



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



www.thecommunists.net

New Series Issue Nr.52

April 2021

The Inter-Imperialist Cold War between the US and China

by Michael Pröbsting

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.52, April 2021

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Picture on the cover: Delegates from China (left) and the US (right) meet for talks in Anchorage, Alaska in March 2021. (Source: Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States%E2%80%93China_talks_in_Alaska#/media/File:Secretary_Blinken_and_National_Security_Advisor_Sullivan_Meet_with_CCP_Director_of_the_Office_of_the_Central_Commission_for_Foreign_Affairs_Yang_Jiechi_and_State_Councilor_Wang_Yi.jpg)

Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in South Korea, Pakistan, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Russia, Nigeria, Kenya, Britain, Germany, and Austria.

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“A Really Good Quarrel”

US-China Alaska Meeting: The Inter-Imperialist Cold War Continues

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 23.03.2021

Introduction

The recent meeting between top diplomats of the U.S. and China reflected the continuation of the Cold War between the two biggest imperialist Great Powers. Meeting in Anchorage, Alaska, the two delegations were led by US State Secretary Antony Blinken and National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan respectively by their Chinese counterparts – State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi and Yang Jiechi, a member of the Political Bureau of the “Communist” Party and director of the Office of the Central Leading Group for Foreign Affairs.

Unsurprisingly, the delegations couldn’t reach agreement on any substantial issue. The only outcome was to set up a working group on climate change and to hold talks “to facilitate activities of ... diplomatic and consular missions” and on issues related to each other’s journalists.¹

In fact, the opening of the meeting symbolically reflected the dramatic deterioration in the relationship between the Washington and Beijing in the recent past. The delegation leaders had a public row in front of assembled world’s press – an unprecedented event in the field of diplomacy between Great Powers for decades – with some participants obviously going off-script.

Hu Xijin – the editor-in-chief of *Global Times*, the English-language mouthpiece of the Beijing regime – commented pointedly: “I believe China and the US had a really good quarrel during their Alaska talks on Friday.”²

Or, to give an analogy of Bhim Bhurtel, a Nepalese commentator: “The verbal salvos between top American diplomats and their Chinese counterparts seemed more like testosterone-driven exchanges between professional wrestlers at the opening session of the US-China high-level meeting in Anchorage, Alaska.”

A symbolic public row

At the opening of the meeting, Blinken attacked China by stating that the U.S. government had “deep concerns with actions by China, including in Xinjiang, Hong Kong, Taiwan, cyberattacks on the United States and economic coercion toward our allies.” He added: “The alternative to a rules-based order is a world in which might makes right and winner takes all and that would be a far more violent and unstable world.”

Yang immediately fired back in a lengthy statement. He accused the US of being the “champion” of cyber-attacks and questioned its moral ascendancy to speak on human rights and democracy issues. Referring to the notorious police violence against African Americans and the ensuing Black Lives Matter protests, he said: “Many people within the United States actually have little confidence in the democracy of the United States.”

In response, Sullivan made a rejoinder in an unmistakable criticism of China’s system by stating “a confident country is able to look hard at its own shortcomings and constantly seek

Books of the RCIT

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

The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan.

A Critique of the Left’s Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective

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

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

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

nizations fail to understand the nature of the Great Power rivalry and, consequently, are not able to take an internationalist and revolutionary stance.

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

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

Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

to improve, and that is the secret sauce of America.”

However, Yang shot back by stating, “Is that the way you had hoped to conduct this dialogue?”, according to his delegation’s translator, sarcastically lamenting, “I think we thought too well of the United States. The United States isn’t qualified to speak to China from a position of strength.” He added that China doesn’t think “the overwhelming majority of countries in the world recognize the universal values advocated by the US, or that the opinion of the US represents international public opinion.” He also said that “the rules made by a small number of people in the West should not serve as the basis for the international order.”

Foreign Minister Wang Yi, in his reply, retorted: “We do not believe in invading through the use of force, or to topple other regimes through various means, or to massacre the people of other countries, because all of those would only cause turmoil and instability in this world. And at the end of the day, all of those would not serve the United States well.”³

An editorial of *Global Times* accurately commented this event: “The intensity of the opening is record-breaking since the two established diplomatic ties.”⁴ And the *New York Times* stated that “the scenes playing out now have echoes of the bad old days. As a moment in theatrical diplomacy, the meeting on Thursday and Friday in Anchorage between the Americans and Chinese was reminiscent of when the Soviet premier, Nikita S. Khrushchev, made headlines around the world 60 years ago by banging his shoe on a desk of the United Nations and shouting about American imperialists.”⁵

Two thieves as upholders of moral standards

Basically, both sides are not wrong in their accusations. Indeed, the Stalinist-capitalist regime brutally oppresses the Muslim Uyghurs in Xingang (or *East Turkestan* as the Uyghurs call it). It holds about one million in cynically called “re-education camps”.⁶ Likewise, Beijing tries to smash the democratic mass movement in Hong Kong by any means available.⁷

But, then, who is the U.S. to make such accusation?! Which other state has started so many wars in the past decades and killed so many people?! According to the Watson Institute of International and Public Affairs at Brown University the U.S. Administration of Bush and his successor Barack Obama spend over \$6.4 trillion on the wars in Iraq⁸, Afghanistan⁹, Pakistan and Syria. These U.S. wars have resulted in more than 801,000 people dying as a direct result of fighting.¹⁰ And let us not forget that Washington has such cold-blood killers like Netanyahu or Mohammed bin Salman as close allies!

In other words, both U.S. as well as Chinese imperialism are thoroughly reactionary powers. They try to expand their power and profits by any means available. They try to exploit the weaknesses of their rivals and sometimes support in one way or another “my enemy’s enemies”. Socialists support the national and democratic rights of *all people* facing oppression by *any* Great Power – both the U.S. and China as well as any other imperialist power. At the same time, the RCIT warns against trust in any of these imperialist thieves! They are no friends of any oppressed people. Their loyalty belongs only to the principles of power and profit!¹¹

Escalating the conflict between China and Japan

The ongoing Cold War between the two biggest Great Powers has become visible not only by the open diplomatic confrontation in front of the world’s press in Alaska. More importantly, it has become evident by a number of developments in recent past.

The Biden Administration might not use the same provocative language as did its predecessor. But in essence, nothing has changed. In the days before the Alaska meeting, Blinken and Defense Secretary Lloyd J. Austin III visited Japan. In Tokyo, they held a meeting with Japanese Defense Minister Nobuo Kishi and Foreign Minister Toshimitsu Motegi. In a joint statement, they denounced China’s “coercion” and “destabilizing actions”. They also called for “stability” in the Taiwan Strait and supported Japan’s control the Senkaku Islands, which are also claimed by China. “We will push back when necessary when China uses coercion or aggression to try to get its way,” Blinken said. And Austin noted Beijing’s “destabilizing actions” in the South and East China Seas, saying, “Our goal is to make sure that we maintain a competitive edge over China or anyone else that would want to threaten us or our alliance.”

The *New York Times* commented on these statements: “Taken together, the Americans’ statements amounted to the most explicit admonishment in recent years by U.S. diplomats of Chinese provocations toward Japan and the rest of the region.”¹²

There are indications that they will follow words with deeds. A few days after the meeting, Japanese Defense Minister Nobuo Kishi suggested at a press conference several days that Japanese and US forces might do joint exercises around the Senkakus islands.¹³

These disputed islands – called Senkaku in Japan and Diaoyu in China – are a major issue in the conflict between the two Asian powers. Japan took these islands as a result of its victorious war against the Qing Empire in 1894-95. While these islands have been always uninhabited, control over them gives an advantage in the geostrategic rivalry for regional hegemony. Hence, China challenges Tokyo’s control over the island on a regular basis. For years, Beijing has sent boats into or near Japan’s territorial waters around the disputed islands. Last year, Chinese ships spent a total of 333 days in Japan’s contiguous waters, the longest time on record, according to the Japanese Coast Guard. There is a realistic danger that Chinese and Japanese coast guard forces could be drawn into a shooting match as they patrol the island chain and are authorized by their governments to use deadly force to defend them. Likewise, there have been repeated incursions by Chinese military aircraft into Japan’s “air defense identification zone”.

As the RCIT has stated in the past, the issue behind the conflict about controlling the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands is the rivalry between Great Powers for geostrategic hegemony. It is similar to the conflict between Russia and Japan over control of the Kuril Islands or between Britain and Spain about the sovereignty of Gibraltar. In all such conflicts, imperialist states utilize historical references in order to ideologically justify their territorial claims.

However, from a Marxist point of view the real issue is not if one of the two imperialist power has a “historical right” to own such territories. The fundamental question

is rather the class character of the states involved in such a dispute. If – as it the case with the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands – both sides are imperialist Great Powers, socialists must not support either of the two. The RCIT calls all workers and popular organizations to intransigently oppose all territorial claims, armament efforts, sanctions, militarist adventures and chauvinist propaganda campaigns by any imperialist state – the U.S., Japan as well as China.¹⁴

The Quad Summit

Another reflection of Washington's continuation of its aggressive foreign policy has been the recent virtual summit of the so-called *Quadrilateral Security Dialogue* held on 12 March. This grouping – usually called *Quad* – consists of four countries, Australia, India¹⁵, Japan and the US. Washington hopes to utilize this alliance as a kind of "Asian NATO" in order to contain China, its rising rival and most important challenger of America's global hegemony.¹⁶

In a joint statement of Biden, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison, the four state leaders reaffirmed: "*We bring diverse perspectives and are united in a shared vision for the free and open Indo-Pacific. We strive for a region that is free, open, inclusive, healthy, anchored by democratic values, and unconstrained by coercion.*"¹⁷ While this statement is directed against China, it is difficult to ignore its cynical character of phrases like "*democratic values*" or "*unconstrained by coercion*" since one of its signatories, India, is suppressing the Kashmiri people with utmost brutality since decades, killing tens of thousands of people.¹⁸

The signatories also state: "*We will continue to prioritize the role of international law in the maritime domain, particularly as reflected in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), and facilitate collaboration, including in maritime security, to meet challenges to the rules-based maritime order in the East and South China Seas.*" This is a thinly veiled phrase challenging Beijing's domination of the East and South China Seas. The background of this threat is the fact that these seas are of tremendous economic and geostrategic importance. It is estimated that there are huge oil and natural gas reserves beneath its seabed. Furthermore one-third of the world's maritime shipping passes through it.

Leaving aside that the real motive behind this statement

is not any concern for international law but the pragmatic power interests of imperialist states, it is not without irony that the statement justifies its demands with reference to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. However, while this treaty entered force on 16 November 1994, Washington has refused to sign it until today!¹⁹

Inter-Imperialist tensions in the Taiwan Strait

Tensions between Washington and Beijing have also escalated around the issue of Taiwan. Historically part of China, Taiwan became a separate state at the end of the Chinese civil war. When the Stalinist forces led by Mao Zedong won the war and proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, the pro-imperialist forces led by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang retreated to the island.²⁰ Since then, both sides called for the reunification of China under their respective leadership. Naturally, China is the much stronger force but as Taiwan has always been a close ally of U.S. imperialism, Beijing had to refrain from forcefully reuniting the country until now.

However, since China has dramatically increased its economic and military weight in the past decades – and the U.S. has experienced a parallel decline – the relation of forces has changed in the region. Beijing is becoming increasingly impatient and the U.S. attempts to counter China's rise at its doorsteps.

Taiwan is crucial for the U.S. not only because of its geostrategic location at the door of China. It also has become very important for the American monopolies because Taiwan – mainly the *Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company* (TSMC) – is the world's largest exporter of semiconductors. According to latest data, 88% of the semiconductor chips used by US industries, including the automotive and defense industries, are fabricated outside the US. Hence, any Chinese attack on the island would have devastating consequences not only for Taiwan itself but also, indirectly, for the U.S. corporations.²¹

Shortly after the inauguration of President Biden, China dispatched two large formations of warplanes – including nuclear-capable bombers and fighters – close to Taiwan over the weekend. On the other side, Biden signaled support to Taipei by sending a destroyer through the Taiwan

China's transformation into an imperialist power

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

By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

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Strait three times in the last two months.

Reflecting the changing relation of forces in favor of Beijing, a number of Chinese commentators and retired military commanders have called for military efforts to conquer Taiwan. It is hardly surprising that China's ruling class feels more self-confident given its increasing military strength. To cut the chain of American installations along the Pacific littoral, Beijing has built eight military bases on tiny islands in the South China Sea and imposed an air defense zone over a portion of the East China Sea.²² Its ability for complex command-and-control operations is massively enhanced by owning the planet's second global system of military satellites. Beijing has also accelerated the build-up of its navy. It is already operating two aircraft carriers and a third one is expected to be launched this year. A recently published Pentagon report claims that China "has the largest navy in the world, with an overall battle force of approximately 350 ships and submarines including over 130 major surface combatants. In comparison, the U.S. Navy's battle force is approximately 293 ships as of early 2020."

²³ While it is quite likely that this report is tendentious (as usual, the Pentagon wants to convince Congress to raise its annual budget), it is an undeniable fact that China's military strength has increased considerable.

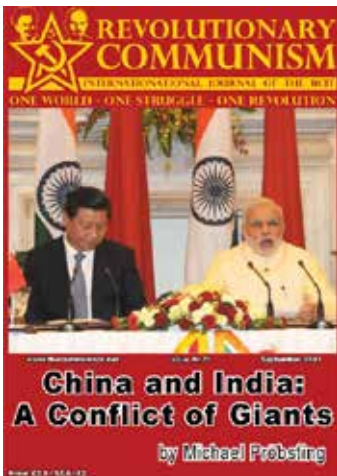
Furthermore, Beijing also passed a law in January that for the first time explicitly allowed its coastguard to fire on foreign vessels. The Coast Guard Law empowers it to "take all necessary measures, including the use of weapons when national sovereignty, sovereign rights, and jurisdiction are being

illegally infringed upon by foreign organisations or individuals at sea".²⁴

However, it is not only Beijing which is accelerating its military build-up in the region. Washington also wants to increase its military presence. The US Navy's Indo-Pacific Command issued a report which asked the US Congress to double its outlay to \$4.68 billion for 2022 (\$22.69 billion for 2023 to 2027). Admiral Davidson, who heads the Command, said in a statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee that this money was essential in order to deter Beijing. "Our deterrence posture in the Indo-Pacific must demonstrate the capability, the capacity and the will to convince Beijing unequivocally, the costs of achieving their objectives by the use of military force are simply too high. Indeed, we must be doing everything possible to deter conflict: Our number one job is to keep the peace. But we absolutely must be prepared to fight and win should competition turn to conflict."²⁵

Davidson further said that the trade war could easily accelerate into a hot war sooner than 2050.²⁶ Emphasizing the urgency for the U.S. to increase its military presence in the region, the Admiral said that China's threat to Taiwan "is manifest in this decade — in fact, in the next six years."²⁷ This is a thinly veiled indication that the Pentagon expects war with China for control of Taiwan resp. the Taiwan Strait in the period until 2027!

In summary, it is safe to say that Taiwan is one of the most likely flashpoints of a war between the U.S. and China in the next few years. In case of a military conflict between China and Taiwan — which most likely would involve the



PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences

What are the background and the nature of the tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region? What should be the tactical conclusions for Socialists and Activists of the Liberation Movements?

A Pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A4 Format

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Table 1. Share of U.S., Western Europe and China in Global Industrial Production, 2000 – 2015 ⁶⁵

	<i>Share in Global Industrial Production</i>	
	2000	2015
U.S.	25.1%	17.7%
Western Europe	12.1%	9.2%
China	6.5%	23.6%

Table 2. Share of U.S. and China in World Trade, 2001 and 2016 ⁶⁶

	<i>Share in World Trade</i>	
	2001	2016
U.S.	15.1%	11.4%
China	4.0%	11.5%

Table 3. Regional Share of Global Gross Fixed Capital Formation, 1961 - 2015 (in percent) ⁶⁷

	1961	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2015
United States	38.04	31.93	24.10	23.17	30.73	17.72	19.49
United Kingdom	4.23	4.05	4.35	4.42	3.85	2.50	2.64
Japan	5.36	10.40	12.29	18.11	17.36	8.01	5.60
Canada	2.66	2.68	2.33	2.36	1.89	2.50	1.97
France	-	5.34	6.14	5.42	3.80	3.85	2.84
Germany	-	8.82	8.79	7.86	5.81	4.37	3.65
China	2.85	3.11	2.01	1.62	5.25	18.07	26.43

Table 4. Top 10 Countries with the Ranking of Fortune Global 500 Companies (2020) ⁶⁸

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Companies</i>	<i>Share(in%)</i>
1	China (without Taiwan)	124	24.8%
2	United States	121	24.2%
3	Japan	53	10.6%
4	France	31	6.2%
5	Germany	27	5.4%
6	United Kingdom	22	4.4%
7	South Korea	14	2.8%
8	Switzerland	14	2.8%
9	Canada	13	2.6%
10	Netherlands	13	2.6%

US on the side of Taiwan – the RCIT will advocate a *revolutionary defeatist* position. True, Taiwan is not an imperialist country – in contrast to the U.S. and China. However, given its whole history as well as the current climax of Cold War, Taiwan has always been and can only act as a proxy of U.S. imperialism. Hence, a war between China and Taiwan would be, by its very nature, a war between China and the U.S. In such a conflict, socialists must refuse supporting either side since both represent reactionary and imperialist camps. Revolutionaries are obligated to follow the principles of Lenin and Liebknecht: “*The main enemy is at home*’. Our goal is to transform the imperialist war into a civil war against the ruling class”.²⁸

Unavoidable continuation and acceleration of inter-imperialist rivalry

All these events of the past weeks reflect the ongoing rivalry between the two biggest Great Powers. U.S. imperialism is fully aware that China poses the biggest threat to its hegemonial position. A few weeks ago, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken gave a wide-ranging speech about the Biden administration’s priorities. He listed the names of several countries that present the US with “*serious challenges, including Russia, Iran, North Korea*.” However, he said: “*But the challenge posed by China is different. (...) China is the only country with the economic, diplomatic, military and technological power to seriously challenge the stable and open international system*.”

He made no secret that the present world order serves the interests of U.S. imperialism, saying that the system’s rules and values “*make the world work the way we want it to, because it ultimately serves the interests and reflects the values of the American people*.” China threatens this, Blinken said, so the US must “*engage China from a position of strength*.”²⁹

Naturally, this statement does not reflect a new turn but simply a continuation of the long-standing approach of U.S. imperialism. This has been also confirmed, we note as an aside, in a report of the U.S. National Security Council written in 2018 but which has been declassified just two months ago. This report names – at the very beginning –

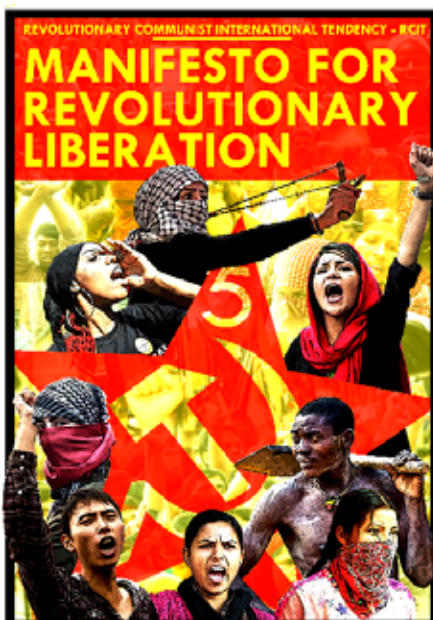
as a challenge: “*How to maintain U.S. strategic primacy in the Indo-Pacific region*”. And it notes on the second page: “*Loss of U.S. preeminence in the Indo-Pacific would weaken our ability to achieve U.S. interests globally*.” The document also states as the US government’s objective to “*maintain American industry’s innovation edge vis-à-vis China*,” which does not mean only to enhance US industry, but it also means to prevent China from getting access to technology and finance.³⁰

The Biden Administration itself admits that it is basically continuing the aggressive anti-China policy of its predecessor. Last month, Blinken said Trump “*was right in taking a tougher approach to China*”, while commerce secretary Gina Raimondo has said she will continue the Trump policy of using the “*full toolkit at my disposal... to protect America and our networks from Chinese interference*”.³¹

China’s Xi regime is also fully aware of the continuation of the Great Power rivalry. After a two-hour telephone conversation last month between Biden and Xi, Beijing concluded that the Cold War will not abate. Shortly after the conversation, the Chinese leader reportedly told local officials in the northwest of the country that “*the biggest source of chaos in the present-day world is the United States*,” which he also described as “*the biggest threat to our country’s development and security*.”³²

Yang Xiyu, a former Chinese diplomat and senior research fellow at the *China Institute of International Studies* in Beijing, characterized the current state of China-US relationship as at “*the worst situation since the handshake between Mao Zedong and Richard Nixon*.” In the future there are only two ways – “*back on the right track or back to the situation before diplomatic ties were established, which is a cold war or even a hot war*.”³³

In addition to its continuing military build-up, China – as well as Russia – also attacks the U.S. in the cyberspace. As it became known recently, hackers most likely operating under Beijing’s order gained access to Microsoft’s Exchange servers which is also used by tens of thousands of companies and government entities. And a Russian intrusion into network management software made by a company called SolarWinds got them into roughly 18,000 private and government networks.³⁴



PROGRAM OF THE RCIT

Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

Adopted at the 1st World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016

Introduction * I. Decaying Capitalism * II. Today’s Worldwide Historic Revolutionary Period * III. The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class * IV. A Program for Socialist Revolution to Halt Humanity’s Collapse into Barbarism * V. The Crisis of Leadership and the Construction of a Revolutionary World Party * VI. Work in Mass Organizations and the United Front Tactic * VII. The Semi-Colonial South * VIII. The Emerging Imperialist Great Powers of the East: China and Russia * IX. The Old Imperialist Great Powers: The EU, North America and Japan * X. Conclusion

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format

Table 5. China and U.S. Lead the Global Rich List 2021 ⁶⁹

	<i>2021</i>	<i>Share of "Known" Global Billionaires 2021</i>
China	1058	32.8%
U.S.	696	21.6%

Table 6. World Nuclear Forces, 2019 ⁷⁰

<i>Country</i>	<i>Deployed Warheads</i>	<i>Other Warheads</i>	<i>Total Inventory</i>
USA	1,750	4,050	5,800
Russia	1,570	4,805	6,375
UK	120	95	215
France	280	10	290
China	–	320	320

Table 7. The World's 10 Top Exporters of Weapons, 2015-19 ⁷¹

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Exporter</i>	<i>Global Share (%)</i>
1	USA	36
2	Russia	21
3	France	7.9
4	Germany	5.5
5	China	6.2
6	UK	3.7
7	Spain	3.1
8	Israel	3.0
9	Italy	2.1
10	South Korea	2.1

Two Pamphlets on the EU and Brexit

*** Marxism, European Union and Brexit**

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*Written by Michael Pröbsting
(International Secretary of the RCIT)*

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Behind the fog of rhetoric, the remarks of the Chinese delegation's leaders at the Alaska meeting reflect a crucial development in the world situation. Yang's statement that "the United States isn't qualified to speak to China from a position of strength" reveals that Beijing is fully aware of decay of the old hegemon and that it feels pretty confident to challenge Washington.

China's growing self-confidence can be also observed in the comments by its official media. *Global Times* wrote in an editorial: "It is a fantasy to strike China down. Putting China in awe is day-dreaming. Both sides have to accept the status quo that neither will compromise, and work for cooperation areas in an unfriendly atmosphere and find a way out. Strategic patience and restraint are required for 21st century major powers. There needs to be a framework that is able to tolerate and dilute conflicts. We hope China and the US can work toward that goal."³⁵

And another article of *Global Times* confidently states: "With or without the US, China is poised to grow. And the genuine economic and trade partners of China will continue to benefit from the country's huge dynamic market. If the politicians in Washington continue to engage in the blame game, demonizing and smearing China on the world stage, China will just ignore them, leaving them bickering and waning in strength."³⁶

Even the *New York Times* – a leading newspaper of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie – was forced to acknowledge such a change in the relation of forces between the two powers. "While this was not the first testy meeting between the Chinese and the Americans, the balance of power between the two countries has changed. For decades, China approached American governments from positions of weakness, economically and militarily. That forced it at times to accede to American demands, however grudgingly, whether it was to release detained human-rights advocates or to accept Washington's conditions for joining the World Trade Organization. China today feels far more assured in its ability to challenge the United States and push for its own vision of international cooperation. It is a confidence embraced by China's leader since 2012, Xi Jinping, who has used the phrase, 'the East is rising, and the West is declining.'"³⁷

A similar observation about the meaning of the Alaska meeting has been made by the above-mentioned Nepalese

commentator Bhim Bhurtel who concluded that "China has challenged US primacy publicly."³⁸

And Spengler (David P. Goldman) – a well-known conservative commentator in the U.S. – pointed out the changed relationship of forces between the U.S. and China in splendid words: "Wang told Blinken in so many words, 'You and what army?' It must have stung."³⁹

Continuing doing business

This does not mean that war between the U.S. and China is around the corner. While there is recognition on both sides that on a political and military level, the Cold War is here to stay, there are certain efforts to keep economic relations going. In fact, despite all the diplomatic conflicts, bilateral trade between the two countries grew by 8.8% in 2020 and jumped by 81.3% in the first two months of 2021.

Greg Gilligan, chairman of the American Chamber of Commerce in China, said at a recent press briefing that the Biden administration would "normalize" ties with China and he remains "optimistic" that the Biden administration would remove some measures or restrictions put in place by the Trump administration and "has reason to do so." Over 3,500 US firms have filed a lawsuit against the US government over the tariffs which were imposed by the Trump Administration. This reflects the strong desire of a significant section of the U.S. capitalist class to continue doing business with China.

Likewise, China's monopolies are also interested in continuing access to the U.S. market. Li Yong, deputy chairman of the Expert Committee of the China Association of International Trade, said: "It has become clear that trade is the [most important] area left where the two countries still hold massive mutual interests and could reach some consensus." Huo Jianguo, a vice president of the China Society for World Trade Organization Studies, made a similar statement: "While these trade issues are also complicated and thorny, they are much easier to address compared to the political differences. (...) On politics, it seems that no agreement can be made. But in business, there is always common ground."⁴⁰

The Rise of Russia as an Imperialist Great Power

*** Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire**

*** Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and Russia's Rise as a Great Power**

Two Pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

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Towards escalation on the Korean Peninsula?

Another indication for an aggressive foreign policy of U.S. imperialism is the following formulation in the above-mentioned statement of the recent Quad summit. The sentence “*We reaffirm our commitment to the complete denuclearization of North Korea*” was a deliberate provocation against the regime of Kim Jong-un. Traditionally, diplomatic statements referred to the “*denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula*”, i.e. indicating the goal of removing nuclear arms from the whole region. The Quad formulation however indicates openly that the imperialists’ goal is simply to disarm North Korea (which, of course, was always their real goal).

Unsurprisingly, this statement provoked a sharp rebuke from the North Korean regime. Kim Yo Jong, Kim Jong Un’s powerful sister, said in a public statement: “*We take this opportunity to warn the new U.S. administration trying hard to give off (gun) powder smell in our land. (...) If it wants to sleep in peace for coming four years, it had better refrain from causing a stink at its first step.*”⁴¹

As Trotskyists we have no illusions about the North Korean regime. As we have analyzed in past documents, the Stalinist regime brutally oppresses its people and restored capitalism in the past decade.⁴² However, it is clearly not an imperialist but rather a small semi-colonial country facing aggression from the biggest imperialist power as well its South Korean ally (an imperialist state in its own right).⁴³

Hence, the RCIT and its South Korean section consider it

as the duty of all socialists to energetically oppose all sanctions and other forms of imperialist aggression against the North. In case of a military conflict, we call for the defeat of the imperialist forces and their allies and for the defense of North Korea.⁴⁴

“Fuck the EU” and Russia, again?

If we make a first assessment of the foreign policy of the new U.S. Administration one can say that – compared with Trump – the language might have changed but not the substance. As we did elaborate above, its global policy remains focused on containing the rise of China as its most important rival.

Likewise, Washington is set to continue its aggressive policy towards another imperialist rival – Russia.⁴⁵ Biden’s recent statement in an interview with ABC that Putin is a “killer” reflects the ongoing Cold War. In fact, such a choice of words is an unprecedented diplomatic affront no U.S. President has done before. We note as an aside that, of course, it is true that Putin is a killer. But coming from the President of a state which has a long tradition of invading and occupying so many countries far away, of killing hundreds of thousands of people, of organizing bloody military coup d’états in other countries, of having murderous allies all over the world, etc. – all this makes such a statement a silly provocation designed only to escalate the inter-imperialist rivalry.

One could think that the President has misspoken which would not be surprising since the 78-year-old geriatric in the White House is obviously past his best. As the world could watch in past weeks, he forgot both the name as well

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution

What It Is and How to Fight It

A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle

In *The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution* Michael Pröbsting analyses the dramatic events in spring 2020 which have opened a new historic era. A triple crisis has shocked the world. The Third Depression has begun, characterized by a devastating economic slump of the capitalist world economy which is certainly no less dramatic than the crisis which started in 1929.

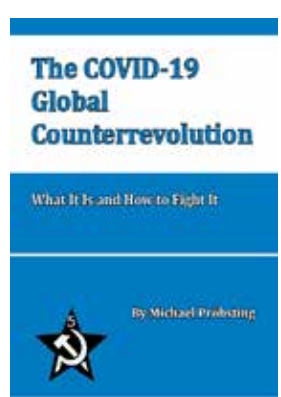
In addition, there is a wave of anti-democratic attacks of a scale which has not been seen in the imperialist countries since 1945. This has triggered a global turn towards Chauvinist State Bonapartism and the creation of a monstrous Leviathan-like state machinery.

And finally, the world faces COVID-19 – a pandemic which endangers many lives and which is exploited by the ruling classes in order to spread fear, to deflect attention from the capitalist causes of the economic crisis and to justify the turn towards chauvinist state bonapartism.

The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution also shows that large sectors of the reformist workers movement and the

so-called left fail to understand the meaning of this triple crisis. Similar to the situation in 1914 after the beginning of World War I we can observe a gigantic wave of opportunist capitulation by many self-proclaimed socialists as they support or at least do not denounce the global lockdown and the suppression of democratic rights which the ruling classes are imposing in the name of combat against the pandemic. *The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution* offers a Marxist analysis of this historic crisis and elaborates a revolutionary perspective for the struggles ahead.

The book contains an introduction and 6 chapters plus an appendix (176 pages) and includes 5 figures and a diagram.



as the position of Defense Secretary Lloyd J. Austin at a public White House event — calling the Pentagon chief “the guy who runs that outfit over there.”⁴⁶ He also had visible difficulties in walking as he stumbled and fell three times when he tried to enter Air Force One.⁴⁷

However, looking at the global picture, it is clear that insulting Putin was not an unintended blooper but part of the continuing Cold War policy of U.S. imperialism. This becomes clear from the determined efforts both of the Biden Administration as well as U.S. Congress to stop the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline by any means necessary. The Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline — running under the Baltic Sea from Russia to Germany — is a highly important project both for Brussels as well as for Moscow. Washington has always opposed this pipeline — which is 95% complete by now — as it would intensify the economic and political relations between the Western Europe and Russia (the latter already provides about a third of the EU’s annual gas consumption). Furthermore, it would reduce the EU’s dependence on the Ukraine as well as on energy imports from the U.S. market.

A few days ago, U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken warned entities participating in the Nord Stream 2 to stop work on the project immediately. According to a Bloomberg report, the Biden administration is reviewing additional sanctions against entities involved. The sanctions could target an insurance company working with companies laying pipeline and other companies providing vessels and material to the project.⁴⁸

Such sanctions would be without doubt a major blow for the Washington’s relations both with the EU as well as with Russia. This is not only the case because it is an \$11 billion international infrastructure project in which some of the largest European corporations participate together with Russia’s Gazprom. Nord Stream 2 is a project of strategic importance for Western Europe as the new pipeline would provide 55 billion cubic meters of gas a year. It shall reduce the costs of Europe’s energy imports from Russia since Europe now pays about \$2 billion a year in transit fees to the Ukraine, Slovakia and other countries.⁴⁹

Imposing sanctions on a key project for German and EU imperialism could have dramatic effects. It could provoke Germany’s Christian Democrats — the chancellor party since 2005 and the traditional main party of the capitalist class — to turn against the U.S. No wonder, that Klaus Dieter Frankenberger of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* — the conservative mouthpiece of the German bourgeoisie — suggested last month that Biden would turn out to be “Trump light.” Daniel Benjamin, president of the American Academy in Berlin and a former coordinator for counterterrorism at the State Department 2009-12, rightly commented that such a breach “could turn the relaunch of the U.S. as the leader of a network of global alliances into a home harbor shipwreck.”⁵⁰

It is clear that European imperialism has its independent interests and has no desire to subordinate itself any longer to Washington’s dictates.⁵¹ This has been also demonstrated by the convergence of Brussels and Beijing in the past 12 months — despite America’s ongoing Cold War against the Middle Kingdom. At the end of December 2020, Chinese and European Union leaders agreed on an investment treaty which would make it easier for companies to operate on each other’s territory.⁵²

Another indication of a not-so-friendly approach of the new US Administration towards its European NATO allies is the nomination of Victoria Nuland as undersecretary of state for political affairs. Nuland is a neoconservative and a former deputy national security adviser to then-vice president Dick Cheney. She was prominently associated with America’s 2014 involvement in the Maidan coup in Ukraine. At that time, she was taped on a cell phone call with America’s ambassador to the Ukraine in 2014 ordering the composition of the next Ukrainian government after the Maidan coup, in the tone of a colonial viceroy. Told that there might be some difficulties, Nuland explained that the UN was being enlisted in support and said, “That would be great, I think, and help glue this thing.” She famously added, “And, you know, fuck the EU.” German Chancellor Angela Merkel at the time denounced the remark as “unacceptable.”

In short, Nuland’s nomination reflects that the Biden’s public characterization of Putin as a “killer” was not an unintended blooper but part of a confrontational foreign policy. It also shows that it would be mistaken to expect a dramatic turn in the U.S. relations with the European Union compared with the past four years of the Trump Administration.

Confirmation of the Marxist analysis

This overview demonstrates that the U.S. foreign policy will not experience dramatic shifts compared with the previous Trump Administration. It will rather continue and accelerate an aggressive foreign policy designed to halt the decline of U.S. imperialism as the hegemonic power by putting down all potential Great Power rivals.

This confirms the RCIT’s analysis which we have elaborated in a number of documents in the last years.⁵³ Two years ago, we commented on the Global Trade War between the U.S. and China: “This is only the latest escalation in the accelerating rivalry between the two Great Powers. It should not come as a surprise to any observer. As we have explained repeatedly, this economic war has much more fundamental causes than the buffoonery of Donald Dumb or the authoritarian nature of the Xi regime. It is rather a result of the fundamental antagonism between the two most powerful imperialist states. On one hand, there’s the U.S., the absolute capitalist hegemon since WWII that is now confronting both its economic and political decline. On the other hand, there’s China, the emerging imperialist Great Power that has risen as the most powerful challenger to previous, unquestioned, U.S. dominance. For this reason, the clashes between these two rivals in the struggle for world hegemony must inevitable accelerate. Of course, temporary compromises are possible and will take place. There is no war without periods of truce. However, the fundamental antagonism between the interests of the imperialist powers will drive them inevitable to accelerate their rivalry, on the economic, the political and, ultimately, also on the military terrain.”⁵⁴

As we have elaborated in much detail in other works about America’s decay, the emergence of Chinese imperialism and the resulting acceleration of the Great Power rivalry we will limit ourselves to a few remarks at this point.⁵⁵

Since 2008/09 world capitalism has entered a period of historic crisis — a tendency which dramatically accelerated since the onset of the Third Depression in autumn 2019.

In such a period, it is inevitable that the ruling classes of all Great Powers try to advance their interests at the cost of their rivals. Likewise, as they all face domestic political problems, they have a desire to deflect public attention by instigating chauvinism against their foreign opponents (as well as against domestic “enemies” like migrants, Black⁵⁶ and Muslim⁵⁷ minorities or against opponents of the authoritarian COVID-19 Lockdown policy⁵⁸).

We have demonstrated in many works that China’s rise as a new imperialist Great Power is an undeniable fact. In terms of share in world production and trade, capital accumulation, corporations, billionaires and military strength, China has become a leading power (see on this the 7 Tables in the Appendix).

This does not mean that we expect China to become *the new hegemon* – i.e. that it could simply replace the U.S. History has demonstrated that replacing one hegemon by another is only possible via great wars. In the end, World War III between the U.S. and China is inevitable in the long run if the working class and the oppressed do not overthrow global capitalism in time. But for the foreseeable future we expect that there will be no absolute hegemon. The U.S. is no longer strong enough to impose its dictates globally and China is not strong enough to replace it. As we explained in our book on the COVID-19 Counter-revolution, published one year ago, the consequences will be a massive acceleration of rivalry and increasing geopolitical instability: “*In fact, it seems to us that the future course of development of world politics will be characterized by a lack of any hegemon. The U.S. is no longer capable of putting its mark on world politics. And China (and even less so any other Great Power) is not strong enough to do so. What will be the result of*

*such equilibrium of the Great Powers? It will be a further acceleration of the inter-imperialist rivalry – mainly between the U.S. and China. In fact, we are entering a period which can be characterized as a prelude for World War III.”*⁵⁹

As we already stated above, it is crucial for socialists to take a consistent anti-imperialist and internationalist line towards Great Power rivalry. The only possible, the only revolutionary tactic is the consistent opposition against *all* imperialist Great Powers. Socialists must denounce all forms of chauvinism. Likewise, they must oppose imperialist sanctions and punitive tariffs. Those “progressive” forces which support such chauvinist acts must be unreservedly condemned and their influence within the workers and popular mass organizations must be fought against as they act as social-imperialist lackeys. The RCIT advocates the program of *revolutionary defeatism* as it has been developed by the Marxist movement. This means that socialists must oppose *all* Great Powers and act in each imperialist country on the basis of “*the main enemy is at home*”. They should utilize any conflict in order to weaken and eventually overthrow the ruling class.⁶⁰

We repeat our advice to the brothers and sisters of oppressed people who experience brutal tyranny by one or the other Great Power. The Uyghurs by the Stalinist-capitalist ruling class in Beijing, the Syrian⁶¹ as well as the Chechen⁶² people by Russian imperialism, the Yemeni people by the US-allies Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates⁶³, the popular masses in Africa and Latin America suffering from the yoke of pro-American regimes, etc. It is clear that many activists of popular movements hope to get some help from “*my enemy’s enemies*”. However, we repeat our warning that the only true friends of the op-

Books of the RCIT

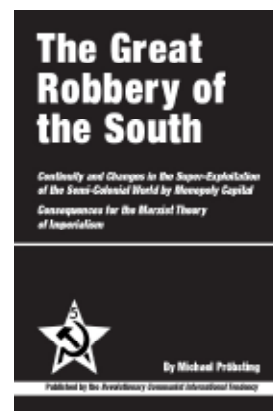
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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

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

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

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



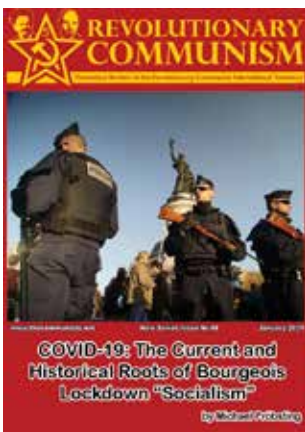
pressed are the workers, youth and oppressed in other countries. History has shown that the ruling class of any Great Power will “at best” utilize the aid of this or that oppressed people in order to get advantage against its rivals. But when “*the Moor has done his duty, the Moor can go*” (to quote William Shakespeare’s Othello) Rulers will sell-out this or that people when they make a deal with a rival or when they fear that their liberation struggle might inspire other people (in their own sphere of influence).

It is a bizarre and shameful fact that many of so-called left lack any understanding of these developments. Many “left-wing” social democratic, post-Stalinist (e.g. the “*Party of the European Left*”) and populist forces (e.g. PODEMOS in Spain, Mélenchon in France) in Europe act as supporters of EU imperialism. The Stalinist and Bolivarian parties act as cheerleaders of Russian and Chinese imperialism. Many of them even claim that China would not be a capitalist but rather a “socialist” country! A number of Trotskyist organizations believe that China and Russia are “semi-colonial” or “sub-imperialist” states. As we have explained on many occasions, such misconceptions open the door to view these two emerging powers as a somehow “lesser evil” and, hence, siding with one of several of such imperialist powers.⁶⁴

Only a correct Marxist analysis of the imperialist character of all Great Powers – in West as well as in East – allows to take a correct position on one of the key contradictions in the period of historic decay of capitalism. Only such an approach allows Marxists to take a revolutionary defeatist stance against the ruling class of all Great Powers, i.e. a consistent anti-imperialist position!

Footnotes

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58 The RCIT has analyzed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February 2020 we have published nearly 80 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>. In particular we refer readers to the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the

Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: Palestine and Zionism

The History of Oppression of the Palestinian People. A Critical Account of the Myths of Zionism

In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz provides a critical analysis of numerous Zionist myths about the Jews as well as about the Palestinians. He demonstrates that the Zionist claim that Palestine is the historic homeland of the Jews lacks any serious basis.

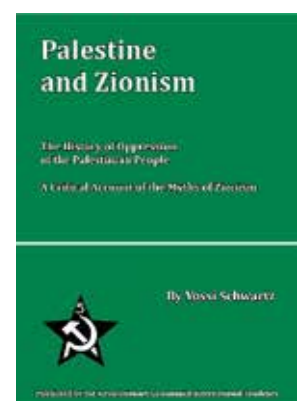
Palestine and Zionism shows that the history of Zionism in the 20th century is a history of colonialism in the service of the Great Powers and directed against the native population – the Arabs. In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz deals with key events – the "Nakba" in 1948, the wars in 1956, 1967 and 1973, more recent events like the Lebanon War, etc. – which were decisive for the expulsion of most Palestinians from their homeland. Yossi Schwartz also shows that the Palestinian people have heroically resisted against the occupation resulting in two Intifadas as well as the successful defense of Gaza against the Israeli aggression in three wars (2008/09, 2012, 2014). The author also analysis the shameful betrayal by the PLO leadership by signing the Oslo Agreement in 1993.

In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz defends the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian people and

outlines a socialist perspective. He emphasizes that the only solution is the right of millions of Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and to replace the Zionist entity with one democratic state from the river to the sea – a *Free Red Palestine* with equal civil rights to the Arabs and the Israeli Jews.

The book contains an introduction and 7 chapters (112 pages) and includes 7 Tables and 3 Maps. The author of the book is Yossi Schwartz, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency and its section in Israel / Occupied Palestine..

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



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Publications of the RCIT

The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution

On the ruling class strategy in the current conjuncture, its inner contradictions and the perspectives of the workers and popular resistance

By Michael Pröbsting, July 2020

Introduction * The localized version of Lockdown policy is spreading * New information concerning severity (or not so severity) of the pandemic * Telling figures for Europe, Sweden and Ischgl * The worst pandemic in Africa? Really? * Capitalism and care homes as deadly traps for old people * The real nature of the ruling class bonapartist offensive under the cover of COVID-19 * Why is the ruling class opting for a local lockdown strategy? * Excuse: A crisis characteristic for the present period of capitalist decay * The nature and inner contradictions of the local lockdown strategy * Preparing for a new counter-revolutionary offensive * The Lockdown Left: a never ending embarrassment * The shameful example of the PSTU/LIT-CI * The imperialist aristocratism of the Lockdown Left * Building a Revolutionary World Party * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

