



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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## Ukraine War & Great Power Rivalry: Revolutionary Defensism and Defeatism

## English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.72, April 2022

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*Pictures on the cover: Civilians in the Ukraine preparing Molotov Cocktails for the defense against the Russian invaders (Source: Wikipedia, [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1d/Reporter%E2%80%99s\\_Notebook\\_-\\_Thriving\\_Kyiv\\_Becomes\\_Battle\\_Zone%2C\\_Almost\\_Overnight\\_03.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1d/Reporter%E2%80%99s_Notebook_-_Thriving_Kyiv_Becomes_Battle_Zone%2C_Almost_Overnight_03.jpg))*

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# Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance

## Socialists must combine the revolutionary defense of the Ukraine against Putin's invasion with the internationalist struggle against Russian as well as NATO and EU imperialism

*Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 1 March 2022*

The Russian invasion in the Ukraine is a turning point of world historic significance. It is an imperialist attack on the most industrialized country since 1945. It is an attack on the most populous country since the Vietnam War. It is a full-scale war in the heart of the continent and at the borderline between Europe and Eurasia.

At the same time, this war – building on the previous period of tensions between NATO and Russia – opens a new era in world political relations. It brings the Cold War between the Great Powers, which began a few years ago, to the verge of World War III. It has already dramatically deepened the hostilities between the Western imperialist and their Russian rivals and it will continue to do so. It will redefine the relationship between the U.S. and the European Union. It will have massive consequences for the drive towards imperialist unity and militarization in Europe. Furthermore, the bonapartist Putin regime cannot remain the same under any circumstances – it will come out of this war either strengthened or weakened, or it might even collapse!

This is history in the making! Nothing is fixed, everything is in motion. This is like November 1989. We know that this is a historic turning point but we can't know how it will develop!

It is the most urgent duty of each and every socialist to understand the meaning of the current developments, the character of the war and of the escalation of tensions between the Great Powers as well as the resulting tasks in

the struggle. All socialist organizations around the world will be measured by their approach to this event.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* calls all socialist organizations as well as individual activists who agree with this Manifesto in its fundamental lines to contact us and to start collaboration in the struggle for an internationalist and anti-imperialist program against national oppression and inter-imperialist rivalry.

### The dual character of the current situation

It is impossible to have a correct orientation in the current world situation without understanding the complex nature of regional and global contradictions between the classes and the powers. The basis of a correct analysis is the recognition of the fact that we currently face two lines of contradictions. The two processes are *interdependent* and *influence each other* but they are *not identical*. Every opportunist deviation – either towards Russian imperialism or towards Western imperialism – has its theoretical basis in the failure to understand the contradictory character of the current situation.

The Russian invasion in the Ukraine is the result of the imperialist character of Russia as well as the escalation of tensions between the Great Powers in East and West. Therefore, the resistance of the Ukrainian people is a just war of defense against an imperialist attack. At the same time, the Western imperialist powers try to utilize this war for their own interests. The ruling class in the European



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

# Putin's Poodles (Apologies to All Dogs)

*The pro-Russian Stalinist parties and their arguments in the current NATO-Russia Conflict*

*by Michael Pröbsting, February 2022*

Introduction \* 1. NATO is the sole aggressor! Really? \* Is it relevant for Marxists who is the aggressor? \* What is causing the escalation of tensions between Great Powers: the party of warmongers or the imperialist system? \* Can socialists defend "legitimate spheres of influence" of Great Powers? \* Putin and Great Russian Chauvinism claim that the Ukraine is not an independent nation \* Stalinism versus Bolshevism: The Ukraine and the right of national self-determination \* From Kazakhstan to Syria: Stalinism is siding with the counterrevolution \* Is Russian imperialism a "force of social progress"? Discussion of a remarkable Stalinist document \* Stalinism and social-imperialism: concluding remarks \* Footnotes

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format*

Union and the U.S. exploit the war as a pretext to accelerate militarism and armament. They try to utilize Zelensky – a willing lackey of U.S. and EU imperialism – in order to transform the just struggle of the Ukrainian people into a proxy war.

This combined and contradictor character of the war in the Ukraine and the global tensions between the Great Powers can provoke a change in the nature of the war. It can transform its character from a just war of national defense into an inter-imperialist proxy war. If such a transformation would take place, revolutionaries would be obligated to change their tactics and to stand for the defeat of Russian imperialism *as well as* of the pro-Western imperialist proxy in Kyiv. But this is only a possibility in the future and revolutionaries base their strategy on the facts of today and not on speculations about tomorrow.

Revolutionaries around the world must work on the basis of the following principles. Support all legitimate national liberation struggles of oppressed people in order to weaken the imperialist enemy! No support for any imperialist Great Power – the U.S., EU, Russia, China and Japan!

Therefore the RCIT applies the principle of *revolutionary defensism* in the Ukrainian war against the Russian invaders. At the same time, we apply the principle of *revolutionary defeatism* in the conflict between NATO/EU and Russia (as well as in all other conflicts between Great Powers). Hence, we call socialists to fight under the following slogans:

\* *Defend the Ukraine! Defeat Russian imperialism! International popular solidarity with the Ukrainian national resistance – independent of any imperialist influence!*

\* *Down with all imperialist powers – NATO and EU as well as Russia! In all conflicts between these powers, revolutionaries fight against both camps!*

### **The struggle against social-imperialism**

It is therefore urgent that revolutionaries wage a ferocious struggle against all “left-wing” forces which – openly or concealed – advocate support for one or the other imperialist camp. A particularly shameful version of social-imperialist capitulation are the pro-Russian Stalinist and Bolivarian parties which side with Russian imperialism and which denounce the Ukrainian national resistance as “Nazis”. Examples for such are the KPRF (Russia) and their international allies. Likewise, did the Cuban Stalinist-capitalist regime as well as the Maduro government in Venezuela state their support for Putin. There are even so-called “Trotskyists” which side with Russian imperialism (e.g. PO in Argentina and their international allies).

Another version of social-imperialism are the “left” social democrats of the so-called “*Party of the European Left*” (e.g. LINKE in Germany, PCF in France, IU and PCE in Spain). They have urged the EU governments that “*Europe must develop an independent geopolitical attitude*”. In Spain – a member state of NATO – they even participate in the government which fully engages in aggressive imperialist policy!

Another example for pseudo-“progressive” policy is the U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders and his political allies in the DSA who continue to supporter the Biden Administration.

Socialists must combat the influence of all social-imperialist forces within the workers and popular mass organizations. Socialists within such parties or alliances must advocate a split with such traitors of the working class!

### **The tasks of socialists in the Russia**

Socialists in Russia must approach the war from the principle: “*The main enemy is at home!*” They should support the courageous anti-war activities and call for solidarity with the Ukrainian people. The strategic goal is to utilize this war in order to weaken and eventually to overthrow the bonapartist Putin regime by a workers revolution.

Therefore, socialists call Russian soldiers to turn the guns around. They work towards the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary crisis of the Putin regime. They should also call for the dissolution of CSTO – the Russian-led military alliance which helped the Tokayev regime to crush the popular uprising in Kazakhstan a few weeks ago.

Furthermore, socialists need to explain workers that the chauvinist concept of “*Russkij Mir*” (“Russian world”) is a dangerous trap which isolates the Russian masses from their brothers and sisters in other countries.

The RCIT considers it as urgent that socialists in Russia support the Chechen people in their struggle for national self-determination. The Chechens have proven in the past that they want to have their own independent state and Russian socialists have the duty to support this wish. Likewise, they should support the liberation struggle of the Syrian people against Assad the butcher and his Russian master. The Western *and* Eastern imperialists attack and oppress various Muslim people and national minorities. For authentic socialists, Muslim peoples like other oppressed nations are important allies in the anti-imperialist struggle against all Great Powers!

### **The tasks of socialists in the Ukraine**

Socialists in the Ukraine support the legitimate resistance against the Russian invasion. They must warn against the treacherous Zelensky government which is a lackey of NATO imperialism. Zelensky wants to transform the Ukraine into a colony of NATO and the EU. Socialists fight against such an orientation and warn against the political interference of the Western powers. They oppose membership of the Ukraine in imperialist alliances like NATO or the EU.

Socialists should advocate the formation of popular militias to defeat the Russian invaders. Such militias should be independent of the Zelensky government! Where such militias do not exist and if it is not possible to build such, socialists will participate in the *Territorial Defense Forces* (VTO) with the goal to break their link with the army command and to transform these into independent popular militias. Socialists in Ukraine must seek international collaboration with workers from other countries! Authentic socialists must argue for weaponry and provision organized by the international labor movement, independent from NATO/EU forces!

In any case, it is crucial to pedagogically explain workers and soldiers that they should not trust the Zelensky

government and that it is necessary to replace it with a workers government, based on popular assemblies and militias as soon as possible.

The RCIT advocates the perspective of an independent and socialist Ukraine which recognizes the rights of all minorities.

### **The tasks of socialists in Western Europe and the U.S.**

Socialists in Western Europe and the U.S. as well as in other countries must also engage in solidarity activities with the legitimate war of defense of the Ukrainian people. They should advocate international solidarity with the Ukraine national resistance.

However, such a position of revolutionary defense of the Ukrainian people must be combined with staunch opposition against the aggressive militarist policy of Western imperialism. German chancellor Olaf Scholz characterized the current situation as “*the beginning of a new epoch*”. And indeed, the European ruling class tries to exploit the war in the Ukraine to legitimize its policy to expand the military budgets and the fire power of the European Union. The same is the case in the U.S.

The Western Great Powers advance such a policy of imperialist militarism by instigating chauvinism against Russia and by pretending to support the Ukrainian people. They impose chauvinist sanctions against Russia and Russian people as part of this imperialist campaign.

They also try to weaken their Russian rival and to expand their influence in the Ukraine by sending weapons and other forms of support to the Zelensky government.

No one should have any illusions: this is the moment which the ruling class in Europe hopes to utilize for advancing their counterrevolutionary plans. In the past two years, they did already attempt to exploit the pandemic in order to expand authoritarianism and militarization of domestic policy under the pretext of “public health”. Now they try to utilize the war in the Ukraine to advance militarism and chauvinism at home as well as abroad. It is no accident that it is, in most cases, one and the same government which advocated such policy in spring 2020 and which does so today in spring 2022. Moreso, the same method of unified messages and mobilizations of all layers is applied in order to rally the whole society under one banner. Yesterday, the banner was the war against a virus. Today, it is the war against Putin.

The RCIT calls socialists in Western Europe and the U.S. to combine internationalist support for the Ukrainian national resistance with intransigent opposition against all forms of imperialist aggression by the U.S. and the EU. Socialists need to engage in solidarity activities for the Ukraine but they must not support pseudo-“solidarity” events which are dominated by a spirit of Western imperialist jingoism!

Likewise, socialists need to call for countries to leave NATO respectively not to join it. Smash NATO! In addition, socialists need to explain the imperialist nature of the EU and the necessity to fight against it.

### **Historical analogies for conflicts with dual character**

Conflicts with such a contradictory and complex nature are not new for Marxists. In World War II, Trotsky and the Fourth International explained that socialists could not support any side in the inter-imperialist conflict between the U.S., Britain and France versus Germany, Italy and Japan. However, they also emphasized that socialists needed to defend the USSR (a degenerated workers state at that time) as well as oppressed peoples fighting against imperialist occupiers (e.g. China against Japan).

Another, more recent, example is the Kosova war in 1999. Socialists supported the Albanian people fighting against Serbian occupation, but they also opposed the NATO aggression against Serbia. However, when NATO invaded Kosova, the popular guerilla struggle lost its independent and progressive character and became a subordinated element to the imperialist aggression. Hence, it was no longer legitimate to side with the Kosovar fighters as they collaborated with and under NATO control in this concrete phase of the war.

Revolutionaries need to understand the complex nature of the current conflict in order to fight against *both evils* which the international working class face today: the imperialist invasion of Russia in the Ukraine as well as the inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers.

Consequently, revolutionaries must adapt their tactics to the developing situation and modify these if necessary.

### **Internationalist and anti-imperialist revolutionaries must join forces!**

The current situation is full of confusion and betrayal. The ruling class in all countries involved in this conflict wage an incredible media war in order to manipulate the masses. Many opportunist “socialist” parties add to this confusion by advocating the ideas of social-imperialist support for this or that great power or by advocating the illusions of pacifism (general disarmament, a settlement by the UN, etc.).

It is an urgent task for socialists to fight against such disorientation and against the policy of confusion. For this, all socialists who agree with the internationalist and anti-imperialist program as outlined in this Manifesto should join forces.

The RCIT calls all socialists who share such an outlook to start collaboration. As a first step, we propose to hold an *international conference* in order to discuss about joint work on such a basis.

Comrades, brothers and sisters! History is happening now! Do not wait – act now – act together!

Forward in the struggle for international socialism!

Forward in building a *Revolutionary World Party!*

\* \* \* \* \*

We refer readers to a special page on our website where all RCIT documents on the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>

# Ukraine War: An Action Program for Authentic Socialists

*Issued by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 1 March 2022*

**A**uthentic socialists worldwide explain in this times that the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the invasion of imperialist Russia is a just cause and must be supported. We call for an independent, free, socialist Ukraine!

Authentic Socialists worldwide explain in this times that the main enemy for the workers in imperialist countries is at home. Workers in Western Europe and United States must be in the forefront of the struggle against NATO, US and EU Imperialism. Workers in Russia must be in the forefront of the struggle against Russian Imperialism. Workers of all semi-colonial countries must fight for the independence of their home country, against all imperialist powers.

Authentic Socialists worldwide explain in this times that class independence is the most crucial task for all workers and oppressed in all countries. The bureaucrats of the labor movement in the Ukraine are paralyzed at best or follow blindly the leadership of the bourgeois Zelensky government at worst. While his popularity has massively increased since the beginning of the imperialist invasion, the true character of Zelensky and his cabinet has not changed. They are begging to operate under the leadership of NATO and EU/USA. Socialists in Ukraine must fight for class independence of the labor movement against this disastrous and dangerous political influence.

The bureaucrats of the labor movement in Russia are mostly supporting their imperialist bourgeoisie in the war or prefer to argue for peace while offering no concrete help whatsoever to the Ukrainian resistance. Socialists in Russia must support and collaborate with anti-war mobilizations and collaborate with the Ukrainian resistance. The main goal is to turn the weapons away from the Ukraine and against the government of Putin.

The bureaucrats of the labor movement in Western Europe as well as parts of Eastern Europe follow blindly the imperialist mobilization of their respective governments. While concrete help and support for the Ukrainian people is urgent, it must be organized in close combination of a struggle against NATO, EU and USA. At the same time, those so-called "socialists" who support imperialist Russia must be condemned for their historic betrayal. The bureaucrats in all other parts of the world who support the Russian invasion as a supposedly act of resistance against European respectively American imperialism must be condemned as well. Indeed, while absolute independence against Western imperialists is crucial, the alternative is not become lackeys of the Eastern imperialists.

## **Authentic Socialists fight for true class independence:**

*\* Organize meetings and assemblies, be it at your workplace or your neighborhood to discuss and coordinate support for the Ukrainian resistance. Fight against all political influences who obey to the leadership of imperialists – be it Russian imperialism or NATO/EU/U.S. imperialism.*

*\* Organize clandestine meetings if public meetings are not possible. Also organize clandestine meetings for specific activities that are important in these times of anti-imperialist resistance and could not be done in public. However, whenever possible*

*utilize public events and all existing democratic rights in order to have the broadest mobilization that is possible.*

*\* Start a campaign in your local trade union in solidarity with the Ukraine but against all imperialists. Do this with an orientation of building rank and file independence against the bureaucracy. Combine it with a strategy of politization and revolutionizing of your trade union.*

Putin has started the war against Ukraine to show the strength of the Russian imperialists and to limit the eastward expansion of NATO. However, it does not matter who kickstarted the inter-imperialist conflict. To understand and push this conclusion is of highest importance for those workers and oppressed who live in NATO countries respectively in Western countries. During the pandemic, all capitalist governments in the world have enlarged bonapartist elements of their respective state apparatus. Now, the E.U. imperialists combine their experience of the COVID Counterrevolution (i.e. the enlargement of the Bonapartist monster under pretext of fighting a pandemic) with the goal to push the European Union towards a more severe imperialist force. They are trying to accomplish the expansion of a potent military (and political) unit, something they are trying to achieve since decades without success. They do so by utilizing a method that was also implemented during the COVID Counterrevolution: Calling all layers of society to arms – first under the pretext of a health crisis, now under the pretext of helping the Ukrainian people. It is therefore an urgent and immediate necessity for all socialists in Western countries to step up against Western imperialism.

## **Authentic socialists fight against the remobilization of the Western state bonapartist monster:**

*\* Reject all sanctions by Western imperialists against Russia.*

*\* Soldiers in Western armies respectively their allies: oppose to be mobilized to Eastern Europe in order to threaten Russia. Organize clandestine meetings with all critical-minded comrades inside the army who are willing to oppose military operations in Eastern Europe. Utilize your military knowledge in order to help the Ukrainian resistance. At the same time, work towards turning the weapons against Western imperialism.*

*\* Workers of the transport sector: refuse to impose sanctions against Russia like closing the airspace for Russian civil airplanes. Pressure your trade union leaderships to organize strike actions against such sanctions. Combine it with demands for free flights for all Ukrainian refugees respectively help for those Russian activists who reject the imperialist invasion of Ukraine by Russia. Authentic socialists argue for the organizing of blockades on the streets to stop the mobilization of NATO troops respectively all military forces of EU and U.S. Authentic socialists argue for organizing a campaign for the expropriation of the military corporations in order to decide and control the arms deliveries to the Ukrainian resistance.*

*\* Workers of the health sector: combine a campaign to send sanitary products and medical supply to the Ukrainian people with a rejection of the Bonapartist measures of the COVID Counterrevolution like the compulsory vaccinations with application of QR codes and health pass controls. The ethos of health work is*

to help those in need and not to force medical procedures by using bonapartist state measures against the free will of people. Push your trade unions to fight for better work conditions and for the expansion of the health sector. You can only help others (including the Ukrainian fighters) if your own conditions improve. Nothing good has come out for the health workers by the bourgeois campaign that puts them in the front of arguing for Bonapartist measures under the pretext of fighting the pandemic. They are still coming within a whisker of burn-out, more than in the past. Health workers who understand this are one of the best assets in order to help Ukrainian fighters understanding that nothing good comes out for them, if they are utilized by Western imperialists.

\* Workers of the industrial sector: Organize meetings and assemblies in order to discuss strike actions against capitalists who join the governments' economic warfare against Russia and boycott Russian people and commodities. Such a boycott harms the workers and the general population in Russia. Instead coordinated strike actions between workers outside and inside of Russia must be organized to deescalate the war mobilization of both imperialist camps. Furthermore, to truly help the Ukrainian resistance against Russian imperialism, the Russian workers must be won over to organize mass protests up to a general strike against the invasion. This can be inspired if the workers outside of Russia show their support against imperialist boycotts in combination with support of Ukrainian resistance. Fight the bureaucracy in your trade union if it is willingly following sanctions!

\* All true proletarian democrats must understand the importance of stopping both imperialist Russia as well as imperialist EU and USA. There is no lesser evil or bigger evil – in fact, every success of imperialists in this war, be it the Eastern or the Western imperialist, will be at the cost not only of the goal of true liberation of Ukraine. It will be also at the cost of the workers and oppressed in the respective imperialist country and the semi-colonies. Why? Because success increases the strength of the imperialists which they use to exploit workers as well as poor countries all over the world.

**Authentic socialists empower the Russian workers and poor to fight against the imperialist Putin government:**

\* Russian workers and oppressed: The main enemy is at home! Mobilize to stop the invasion of Ukraine! Turn the guns against the Kremlin!

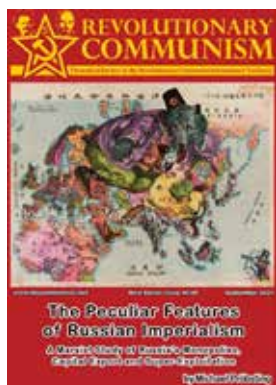
\* All workers outside Russia: Empower the Russian working class to organize mass protests up to an indefinite general strike against the invasion of Ukraine and the government of Putin. Show your solidarity by rejecting sanctions against the Russian people which are implemented by Western imperialists and their allies! Lead by example and organize strike actions in order to stop NATO mobilizations!

\* Workers of the Ukraine: Reject any chauvinism against the Russian people! Your struggle against the invasion by imperialist Russia is as just cause and should not be smudged by chauvinists! Unite with those Russian activists who support your struggle, they are crucial allies! Unite also with other oppressed people like the Chechens and the Syrian people in their struggle against Russian imperialism! Fight against any fascist influence as they hinder the formation of unity of your liberation struggle with progressive Russians and oppressed people like the Chechens and the Syrian people!

**Authentic socialists fight for the liberation of the Ukrainian homeland and reject the support by Western imperialism:**

\* Workers of the Ukraine: Reject that NATO forces enter your country! You don't need two imperialist invaders! Refuse to enter the European Union as it will only mean further dramatic exploitation of your country by Western imperialism! Also, it would mean that you turn into a political and military buffer for Western Europe as the European Union is more than ready to utilize the sweat and blood of the Ukrainian people for their imperialist agenda!

\* Socialists should join the Territorial Defense Forces (VTO) as the mass sentiment now is to join VTO and not to build independent popular militias. Until now, the VTO is not under NATO/EU/U.S. control and socialists are right to join its ranks. However, it is crucial to argue for a break of VTO units with



## Publications of the RCIT

# The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism

A Study of Russia's Monopolies, Capital Export and Super-Exploitation in the Light of Marxist Theory

By Michael Pröbsting, August 2021

**Introduction \* Another Denial of Russia's Imperialist Character \* The Methodological Failure of our Critics \* Russia's Economy: Dominated by Domestic, not Foreign, Monopolies \* Capital Export and the Problem of "Round-Tripping" Foreign Direct Investments \* "Phantom FDI": No Russian Peculiarity but a Global Phenomenon \* Russia's Leading Multinational Corporations and their Foreign Investments \* Imperialist Super-Exploitation via Capital Export \* Imperialist Super-Exploitation via Migration \* Conclusions \* Footnotes**

A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

the army command and to transform these into popular militias. They should create clandestine cells with like-minded soldiers. Sooner or later the rising popularity of Zelensky will turn when his true character, i.e. his will to be a Western imperialist puppet shows again and results in the colonization of the Ukraine by Western imperialism. Also, it is crucial to fight for independent militias now as the character of the VTO might change soon enough.

\* When the VTO comes under control of Western imperialists, true anti-imperialist liberation fighters will try even harder to break local units from the army command and to transform these into popular militias. If this is not possible, they are obligated to leave the VTO and to work towards the creation of independent militias! Also, if the VTO comes under control of Western imperialism a united struggle with anti-imperialist Russian activists will be impossible without independent militias in Ukraine. Last but not least, a VTO under Western imperialist control without alternative and independent popular militias might lead to the Balkanization of Ukraine, i.e. the split of the country into zones controlled by Russian imperialism and zones controlled by Western imperialism. This would have disastrous consequences for the struggle for independence of Ukraine! Therefore, the creation of independent militias even, even if such an idea is not popular right now, is a crucial strategy for Ukrainian socialists!

\* The Zelensky government has increased its general popularity during the invasion. Many of the Ukrainian fighters might think that Zelensky is a bastard, but at least he is our bastard. The truth is that he and his government are willing to sellout the Ukrainian liberation struggle to Western imperialism as long as he can stay in power. The truth is that his popularity might be rising now but that future major historic events will turn the table against him soon enough again. Socialists need to understand that slogans which might be less popular today are still important to be raised and to fight for these. It is urgent for socialists in Ukraine to raise the slogan of a workers government in order to successfully combat both imperialists – Russian and NATO/EU/USA! It is urgent to fight for an independent and socialist Ukraine!

#### **Authentic Socialists fight for the formation of an international anti-imperialist bloc, a new Zimmerwald:**

\* Formation of an anti-imperialist, international alliance must be the crucial slogan for all socialists who support the Ukrainian resistance against Russia but reject, at the same time, Western imperialism! We need the experience of all oppressed if such an alliance should become truly anti-imperialist. Therefore, we will need to integrate all political forces of the oppressed – even if they are not socialists (yet) – who are willing to join such an anti-imperialist alliance and to support its demands!

\* A new Zimmerwald must include Ukraine fighters who (also) reject Western imperialism as well as Russian activists who truly oppose the invasion of the Ukraine! It must include militants from Eastern Europe who can bring their experience with the oppression by both imperialist powers to the table!

\* A new Zimmerwald must include Muslim people of all the nationalities who have gained revolutionary experience during imperialist invasions! Therefore, a new Zimmerwald should start on the basis of the war in Ukraine but should not stop there! It must be extended to support of the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli imperialism! It must be extended to support the Chechen people against Russian imperialism and the Syrian people against the Assad dictatorship, against Russia and NATO! It must include activists from Kazakhstan with the

experience of their recent popular uprising as well as all other people who fought a revolutionary struggle against their corrupt governments!

\* A new Zimmerwald must include those people who know the true character of Western imperialism! These include all anti-imperialist migrants, Muslims and black people in Europe and the United States! These include all anti-imperialists of the semi-colonial countries worldwide! And these include all fighters for national self-determination respectively liberation against imperialist states – be it the Catalan people against the Spanish imperialist state, be it the people of Northern Ireland against the British imperialism, be it any other just liberation struggle of the recent past and present!

Comrades and friends of all nationalities and genders, we call you to take a truly anti-imperialist stance in these crucial times of support for the Ukrainian liberation struggle! Take a truly anti-imperialist stance in those historic times when both the Eastern and Western imperialism mobilizes at the cost of the Ukrainian independence!

We, the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), invite all of you to discuss and collaborate with us on the ideas above. We invite you to support the following short program:

#### **Defend Ukraine against Putin's Invasion! Defeat Russian and NATO Imperialism!**

**War Platform for Socialists in Russia and the Ukraine**  
Issued by Russian and Ukrainian Activists of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 1 March 2022, [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net)

The Russian invasion in the Ukraine is a turning point of world historic significance. We call all socialists in the Ukraine and in Russia to join the RCIT on the basis of the following principles.

1. Defend the Ukraine! Defeat Russian imperialism!
2. For popular militias to defeat the Russian invaders!
3. In Russia, we say: "The main enemy is at home!" Support the anti-war activities in Russia! Russian soldiers: Turn the guns around! For the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary crisis of the Putin regime!
4. In the Ukraine, we say: Victory for the just war of the Ukrainian people! No political support for the Zelensky regime which is a lackey of NATO imperialism! For a Workers' Government! Join VTO and other militias to fight against the invasion by Russia! Fight for the transformation of the VTO into independent popular militias!
5. For an independent and socialist Ukraine which recognizes the rights of all minorities!
6. Neither NATO nor Russia! Down with imperialist war-mongering by all Great Powers! No to the imperialist policy of sanctions!
7. For an international popular solidarity campaign with the Ukrainian national resistance – independent of any imperialist influence!
8. Support the formation of an independent workers party in the Ukraine as well as in Russia!
9. Forward in the struggle for international socialism!
10. If you agree with this, join the RCIT in building a Revolutionary World Party!



# The Ukraine War and the Second Sino-Japanese War: A Historical Analogy

## The dual tactic of Marxists in the Ukraine War today draws on the approach of their predecessors in the war between China and Japan in 1937-41

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 10 March 2022

The Ukraine War which takes place in combination with the dramatic escalation of the inter-imperialist tensions between the U.S., the European Union and Russia, has provoked widespread confusion among self-proclaimed Marxist forces. If we leave aside the *Putinistas* – the open or concealed supporters of Russian imperialism – we can identify, generally speaking, two misunderstandings of the nature of the current conflict.

There are those who recognize the legitimate character of the Ukrainian defense struggle but who ignore (or consider as irrelevant) the inter-imperialist rivalry. And there are those who recognize the importance of the political and economic warfare between the Great Powers, but ignore or subordinate the relevance of the Ukrainian resistance against the Russian invasion.

In contrast to such forces, the RCIT has based its strategy on the recognition of the *dual character* of this conflict. We support the Ukrainian people and their resistance against the invasion of imperialist Russia. At the same time, we oppose both camps in the ongoing inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers – Russia as well as NATO. We summarized our position in the following slogans:<sup>1</sup>

\* *Defend the Ukraine! Defeat Russian imperialism! International popular solidarity with the Ukrainian national resistance – independent of any imperialist influence!*

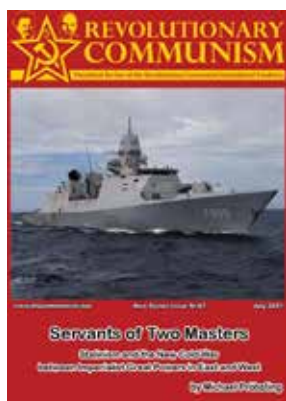
\* *Down with all imperialist powers – NATO and EU as well as Russia! In all conflicts between these powers, revolutionaries fight against both camps!*

We have emphasized that it is crucial for Marxists to avoid any mechanical simplification and to recognize the dialectical nature of the conflict. In the RCIT Manifesto we stated: *“It is impossible to have a correct orientation in the current world situation without understanding the complex nature of regional and global contradictions between the classes and the powers. The basis of a correct analysis is the recognition of the fact that we currently face two lines of contradictions. The two processes are interdependent and influence each other but they are not identical. Every opportunist deviation – either towards Russian imperialism or towards Western imperialism – has its theoretical basis in the failure to understand the contradictory character of the current situation.”*<sup>2</sup>

At this point we will neither repeat our analysis of the war nor will we reiterate our critique of various opportunist forces. We rather want to draw attention to a historical analogy which, in our opinion, is highly useful for understanding the contradictor nature of the current conflict as well as for the dual tactic which Marxists have to apply under such conditions.<sup>3</sup>

### The Second Sino-Japanese War 1937-41

As it is widely known, China became a victim of Great Power aggression since the so-called Opium Wars in the 1840s. Britain, France, Germany, Russia, the U.S. and later also Japan waged repeated attacks against the *Middle Kingdom*, occupied some ports and cities of strategic impor-



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

### Servants of Two Masters

*Stalinism and the New Cold War*

*between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West*

*by Michael Pröbsting*

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

**Introduction \* The New Inter-Imperialist Cold War \* A View on the Military Strength of the Great Powers \* The Main Point of both Statements: Siding with Chinese and Russian Imperialism \* Stalinist Fantasies Shredded in the Light of Reality: The Rise of Chinese Imperialism \* The KKE's "criticism" and its fraternal bonds with the Chinese CP \* Beside the Servants of Assad the Butcher - Who Signed the KKE-initiated Joint Statement? \* The Xi Fan Club: Signatories of the CPUSA-initiated Joint Statement \* The Concept of Multilateralism and Peaceful Coexistence: A Reactionary Illusion \* "Socialism in One Country": The Historical Roots of the Stalinist Concept of "Peaceful Coexistence" \* Serving Two Masters: The Eastern Imperialists as well as Sectors of the Domestic Bourgeoisie \* A Note on the tight-lipped "Trotskyists" (CWI, IMT, ISA) \* Conclusions \* Footnotes**

tance and forced Beijing to accept highly disadvantageous treaties. In the period after World War I, Japan became the most aggressive imperialist power trying to occupy large parts of China.

The first phase of this aggression began in 1931 when Japan invaded Manchuria. Chinese forces were defeated, and Japan created a puppet state (Manchukuo). However, the main war started in July 1937 when Tokyo launched a major offensive resulting in capturing Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing within a few months. However, while Japanese troops occupied major cities, they could not control China's vast countryside. As a result, the war continued for years with offensives and counter-offensives.<sup>4</sup>

In this period, U.S. imperialism sided with China. Washington did so not because of any anti-imperialist sympathies for oppressed people but rather because it viewed Japan as its main rival in the Asian-Pacific region. For this reason, the U.S. supported China through various means. It imposed a number of economic sanctions against Japan. *"In 1939 the United States terminated the 1911 commercial treaty with Japan. On July 2, 1940, Roosevelt signed the Export Control Act, authorizing the President to license or prohibit the export of essential defense materials. Under this authority, on July 31, exports of aviation motor fuels and lubricants and No. 1 heavy melting iron and steel scrap were restricted. Next, in a move aimed at Japan, Roosevelt slapped an embargo, effective October 16, on all exports of scrap iron and steel to destinations other than Britain and the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Finally, on July 26, 1941, Roosevelt froze Japanese assets in the United States, thus bringing commercial relations between the nations to an effective end. One week later Roosevelt embargoed the export of such grades of oil as still were in commercial flow to Japan."*<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Washington lent indirect military support to the Chinese resistance by sending American mercenaries and warplanes (e.g. the so-called *Flying Tigers*).

As it is well-known, Washington's political and economic aggression provoked Japan to attack Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and to declare war on the U.S. – an event which opened also a new phase on the Second Sino-Japanese War.

### **The Fourth International on the Second Sino-Japanese War**

The revolutionary Marxists at that time were organized in the *Fourth International*. This movement was led by Leon Trotsky, the organizer of the October Revolution, and continued the struggle for socialist world revolution after the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR and the Third International. The Trotskyists took a clear position of supporting the Chinese war of defense against the Japanese invasion. In a document adopted at its Founding Conference in September 1938, the Fourth International declared: *"It is the bounden duty of the international proletariat and above all of the revolutionary vanguard, to support the struggle of China against Japan. (...) The perspectives outlined above obligate the workers in all countries, and especially the revolutionary vanguard, to support China's struggle against Japan by all possible means."*<sup>6</sup>

The Fourth International supported the Chinese resistance despite the fact that the dominating force was the thoroughly bourgeois and treacherous Kuomintang led by

Chiang Kai-shek which had butchered tens of thousands of communists during the Chinese Revolution in 1925-27. Fearing the working class and the poor peasantry, the Kuomintang strongly relied on U.S. and British imperialism. *"While holding down the oppressed masses and retreating step after step before the Japanese invaders, the Kuomintang drew closer to British and American imperialism in the hope that these powers, fearful for their own interests in China, would be obliged to halt Japan's onward march."*

The Trotskyists also warned in this document that the intervention of U.S. imperialism in China is motivated by its own interests as a Great Power. *"American imperialism, although having fewer and smaller actual interests in China than Great Britain has, is alarmed at the prospect of Japanese domination of the Pacific. Repeated breakdowns in American Economy, occurring at shorter intervals, serve warning that if American capitalism is to survive and expand, it must soon play a more commanding role, not only in the Pacific area, but on the entire world arena. Roosevelt's speech at Chicago in October, 1937, directed against "aggressor powers", furnished the key to the future politics of American imperialism."*

Likewise, the Fourth International warned that the clash between the imperialist powers could result in a World War – a warning which was confirmed by reality only a few years later. *"At the same time, by the pursuit of their predatory aims in China, the Japanese imperialists have accentuated the inter-imperialist antagonisms which are forcing mankind to the brink of a new world war."*

In addition, the Trotskyists drew attention to the fact that if the working class does not succeed in driving out the Japanese invaders but leaves this task rather to the Western imperialists, China would end up as a colony of the latter. *"The imperialists of the West will intervene against Japan only to preserve their own robber interests in the Far East. If Japanese imperialism should be defeated in China by its imperialist rivals, and not by the revolutionary masses, this would signify the enslavement of China by Anglo American capital. China's national liberation, and the emancipation of the Chinese masses from all exploitation, can be achieved only by the Chinese masses themselves, in alliance with the proletariat and oppressed peoples of all the world."*

As mentioned above, Washington imposed a series of sanctions against Japan as part of the inter-imperialist rivalry. We did explain in other articles that the Trotskyists always opposed any support for imperialist sanctions.<sup>7</sup> In 1936, in the context of Italy's invasion in Ethiopia, the American Trotskyists published a pamphlet in which they emphasized their opposition to such imperialist sanctions.

*"But sanctions are war measures. They include withdrawal of financial credit, embargoes on trade, various forms of boycott. To enforce them genuinely would require a blockade of the country against whom the sanctions were invoked. The probable, the almost certain outcome of such a blockade, as history has so often proved, is war – since the blockaded nation cannot accept such a measure peacefully without surrendering political sovereignty. (...) In both cases, support of sanctions to be applied by capitalist governments (whether or not these are League members) is in effect support of these governments themselves. This means that such support necessarily leads to a betrayal of the revolutionary struggle against war, and the revolutionary defense of Ethiopia, which is always a struggle against the capitalist governments and the bourgeoisie whose governments they are. (...) Marxists, then, reject and expose as betrayal any and all advocacy of*

*League or governmental "sanctions."*<sup>8</sup>

At the same time, Marxists advocated that, in the case of just wars of oppressed peoples, workers impose their own sanctions against the imperialist aggressor. To quote again from the pamphlet of the American Trotskyists: "*Marxists are not neutral in the dispute between Italy and Ethiopia. They are for the defeat of Fascist Italy and the blow to imperialism which such a defeat would be; and they are therefore for the victory of Ethiopia. But they propose to aid in such defeat and such victory not by appealing to capitalist governments and the imperialist League for their assistance and sanctions; but to the working class to apply its proletarian "sanctions". Only sanctions which are results of the independent and autonomous actions of the working class are of any value in the revolutionary struggle against war—since only these separate the class from the state and the class enemy, and only these build the fighting strength of the workers, which is alone the road to workers' power and thus to the defeat of war. Mass demonstrations, strikes, labor boycotts, defense funds for material aid to Ethiopia, refusal to load munitions for Italy, revolutionary agitation for Marxism as it applies to the war crisis, these are such sanctions as the working class must make use of.*"

The Fourth International took the same approach in the case of the Second Sino-Japanese War. It stated in the above-mentioned document of 1938: "*The international revolutionary campaign for aid to China must proceed under the banner of workers' sanctions against Japan and find its full expression in the promotion of the class struggle and the proletarian revolution.*"

### An instructive analogy

It is not difficult to recognize the similarities between the current Ukraine War and the Sino-Japanese War in 1937-41. In both cases, a semi-colonial country (Ukraine resp. China) was attacked by an imperialist power (Russia resp. Japan). In both cases, the resistance of the oppressed country was led by treacherous bourgeois forces (Zelensky resp. Chiang Kai-shek). In both cases, the national liberation war has been combined with inter-imperialist rivalry between Great Powers resulting in escalating tensions and economic sanctions (NATO vs Russia resp. U.S. vs Japan).

In both cases, Marxists supported the legitimate war of defense by the oppressed people while taking a revolutionary defeatist position in the conflict between the Great Powers. In both cases, Marxists opposed imperialist sanctions but advocated workers sanctions against the aggressor.

The RCIT continues the methods and the program of the Fourth International. We call all authentic socialists who agree with such an internationalist and anti-imperialist perspective to join us in the struggle against the Russian invasion, against all Great Powers and for the program of international socialist revolution. Forward in building a *Revolutionary Workers Party!*

### Footnotes

1 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 30 RCIT documents on the current NATO-Russia conflict and the Ukraine War are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>. The most important documents are: RCIT Manifesto: Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance. Socialists must combine the revolutionary defense

of the Ukraine against Putin's invasion with the internationalist struggle against Russian as well as NATO and EU imperialism, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-ukraine-war-a-turning-point-of-world-historic-significance/>; RCIT: Ukraine War: An Action Program for Authentic Socialists, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-an-action-program-for-authentic-socialists/>; Medina Gunić: A new turning point in Russia's invasion of the Ukraine, 25 February 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/a-new-turning-point-in-russia-s-invasion-of-the-ukraine/>; RCIT: Down with Putin's Imperialist War against the Ukraine! Neither Russia nor NATO - against all imperialist powers! For an independent popular struggle to defend the Ukraine! For a workers government to defeat the Russian invaders! No to imperialist sanctions! For an independent socialist Ukraine! 24 February 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/down-with-putin-s-imperialist-war-against-the-ukraine/>

2 RCIT Manifesto: Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance. Socialists must combine the revolutionary defense of the Ukraine against Putin's invasion with the internationalist struggle against Russian as well as NATO and EU imperialism, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-ukraine-war-a-turning-point-of-world-historic-significance/>

3 On the issue of dual tactic in conflicts with combined and contradictory character see also chapter 12 iv) in our book by Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, pp. 321-330, <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>.

4 There exists a vast literature on the Second Sino-Japanese war. See e.g. chapter 10-12 in John K. Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker (Eds.): *The Cambridge History Of China, Vol. 13, Republican China 1912-1949, Part 2*, Cambridge University Press 1986, pp. 492-722; see also Akira Iriye and Warren Cohen (Eds.): *American, Chinese, and Japanese Perspectives On Wartime Asia, 1931-1949*, Scholarly Resources Imprint, Wilmington 1990. A brief overview can be read on Wikipedia: *Second Sino-Japanese War*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Sino-Japanese\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Sino-Japanese_War)

5 Robert Higgs: How U.S. Economic Warfare Provoked Japan's Attack on Pearl Harbor, 1 May 2006, <https://www.independent.org/news/article.asp?id=1930>

6 Fourth International: *The War in the Far East and the Revolutionary Perspectives* (1938), in: *Documents of the Fourth International: The Formative Years (1933-40)*, Pathfinder Press, New York 1973, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/fi/1938-1949/fi-1stcongress/ch08.htm>. All quotes in this chapter, if not indicated otherwise, from the Fourth International are taken from this document.

7 See on this Michael Pröbsting: Can Socialists Support Imperialist Sanctions? The "Fourth International" in the tradition of Pablo and Mandel supports Western sanctions against Russia, 4 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/can-socialists-support-imperialist-sanctions/>; by the same author: Ukraine War: Dockworkers Boycott Imperialist Russia. Workers at ports along the US west coast refuse to handle any Russian cargo in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, 9 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-dockworkers-boycott-imperialist-russia/>

8 John West (James Burnham): *War and the Workers* (1936), Workers Party Pamphlet, <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/burnham/1936/war/index.htm>; See also Maurice Spector: *Sanctions and the Coming War* (1935), New International, Vol.2 No.7, December 1935, <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/spector/1935/12/sanctions.htm>

# Can Socialists Support Imperialist Sanctions?

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 4 March 2022

The Ukraine War – the key event in the current world situation – is a decisive test for socialists. We from the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) – have stated from the first minute of this war that it is urgent to defend the Ukrainian people and their resistance against the invasion of imperialist Russia. At the same time, socialists recognize the ongoing inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers and resolutely oppose both camps – Russia as well as NATO.<sup>1</sup>

We have summarized the position of the RCIT in the following slogans:

\* *Defend the Ukraine! Defeat Russian imperialism! International popular solidarity with the Ukrainian national resistance – independent of any imperialist influence!*

\* *Down with all imperialist powers – NATO and EU as well as Russia! In all conflicts between these powers, revolutionaries fight against both camps!*

As we discussed in several articles, various self-proclaimed socialist organizations have failed to take such a principled internationalist and anti-imperialist position. Such an organization is the largest current among those claiming the name of the “*Fourth International*” – the one in the revisionist tradition of Michel Pablo and Ernest Mandel. This organization – which is often called by the shortcut “*USec*” (as its long-time leading organ was named “*United Secretariat*”) – has issued a declaration on the Ukraine War.<sup>2</sup>

## ***“Sanctions against Russia to limit Putin’s ability to continue his warmongering policy”***

In this statement, the comrades rightly oppose the Russian invasion and call for support for the Ukrainian resistance. However, they shamefully combine such a correct approach with a scandalous support for Western imperialist sanctions against Russia. “*Support for sanctions against Russia, as called for by the Ukrainian resistance, that limit Putin’s ability to continue the ongoing invasion and his warmongering policy in general. Rejection of any sanctions that hit the Russian people more than the government and its oligarchs.*”

The USec leaders do not explain which sanctions they support and which not. But since they make clear that they support all sanctions which “*limit Putin’s ability to continue the ongoing invasion and his warmongering policy in general*”, one can fairly assume that they welcome a wide range of political and economic sanctions.

It is true that the government in Kyiv as well as progressive organizations involved in the popular resistance (like the “*Social Movement*”<sup>3</sup>) call for such sanctions. In the case of the reactionary Zelensky government, this is hardly surprising. This is thoroughly bourgeois government which wants the Ukraine to join the imperialist NATO and EU alliances. Its “*resistance*” against the Russian invasion is based on its alliance with the Western Great Powers.

In the case of progressive organizations like the “*Social Movement*”, we think that these comrades are mistaken in raising such a demand. However, it is one thing if a Ukrainian organization raises such a demand which is

practically involved in the desperate resistance struggle and which never pretended to have anything to do with the tradition of Trotskyism. But it is something very different if a sizeable self-proclaimed international “*Trotskyist*” organization includes such a demand into its program for the Ukraine War!

## **Great Power sanctions lead to Great Power wars**

The RCIT has always emphasized that the policy of imperialist sanctions is an instrument of Great Power policy. It serves to strengthen one imperialist power in the struggle against its rivals. The role of such sanctions is also highly political as they are combined with wiping up domestic chauvinism against the “*evil*” rival.<sup>4</sup>

The current Ukraine War is a clear example for this. What we see in the U.S. and Western Europe is an orgy of imperialist hypocrisy. The same states which support Israel since decades, which never impose any sanctions against the Zionist state despite its numerous massacres against the Palestinian, the very same states raise a hue and cry now against Russia because it serves their interests in the Great Power rivalry! Or take the unspeakable autocracies which the very same Putin has committed against the Chechen people since 1999 or against Syrian people since 2015. Again, not a single sanction was imposed against Russia because of these crimes!

The new regime of Western sanctions against Russia is part of a policy of dramatic militarization and armament. The German Chancellor Olaf Scholz characterized the current situation as “*the beginning of a new epoch*” (“*Zeitenwende*”) and calls for a gigantic program of armament. A similar process takes place in other countries. In other words, sanctions are nothing but economic warfare. Sanctions between Great Powers are imperialist economic warfare. They are a step towards military warfare.

Socialists must not lend any support to such an imperialist policy! Doing such means to effectively become social-imperialist agents of Western imperialism.

Naturally, this does not mean that socialists around the world should remain passive in the Ukraine War. No, they should organize a broad campaign of international solidarity with the Ukrainian popular resistance against the Russian invasion. But such support must be *independent* of the Western imperialist powers. As a matter of fact, supporting imperialist sanctions helps much more the Western powers than the Ukrainian people!

For all these reasons, it has been a long-standing position in the revolutionary tradition, associated with the names of Lenin and Trotsky, to *intransigently oppose all forms of imperialist sanctions*. When the so-called “*League of Nations*” – the predecessor of the United Nations – imposed sanctions against fascist Italy (because of the latter’s attack against Ethiopia in 1935), Trotsky and the Fourth International sharply denounced such measures. They argued that such sanctions would basically serve as instruments of British, French and U.S. imperialism against their rivals. An assessment which was proven right only four years later when World War II began.

Trotsky explained that “economic sanctions, if real, lead to military sanctions, to war.”<sup>5</sup> He therefore insisted that Marxists must break with all those who lend support to this or that imperialist power by supporting such sanctions. “The struggle against war, properly understood and executed, presupposes the uncompromising hostility of the proletariat and its organizations, always and everywhere, toward its own and every other imperialist bourgeoisie. Yet among the announced adherents of the London Bureau congress are to be found such notorious supporters of the League of Nations (i.e., imperialist) „sanctions“ as the Italian Socialist Party, which is presumably to organize a common struggle against war with opponents of these „sanctions,“ such as the British ILP claims to be. A prerequisite for the proletarian struggle against war is not unity between pro-“sanctionists“ and anti-“sanctionists“ but the ruthless separation of them.”<sup>6</sup>

It is a shame that the USec leadership repeats the same kind of social-imperialist mistakes which the “socialist” supporters of the Western Great Powers committed in the 1930s.

It is urgent today to side with the legitimate war of defense of the Ukrainian people against Russian imperialism. But socialists must draw a clear and sharp line between such partisanship for a progressive liberation struggle and support for Western sanctions against Russia, which means effectively siding with U.S. and EU imperialism!

#### Footnotes

1 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 30 RCIT documents on the current NATO-Russia conflict and the Ukraine War are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia->

[conflict/](#). The most important documents are: RCIT Manifesto: Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance. Socialists must combine the revolutionary defense of the Ukraine against Putin’s invasion with the internationalist struggle against Russian as well as NATO and EU imperialism, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-ukraine-war-a-turning-point-of-world-historic-significance/>; RCIT: Ukraine War: An Action Program for Authentic Socialists, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-an-action-program-for-authentic-socialists/>; Medina Gunić: A new turning point in Russia’s invasion of the Ukraine, 25 February 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/a-new-turning-point-in-russia-s-invasion-of-the-ukraine/>; RCIT: Down with Putin’s Imperialist War against the Ukraine! Neither Russia nor NATO - against all imperialist powers! For an independent popular struggle to defend the Ukraine! For a workers government to defeat the Russian invaders! No to imperialist sanctions! For an independent socialist Ukraine! 24 February 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/down-with-putin-s-imperialist-war-against-the-ukraine/>

2 No to Putin’s invasion of Ukraine! Support to the Ukrainian resistance! Solidarity with the Russian opposition to the war! Statement of the Executive Bureau of the Fourth International, 1 March 2022, <https://fourth.international/en/566/europe/426>

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4 On the RCIT’s analysis of the Great Power rivalry see e.g. the book by Michael Pröbsting: *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left’s Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>

5 Leon Trotsky: *Once Again: The ILP (1936)*, in: *Trotsky in: Writings 1935-36*, p. 198

6 Leon Trotsky: *Resolution on the Antiwar Congress of the London Bureau (1936)*, in: *Documents of the Fourth International*, New York 1973, p. 99

# Books of the RCIT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 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 of Workers

# The IMT and the Ukraine War: A Shameful Betrayal

## Alan Woods and the IMT fail to defend the Ukrainian people against the Russian invasion and effectively refuse to recognize Russia's imperialist character

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 2 March 2022

Our tendency has explained numerous times that historic turning points in history are a decisive test for each and every socialist organization. This is particularly relevant in the current world situation which is characterized by Putin's brutal military invasion in the Ukraine and the parallel escalation of the tensions between imperialist Great Powers - NATO and Russia.<sup>1</sup>

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) – together with its comrades in Russia and the Ukraine – have elaborated in several documents published in the last days that it is the utmost duty of socialists to take a position on the basis of intransigent internationalism and anti-imperialism. This means that, under the current circumstances, socialists recognize the *dual and combined character of the two lines of conflicts*. As we noted in our recent *Manifesto*, “the resistance of the Ukrainian people is a just war of defense against an imperialist attack. At the same time, the Western imperialist powers try to utilize this war for their own interests (...) to accelerate militarism and armament. They try to utilize Zelensky – a willing lackey of U.S. and EU imperialism – in order to transform the just struggle of the Ukrainian people into a proxy war.”<sup>2</sup>

From such an analysis follows that the RCIT applies the principle of *revolutionary defensism* in the Ukrainian war against the Russian invaders. At the same time, we apply the principle of *revolutionary defeatism* in the conflict between NATO/EU and Russia (as well as in all other conflicts between Great Powers). Hence – to quote again from our *Manifesto* – we say:

\* *Defend the Ukraine! Defeat Russian imperialism! International popular solidarity with the Ukrainian national resistance – independent of any imperialist influence!*

\* *Down with all imperialist powers – NATO and EU as well as Russia! In all conflicts between these powers, revolutionaries fight against both camps!*

### Does the struggle of the Ukrainian people have an “imperialist” character?

Unfortunately, the *International Marxist Tendency* (IMT) has a very different approach. It refuses to defend the Ukrainian people against the Russian invasion. In two longer statements – one officially by the IMT, the other by its long-time leader Alan Woods (both published on the same day) – they make clear that they consider both Russia as well as the Ukrainian people as equally reactionary. “We cannot support either side in this war, because it is a reactionary war on both sides.”<sup>3</sup>

Such a neutral stance in a war between an imperialist Great Power and a semi-colonial country is an utter shame! It is of course true that Zelensky, the Ukraine's President, is a reactionary figure and a willing lackey of NATO. But it is equally true that this is not so much a war between Putin and Zelensky but between the Gendarme of Eurasia and the Ukrainian popular masses that defend their country against imperialist colonialization.

History has seen such imperialist wars against oppressed peoples many times. To name only a few examples we refer to the Malvinas war of Britain against Argentina in 1982<sup>4</sup>, the US invasion in Afghanistan (2001)<sup>5</sup> and Iraq (2003)<sup>6</sup>, Israel's four wars against the Palestinian people in Gaza (2008, 2012, 2014 and 2021)<sup>7</sup> or Russia's war in Chechnya 1999-2008<sup>8</sup> and in Syria since 2015.<sup>9</sup> As the RCIT has explained in its documents, Marxists defend the oppressed peoples against the imperialist aggressor in such wars without lending any political support for their leadership.

Such a Marxist approach of proletarian anti-imperialism is deeply alien to the IMT leadership. They failed to defend Argentina against Britain and they also have failed to defend the oppressed peoples in the other named wars.<sup>10</sup> The IMT leadership even went so far and hailed the military coup of General Sisi in Egypt in July 2013!<sup>11</sup> It is therefore not surprising that they refuse to side with the Ukrainian people in the current war of defense against Putin's invasion.

Of course, as we have explained in our documents, there can be situations where an imperialist power effectively takes control of the struggle in a semi-colonial country. Usually this is the case, if such a Great Power sends its soldiers to the given country or if it takes similar measures which assure its control. In such a situation, a just war of defense can lose its legitimate character and become a proxy war for an imperialist power. We have seen such developments in World War I in the case of Serbia or, more recently, in the Kosova War in 1999. But such a transformation has not taken place in the Ukraine War until now. And, to quote again from our *Manifesto*, “this is only a possibility in the future and revolutionaries base their strategy on the facts of today and not on speculations about tomorrow.”

### “The most counterrevolutionary force on the planet” - a new type of imperialism?

In contrast, the IMT refuses to defend the Ukrainian people. Such a betrayal of a legitimate war of defense is closely related to the long-standing refusal of the IMT's central leadership core to recognize the imperialist character of Russia. We have pointed to this failure on several occasions.<sup>12</sup> The documents of this organization on the NATO-Russia conflict and the Ukraine War fully confirm this. These statements are riddled with denouncing the U.S. and EU as “imperialist” but one can hardly ever read that they characterize Russia as such a state! Look at Woods above-mentioned statement: 3,000 words, many denunciations of Western imperialism ... but none of “Russian imperialism”! This is truly astonishing given the fact that it is not NATO which has invaded the Ukraine but Russia!

The RCIT has explained many times that it is impossible to find a correct orientation in the current historic period

without recognizing the existence of *several* imperialist Great Powers which are engaged in intensive rivalry against each other. (U.S., China, EU, Russia and Japan) As we demonstrated in several studies, Russia is an important Great Power and those numerous revisionists which deny this are utterly wrong!<sup>13</sup>

Fortunately, there are comrades in the IMT – in particular in its Russian section – who oppose such a reactionary position and who recognize the imperialist character of this power. In most official documents of the IMT leadership, the London center manages to ignore such internal opposition. However, since the beginning of Russia's war against the Ukraine, this has become more difficult for Woods and his close circle.

A result of this opposition – and clearly the Russian section carries some moral weight in the current situation! – the IMT leadership was forced to accept an amendment to its latest statement which explicitly characterizes Russia as an imperialist power. While this is a welcomed development in itself, Woods and his friends manage to neutralize any concrete progressive consequence from such a formal recognition.

They invent a strange new category by calling U.S. imperialism “*the most counterrevolutionary force on the planet*”. As this formula is repeated in both above-mentioned statements, it is evident that Woods & Co try to connect it with a specific meaning. This meaning is that even if Russia would be an imperialist power, it would be “*a less counterrevolutionary force on the planet*” than the U.S.!

Such an invention of a new type of imperialism has nothing to do with the Marxist method. Of course, it is true that the U.S. has waged more wars of aggression than Russia in the last decades. But this does not mean that Marxists differentiate between “bad imperialists” and “worse imperialists”. Did Lenin differentiate between Britain and Germany in World War I? Following Woods' method, Lenin should have called Britain “*the most counterrevolutionary force on the planet*” since it possessed the largest number of colonies. In contrast, Germany hardly

had any colony. Did this make Germany “*a less counterrevolutionary force*” than Britain? Certainly not in Lenin's and Trotsky's eyes!

In fact, the formula of “*the most counterrevolutionary force on the planet*” is just a pretext for refusing to take a consistent anti-imperialist position. It is a pretext for taking a neutral stance in the Ukraine war. It is a pretext to present Russia as a victim of U.S. imperialism and to claim that all political moves by Putin are of defensive nature and that it is the U.S. and NATO which is the main aggressor.

Let's be clear: the IMT's leadership has failed to take an internationalist and anti-imperialist position in the most important war in Europe since 1945. It is of utmost importance that authentic Marxists in the IMT fight against such a shameful adaption to Russian imperialism. The RCIT looks forward to join forces with all socialists who defend the Ukrainian people against the Putin's aggression and, at the same time, oppose both NATO as well as Russian imperialism!

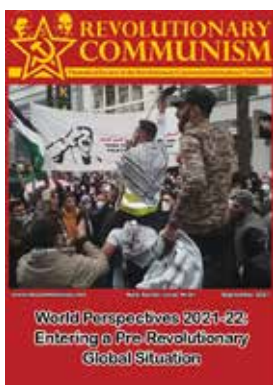
#### Footnotes

1 We refer readers to a special page on our website where all RCIT documents on the current NATO-Russia conflict and the Ukraine War are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>

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## Publications of the RCIT

# World Perspectives 2021-22: Entering a Pre-Revolutionary Global Situation

*Theses of the International Executive Committee of the RCIT, 22 August 2021*

**Introduction \* I. Great Depression, its Genesis and its Relevance for the COVID Counterrevolution \* II. Peculiar Features of the Crisis and Prospects of the Capitalist World Economy \* III. Acceleration of the Cold War between the Imperialist Great Powers \* IV. The COVID Counterrevolution Enters a New Phase \* V. A New Global Wave of Mass Struggles \* Entering a Pre-Revolutionary World Situation of Accelerating Polarization between Classes and States \* Footnotes**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 28 pages, A4 Format*

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## *Publications of the RCIT*

# The Inter-Imperialist Cold War between the US and China

*By Michael Pröbsting, March 2021*

**Introduction \* A symbolic public row \* Two thieves as upholders of moral standards \* Escalating the conflict between China and Japan \* The Quad Summit \* Inter-Imperialist tensions in the Taiwan Strait \* Unavoidable continuation and acceleration of inter-imperialist rivalry \* Continuing doing business \* Towards escalation on the Korean Peninsula? \* "Fuck the EU" and Russia, again? \* Confirmation of the Marxist analysis \* Footnotes**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format*



# The Ukraine and the looming Russian Invasion

## A contribution to discussions among socialists in the Ukraine and in Russia about the current on the tasks (Questions & Answers)

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 23.2.2022

Russia's aggression against the Ukraine – its deployment of troops in the so-called Donbass "Republics" and the looming threat of an invasion in other parts of the Ukraine – poses questions about the current tasks of socialists. Naturally, this has provoked discussions among activists in the Ukraine and in Russia. The following article – in the form of questions & answers – is a contribution to this discussion. It attempts to concretize the strategic line which our tendency – the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* – in the past weeks in the light of the most recent developments.

### **Question: Does the RCIT recognize the right of national self-determination of the Ukraine?**

**Answer:** Yes. The Ukrainian nation has been historically oppressed by Russia. <sup>1</sup> The only exception were the early years of the Bolshevik government in the period of Lenin and Trotsky. And in the years 1941-44, the Ukrainian people were oppressed by the German Nazis. In the period since 1991 the situation has been transformed in that sense that the Ukraine became formally independent and much of the direct discrimination was abolished. However, the Ukraine remained a state which Marxists call a "semi-colony". It became formally independent but remained dependent on Great Powers. Socialists oppose the domination of the Ukraine by any Great Power. We fully support "the right of national self-determination of the Ukrainian people. This means the right to have an independent state and to oppose any denial of the existence of the Ukrainian nation."<sup>2</sup>

### **Q: Which Great Powers dominate the Ukraine since 1991?**

**A:** After the restoration of capitalism, the North American and European imperialist powers became dominant in the Ukraine. When Putin replaced Yeltsin in 1999 and Russia became an imperialist state again, Moscow managed to expand its influence in the Ukraine. After the right-wing Euromaidan movement in 2014 and the following civil war, the so-called Donbass "Republics" effectively became colonies of Russian imperialism. The Ukraine itself became strongly dominated by Western imperialists who put their lackeys in power.

### **Q: What do you say about the national rights of minorities within the Ukraine?**

**A:** There are several minorities in the Ukraine – including the Russian-speaking population – which face discrimination to various degrees. Socialists oppose any kind of discrimination of these minorities. We defend their right of national self-determination including the right to secede. However, we advocate not secession but equality within the Ukraine with full rights for minorities in terms of language, culture etc.

### **Q: What is the role of the Ukraine in the current conflict between NATO and Russia?**

**A:** The Ukraine has become a victim of the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers. The fundamental cause of

the current crisis is the decay of capitalism which drives all imperialist power to expand their influence at the expense of their rivals. In the past decade, U.S. imperialism experienced a massive decline while China <sup>3</sup> but also Russia <sup>4</sup> developed as imperialist powers. The RCIT has analyzed this process in detail and we refer readers to our works on this issue. <sup>5</sup> The Ukraine has become one of the arenas where the imperialist powers – Russia, the U.S. and the EU – are competing for influence.

### **Q: Does this mean that there does not exist a "Ukrainian question"?**

**A:** It certainly exists. However, neither the Zelensky government nor the leadership of the so-called Donbass "Republics" represent an authentic struggle for national rights. As we explained in the latest RCIT statement: "The Donbass "Republics" do not defend the right of national self-determination but rather the "right" to become a colony of Russian imperialism. And the Zelensky government fights for its "right" to become a member of the imperialist NATO and EU alliances and it already acts as a puppet of Washington and Brussels. It is true that NATO formally recognize the Ukrainian people as a separate nation. However, it would be a tragic mistake to trust Western powers. Such governments view the Ukrainian people only as a bargain chip with Russia. They are ready to drop their support for the Ukraine in order to strike a favorable deal with Moscow."<sup>6</sup> Therefore, it is impossible to wage an authentic struggle for the defense of the Ukraine under the leadership of lackeys of NATO imperialism. Zelensky or other pro-Western politicians in the Ukraine do not defend their country – they defend the interests of Western imperialism.

### **Q: Which political position should socialists in the Ukraine take in such a situation?**

**A:** In our opinion, socialists need to combine the defense of the Ukrainian nation with an internationalist and anti-imperialist program. This means that they do not only defend the national rights of the Ukrainian people but that they also defend the rights of minorities which are living within the Ukrainian state. Secondly, socialists must reject any support for the political and military maneuvers of the Kiev regime. The Ukrainian nation can only be defended if this struggle is separated from the Great Power rivalry, if it becomes an independent struggle, if it becomes a struggle for the interests of the workers and popular masses of the Ukraine and not for the interests of imperialist powers!

### **Q: Does this mean that you oppose the defense of the Ukraine against the Russian invasion?**

**A:** No. The RCIT opposes the defense of the Ukraine under the command of Zelensky or any other pro-Western lackey. We support a popular and armed struggle of the Ukrainian people which is independent of any Great Power. It is urgent to organize popular emergency assemblies which should discuss how to defend the country. Socialists should argue within such assemblies that people elect emergency committees which take over local administra-

tion and which form popular militias for the defense of the country. Criminals and fascists must be excluded from such militias. Socialists should also argue that our enemy is not the Russian people but the Putin regime and its army. They should also advocate the integration of minorities in such popular organs. Likewise, socialists need to call for close collaboration with anti-war activists in Russia as well as with other peoples oppressed by Russian imperialism (e.g. the Chechens, the Syrian people). The goal of such assemblies and militias should be also to overthrow the Zelensky regime and to replace it by a workers government. Such a government would be based on popular councils, and it would expropriate the imperialist corporations as well as the oligarchs in order to advance towards an *independent and socialist Ukraine*. Concerning the nationality policy, we formulated our goal in a recently published statement: "*Revolutionaries need to raise the slogan of an independent Ukraine which can achieve such independence only as a workers republic. Such an independent and socialist Ukraine would offer the widest-possible autonomy rights to the Russian speaking and Russian population in the East with equal rights in terms of language, religion, culture etc. It would also respect the right of this minority for self-determination, i.e. that they can freely choose if they want to remain within such an Ukrainian state with various degrees of autonomy or if they want to separate from such a state.*"<sup>7</sup> It is important to build a new labor party in the Ukraine which would represent the independent interests of the working class.

**Q: What does this mean for the concrete, immediate tasks of socialists in the Ukraine?**

**A:** Naturally, such issues can only be correctly assessed and decided by revolutionary activists on the ground. Unfortunately, authentic socialists represent currently only a small minority. In our opinion, they should, as much as this is possible given the state of emergency imposed by the Zelensky regime, advocate a perspective based on an internationalist and anti-imperialist program as outlined above. They need to explain that people should not trust the Zelensky regime or the NATO powers. They should explain the need for the formation of popular militias in order to defend the country against the Russian invaders and also to fight against the coward Kiev regime. It seems important to us to assemble – as much as this is possible – authentic socialists on the basis of such a program and to organize them. It is up to the socialists in the Ukraine to judge the possibility for spreading propaganda and agitation in such a spirit under the current, effectively illegal, conditions for political work.

**Q: Should socialists refuse to join the Ukrainian army?**

**A:** We are Marxists. We do not support desertion and individual boycott of a bourgeois army. In general, socialists should join the army if they are conscripted (like all other people are forced to do). But they will not join the army with any illusions and without stating any confidence in the Kiev regime. This is like starting a job in a factory. You don't do this because you like capitalist exploitation but because you need to earn money.

**Q: What are the tasks of socialists in Russia?**

**A:** Socialists in Russia must resolutely oppose the imperialist policy of the Putin regime. They advocate a policy of *revolutionary defeatism* against Russian imperialism (as well as against NATO). For socialists in Russia, the main enemy is at home, i.e. the main enemy is Russian imperial-

ism. Socialists need to denounce Putin's recognition of the so-called Donbass "Republics" as well as the invasion of Russian troops in the Ukraine. Of course, socialists in Russia currently work under difficult circumstances. But they should, as much as this is possible, spread an internationalist and anti-imperialist program and organize activists on such a basis. Wherever possibilities for anti-war activities exist, socialists should support such.

**Q: What are the tasks of socialists in North America and Europe?**

**A:** Socialists in the West should defend the same program which has been outlined above. However, a special focus should be the opposition against the imperialist warmongering of the Western powers and their economic warfare against Russia. They should do so not because of any sympathy for Putin but because the U.S. and the EU are among the most dangerous imperialist Great Powers. Socialists must do everything in their power in order to undermine popular support for these powers, in order to weaken and eventually smash these enemies of the people!

**Q: Is it not a crucial task to unite socialists from the Ukraine, Russia and other countries in the world?**

**A:** Yes, indeed, this is the most important task! The current escalation in the Ukraine is only one of many crises and wars which will take place in the coming years. We are living in a historic period of capitalist decay. In such a period, it is inevitable that the ruling class launches attacks against the popular masses and that the Great Powers wage aggression and wars against each other as well as against oppressed people. In such a period, it is crucial to unite socialist activists and to jointly build a *Revolutionary World Party* – the key instrument for organizing the international socialist revolution! This is what the RCIT is fighting for!

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## 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)

