve as a basis for subsequent radicalization.

7.4. The necessary convergence of social and environmental struggles is not a gathering of a stable compromise but a dynamic process of clarification, recomposition and radicalization. Such a process involves multiple conflicts between social sectors, particularly conflicts with sectors of the labor movement that engage in class collaboration with productivism. While demonstrating the necessary tactical sense and emphasizing the benefits of the ecological transition to workers

(especially in terms of jobs and health), it is necessary to challenge the workers movement under protectionist and productivist influence. In a conflict between the social sectors involved in the environment and sectors of the workers movement believing in productivism we defend the former whilst trying to convince workers to change their point of view. In these cases, we must try to propose solid programmatic alternatives aiming at improving the rights and well being of both workers and communities. They should not pay for the decisions of the corporations and governments that supported them.

7.5. To win the labor movement and other social actors to the struggle for an ecosocialist transitional program is ultimately achievable only through the emergence of political alternatives for a comprehensive plan of structural anticapitalist reforms that satisfies both social needs and environmental constraints. Without the construction of such political alternatives, and without their articulation with social movements, this will always be a chimera: the environment will be sacrificed on the altar of the social, or vice versa. The creation of an ecosocialist government that breaks with capitalism through social mobilization is the cornerstone of an ecosocialist emergency program. But there is no possible ecosocialism in one country. The formation of such a government is, in turn, only a transitory stage of a permanent process which aims at the overthrow of capitalism on the whole surface of the globe.

8. Technologies, self management and decentralization

8.1 "The Commune is the political form finally found of the emancipation of labor," announced Marx in his work on the Paris Commune. In the 19th century, capitalism created an increasingly uniform and centralized energy system, whose technical and political control involved a large

bureaucratic apparatus and a complex system of delegations of power. This system is obviously not the cause of the bureaucratic degeneration of the USSR - which was the result of the Stalinist counter-revolution - but it favored it to some extent. Conversely, the flexibility and modularity of renewable technologies are no guarantee for socialist democracy, but they open up new possibilities for anticapitalist structural reforms. These can be aimed at decentralized territorial development, organized around the democratic control and use by local communities of the renewable energy resources available locally. But the realization of these possibilities depends on the class struggle. The confiscation of only part of the fortunes accumulated by the Arab petro-monarchies would suffice to finance regional projects of alternative development in the Near and Middle East based on solar energy and directed towards the satisfaction of local social needs. Similarly, it is deplorable that the so-called "progressive" Latin American governments have not invested a large portion of the revenues of fossil exploitation in social and ecological transition plans aimed at another type of decentralized development: democratic, more urban-rural balanced, community-based and 100% renewable.

8.2. Renewable energy technologies also modify the link between structural measures and control or self-management experiences at the territorial level, with new possibilities for energy autonomy. Social technologies play an important role because they create long lasting and autonomous alternatives to the market. This contributes to the defence of common resources and communal knowledge. The project of a democratic eco-socialist society based on a network of decentralized bodies of power thus regains credibility. The physical nature and the difficulty of storage of electrical energy make it easier to manage in a decentralized, combined and complementary system than in the current system, which is subjected to the dictates of the market. Along with food sovereignty this field of struggle is particularly important for the countries of the South, as part of an alternative

development model to the imperialist model. Generally the continental or sub-continental level is adequate for articulating a new conception of development based on the self-management of territories and for providing links between the local and the global.

9. Environmental destruction and the social role of scientists

Capitalist responses are insufficient ecologically and socially unjust because they are biased due to the assimilation of market rules with unavoidable natural laws. This reality pushes some scientists to engage in the struggle. Their commitment is against the background of the increasing fragmentation of scientific research and its increasingly strong subordination to the needs of capital. A growing number of researchers perceive the necessity of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary work that implies collaboration with social movements. In this context, an opportunity arises to redefine "knowledge", liberating it from capital. Scientists are further challenged by the rise of irrationality and the denial of objective facts within certain sectors of the ruling class, two reactionary traits embodied in particular by Donald Trump. Ecosocialists need to encourage scientists to speak out. It is not a question of subjecting the social movement to the dictatorship of "science" or of experts, but rather of putting expertise at the service of the movement, even while stimulating criticism. This can greatly increase the credibility and legitimacy of anti-capitalist options. In particular, the experience of international scientific cooperation is a powerful asset in developing and deepening internationalism.

10. Self-

organization of the affected populations

The capacity to ward off the coming environmental catastrophe is behind schedule. As we already witness, "anthropogenic" ecological disasters are therefore likely to multiply, particularly due to extreme weather events (floods, cyclones, etc.). This creates situations of disorganization and chaos exploited by speculators with the aim of domination (political, economic, geo-strategic). At the same time, these same situations may be conducive to initiatives aiming at building solidarity networks that are alternative to imperialist agencies. This self-organization of aid, reception of refugees and even reconstruction of social life in general is critical to building social solidarity. These initiatives then benefit from a great legitimacy because they become vital in these circumstances and are more efficient than international aid. Such a perspective is an integral part of our ecosocialist strategy as a revolutionary strategy. More generally, the failure of capitalism to respond to the growing ecological crisis poses an alternative: either we succumb to devastation or we rescue ourselves.

11. Ecosocialism and internationalism

11.1. In the ecosocialist emergency plan, the requirements of localization of production and food sovereignty are part of a self-management and internationalist perspective that is radically opposed to both capitalist globalization and "free trade" on the one hand, and to capitalist protectionism and national sovereignty, on the other. In developed countries in particular, the greatest vigilance is required in the face of the far right's attempt to shift ecological demands towards nationalist pseudo-responses. These are always at the service of capital and make the link with the racist,

islamophobic and reactionary-traditionalist themes. These attempts are most often found in the demand for localization of production and food sovereignty. It is therefore crucial to frame demands to these issues carefully.

11.2. We are opposed to the relocation of companies to low-cost countries, and are in favor of localization of production in general, but we do not support the demand for relocation in imperialist countries of companies that have moved towards low-cost countries. This idea would entail that workers in low-cost countries should lose their jobs so that those in the imperialist countries will regain their own. Instead of uniting the workers of different countries against their exploiters, this demand puts them in competition, and therefore disarms them in the face of the pressure of employers for market competitiveness. The location of production is part of an entirely different project, based on ecological and social needs, in particular the right to employment and income for all, close to the place they are living. Similarly, food sovereignty, for us, is not national sovereignty, but a sovereignty at the level of territories historically defined by communities. They must respect their own history. We defend solidarity between communities in order to manage common resources and exchange them on the basis of solidarity and complementarity rather than on competition and over exploitation.

11.3. In general, various formulas of "Left-wing Protectionism based on solidarity" support the idea that competition from low-wage countries that do not protect the environment are the decisive cause of industrial job losses in developed countries. Yet the main cause of these job losses is the increase in labor productivity, whether through intensifying the work day, automation or outsourcing to facilities where workers have fewer rights and a lower wage package. The obvious solution is to reduce working hours but that has been blocked by the deterioration of the balance of power between labor and capital. By adopting the obsolete vision of a global economy based on competition among countries, while the dominant

role today is played by multinationals, "left-wing protectionism" divert attention from the capital-labor contradiction to an interclass front in defense of competitiveness. "Left-wing protectionism" pretends to be internationalist, but it is silent on the destructive competition of low-cost agribusiness exports from developed countries to the South—such as corn shipped from the United States that has destroyed most Mexican milpa farms—and other manifestations of imperialist domination. The danger of racist contamination starting with chauvinist positions is significant. Indeed, in the more developed countries, the defense of employment by safeguarding the competitiveness of firms against the competition of low-wage countries can easily change into the defense of employment by combating illegal or foreign workers' competition, since the latter represent, so to speak, "a third world at home". It is precisely in this deadly trap that the extreme right wants to attract the labor movement and the environmental movement.

There is no shortcut, no possible front between capitalists and their workforce, that can confront both unemployment and destruction of the ecosystem. Instead workers must develop solidarity campaigns where they can find unity and strength to overcome the crisis.

11.4. An Ecosocialist government, brought to power as the result of the mobilization of the exploited and the oppressed, would begin to break with capitalism through measures such as the monopoly of foreign trade, control of capital movements and so on. But this does not mean protecting capitalist companies from international competition. Quite the opposite, it is a matter of protecting anti-capitalist policies while calling on the exploited and oppressed of other countries to join the fight. This is an internationalist perspective for overthrowing world capitalism. Such a policy is at the very opposite of "protectionism", which always amounts to subordinating ecological and social demands to the needs of strengthening national capitalism on the world market, that is to say, ultimately, to free trade.

11.5. Ecosocialism can begin at the national level but can only be achieved at the world scale. Rational and prudent management of the Earth System requires global democratic planning. The global scientific work realized by bodies like the IPCC, the IGBP and others shows this global democratic planning is possible. Their model of international cooperation could be carried out by democratically elected representatives of the social movements too. In fact it is partly accomplished today by organizations like Via Campesina.

12. The state of the movement

12.1 The indigenous peoples have long been the most effective defenders of the ecology of the planet and its wildernesses and the best guardians of its integrity and biodiversity. Many indigenous peoples live on resource-rich territory, partly because they have protected and preserved it for generations. This makes them prime targets for both extractive industries and land grabs. They have struggled against colonisation for more than 500 years and continue to struggle against all forms of colonisation and racism. Aboriginal peoples from Canada and the northern United States have been in the forefront of the struggle against the construction of pipe lines to service the extraction of the Alberta tar sands. Fifty indigenous organizations signed a treaty to oppose the treaty in 2016 including the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, which opposes the North Dakota pipeline.

Following the defeat of the climate movement at the Copenhagen climate summit (COP15) the Bolivian president Evo Morales called a Peoples' Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth, in Cochabamba Bolivia, in April 2010, in order to make the voices of the peoples, including the indigenous peoples, heard. Over 35,000 people, from indigenous communities, ecological movements and peasant unions, attended the conference.

The struggle to defend the planet and against global warming and climate change requires the broadest possible

coalition involving not just the power of the indigenous movements and the labour movement but also the social movements that have strengthened and radicalized in recent years and have played an increasing role in the climate movement in particular. Organizations such as 350.org, Plane Stupid, Take the Power, and the Ende Gelände movements in Germany have led important direct-action campaigns. La Via Campesina is one of the largest social movements in the world, and brings together more than 200 million small farmers, landless people, women farmers, indigenous peoples, and agricultural workers from 70 countries. The struggle for agro-ecology against capitalist agro-business has become increasingly central in their agenda. Longstanding organizations such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace have grown and radicalized in recent years and new groupings with an impressive mobilising ability have come on the scene such as Avaaz and 38 degrees and they have radicalized, particularly in the run up to Paris. Many local mobilisations, such as the fight against gold mines in Cajamarca, Peru, or against the Notre-Dame-des-Landes airport in France, can block destructive initiatives. All these resistance actions, called Blockadia by Naomi Klein, are the most important components of the struggle to "change the system, not the climate".

The involvement of the trade unions in the climate struggle is ultimately crucial, though it remains difficult in such a defensive period. Progress has nevertheless been seen in initiatives such as the campaign for a million green jobs in Britain which has the support of most major trade unions and the TUC. Campaigns such as 'Trade Unions for Energy Democracy' and the 'Labor Network for Sustainability', whatever their limits, have credibility in the unions because they address the issue of job-losses as a result of the changeover to green energy.

Some radical left parties, Europe-wide, have defined themselves, formally at least, as ecosocialist including the Red-Green Alliance in Denmark, the Left Bloc in Portugal, the Socialist Left Party in Norway and the Parti de Gauche in France.

12.2 The FI intervention

The FI declared itself ecosocialist at the last World Congress in 2010. In doing so it became the only international current of the radical left to do so. It was an important decision but it was only a first step on which to build. The strongest advocates of it were its sections from the impoverished countries of the Global South that are the most impacted by extreme weather events, have contributed least in terms of carbon emissions, and are most deprived when it comes to climate justice. Some of these sections were already in effect ecosocialist.

The FI section in Mindanao in the Philippines, for example, a region facing ever more frequent and powerful typhoons, has long been involved in the defence of their communities against extreme weather events. They are also involved in the development of agricultural methods based on food sovereignty and the exclusion of genetically modified seeds from multi-nationals like Monsanto. Instead they are harvesting their own seeds and producing organic food for the local communities.

In Bangladesh, one of the most vulnerable, low-lying, and most affected countries in the world in terms of climate change, is already suffering from rising sea levels and the salinification of vast areas of the country, the FI section is deeply involved in the struggle against climate change and rising sea levels. The FI section is centrally committed to major peasant movements campaigning both against climate change and for land redistribution along the lines of the MST in Brazil. Along with La Via Campesina and other organizations they are campaigning for food sovereignty, the rights of peasant producers and for land redistribution. They have been heavily engaged in organizing climate caravans since 2011, which have campaigned throughout Bangladesh and into Nepal and India against climate change and global warming.

In Pakistan, FI comrades have also been at the sharpest end of the climate struggle. In 2010 devastating floods submerged a fifth of the

country, and left millions homeless. Twenty million people were affected and 2,000 lost their lives, 12m people had their homes damaged or destroyed. Half a million livestock were lost, and 10,000 schools destroyed.

Five comrades were jailed for defending villagers after a landslide blocked the Hunza River in the Gilgit-Baltistan region of Pakistan, sweeping homes away and killing 19 people. The slide forming a 23km long lake that submerged three villages leaving 500 people homeless and 25,000 stranded. They are still in jail today seven years later and campaigns are still continuing for their release.

In Brazil FI comrades have been involved in defence of the Amazon and against the disastrous REDDs treaty. We are involved in the construction of the climate movement. In 2015 we organized the largest climate march in Brazil in Fortaleza, and took to the streets in two other marches since then. In 2016 as part of the 350s Break Free campaign in front of one of the largest coal power plants in Brazil and in 2017 with the Water March. We act alongside indigenous peoples, local communities and environmental groups in water conflicts, especially in the semi-arid North-eastern part of the country. In Latin America, the organizations of the FI have been involved in mobilisations around the People's Summit at Cochabamba.

In Europe and North America FI comrades have been increasingly involved in climate mobilisations—whether around COPs in Copenhagen and Paris, or around more localized struggles—against fracking in Britain, against the tar sands in the Canadian state or against the Keystone Pipeline in the US and Canadian state.

13. Conclusion: ecosocialism and revolution

The absurd capitalist logic—the irrational expansion, unlimited accumulation as well as a productivism obsessed by the search

for profit at all costs—are responsible for placing humanity at the edge of the abyss: facing climate change and ecological destruction.

Moving from the “destructive progress” of capitalism toward ecosocialism constitutes a historical process, a revolutionary permanent transformation of society, culture and consciousness. This transition will not only bring us to a new world of production, to an egalitarian and democratic society, but also to an alternative way of life, a new civilisation, beyond the rule of money, beyond habits of consumption artificially produced by advertising and beyond the unlimited production of useless commodities. And, as Marx has said, the Kingdom of Freedom starts, with diminishing working time...

It is important to underline that such a process cannot happen without a revolutionary transformation of social and political structures through mass action by a large majority of the population. In the development of a socialist, feminist and ecological consciousness, the collective experience of people’s struggles is the decisive factor, from local confrontations to a radical change of society.

To dream and to fight for green socialism, or as some say, for solar communism, does not mean that we do not to fight for concrete and urgent reforms. Without any illusion in “green capitalism”, we must try to win time and impose on the powers in place concrete measures against the ongoing catastrophe, starting with a radical reduction in the emission of greenhouse gases.

These urgent ecological demands can favour a process of radicalisation under the condition that we refuse to limit their objectives by obeying the capitalist market or accepting the “competitiveness argument”.

Each small victory, each partial advance can immediately bring us to a higher and more radical demand. These struggles on concrete problems are important, not only because partial victories in themselves are welcome, but also because they

contribute to the growth of an ecological and socialist consciousness, and promote autonomy and self-organization from below. This autonomy and this self-organization are the necessary and decisive preconditions for a radical transformation of the world. This means a revolutionary transformation is only possible through the self-emancipation of the oppressed and the exploited: workers and peasants, women, indigenous communities, and all stigmatized because of their race, religion or nationality.

The leading elites of the system, retrenched behind their barricades, are incredibly powerful while the forces of radical opposition are small. Their development into a mass movement of unprecedented size, is the only hope to stop the catastrophic course of capitalist “growth.” This will allow us to invent a desirable form of life, more rich in human qualities, a new society based on the values of human dignity, solidarity, freedom and respect for “Mother Nature”.

Two points of view

The issue of carbon taxes or fee-and-dividend (James Hansen’s proposal) is being very much discussed in the ecological left and the Fourth International. We briefly present here two different views on the issue, leaving the debate open for the moment.

Point of view 1.

Make the polluters pay.

The unavoidable reality is that as long as fossil fuels are the cheapest energy available they are going to be used. The most effective way to cut carbon emissions quickly—which is crucial—is by making fossil fuels much more expensive than renewables by a means that is socially just, economically redistributive, and

capable of commanding popular support, and in the two or three decades that remain to us. In other words an exit strategy from fossil fuel. The principles are: make the polluter pay; keep the oil in the soil and the coal in the hole.

One proposal on these lines is James Hansen’s fee and dividend proposition. It provides a high impact measure that can bring about big reduction in fossil fuel usage and emissions, in a short period of time, and on the socially progressive basis of a major transfer of wealth from the rich to the poor—directly into the individual bank accounts of the population—as an incentive to drive it forward. It has the potential to mobilise the kind of mass popular support that would be necessary for the kind of rapid change that is needed. It also has the advantage over the alternatives of a government imposed cap or fuel rationing—in that it would reduce production by reducing demand in a way that would be popular and acceptable.

It would need, as Hansen argues, to go alongside a crash programme of renewable energy production to meet the demand that his incentives would create. It would also need to go alongside a major programme of energy conservation, a big reduction in the use of the internal combustion engine, the abolition of factory farming and a big reduction in meat consumption.

I am not insisting on Hansen but on the principle of a big impact idea with fast results. There may well be other such proposals—but let’s start the discussion.

Point of view 2.

Challenge the logic of accumulation

According to neo-liberalism, the climate could be saved (i) without challenging the capitalist accumulation, (ii) without binding regulation, (iii) without collective practices generating new values, (iv)

by giving a price inciting carbon companies and consumers to change their habits. The "fee and dividend" is a social variant of this strategy.

Hansen says that his proposal is consensual: it gives purchasing power, stimulates growth and requires no regulation. So, fee-and-dividend would be the only realistic answer to the emergency. On the contrary, the climate emergency requires more regulation and attacking the logic of capitalist growth. As for social justice in the transition, 1) it is not limited to "purchasing power" - it requires collective investment (conversion plans, public transport, insulation-

renovation, regional planning, ...); 2) it must be global - the protectionism proposed by Hansen violates the principle of differentiated responsibilities of North and South.

Hansen proposes a tax growing to \$ 115 / tCO₂ in ten years. On this basis, it projects a reduction in US emissions of the same order (30%) as is expected from the regulation measures of the Clean Power Plan (26 to 28%). This tax of \$ 115 / tCO₂ would increase the price of gasoline by \$ 1 / gallon in ten years. In comparison, a recent increase of \$ 1.20 / gallon has reduced US emissions by ... 3%.

The "fee and dividend" is not the axis of an exit strategy in social justice. Some tax claims are legitimate (on kerosene, for example), but the essential is elsewhere. There is no miracle recipe: we can not avoid a strategy confronting the capitalist dynamic of accumulation with mobilizing demands, uniting the social and the environmental (see 2.4.).

This ecosocialist strategy is concrete, but different from that of Hansen. The first focuses on the convergence of the struggles of the exploited and oppressed, the second on the illusory hope of a green capitalism.

Capitalist globalization, imperialisms, geopolitical chaos and their implications

9 April 2018

Chapters

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Introduction

The "theses" that follow do not claim to be exhaustive or to present finished

conclusions. Their main purpose is to nourish an international process of collective reflection. They often rely on already shared ideas, but try to push further the discussion of the implications of these analyses. To this end, at the risk of oversimplifying complex realities, they "filter" current developments, which are often incomplete in order to highlight what seems new.

The transformations underway are deep-going; they can present contradictory aspects and have consequences in all fields. We are not watching the well-ordered establishment of a stable new world order. The reign of globalized capital feed instability. The evolution of the balance of forces between the world powers is not determined in advance and immense conflicts whose outcome cannot be predicted will determine the outcome. However it is possible take stock of the change in the period from the 1980s, analyse the dynamics underway today and their political implications.

I. A new

imperialist galaxy

First observation, world geopolitics today are quite different from those that prevailed in the early twentieth century or during the decades from the 1950s to the 1980s. A quarter of a century after the implosion of the USSR and the take-off of capitalist globalization, the dynamic of conflicts between powers is unprecedented and has particularly dangerous consequences. In broad strokes:

The current situation is largely structured by the conflict between the main established power, the United States, and a rising capitalist power, China, which demands entrance to the top playing field. This conflict is occurring on all continents and in all areas: economic, financial and monetary, diplomatic, geostrategic (control of resources and communication channels), for leadership in international institutions...

At the military level, the USA / China conflict is crystallizing in East Asia. Beijing was able, from 2013, to secure its grip in the South China Sea. Washington is using the Korean crisis to take back the initiative. In order to

reaffirm US hegemony, Donald Trump has not hesitated to brandish the threat of nuclear intervention. For the first time in several decades, the use of nuclear weapons is a real danger and the United States is primarily responsible for this. They also bear responsibility for reviving the arms race. The installation of Thaad missile batteries in South Korea in fact largely counteracts the Chinese nuclear capability, which in turn envisions the deployment of an oceanic fleet of strategic submarines.

This revival of the arms race goes from the construction of new aircraft carriers and submarine fleets to the "modernization" of nuclear weapons by countries like the United States or France that are seeking to make them operational and politically acceptable in localized conflicts.

Russia does not have the base and the economic or financial means of China. On the other hand, it commands the second largest nuclear arsenal in the world (including an oceanic fleet of strategic submarines), an important asset in the general climate of militarization of the planet, placed in a permanent state of war. Although its scope is narrower than that of Beijing, Moscow plays a decisive role in Syria where it has become unavoidable. Its influence is growing, particularly in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, and its relations with the Western bloc are becoming more confrontational.

This new situation reflects profound changes. In addition to the affirmation of the new Chinese or Russian (proto) imperialisms (see Chapter IV), let us note in particular:

• A diversification of the status of the traditional imperialisms: a United States "super power"; failure of the construction of an integrated European imperialism; "reduction" of French and British imperialism; militarily "toothless" imperialisms (Germany especially, but also Spain in relation to Latin America); continuing subordination of Japanese imperialism (which although it has a big army has neither nuclear weapons nor aircraft carriers), crises of social disintegration in some Western countries (Greece) historically belonging to the imperialist sphere...

• Significant changes in the international division of labour, with the "financialization" of the economy, the de-industrialization of various Western, particularly European countries, refocusing the global production of goods, particularly in Asia - without neglecting the fact that the United States, Germany, Japan remain major industrial powers.

• An uneven development of each imperialism, strong in some areas, weak in others. The hierarchy of imperialist states is accordingly more complex to establish than it was in the past. The United States obviously remains No. 1; it is the only one that can claim to be powerful in almost all areas, but it nevertheless is registering a relative decline in economic terms and is experiencing limits to its global power. (See Chapter IX)

The characterization of the new powers (China, Russia) is not the only question that is posed to us. We also need to better reassess the changing status of the traditional imperialisms - and of the imperialist order as a whole. Classic notions such as "centre" and "periphery", "North" and "South" must be readjusted in the light of growing internal diversification of each of these geopolitical groups.

II. Chronic geopolitical instability

Second observation, capitalist globalization has not given birth to a stable international "new order", quite the contrary.

There is a dominant imperialist bloc that can be called the "Atlantic bloc" - because it is structured around the axis of the North America / European Union -, if we give this term a geo-strategic and not a geographic sense; it includes in fact Australia, New Zealand and Japan. This is a hierarchical block, under US hegemony. NATO is the privileged, permanent armed wing. Its deployment at the European border of the Russian sphere of influence shows

that its original function has not lost its relevance, as the border has again become a conflict zone.

NATO wanted to act further east, without great success. The crisis in the Middle East shows that NATO is not an operational framework capable of imposing its rule everywhere. Tensions are high with its regional pillar, Turkey. Alliances of variable geometry have been forged to suit each theatre with regimes opposed to each other such as Saudi Arabia and Iran. The military contribution of its European members remains marginal, a situation that fed Trump's attacks on it at the beginning of his mandate.

Ideologically, the ruling classes are facing a crisis of legitimacy, and often, important institutional malfunctions - they are losing control of the electoral process in key countries like the USA (Trump's victory in the republican primaries and then the presidential election) and the United Kingdom (Brexit).

The current chronic crisis has multiple causes.

• The imperialist countries still have the role of ensuring favourable conditions for the accumulation of capital, but the global capital operates more independently from them than in the past. This separation has helped to make porous the former "private hunting grounds", the areas of almost exclusive influence of traditional imperialism in the world (although to a lesser extent in Latin America). The high mobility of capital has had devastating effects on social equilibrium, undermining the possibility of stabilizing action by national governments.

Capitalist globalization, financialization, the increasing internationalization of production lines have also reduced the capacity of governments to implement economic policies in the name of the collective interests of the ruling classes.

• The unprecedented level of financialization, the development of fictitious capital, which is inherent in modern capitalism, has taken on considerable proportions in recent years. Without the link being broken,

it is leading to a higher degree of dissociation of fictitious capital from productive processes, while the link between initial borrower and initial lender becomes distended. Financialization has sustained capitalist growth, but its overdevelopment accentuates the contradictions of this growth.

â€¢ The debt system now operates in both North and South. It is a key instrument of the dictatorship exercised by corporate capital and plays a directly political role, as the case of Greece confirms, in imposing and deepening the maintenance of the neoliberal order: public debt is used as a pretext to undo social gains and dismantle public services, to impose on national governments to give up their sovereignty. Together with the free trade agreements, it blocks a national government implementing alternative policies to get out of the social crisis.

â€¢ The internal indebtedness of the Global South countries is developing strongly, to the benefit of local capital in the hands of a bourgeoisie that retains comprador characteristics. Public debt does not develop only in external form, in the context of relations of domination of the North over the South or of the centre over the periphery. It is also used as a tool of accumulation and domination by the capitalist class of the dominated countries.

â€¢ The 2007-2008 crisis did not have the same devastating effects in many Global South countries as in the North. These countries have been relatively protected by the accumulation of foreign exchange encouraged by the start of the 2003 commodity price boom - and the persistently low interest rates. Since 2008, however, sovereign debt has increased by 50% worldwide, thanks to a credit access system that remains unchanged despite the crisis and, in the North, by the socialization of losses of private banks. In this situation, a new financial crisis of any magnitude will have violent repercussions on the whole planet.

â€¢ Through an aggressive policy of granting credit conditional on access to commodities, China has become

one of the main creditors of sovereign debt, alongside traditional imperialisms, international financial institutions and big capital financial. In the event of a crisis, it could use the debtor countries' payment difficulties to grab their wealth in an accelerated manner, thus reinforcing its claim to become a major imperialist power.

â€¢ A real "currency war" is underway; it is an aspect of inter-imperialist conflicts, the use of currency defining areas of control.

â€¢ Geopolitical alliances had been "frozen" by the East-West conflict on the one hand and the Sino-Soviet conflict on the other; they have once again become more fluid and uncertain.

â€¢ The rise of revolutionary processes in the Arab region, and then counter-revolutions provoked by competing poles within them, have helped create an uncontrolled situation in a vast area that goes from the Middle East to the Sahara - and beyond in parts of sub-Saharan Africa.

â€¢ At first, after the implosion of the USSR, the bourgeoisie and the (traditional) imperialist states had a very conquering attitude: penetration of Eastern markets, interventions in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) ... Then they became bogged down militarily and there was the financial crisis, the emergence of new powers, the revolutions in the Arab region ... all leading to a loss of geopolitical initiative and control: Washington today acts more by reacting to emergencies than by planning to impose its order.

â€¢ In this context, the role of regional powers becomes important: Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Egypt, Algeria ... South Africa, Brazil, India, South Korea ... Although in a subordinate position in the global system of domination under US hegemony, they play their own game, in addition to being regional gendarmes (like Brazil in Haiti). (see Chapter IV)

â€¢ The financial crises of 1997-1998 and 2007-2008 revealed the contradictions inherent in capitalist globalization, it has had major

consequences that are both political (delegitimization of the system of domination), social (very brutal in countries directly affected) and structural - including the debt explosion. This is the background to the great democratic movements that emerged a few years later (the occupation of squares), but also openly reactionary and antidemocratic developments nourished by the great fear of the "middle classes" (see for example in Thailand).

Combined with the ecological crisis and the massive displacement of populations, the structural instability of the global order creates new forms of poverty (see e.g. the Philippines), which require progressive organizations to implement appropriate policies.

III. Globalization and crisis of governability

The imperialist bourgeoisies wanted to take advantage of the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the opening up of China to capitalism to create a global market with uniform rules, allowing them to deploy their capital at will. The consequences of capitalist globalization could only be very profound - multiplied moreover by developments that, in their euphoria, these imperialist bourgeoisies had not wanted to foresee.

This project involved in fact:

â€¢ Depriving elected institutions (parliaments, governments ...) of decision-making power on key choices and requiring them to incorporate into their legislation measures decided elsewhere: by the WTO, international free trade treaties, European Union institutions, etc. It thus dealt a blow to classical bourgeois democracy - which is translated on the ideological level by reference to "governance" instead of democracy.

â€¢ Making illegal, in the name of the preeminent right of "competition", the "appropriate methods" of bourgeois rule, flowing from the specific history of countries and regions (historic

compromise of the European kind, the Latin American kind of populism, state dirigisme of the Asian kind, many kinds of redistributive clientelism...). In fact, all of these forms create modulated relations with the world market, and thus barriers to the free deployment of imperialist capital.

â€¢ Subordinating common law to the rights of businesses, to whom governments should guarantee the profits expected when investing, against the right of the population to health, a healthy environment, a non-precarious life. This is one of the major challenges of the new generation of free trade treaties that complete the overall system formed by major international institutions like the WTO, IMF, and the World Bank.

â€¢ An endless spiral of destruction of social rights. The traditional imperialist bourgeoisies have taken the measure of the weakening and the crisis of the labour movement in the so-called "centre". In the name of "competitiveness" on the world market, they are taking the opportunity to conduct a systematic ongoing offensive with the goal of destroying the collective rights that have been won, particularly during the period that followed the Second World War. They do not aim to impose a new "social contract" that is more favourable to them, but want to do away with such agreements all together and to get their hands on all the potentially profitable sectors which, because they were public services, escaped them: health, education, pension systems, transport, etc.

â€¢ A massive process of dispossession of the exploited and oppressed, facilitated by the privatization of public services and the increase of private indebtedness, which plunges them, in a growing number of cases, into a situation reminiscent of the fate of the working classes in nineteenth-century Europe. Following, in particular, the bursting of real estate bubbles in Japan (1990s), the United States (2006-2007), Ireland and Iceland (2008), Spain (2009), tens of millions of working class households were evicted from their homes. In Greece, as part of the third memorandum of

2015, banks have their hands free to evict families unable to pay their mortgage debts.

â€¢ From the United States to Chile, from the United Kingdom to South Africa, the cost of higher education has been increased by neoliberal policies, forcing tens of millions of working-class young people to take on debt in dramatic proportions. This is a major reversal after the hugely expanded access to universities in the previous century. Indebtedness amongst small farmers is also spreading around the world, with consequences that are completely inhumane: more than 300 000 suicides of small farmers have been reported in India since 1995 (a figure which does not take into account the suicides of the landless and women). In general, private debt increases the oppression of the most marginal populations - for example, housing evictions affecting mostly single-parent families that are female heads of household with children.

A new mode of domination

Capitalist globalization also implies:

â€¢ A modification of the role assigned to national states and of the relationship between imperialist capital and territory. With few exceptions, governments are no longer co-drivers of large-scale industrial projects or of the development of social infrastructure (education, health ...). Although they continue to support throughout the world "their" transnational corporations, the latter (given their power and internationalization) do not feel as dependent on their country of origin as they did in the past: the relationship is more "asymmetric" than ever... The role of the state, always essential, is contracting: contributing to establishing the rules universalizing the mobility of capital, opening up the entire public sector to the appetites of capital, contributing to the destruction of social rights and keeping its population in line.

â€¢ So we are dealing with two hierarchical systems that are structuring the relations of world domination. The hierarchy of the imperialist states, already complex, as

we have noted (point I) and the hierarchies of the large capital flows that encompass the planet in the form of networks. These two systems no longer overlap, even though the states are at the service of the second.

Capitalist globalisation is a new worldwide form of class rule that is structurally unstable. It actually leads to open crises of legitimacy and ungovernability in a number of countries and entire regions and to a state of permanent crisis. The supposed centres of world regulation (the WTO, the UN Security Council...) are incapable of effectively carrying out their roles. Donald Trump's "America First" policy weakens the institutions which act as frameworks of negotiation for the international bourgeoisie.

A class cannot permanently rule over a society without mediations and social compromises; without sources of legitimacy, whether their origin is historical, democratic, social, revolutionary... The imperialist bourgeoisies are liquidating centuries of "know-how" in this field in the name of the free movement of capital, while the aggressiveness of neoliberal policies is destroying the social fabric in a growing number of countries. The fact that, in a Western country like Greece, much of the population is deprived of access to health care and services, says a great deal about the uncompromising line of the European bourgeoisie.

At the time when there were empires, it was necessary to ensure the stability of colonial possessions - as well as (although to a lesser extent) that of the spheres of influence during the Cold War. Today, because of mobility and financialization, it depends on the time and the place... Thus, entire regions may enter into chronic crisis under the blows of globalization. The implementation of neoliberal diktats by worn-out dictatorial regimes provoked popular uprisings in the Arab world and vast mobilizations in Africa, open regime crises and violent counter-revolutionary responses, leading to acute instability.

The particularity of globalised capitalism is that it adapts to instability as a permanent state of

affairs : it becomes consubstantial with the normal functioning of the new global system of domination. In the previous period, heightened instability was linked to the outbreak of an economic crisis, a particular moment between long periods of "normality", in other words relative stability. Crises obviously still occur but in a different environment.

IV. The new (proto), (sub) imperialisms

The traditional imperialist bourgeoisies thought after 1991 that they would penetrate the market of the former so-called "socialist" countries to the point of subordinating them naturally - even wondering whether NATO still had a function in relation to Russia. This hypothesis was not absurd, as was shown by the situation of China at the beginning of the 2000s and the conditions of accession of the country to the WTO (very favourable to international capital). But things turned out differently - and this does not appear to have been initially or seriously considered by the established powers.

For the first time for a century and a half (Japan) a new capitalist great power is emerging, once again in Asia: China. A major fact, result of a particular history.

In China, a new bourgeoisie has been constituted from within the country and the regime, mainly via the "bourgeoisification" of the bureaucracy, which transformed itself into a property-owning class by mechanisms that are now familiar to us. Therefore it has reconstituted itself on an independent basis (the legacy of the Maoist revolution) and not as a bourgeoisie that was from the start organically subordinated to imperialism. China has thus become a capitalist power, and moreover a permanent member of the UN Security Council with a right of veto (all of which is true also for Russia), even if its social formation, legacy of a very specific history, remains original (the work of analysis of this society resulting from a very particular,

unprecedented, history, is far from complete).

Whatever the weaknesses of the regime and its economy, China has become the world's second largest power. Since 2013, under the leadership of Xi Jinping, Beijing has deployed an increasingly ambitious, aggressive, clearly imperialist foreign policy: military deployment (Djibouti base, in particular), consolidation of zones of influence and subordination of governments, the grabbing of land and mineral resources, export of capital and taking control of companies abroad, dispossession and ruin of local populations ... In a great many countries, the working classes are bearing the full brunt of the consequences of these measures. Since 2017, the gigantic programme of expansion towards the west the so-called "new silk roads" (or "One belt, one road" - OBOR) aims to multiply China's economic, financial, political and military presence in the Indian Ocean, the Middle East and Africa, Central Asia and Europe, Latin America

The Chinese case is unique. Russia remains economically dependent on exports of primary goods (of which petroleum products account for two-thirds). Its international role is largely linked to the size of its nuclear arsenal (world balance of forces) and the effectiveness of its regional striking power (Crimea, Syria) It implements imperialist policies without having the capacity to give rise, like China, to a new, richer imperialist power (hence the use of the term "proto" to qualify it).

The BRICS have tried to act together in the arena of the world market, without much success. The countries that make up this fragile "bloc" do not all play in the same league. Brazil, India and South Africa can probably be described as sub-imperialisms - a notion that dates back to the 1970s - and regional gendarmes, but with a significant difference in relation to the past: they benefit from a much greater freedom to export capital (see the "great game" that has opened up in Africa, with competition between the United States, Canada, Britain, France, India, Brazil, South Africa, China, Qatar, Turkey, Nigeria,

Angola...).

The scramble for Africa. When it comes to the plunder and looting of natural resources, dispossession, failed states, erosion of the social fabric, armed conflict and militarisation of politics the rest of the world is struggling to catch up with Africa.

In a context of the multi-dimensional civilizational crisis facing humanity, a new scramble for Africa's plentiful natural resources is underway. From the colonial period to the present, extraction of Africa's natural resources has dominated its economies. As Walter Rodney described for an earlier period, the extraction of iron, uranium, diamonds, gold, and rubber, among other precious commodities, fuelled the industrialization and expansion of capitalism in the West at the expense of African economic and social development, as well as corrupting the political process.

In 2013, for example, of the world's ten biggest oil discoveries, six were in Africa.

Today, as hunger for strategic minerals, oil and other commodities cover the continent, the pursuit of profit and hegemony continues to fuel a rush to mine and extract at whatever cost to livelihoods and the environment. The devastation this has wrought on Africa's people can be illustrated through numerous examples but possibly the case of commodity rich Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is most compelling. Beneath Congo's soil lies an estimated (at 2011 prices) \$24 trillion in natural resources, including rich supplies of oil, gold, diamonds, the coltan used in computer chips, the cobalt and nickel used in jet engines and car batteries, the copper for bathroom pipes, the uranium for bombs and power plants, the iron for nearly everything. This wealth is the source of untold suffering, provoking huge displacements of the population.

Building on the architecture of impunity put in place by IMF, World Bank structural adjustment and stabilisation programmes as well as EU and US trade and investment

agreements, Africa has again become a key site of inter-imperialist rivalries. New powers seek to play out their imperialist ambitions by participating in the new scramble for Africa. China, which has become the biggest net investor in Africa is joined by Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa not as part of a BRICS programme of action but in spite of belonging to the BRICS club, which says much about the BRICS project itself.

According to a 2016 report China has invested in 293 FDI projects in Africa since 2005, totalling an investment outlay of \$66.4 billion. Most of this is in environmentally destructive mega projects where China is responsible for about a quarter of all investments. This is where the Africa Union's Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa meets China's One Belt, One Road Project.

Three provisional conclusions:

1. Competition between capitalist powers is reviving. These are really conflicts between capitalist powers, therefore qualitatively different from those of the previous period. They could lead to real trade wars.

2. Concerning the free movement of capital, the bourgeoisies (even subordinate ones) and transnational corporations of the "South" can use the rules conceived after 1991 by the traditional imperialist bourgeoisies, particularly in terms of investment, making competition in the global market more complex than in the past. As far as the flow of commodities is concerned, the generalized setting of workers in competition with each other remains largely driven by the enterprises of the traditional imperialist centres, and it is they and not the firms in producer countries who control access to the consumer markets of the developed countries; however this is less true today for China and indeed India or Brazil. The room for manoeuvre of the "regional" powers is not necessarily an accomplished fact as the case of Brazil shows today, here the USA is reaffirming its influence.

3. There is not only a crisis of legitimacy of the ruling classes, but also an ideological crisis. This is

shown in the scale of the institutional crisis, when the "wrong" candidates assert themselves against the establishment (Trump in the US), when the election itself loses all credibility in the eyes of a growing portion of the population. Unable to answer, they will increasingly resort to "divide and rule", using racism, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism, xenophobia and stigmatization, whether Koreans in Japan or Afro-descendants in the USA and Brazil, Muslims in India, Shiites, Sunnis or Christians in Muslim countries ... the fight against racism, and xenophobia is more than ever a critical area of resistance at the international level. The same the same for other forms of discrimination (gender, sexual, social ...).

V. New far right forces, new fascisms

One of the first consequences of the phenomenal destabilizing power of capitalist globalization is the equally spectacular rise of new far right forces and new fascisms with a (potential) mass base. Some take relatively traditional forms like the neo-nazis of Golden Dawn in Greece, the German NDP, Jobbik in Hungary. Others are based on new xenophobic currents and those based on a return to national identity. Their growth is particularly pronounced in some European countries, notably the Dutch PVV, the French National Front, the Italian League, the Austrian FPÖ, the "True Finns", the British UKIP ... They benefit from the triple social, institutional and identity crisis. Their economic programme varies, but they have in common a violently anti-immigrant discourse and islamophobic racism.

In the Netherlands, but also in France and in other countries, the extreme right has succeeded in breaking out of its ideological marginalisation by changing the parameters of political debate as its positions are being taken up by political parties going from the traditional right to the centre-left. Governments are trying to win new support by stoking the flames of

nationalism and the external threat: "the invasion" of foreign capital or immigrants. In the United States Donald Trump's election campaign, a political outsider, was organically rooted inside the white supremacy movement.

Other far right currents emerge in the form of religious fundamentalism, and this is the case in all the "great" religions (Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim...), or of "national religious" fundamentalism (the Zionist far right)... Today these currents represent a considerable threat in countries like India, Sri Lanka and Israel.

They have been able to influence governments as important as that of the United States at the time of Bush. In France, the most reactionary Catholic sectors have strongly affected the course of the presidential campaign (supporting Fillon) and they play a central role in several East European countries, including Hungary. Christian radical evangelicalism is wreaking havoc in Latin America and Africa. So the Muslim world has no monopoly in this domain; but there it has taken a particular international dimension, with "cross-border" movements like the Islamic State or the Taliban (see the situation in Pakistan), and networks connecting up more or less formally, from Morocco to Indonesia and in the south of the Philippines.

Extreme right wing forces are also coordinating internationally in the most diverse ways. Thus, the "Euroasian movement" of Alexandre Dugin brings together new right wing groups, the fascists, the "conspiracy theorists", the "campists" and various religious fundamentalists, in a network that is open to dangerous "red-brown" alliances.

In general, we have to further analyse the new far right movements, whether they are religious or not: they are not mere replicas of the past, they are expressions of today. This is particularly true for religious fundamentalist currents. It is important to define them politically in order to understand the role they play (remember that not so long ago, a significant part of the international

radical left saw in fundamentalist Islam an expression of an “objectively” progressive, although ideologically reactionary, anti-imperialism). This is also necessary to combat “essentialist” interpretations of the “clash of civilizations”.

These movements are far-right and counter-revolutionary currents. They have contributed to bringing to a halt the dynamic of the popular revolutions born of the “Arab Spring”. They do not have a monopoly of extreme violence (see the Assad regime!) nor of “barbarism” (the imperialist order is “barbaric”). But they exercise over society a control and a terror that comes “from below”, which in many cases recalls the fascisms of the inter-war period, before they came to power.

Like all political terms, that of fascism is often overused or interpreted in various ways. However, our own organizations are discussing this question - how fundamentalist and far-right nationalist movements are evolving, which of them can be defined as fascist or not - for example in countries like Pakistan (the Taliban movement) and India (RSS), in addition to Islamic State. “Theofascism” could be a generic term used for this type of current, including all religions.

Whatever the most appropriate adjectives to describe the new extreme right movements, their growing power poses to our generation of activists political problems with which we had not been confronted in the previous period - that of large-scale “antifascist” resistance. We have to work on this and to do so we need to pool national and regional analyses and experiences.

More generally, the renewal of the radical right strengthens a dangerous reactionary thrust that aims to put into question in particular the fundamental rights of women and LGBT+ people, often relying on institutional churches concerning abortion (in Spain, where a reactionary proposed law abolishing the right to abortion was defeated, in Italy, Poland, Nicaragua..), family law (advocating a return to a very

conservative view of the role of women...), and even triggering real witch hunts against lesbian and gay people (Iran, African countries where evangelical currents are powerful...) or trans people. So reaction is frontally attacking the right to self-determination of women and of those demanding the recognition of the diverse sexual orientations, rights that were won after long struggles.

These movements target in particular the women who are experience the double oppression of racism and sexism. In a lot of western countries, the success of these movements has developed through Islamophobic propaganda (even if it is not the only specificity of these reactionary parties and movements), especially against Muslim women, particularly those who wear the veil, and aggression against women wearing the veil is increasing.

If some movements attack clearly women and LGBTQI people, we can observe a new phenomenon of homonationalism and femonationalism in the European countries, in United States and in Israel, with the pretext of acting in defence of women and LGBTQI people, they attack some parts of the population like migrants or Muslim people, accusing them of raping women, or claiming that Islam is against homosexuality. These movements have been growing up for a few years, in fact, they are often linked to the far right. As a result, the far right in imperialist countries often experiences tensions between those who want to appeal to the sexism and heterosexism of its base and those who attempt to win women’s and LGBTI rights in the service of Islamophobia and anti-immigrant prejudice.

Although the homonationalism of far right forces in imperialist countries and the anti-LGBT campaigns of the far right forces in dominated countries seem to contradict each other, in fact they reinforce each other. They converge in seeing homosexuality and LGBTI rights as export from imperialist countries. This falsehood must be combatted by movements like the international queer campaign against Israeli pinkwashing.

In light of the constant and recent

religious fundamentalist ideology in our respective states we reaffirm the importance of state secularism alongside the freedom to practice one’s religion.

The state must be secular, without secularising communities and using secularism as a tool to target minorities. A secular state does not mean secularisation of communities and people, in a way that impinges on their human rights.

And freedom to practice religion does not equate to the freedom of religious leaders to exercise power and control through state apparatuses. Freedom of religion only means the freedom to practise one’s faith, this means for example that freedom of religion in Lebanon should not equate to the ability of religious leaders to exercise their version of the “religious rule of law”

We take special note that both the above practices impose their oppressive power relations onto women, their bodies, and their lives and that religious rules of law heavily depend on the family unit and the segregation of gender roles for men and women. For example, in Lebanon there are no personal status laws covered by the state, only religious laws covered by the sects.

Also in countries where State-Church separation has been a historic achievement, like Italy and México, we would like to point out the constant blurring of this division, as we have witnessed the increase of public ties between high-ranking government and church leaders, especially on topics concerning women and LGBTIQ rights.

These actions, although it is not spelt out, seek to take joint decisions about women’s bodies and their rights, like in the case of México about abortion. These are actions that of course endanger our lives.

Neoliberal conservatism that aims to strengthen the patriarchal family rather than women and to obstruct divorce has dramatically increased domestic violence against women. Besides impunity for the perpetrators, cuts in the material support to the

victims of domestic violence has created a social environment that encourages male violence.

Theofascist movements use systematic sexual violence against women and minors in the territories they control, mostly in the form of rape and sex slavery. These use this to recruit members and fight against other groups. In Iraq and Syria thousands of Yazidi and Kurdish women were captured and raped by the members of Islamic state.

VI. Authoritarian regimes and demands for democracy and solidarity

This rise of the reactionary right is encouraged by the ideology of national security advocated today by bourgeois governments in the name of the fight against terrorism and "illegal" immigration. In return, these governments use the fears thus generated to strengthen the law-and-order state, to establish regimes where police have more and more power and to get authoritarian measures accepted: entire populations are now treated as "suspicious", subject to surveillance.

In the region of the world impacted by the revolutionary process initiated in Tunisia and Egypt, the new state apparatuses focused on breaking the popular struggle for emancipation have used the whole panoply of the most ferocious practices, their violence being multiplied by the competition between powers. In Syria, Yemen, Libya, and partially in Iraq, it is through total war that the caricatures of state powers and their allies (Iran and Russia on one side, Gulf monarchies on the other) on the one hand and the jihadists on the other have undertaken the eradication of the movements for freedom and social justice. In Egypt and now in Turkey, the repressive radicalization of these shaken regimes has resulted in an unprecedented crushing of democratic aspirations. The Kurdish

people, who refuse to give up their struggle, is an expiatory victim of the Erdogan regime, while the State of Israel under Netanyahu is taking advantage of the prevailing chaos, the complicity of General Sissi and, above all, the American president Trump to further stifle the Palestinian people. The North African countries and Lebanon seem in comparison less affected by this strong counter-revolutionary wind, even if the Moroccan monarchy is tightening its iron glove. In Tunisia, cradle of the process opened at the end of 2010, social movements have not been destroyed even if the lack of perspective affects the situation negatively.

Protest movements continue nevertheless to rise again throughout the region as far as Iran, as oppressive policies pursued in the name of the "fight against terrorism", destructive neoliberalism and endemic corruption of all these powers cannot overcome the educated young generations exasperated by their lack of prospects.

In Latin America governments and parties deemed "progressive" are in crisis. This applies both to the experiences of a social liberal type as much as to the more radical Bolivarian experiences. They are paying the price of their concessions to neo-liberalism and/or the limits of a neo-developmental policy based generally on the export of fossil fuels and raw materials.

The weaknesses of these "progressive" experiences have facilitated the brutal reactionary offensive of the pro-imperialist and anti-democratic right. This anti-people, neo-liberal offensive against the rights of workers, women, indigenous peoples and those of an African origin takes two distinct but complementary forms: electoral victories (Argentina, Chile) and pseudo-constitutional coup d'états (Honduras, Paraguay and Brazil).

A broad popular resistance taking different forms has developed against these attacks, against the coup d'états and the reactionary and anti-popular manoeuvres being employed. Anti-capitalists actively participate in these mobilisations, seeking to reinforce

their anti-system dynamic.

Even in countries of old bourgeois democratic tradition, we are witnessing a real change of regime. Laws amounting to civil war are adopted under the guise of counter-terrorism. Mass surveillance systems are being deployed. The army has police powers (France) or police forces are militarized. Exceptional measures are introduced into current law. The executive extends its authority at the expense of the judiciary...

This weakening of the democratic bourgeois state, supposed to express the will of the people, exposes women and other historically weaker sectors of society directly to the "savage" laws of the market, where only the strongest can survive. The giving up of the social contract as we knew it in the second half of the 20th century has opened the door for multinational capital to grab all common goods, which is further extended to the personal and intimate sphere of women's bodies and vital organs (and that of human beings in general).

The progressive generalization of states of emergency contributes to the denial of humanity for whole social groups: minorities, migrants, etc. The systematic use of the "crimes" of blasphemy, lèse-majesté, attacks on national identity or security contributes to this. The insidious return of the policy of dehumanization (which nourished the genocides of yesterday) is not only a sign of reactionary, but counter-revolutionary, tendencies.

Capitalist globalization has provoked the crisis of so-called democratic institutions (where they existed) and of bourgeois parliamentarism. Faced with this loss of legitimacy, the dominant trend is towards the establishment - sudden or creeping - of authoritarian regimes not subject to popular sovereignty (exceptions confirming the rule, former military dictatorships can still be forced to give up or share part of their power, as in Burma, without a democratic regime in fact being established). The right to choose is simply denied to peoples in the name of treaties and regulations endorsed by their governments.

The democratic imperative - "real democracy now!"- thus acquires a more subversive dimension that is more immediate than was often the case in the past, making it possible to give it an alternative, popular content. Similarly, the universality of neoliberal policies and the accompanying commoditisation of "common goods" make possible the convergence of forms of social resistance, as seen in the global justice movement. The consequences of climate change, which are already being felt, also offer a new field of potentially anti-capitalist convergences.

However, the lasting effects of the defeats of the workers' movement and of neoliberal ideological hegemony, the loss of credibility of the socialist alternative, counteract these positive trends. It is difficult to situate within a longer-term perspective the - sometimes considerable - success of protest movements. The acuteness of oppression can, in this context, strengthen "closed", identity-based resistance, where an oppressed community remains indifferent to the fate reserved to other oppressed people (as in the case of "homonationalism"). The religious character taken by many conflicts also contributes to the division of the exploited and oppressed.

The neo-liberal order can only be imposed if it succeeds in destroying the old solidarities and stifling the emergence of new solidarities. As necessary as these are, we cannot consider that solidarity will develop "naturally" in response to the crisis, nor internationalism faced with globalized capital. A concerted and systematic effort must be made in this domain.

VII. Capitalist expansion and climate crisis

The 17th World Congress of the Fourth International adopted a resolution on ecology. That the we note briefly reintegration of the Sino-Soviet "bloc" into the world market has led to a huge expansion of the geographical area in which capital dominates, feeds

a dramatic acceleration of the global ecological crisis, on many front. The reduction of greenhouse gas emissions must begin without any further delay in the major emitting countries of the South and not just of the North.

In this context, the settlement of "ecological debt" to the South must not be allowed to favour world capitalist development and benefit either the Japanese-Western transnational corporations implanted in the South or the transnational corporations of the South (such as Brazilian agribusiness, etc.), which would only generate ever more social and environmental crises.

There is certainly always the need for "North-South solidarity", for example in defence of the victims of climate chaos. However, more than ever, it is a common "anti-systemic" struggle that is on the agenda in "North-South" relations from the point of view of the working classes: that is to say a common fight for an anti-capitalist alternative, another conception of development in the "North" as in the "South".

The starting point is the socio-environmental struggle to "change the system, not the climate"; its base is composed of social movements and not just specific coalitions on the climate. We must therefore work on the articulation between the two. If we do not "ecologize" the social struggle (following the example of what has already happened in peasant and urban struggles), the numerical expansion of "climate" mobilizations will remain on the surface of things.

As a result of the rising global temperature, the ice caps are shrinking, sea levels are rising, water tables dry up, deserts extend, fresh water becomes rarer, agriculture is under threat and extreme weather events are becoming more frequent. The effects of super-typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines surpassed in scale what we had already been warned about. The future that is announced is already part of the present. This has destabilizing consequences that extend far beyond the regions that are directly affected and gives rise to a series of crises (see the tensions between Bangladesh and India on the

issue of migrating refugees, or interstate conflicts for the control of water reserves). The organization of victims of climate chaos, their defence and support for their self-organization are very much part of the very basis of the climate struggle.

Another key issue is food sovereignty that gives people the rights and means to define their own food systems. It would give control to those who produce, distribute and consume food rather than to the corporations and market institutions that dominate the global food system. It would mean an end to land grabs and would require extensive land redistribution to put the land in the hands of those who produce food.

Possibly the biggest single most damaging aspect of the environmental crisis is the impact it is having on biodiversity - what is called "the sixth extinction". Our own future as a species cannot be separated from this crisis of biodiversity.

VIII. A world of permanent wars

We have well and truly entered a world of permanent wars (plural). This situation of permanent war does not only relate to international conflicts. It also characterises the internal situation in some countries in Africa or in Latin America, such as Mexico.

Wars are here to stay, with many faces. We need to look again at how they are conducted, particularly by popular resistance movements, in order to better understand the conditions of a struggle, the reality of a situation, the concrete requirements of solidarity ... To do this every war must be analysed in its specificities. We are confronted with very complex situations, like the Middle East where, in the framework of a single theatre of operations (Iraq-Syria), there are interlocking conflicts with specific characteristics that feed tensions and contradictions between progressive forces.

However, we must keep a compass point in a very complex geopolitical situation: class independence against

imperialism, against militarism, against fascism and against the rise of identity movements' that are "anti-solidarity" (racist, Islamophobic and anti-Semitic, xenophobic, casteist, fundamentalist, homophobic, misogynistic, masculinist...).

Whoever says war should say anti-war movement. Since the wars are very different from each other, the building of anti-war movements in synergy is not obvious. Yet, in Asia in particular, there are perennial anti-war movements. Strategically speaking, on the Eurasian continent, overcoming the borders inherited from the Cold War will take place particularly over this question.

We must affirm our solidarity with all populations that are victims of militarism, with all the popular resistance to the wars provoked by the neoliberal order and the ambitions of state powers. New attention must be paid to the fight for universal nuclear disarmament, after the adoption of a treaty for that purpose at the UN and the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the organization that was its lynchpin (ICAN- International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons).

IX. The limits of the superpower

The common set of rules of the global capitalist order does not prevent some countries from being more equal than others; the United States takes the liberty of doing things it does not allow to others. It uses the position of the dollar to "export" its "right" to legal proceedings; controls much of the most advanced technologies, and has at its disposal unmatched military power. Its state continues to maintain global sovereign functions that others, in the Western world, no longer have - or no longer have the means of having. The novelty, however, is that during the last decade it has had to face a China whose government is piloting its international expansion, so that the US no longer has the monopoly in this domain.

The United States remains the only superpower in the world - and yet, it

has lost all the wars that it has engaged in, from Afghanistan to Somalia. The fault lies perhaps in neoliberal globalization, which prohibits it from consolidating socially (in alliance with local elites) its temporary military gains. This can also be a consequence of the privatization of armies, of firms of mercenaries playing an increasing role, as well as the "unofficial" armed gangs in the service of particular interests (big companies, big land and business-owning families...).

It is also the case that this power, as "super" as it might be, does not have the means to intervene in every direction in conditions of generalized structural instability. It would require secondary imperialisms capable of supporting it. France and Britain have now only very limited capacities. Brexit is a severe blow to the constitution of a unified European imperialism: the United Kingdom commands one of the only two significant armies of the Union.

The election of Donald Trump and his unilateral declarations posed in acute terms an older problem: to what extent is the "strategic umbrella" assured by the United States guaranteed? The answer is clear: to an uncertain extent. The hawks of the Japanese right draw the consequences. What will happen in Western Europe? Imperialist Germany is under pressure. Can it continue to take advantage of its dominant economic position without assuming military responsibilities? The EU crisis, Russian pressure and Washington's stance pose objectively the question of German rearmament - although (like in Japan) hostility to militarism is very deep in the population.

The current Japanese government unashamedly displays its nationalist and militaristic ambitions. However, it must still break the civic resistance to the completion of its rearmament (aircraft carriers, nuclear weapons ...). These resistances are particularly strong in Okinawa Island, where the largest US military bases are located. More generally, the historical memory of the Japanese invasion of Asia, initiating the Second World War in the Far East, is far from being dispelled.

The Japanese archipelago is certainly a centrepiece of the United States domination system in the North Pacific. However, Tokyo is still unable to assume direct international geopolitical responsibilities and thus support Washington. In addition, Donald Trump's erratic politics and his lack of opinion of his allies do not make Abe Shinzo's task any easier.

Neither in the west, in Europe, nor in the east, in Asia, can US imperialism rely on reliable and effective allies.

X. Internationalism against campism

There is no longer a "non-" or "anti-" capitalist *great power* (a category to which Cuba does not belong). We must draw all the conclusions from this.

In the past, without ever aligning ourselves with Beijing's diplomacy, we defended the People's Republic of China (and the dynamics of the revolution) against the Japan-US imperialist alliance - we were in this sense in its camp. We were opposed to NATO, whatever we thought of the Stalinist regime; we were not however "campist" because that did not limit our struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. We were simply acting in a world where there was an articulation of lines of conflict: revolutions/counter-revolutions, East/West and Sino-Soviet blocs. This is no longer the case today.

"Campist" logic has always led to the abandonment of victims (those who happen to find themselves on the wrong side) in the name of fighting against the "main enemy". This is even truer today than in the past, because it leads to lining up in the camp of a *capitalist* power (Russia, China) - or on the contrary in the Western camp when Moscow and Beijing are seen as the primary threat. In this way aggressive nationalism is encouraged and the borders inherited from the era of "blocs" are sanctified, whereas they are precisely what we should efface.

Campism can also lead to supporting

the murderous Assad regime in Syria and the Russian intervention - or the coalition under US hegemony, including in particular Saudi Arabia. Even faced with the martyring of Aleppo, a section of the international radical left continued to look elsewhere, so as not to break with its campist tradition. Other currents content themselves with condemning the imperialist intervention in Iraq and Syria (which we must certainly do), but without saying what the Islamic State is doing and calling for resistance to it.

This type of position makes it impossible to pose clearly *the whole range* of solidarity tasks. To recall the historic responsibility of imperialism, from the intervention in 2003 to the undeclared objectives of the present Syrian-Iraqi intervention, to denounce one's own imperialism, is not enough. It is necessary to think about the concrete tasks of solidarity *from the point of view of the needs (humanitarian, political and material) of the populations who are victims and of the movements engaged in struggle*. Which cannot be done without also attacking the Assad regime and the counter-revolutionary fundamentalist movements.

Similarly in the case of conflicts at the border that currently divides eastern Europe, as in the case of Ukraine, our orientation has been to fight in every European country, in or outside the EU, for another Europe based on free association of sovereign peoples against all relations of domination (national, social) - which means for us socialism.

XI. Humanitarian crisis

Neoliberal policies, war, climate chaos, economic convulsions, social breakdowns, exacerbated violence, pogroms, the collapse of social protection systems, devastating epidemics, women reduced to slavery, dying children, forced migration... Triumphant capitalism, unbridled, is giving birth to a world where humanitarian crises multiply.

The disintegration of the social order

has impacted the state head-on in countries like Pakistan. In Latin America, especially in Mexico, the decomposition of capitalism has not led to the emergence of a new fascism, but it has transformed the marginal criminal gangs operating underground into power groups associated with the dominant political class and international financial capital. They are extending their networks to the rest of Latin America and the United States. In addition to drug trafficking, these gangs are involved in the kidnapping and trafficking of women. They control large strips of territory and have a social base. The so-called war on drug trafficking, disputes between different criminal gangs and collateral damage have produced more deaths than the Iraq war. Their existence facilitates capitalist accumulation by dispossession through expelling thousands of peasants and indigenous peoples from their lands, to the benefit of transnationals mainly engaged in extractivism. It justifies the militarization and criminalization of social protest. Although they do not have a political profile, these bands underpin the process of capital accumulation and promote a misogynist, sexist, homophobic and xenophobic culture. They offer a breeding ground for the formation of paramilitary groups at the service of the oligarchy.

Under the pressure of the extreme looting and extractivism of Africa's natural resources, land and water grabs, one of the world's greatest refugee and migration crisis has been playing out for several decades. The vast majority of refugees and migrants freeing their homes are from Africa but contrary to current myths most of these refugees (4.5 million) remain "located" in Africa. In the coming years it is estimated that 10 to 20 million Africans will be driven from their homes as a result of capitalist induced climate change.

Instead of being strengthened faced with this urgency, humanitarian law is trampled by national states. The European Union does not even pretend to respect international law regarding the reception of refugees. The wicked agreement negotiated with Turkey is an illustration. The

same applies to the fate of the Rohingya in Southeast Asia.

Unlimited violence often appears openly. Hyper-violence is no longer denied, but staged, as the Islamic state does. Femicide in countries such as Argentina or Mexico takes particularly extreme forms: impaled, burned bodies. Equally horrific is the "traditional" violence of "honour crimes" (in which rebels against the patriarchal order are buried alive ...).

Since George W. Bush and the attacks of September 11, 2001, the very humanity of the enemy is denied by a growing number of governments. In the name of the struggle between Good and Evil, "humanitarian war" has indeed been liberated from humanitarian law and the law of war: the "absolute" enemy no longer has any right - they rot in the "black hole" of Guantanamo and the secret prisons of the CIA located in different countries.

This modern barbarism must be met with a widening of internationalist fields of action. Militant left currents and social movements in particular must ensure the development of solidarity "from people to people" and from "social movement to social movement" with the victims of the humanitarian crisis.

After a period when the very concept of internationalism was often disparaged, the global justice wave, then the multiplication of "occupations" of public squares or districts, have restored it to its full importance. Now it is necessary for this revived internationalism to find more permanent forms of action, on all the terrains of contestation. This will not happen spontaneously, we can see a shrinking of the meaning of solidarity or its practice in too many countries.

XII. A globalized class war

Globalized capitalism leads a globalized class war.

its goals are not conjunctural. It does not seek to impose a historic

compromise that is more favourable to it than the bourgeoisie had to accept after the Second World War - it wants to reign without having to compromise with the popular classes. It imposes no a priori limit to its offensive. Thus it imposes a new order.

The brutality of this attack is provoking a fight back, sometimes on a mass scale. Today, the international scope of 8 March 2017 and the repeated mobilizations of women from Argentina to Poland, from India to Iran, from Tunisia to the Spanish State, or from Italy, from Turkey to Mexico, from the United States to Pakistan bear striking witness to this. They suffer head on the combined effects of neoliberalism, social precarity, the rise of reactionary and counterrevolutionary currents, wars, violence and feminicide. Beyond the multiplicity of situations and demands, women in struggle often find themselves at the forefront of

collective resistance to the new global disorder.

In a balance of forces that remains unfavourable, democratic and social resistance offers stepping-stones for rebuilding the initiative of the popular and anti-capitalist movements (see the resolution adopted on these issues by the World Congress).

There remain many "open" questions about the dynamics of globalized capitalism, particularly in economic matters, and their strategic implications. To name a few: A new financial crisis threatens, without us knowing what will be the detonator and the consequences. Will computer-related technological innovations finally have a significant effect on labour productivity? Are we entering a period of long stagnation? Can significant sectors of the bourgeoisie choose a new protectionism while free trade agreements are still widening? Do global warming and the overall

ecological crisis contribute to imposing absolute limits on capitalist development? Collective analytical work on the questions must continue.

Whatever the answer to these questions, the increasing precarization of employment and the general living conditions, the destruction of the social fabric will continue in most countries. Oppressions will be accentuated if interlocking solidarities do not oppose them with sufficient force. The ravages of the ecological crisis will spread. Geopolitical instability will be further worsened.

The historical alternative "socialism or barbarism" takes on today its full meaning - and gives its full meaning to the internationalist battle to which we are committed.

This resolution was adopted by 109 for, 5 against, 1 abstention, 0 No votes