

## VI. Summary Theses

At the conclusion of this publication we summarize the most important conclusions in the form of some theses.

1. The formation of monopolies and Great Powers increasingly led to the division of the entire world into different spheres of influence for the rivaling imperialist states and to the subjugation of most countries under these few Great Powers. From this follows an essential feature of Lenin's (and Trotsky's) analysis of imperialism: the characterization of the relationship between the imperialist nations and the huge majority of the people living in the capitalistically less developed countries as a *relationship of oppression and super-exploitation*.

2. The relationship between states has to be seen in the totality of its economic, political, and military features. Thus, a given state must be viewed not only as a separate unit, but first and foremost *in its relation to other states and nations*. An imperialist state usually enters a relationship with other states and nations whom it oppresses, in one form or another, and super-exploits – i.e., appropriates a share of its produced capitalist value. Again this has to be viewed in its totality, i.e., if a state gains certain profits from its outward foreign investment but has to pay much more (debt service, profit repatriation, etc.) to other countries' foreign investment, loans etc., this state can usually not be considered as imperialist.

3. In short, we define an imperialist state as follows: *An imperialist state is a capitalist state whose monopolies and state apparatus have a position in the world order where they first and foremost dominate other states and nations. As a result they gain extra-profits and other economic, political and/or military advantages from such a relationship based on super-exploitation and oppression.*

4. Likewise, one also has to differentiate between different types of semi-colonies. Obviously there are huge differences today between Peru and Argentina or Brazil, Congo and Egypt, Pakistan and Turkey, Nepal and Thailand, Kazakhstan and Poland. Some countries are more industrialized than others, some have achieved a certain political latitude and others not. Hence, we can differentiate between *advanced or industrialized semi-colonies* like for example Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Poland or Thailand on one hand and *poorer or semi-industrialized semi-colonies* like Bolivia, Peru, the Sub-Saharan African countries (except South Africa), Pakistan, Afghanistan, Indonesia etc.

5. To summarize our definition of semi-colonies we propose the following formula: *A semi-colonial country is a capitalist state whose economy and state apparatus have a position in the world order where they first and foremost are dominated by other states and nations. As a result they create extra-profits and give*

other economic, political and/or military edges to the imperialist monopolies and states through their relationship based on super-exploitation and oppression.

6. The analysis and division of countries into different types must not be understood in a dogmatic, mechanistic way but in a Marxist, i.e., dialectical, way. Hence, it would be wrong to imagine an impenetrable Chinese Wall between the two categories, imperialist and semi-colonial states. As we have argued on several occasions there have been several examples where, under exceptional circumstances, a dependent state was able to become an imperialist country as well as the other way round.

7. We reject the category of “*Sub-Imperialism*” as part of the Marxist analytical apparatus. Under capitalism, no nation escapes the formation of ever closer economic and political ties with the dominant imperialist powers. Such close relations automatically create, modify, and reproduce mechanisms of exploitation and super-exploitation. In other words, under capitalism – and even more under imperialism – all nations are sucked into the process of super-exploitation. Either they are strong enough and become part of the oppressing nations, or they are pushed into the camp of the majority of humanity – the oppressed nations. There is no “third camp” in between.

8. We can summarize the first period of Greece’s existence as an independent state since the war 1821–29 as follows: The Greek’s struggle for national independence was highly progressive. However it ended with semi-independence for a small fraction of the Greek people. From the start, the newly born Greek state was highly dependent on the Great Powers Britain, France and Russia– politically and economically. The Great Powers imposed a monarchy headed by foreign kings on the Greek people. The country’s high level of debt resulted in state bankruptcy and an *International Finance Commission* took charge of Greek finances in the 1890s. In addition, the Greek bourgeoisie was dominated by merchants and didn’t focus on developing a domestic industry.

9. Hence the country remained backward: its economy was characterized by smallholder agriculture production and commerce and dominated by a few oligarchic families closely linked with the Great Powers; its political system was characterized by a monstrous state apparatus with a rotten monarchy at the top.

10. The Venizelos-period in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century ensured a certain degree of modernization both politically and economically as well as Greece’s gradual territorial expansion. But Greece remained trapped by its dependence on the Great Powers and foreign capital. And Venizelos’ adventures in offering his army as foot soldiers for British imperialism against Soviet Russia and Turkey resulted in a national catastrophe in 1922/23. The defeat against Turkey caused the inflow of about a million and a half Greek refugees and the state was more in debt than ever.

11. The Greek state not only liberated Greek people living under foreign domination, it also acted as a national oppressor from 1913 onwards. This

affected in particular the Slavic Macedonian people as well as the Muslim minority in Western Thrace. Those Slavic Macedonians living in the region annexed by Greece were severely oppressed in their national rights. Most of them were expelled from their homes and driven out of Greece in several waves in between 1913 and the end of the civil war in 1949.

12. The period between the two world wars ended with the black years of the Metaxas dictatorship and the occupation by German imperialism. In these years Greece experienced devastating destruction, the large scale robbery of assets by the Nazis and the loss of many lives. The years of civil war 1945–49, when the Greek workers and poor peasants resisted the British occupation and the ascent to power by the discredited reactionary monarchy and military camarilla. The forces of progress lost due to the betrayal of the Stalinist leadership, and this defeat added to the overall exhaustion of the country.

13. After the end of the civil war, Greece experienced a process of modernization and industrialization until the 1970s. For the first time, a considerable domestic industry emerged. Greek shipowners directed some investments to Greece's industry. However, Greece remained economically and politically dependent on Western imperialism. Its economy was still dominated by small enterprise; foreign monopolies played a decisive role amongst the big corporations and a significant part of its public expenditures were financed by foreign loans. Greece has been a member of NATO from the beginning and its regimes, and in particular its army, were in fact underlings of US imperialism.

14. The important group of Greek shipowners is a specific, quite unique section of the Greek bourgeoisie. In the past centuries it played a central role in international shipping trade. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it had become the dominant force in this global industry. Historically the Greek shipowners have been a cosmopolitan layer often living abroad – in the 20<sup>th</sup> century this was mostly in New York and London. This changed to a certain degree from the 1970s and Greek shipowners have directed important sectors of their business to Greece. This specific social-economic nature of the Greek shipowners had and has several important consequences. First, it has been a semi-Diaspora bourgeoisie and hence only to a certain degree (or in a peculiar way) part of the national ruling class. Second, the Greek shipowners are a trading and not a producing class. Greece has played no significant role in ship-building for a long time and hardly produced any ships in recent decade. Third, Greek shipowners have always been strongly dependent on foreign loans. In the 2000s, 4/5 of their loans were from foreign-owned banks. Fourth, given the nature of sea trade. Greek shipowners have always been dependent on the security provided by Great Powers. For all these reasons, even the Greek shipowners – the economically most potent sector of the Greek bourgeoisie – have always been closely tied to and dependent on the imperialist bourgeoisie of the Great Powers (mainly Britain and US, but recently also increasingly to China). The Greek bourgeoisie as a whole has a particular strong “comprador” character,

i.e., it avoids any confrontation with imperialism and serves the Great Powers as local henchmen.

15. After the collapse of Stalinism in 1989 in the Balkans, Greek capital to advantage, after some delay, the opportunities which capitalist restoration offered it. It became an important foreign investor in Albania, Macedonia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania and managed to extract significant extra-profits. However, Greece's foreign investment abroad remained much smaller than inward foreign investment in Greece. With the onset of the crisis in 2008, Greece's foreign investment significantly reduced.

16. Likewise, Greek capitalism has succeeded in acquiring a significant layer of migrants (about one million people) who serve the bosses as a super-exploited stratum at the bottom of the working class. This layer has not been reduced by the recent crisis and this is unlikely to happen because the wars and catastrophes in the Middle East make nearly certain that there will be many more refugees.

17. At the same time Greece has been traditionally been a country from which many migrants originated. Today, there are still residing several millions Greeks abroad and the remittances they send to their families constitute a sizeable part of Greece's national income. (1970: 4%, 2001: 2.5%)

18. It is important to evaluate the development of a country historically. Since achieving independence, Greece has always been a dependent, semi-colonial country albeit with specific features (the Greek shipowners as an economically potent semi-Diaspora bourgeoisie). In the 1990s and up to 2008, they made some headway in becoming a minor imperialist power by exporting capital to some southern Balkan countries and by absorbing huge layers of migrants. But these developments were vastly overshadowed by Greece's increasing dependence on the Great Powers during the same period. In addition, the country's external debt reached massive proportions. Furthermore its national economy was and is still being increasingly bought up by foreign monopolies.

19. The crisis which erupted in 2008 has provided an historical test for the class character of Greece. Such tests are always crucial to perceiving potential changes in the class character of a country. The developments of Greece in the past 7 years have demonstrated, beyond doubt, that the country has not been strong enough to withstand its complete subjugation by the EU. Greece has been forced to submit its economy and even parts of its territory (several islands) for sale to foreign investors. It has even been formally robbed by the EU troika of its sovereign rights to make its own political and economic decisions.

20. In short, Greek imperialist advances in the 1990s and up to 2008 came too little and too late. Hence, we repeat that Greece was and remains a semi-colonial country dominated by and dependent on foreign imperialist monopoly capital.

21. The RCIT rejects the position of the Stalinist KKE, after its recent turn around, which claims that Greece is now a normal imperialist country. As is well

known, until a few years ago the Greek Stalinists have historically been “left” patriots, and viewed the country as a colony of US and EU imperialism, this being their adaptation to Greece. The KKE’s about face regarding this issue was not motivated by any new insights but rather by their bureaucratic need to justify their rejection of any united front tactics towards SYRIZA (whose ideologists traditionally have shared the thesis of Greece as a dependent country). Likewise, we unequivocally reject the position of the KKE in the past and that of the LAE and others today who propose, based on their correct assessment of Greece’s dependency and subjugation by imperialism, the strategy of a popular front, i.e., the orientation towards class collaboration with a “national” or “domestic” sector of the Greek bourgeoisie. Such an orientation is wrong in principle and particularly absurd in a country like Greece whose bourgeoisie as a whole has a strongly cosmopolitan character and which throughout its entire history has served as local henchmen of imperialism.

22. The working class, multinational in composition with many migrants, must independently fight against the imperialist rulers of Greece, including their lackeys – the Greek bourgeoisie. It must strive to rally the urban poor, petty-bourgeoisie, as well as the small peasants in the struggle for democratic and anti-capitalist demands. Furthermore the working class must aim to look closely unite itself in its struggle with their class brothers and sisters in the region – i.e., the European workers and poor as well as those in the Middle East. The latter can play a dynamic role given the recent experience of the Arab Revolution which began in December 2010.

23. A revolutionary program for Greece must include a slogan for the country’s exit from the EU. Greece has always been a dependent and subjugated country in the EU and this status is institutionalized by the nature of the EU institutions dominated by Germany and France. Any substantial change in the country’s economic and social policy is impossible within the imperialist EU.

24. Naturally, this slogan for Greece’s exit from the EU does not constitute an independent program but is only a tactic as part of a broader strategy – the strategy for an authentic workers’ government striving for the expropriation of the imperialist and domestic bourgeoisie and opening the road to socialism. The RCIT rejects the national-reformist program à la Costas Lapavitsas and the LAE-leadership. The national-capitalist road is an illusionary dead-end. The slogan for Greece’s exit from the EU has to be raised *in connection* with slogans for the expropriation of the monopoly capitalists in Greece, lest the latter economically sabotage an independent Greece. Likewise, this slogan has to be combined with the perspective of international class struggle with the European and Arab working class. The struggle for an independent and socialist Greece has to be part of the struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe.

25. The struggle against Greece’s subjugation by the imperialist EU must not distract socialists from focusing on fighting all forms of reactionary Greek chauvinism. Such chauvinism manifests itself, in particular, in two ways. First,

the national oppression and super-exploitation of one million or so migrants in Greece. Socialists in Greece must fight for full equality of migrants. This includes equal wages for equal work, full access to social benefits, the right to vote as well as the recognition of their native language as equal in education, public administration etc. Likewise, socialists should fight for open borders and for international solidarity with the refugees coming to Europe. At the same time socialists oppose the discrimination of Greek workers living abroad.

26. Greek socialists must also oppose the reactionary Greek chauvinism directed against the Slavic Macedonians as well as against the Muslim minority in Western Thrace. Socialists reject the reactionary chauvinist myth about supposed historical foundations for the claim that Macedonia belongs to Greece. In reality Aegean Macedonia had a non-Greek majority when it was annexed by Greece in 1913. It only became a mostly Greek-populated region after subsequent governments systematically expelled most of the native population and instead settled Greeks (many of whom were themselves refugees from Asia Minor). True, today it would be reactionary to call for the expulsion of the Greeks who have been residing for generations in Aegean Macedonia. The historic crime of the expulsion of the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia cannot be undone. However, socialists should fight for autonomy and local self-government of those regions and areas with a strong Macedonian population as well as for the right of national self-determination for the remaining minority of Slavic Macedonians (including their right to secession). The struggle for the Macedonian minority must include a number of essential demands. First and foremost they must support the Macedonians demand for being recognized as a national minority. They must call for full equality which includes unconditional support for their demand to use their language in education as well as public administration, to use their Macedonian-language names if they wish to do so, to practice their religion in their mother language as well as their culture in general, to have equal access to the media (in their mother language if they wish to do so), etc. In addition, socialists should demand from the Greek government adequate compensation to the descendants of the expelled Slavic Macedonians families who today mostly live in the Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria. Furthermore Greek socialists must demand the official recognition of the Republic of Macedonia by its own name (instead of such ridiculous names like FYROM). Likewise, socialist should fight for full democratic rights for the Muslim minority living in Western Thrace.

27. The struggle for such a program as well for its application in individual issues is hopeless if it is not undertaken by an organized force of authentic Marxists. This is why the RCIT considers the formation of a revolutionary party as the most important task in the struggle against the imperialist subjugation of Greece as well as for the liberation of the working class and oppressed.

28. Such a party cannot be founded mechanically; it will emerge in the class struggles ahead. However, it is urgent to create as soon as possible a

revolutionary pre-party organization which unites activists on the basis on an authentic Marxist program and which fights for the formation of such a party. The RCIT looks forward to collaborating with Greek revolutionaries and supporting them in achieving this goal!

## Bibliography

Ali Abbas, S. M., Blattner, Laura, De Broeck, Mark, El-Ganainy, Asmaa and Hu, Malin: Sovereign Debt Composition in Advanced Economies: A Historical Perspective, International Monetary Fund 2014, IMF Working Paper WP/14/162

Aranitou, Valia: The Decline of the Middle Classes around the World? The collapse of the middle class in Greece during the era of the Memoranda (2009-2014)

Arapoglou: The Future of Greek Banks

Axt, Heinz-Jürgen: Modernisierung durch EG-Mitgliedschaft? Portugal, Spanien und Griechenland im Vergleich; in: Michael Kreile (Ed.): Die Integration Europas, Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Sonderheft 32/1992, Westdeutscher Verlag

\_\_\_\_ Süderweiterung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft: Erfahrungen mit der asymmetrischen Integration; in: Cord Jakobeit and Alparslan Yenel (Ed.): Gesamteuropa. Analyse, Probleme und Entwicklungsperspektiven, Leske + Budrich, Opladen 1993

Balfoussias, Stella: Potential Output Growth in Greece, in: Stella Balfoussias, Panos Hatzipanayotou, Costas Kanellopoulos (Editors): Essays in Economics. Applied Studies on the Greek Economy, Centre of Planning and Economic Research, Athens 2011

Balkan Economic Forum: Balkan Economic Development Outlook, Athens 2015, <http://www.balkaneconomicforum.org/wp/balkan-economic-development-outlook/>

Balkanist: Albanians and the Greek Crisis: A Briefing of Economic and Social Concerns, July 13, 2015, <http://balkanist.net/albania-economic-social-concerns/>

Banac, Ivo: The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics, Cornell University Press, New York 1984

Boston Consulting Group: Hellas '20:20 Supporting investment in the Greek economy—a foreign investor perspective, October 2011

Bureau of Economic, Energy and Business Affairs: 2010 Investment Climate Statement – Greece, March 2010, <http://www.state.gov/e/eeb/rls/othr/ics/2010/138073.htm>

Callinicos, Alex: Marxism and Imperialism today, in: A. Callinicos, J. Rees, C Harman & M. Haynes: Marxism and the New Imperialism, London 1994

Caloghirou, Yannis, Voulgaris, Yannis and Zambarloukos, Stella: The Political Economy of Industrial Restructuring: Comparing Greece and Spain, in: South European Society and Politics, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2000

Caraveli, Helen and Tsionas, Efthymios G.: Economic Restructuring, Crises and the Regions: The Political Economy of Regional Inequalities in Greece, GreeSE Paper No.61, Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe, 2012

Carchedi, Guglielmo: Behind the Crisis. Marx's Dialectics of Value and



Knowledge, Leiden 2011

Chatzoudes, Dimitris and Kaltsidou, Despoina: Greek Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Turkey (2006)

Cheliotis, Leonidas K. and Xenakis, Sappho: What's neoliberalism got to do with it? Towards a political economy of punishment in Greece, in: *Criminology & Criminal Justice* Vol. 10, No. 4 (2010)

Cholezas, Ioannis and Tsakoglou, Panos: The Economic Impact of Immigration in Greece: Taking Stock of the Existing Evidence, Institute for the Study of Labor, October 2008

Christodoulakis, Nicos and Kalyvitis, Sarantis: Structural funds: growth, employment, and the environment: modelling and forecasting the Greek economy, Springer Science+Business Media, New York 2001

Clay, C.G.A.: Western Banking and the Ottoman Economy before 1890: a Story of Disappointed Expectations; in: *The Journal of European Economic History*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Winter 1999)

Clogg, Richard: *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1992

Corres, Alkis John: Greek Maritime Policy and the Discreet Role of Shipowners' Associations, in: Athanasios A. Pallis (Editor): *Maritime Transport: The Greek Paradigm*, Research in Transportation Economics, Vol. 21, Elsevier Ltd, Oxford 2007

Coulombis, Theodore A., Kariotis, Theodore and Bellou, Fotini (Editors): *Greece in the Twentieth Century*, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, Frank Cass, London and New York 2004

Cowan, Jane K. (Editor): *Macedonia. The Politics of Identity and Difference*, Pluto Press, London 2000

Crouzet, François: *A History of the European Economy, 1000–2000*, University Press of Virginia, 2001

Danforth, Loring M.: The Macedonian Minority of Northern Greece, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 19 No. 2 (Summer 1995), <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/greece/macedonian-minority-northern-greece>

Demekas, Dimitri G. and Kontolemis, Zenon G.: *Unemployment in Greece: A Survey of the Issues*, Working Paper, International Monetary Fund 1996

Dixon, Hugo: On notice: Greece's vested interests, *International New York Times*, 17.9.2015

Doxiadis, Aristos: The real Greek economy: owners, rentiers and opportunists, *Athens Review of Books*, June 2010 (in English: [www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net), 23rd September 2010)

Eberhard, Erik: *Revolution und Konterrevolution in Griechenland*, AGM, Wien 2005

Economakis, George, Androulakis, George and Markaki, Maria: Profitability and crisis in the Greek economy (1960–2012) An investigation, in: Stavros

- Mavroudeas (Editor): *Greek Capitalism in Crisis. Marxist Analysis*, Routledge, New York 2015
- Economou, Persephone and Thomas, Margo: *Greek FDI in the Balkans: How is it affected by the crisis in Greece?* *Columbia FDI Perspectives*, No. 51, November 21, 2011
- Estrin, Saul and Uvalic, Milica: *Foreign direct investment into transition economies: Are the Balkans different?* *LEQS Paper No. 64/2013*, July 2013
- European Central Bank: *Financial intermediaries*, <https://www.ecb.europa.eu/mopo/eaec/intermediaries/html/index.en.html>
- European Commission: *European Economic Forecast Autumn 2006*, Statistical Annex of European Economy
- \_\_\_\_ *European Economic Forecast Spring 2015*, Statistical Annex of European Economy, in: *EUROPEAN ECONOMY 2|2015*
- Exertzoglo, Haris: *The development of a Greek Ottoman bourgeoisie: investment patterns in the Ottoman Empire, 1850-1914*, in: Dimitri Gondicas
- Fischer, Walter and Rondholz, Eberhard: *Revolution und Konterrevolution in Griechenland*; in: *Das Argument Vol. 12, No. 2-3* (May 1970)
- Flassbeck, Heiner and Lapavistas, Costas: *The systemic crisis of the euro – true causes and effective therapies*, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, May 2013
- Fourth International (Editors): *Civil War in Greece, February 1945*, in: *Fourth International, Volume VI, No. 2*, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/greek-civil-war/fourth-international/1945/02/x01.htm>
- Freeman, Alan: *The Profit Rate in the Presence of Financial Markets: A Necessary Correction* (2013)
- Gaitanou, Eirini: *An examination of class structure in Greece, its tendencies of transformation amid the crisis, and its impacts on the organisational forms and structures of the social movement*, 27 November 2014, <http://omilosmarx.gr/%CE%BA%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BC%CE%B5%CE%BD%CE%B1/item/39-class-structure-greece>
- Gallagher, Tom: *Outcast Europe. The Balkans, 1789–1989. From The Ottomans To Milosevic*, Routledge, London and New York 2001
- Gallant, Thomas W.: *Modern Greece*, Oxford University Press Inc, London 2001
- Gratsos, George A. (President of Hellenic Chamber of Shipping): *Greek Shipping and the Maritime Economy*, 2014
- Hugh Poulton: *The Balkans. Minorities and States in Conflict*, Minority Rights Publications, London 1991; Joseph Rothschild: *The Communist Party of Bulgaria. Origins and Development 1883–1936*, Columbia University Press, New York 1959, p. 234; Katrin Völkl: *Makedonien/Mazedonien*, in: Michael Weithmann: *Der ruhelose Balkan*, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München 1993
- Harari, Daniel: *Greek debt crisis: background and developments in 2015*, House of Commons Library Briefing Paper Number 7114, 6 July 2015
- Harlaftis, Gelina: *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping. The making of an*

international tramp fleet, 1830 to the present day, London 1996

Huliaras, Asteris and Petropoulos, Sotiris: Shipowners, ports and diplomats: the political economy of Greece's relations with China, in: *Asia Europe Journal* Vol. 12, No. 3, September 2014

Human Rights Watch: Denying Ethnic Identity. The Macedonians of Greece, New York 1994

Ifantis, Kostas: Greece and Southeastern Europe (2015)

International Monetary Fund – Greece: Memorandum of Understanding for a three-year ESM programme, August 2015

Ioannides, Yannis: Greece, the Eurozone, and the Debt Crisis, in: Michalis Psalidopoulos (Ed.): *A World of Crisis and Shifting Geopolitics: Greece, the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe. A Conference Report*, I. SIDERIS Publications 2011

Issawi, Charles Philip: *An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa*, Columbia University Press 1982

\_\_\_\_ Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century, Darwin Press, Princeton 1999

Jubilee Debt Campaign: Six key points about Greek debt and the forthcoming election, January 2015

Kapetanakis, Panayiotis: Shipping and Trade in a British semi-colony: the Case of the United States of the Ionian Islands (1815-1864), in: *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* No. 85 (2012)

Karadjis, Mike: Macedonians' long history of struggle, *Green Left Weekly*, No. 50, 01.04.1992, <http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1992/50/50p7.htm>

Karakasidou, Anastasia: Fellow Travellers, Separate Roads: The KKE and the Macedonian Question, in: *East European Quarterly* Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter 1993)

Kariotis, Theodore C.: The Economy: Growth without Equity, in: Theodore A. Couloumbis, Theodore Kariotis and Fotini Bellou (Editors): *Greece in the Twentieth Century*, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, Frank Cass, London and New York 2004

Kasimati, Evangelia: The Macroeconomic Relationship Between Investment and Saving in Greece, in: Stella Balfoussias, Panos Hatzipanayotou, Costas Kanellopoulos (Editors): *Essays in Economics. Applied Studies on the Greek Economy*, Centre of Planning and Economic Research, Athens 2011

KKE (Communist Party of Greece): Programme of KKE (1996), <http://interold.kke.gr/Documents/docprogr.html>

\_\_\_\_ Programme of the KKE, adopted in 2013, <http://inter.kke.gr/en/articles/Programme-of-the-KKE/>

Kliman, Andrew: *The Failure of Capitalist Production. Underlying Causes of the Great Recession*, London 2011

Kolias, Georgios: Die Lage in Griechenland und die Strategie der kommunistischen Bewegung, <http://parteiderarbeit.at/?p=2247>

Koliopoulos, Giannes and Veremis, Thanos M.: *Modern Greece: a history since 1821*, A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication, Oxford 2010

Kumar, Hari: *The Greek Debt Crisis: A Misnomer for the European Imperialist Crisis*, August 22, 2015, The Red Phoenix, <http://theredphoenixapl.org/2015/08/22/the-greek-debt-crisis-a-misnomer-for-the-european-imperialist-crisis/>

Labrianidis, Lois: *The Opening of the Balkan Markets and consequent Economic Problems in Greece*, in: *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook Vol 12/13, 1996/97*, University Of Minnesota

\_\_\_\_\_, Lyberaki, Antigone, Tinios, Platon and Hatziprokopiou, Panos: *Inflow of Migrants and Outflow of Investment: Aspects of Interdependence between Greece and the Balkans*; in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 6 (2004)

Lapavitsas, Costas: *To beat austerity, Greece must break free from the euro*, 2 March 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/mar/02/austerity-greece-euro-currency-syriza?>

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Syriza strategy has come to an end*, 30 April 2015, <http://www.versobooks.com/blogs/1967-costas-lapavitsas-the-syriza-strategy-has-come-to-an-end;>

Lapavitsas *Calls for Exit as the Only Strategy for Greek People*, July 17, 2015, [http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=14278](http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=14278)

\_\_\_\_\_, Kaltenbrunner, A., Lindo, D., Michell, J., Paineira, J.P., Pires, E., Powell, J., Stenfors, A. and Teles, N.: *Eurozone Crisis: Beggar Thyself and Thy Neighbour*, *Research on Money and Finance*, March 2010

Lenin, Vladimir Illich: *Conspectus of Hegel's Science of Logic (1914)*; in: *Lenin Collected Works (LCW) Vol. 38*

\_\_\_\_\_, *On the Slogan for a United States of Europe*; in: *LCW Vol. 21*

\_\_\_\_\_, *The revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination (1915)*; in: *LCW Vol. 21*

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination (1916)*; in: *LCW Vol. 22*

\_\_\_\_\_, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916)*; in: *LCW Vol. 22*

\_\_\_\_\_, *A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism (1916)*; in: *LCW Vol. 23*

\_\_\_\_\_, *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism (1916)*; in: *LCW Vol. 23*

Loukas, Stefanos: *On current international issues: Dependent or interdependent relations?* in: *KKE: Collection of articles and contributions*, Athens 2010

Lykogiannis, Athanasios: *Britain and the Greek economic crisis, 1944–1947: from liberation to the Truman Doctrine*, University of Missouri Press, Missouri 2002

Maddison, Angus: *The World Economy, Volume 1: A Millennial Perspective*,

Volume 2: Historical Statistics, Development Centre Studies, Paris 2006

Maditinos, Dimitrios, Kousenidis, Dimitrios and Chatzouides, Dimitrios: Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the Balkans: The Role of Greece; in: Anastasios G. Karasavvoglou (Editor): The Economies of the Balkan and Eastern Europe Countries in the Changed World, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011

Maito, Esteban Ezequiel: The historical transience of capital The downward trend in the rate of profit since XIX century (2014)

Maniatis, Thanasis: The fiscal crisis in Greece. Whose fault? in: Stavros Mavroudeas (Editor): Greek Capitalism in Crisis. Marxist Analysis, Routledge, News York 2015

\_\_\_\_ and Passas, Costas: The law of the falling rate of profit in the post-war Greek economy, in: Stavros Mavroudeas (Editor): Greek Capitalism in Crisis. Marxist Analysis, Routledge, News York 2015

Mantalos, Panagiotis: Greek Debt Crisis. An Introduction to the Economic Effects of Austerity, Department of Statistics, Swedish Business School 2015

Marx, Karl: Grundrisse [Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft of 1857-58)]; in: Marx-Engels Collected Works Vol. 28

Mavroudeas, Stavros: Greece and the EU: capitalist crisis and imperialist rivalries, 2010

\_\_\_\_ The Greek Saga: Competing Explanations of the Greek Crisis, Economics Discussion Papers 2015-1, University of Macedonia, 10 February 2015

\_\_\_\_ and Paitaridis, Dimitris: The Greek crisis A dual crisis of overaccumulation and imperialist exploitation, in: Stavros Mavroudeas (Editor): Greek Capitalism in Crisis. Marxist Analysis, Routledge, News York 2015

Mickevičienė, Rima: Global Competition in Shipbuilding: Trends and Challenges for Europe, in: Piotr Pachura (Editor): The Economic Geography of Globalization, InTech 2011

Mouzelis, Nicos: Greek and Bulgarian Peasants: Aspects of Their Sociopolitical Situation during the Interwar-Period, in: Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Jan., 1976)

\_\_\_\_ The Relevance of the Concept of Class to the Study of Modern Greek Society, in: Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences Vol. 268 (February 1976)

\_\_\_\_ Capitalism and Dictatorship in Post-War Greece, in: New Left Review Vol.I, No.96 (March-April 1976)

\_\_\_\_ Class and Clientelistic Politics: The Case of Greece, in: The Sociological Review Vol. 26, Issue 3 (February 1978)

\_\_\_\_ On the Greek Elections, New Left Review I/108, March-April 1978

\_\_\_\_ On the Rise of Postwar Military Dictatorships: Argentina, Chile, Greece, in: Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan., 1986)

Mpellou, Eleni: The international economic crisis and the position of Greece. The theses of KKE, in: International Communist Review No. 1 (2011), <http://www.iccr.gr/en/news/The-international-economic-crisis-and-the-position-of->

[Greece.-The-theses-of-KKE/](#)

Muaremi, Lindita, Konomi, Rigersa and Salihi, Sindise: Foreign Direct Investment in Macedonia; in: European Scientific Journal, Vol. 11, No.4 (February 2015)

New York Times: Greece's debt crisis explained, 27 July 2015 [http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/business/international/greece-debt-crisis-euro.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/business/international/greece-debt-crisis-euro.html?_r=0)

Nikolinakos, Marios: Materialien zur kapitalistischen Entwicklung in Griechenland (1. Teil); in: Das Argument Vol. 12, No. 2-3 (May 1970)

\_\_\_\_\_: Materialien zur kapitalistischen Entwicklung in Griechenland (2. Teil); in: Das Argument Vol. 12, No. 4 (1970)

Nugent, Jeffrey B. and Glezakos, Constantine: To What Extent Does Greece Underperform in its Efforts to Attract FDI Relative to Its Regional Competitors and Why? in: Stella Balfoussias, Panos Hatzipanayotou, Costas Kanellopoulos (Editors): Essays in Economics. Applied Studies on the Greek Economy, Centre of Planning and Economic Research, Athens 2011

OECD Economic Surveys: Greece, September 2005

OECD Economic Surveys: Greece, May 2007

OECD: Economic Surveys: Greece, July 2009

OECD Economic Surveys: Greece, August 2011

OECD Economic Surveys: Greece, November 2013

Papadimitriou, Dimitri: The Political Economy of Greece. An Empirical Analysis of Marxian Economics, in: European Journal of Political Economy 6 (1990)

Pagoulatos, George: Greece's New Political Economy. State, Finance, and Growth from Postwar to EMU, Palgrave Macmillan 2003

Palmer, Stephen E. Jr and King, Robert R.: Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question, Archon Books, Hamden 1971

Papariga, Aleka: The Position of Greece within International Capitalism, Article for „El Machete,“ the Theoretical and Political Review of the CP of Mexico, <http://mltoday.com/the-position-of-greece-within-international-capitalism>

\_\_\_\_ Bankruptcy has already begun, Δημοσίευση 31 Μαΐου 2011, <http://newpost.gr/english/50116/Papariga-Bankruptcy-has-already-begun>

Pedersini, Roberto and Coletto, Diego: Self-Employed Workers: Industrial Relations and Working Conditions, Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound), 2009

Petrakis, Panagiotis: The Greek Economy and the Crisis. Challenges and Responses, Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2012

Petras, James: The Contradictions of Greek Socialism, New Left Review I/163 (May-June 1987)

Poulantzas, Nicos: The Crisis of the Dictatorships: Portugal, Greece, Spain, New Left Books, London 1976

Pouliopoulos, Pantelis: Communists and the Macedonian Question (May 1940), Republished in Spartakos No 30, 1991, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/pouliop/works/1940/05/commac.htm>

Poulton, Hugh: The Balkans. Minorities and States in Conflict, Minority Rights Publications, London 1991

\_\_\_ and Taji-Farouki, Suha: Muslim Identity and the Balkan State, C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., London 1997

Pröbsting, Michael: Der kapitalistische Aufholprozeß in Südkorea und Taiwan; in: Revolutionärer Marxismus Nr. 20 (1996). A shortened version of this article appeared as “*Capitalist Development on South Korea and Taiwan*” in: Trotskyist International No. 21 (1997), <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/capitalism-in-south-korea-taiwan/>

\_\_\_ The EU Reform Treaty: what it is and how to fight it (2008), in: Fifth International Vol.3, No.1, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/eu-reform-treaty/>

\_\_\_ Die Frage der Vereinigung Europas im Lichte der marxistischen Theorie. Zur Frage eines supranationalen Staatsapparates des EU-Imperialismus und der marxistischen Staatstheorie. Die Diskussion zur Losung der Vereinigten Sozialistischen Staaten von Europa bei Lenin und Trotzki und ihre Anwendung unter den heutigen Bedingungen des Klassenkampfes, in: Unter der Fahne der Revolution“ (FAREV) Nr. 2/3 (2008), <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/marxismus-und-eu/>

\_\_\_ Imperialism and the Decline of Capitalism (2008), in: Richard Brenner, Michael Pröbsting, Keith Spencer: The Credit Crunch – A Marxist Analysis (2008), <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-and-globalization/>

\_\_\_ World economy – heading to a new upswing? in Fifth International, Volume 3, No. 3, Autumn 2009, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-economy-crisis-2009/>

\_\_\_ Marxismus, Migration und revolutionäre Integration (2010); in: Revolutionärer Kommunismus, Nr. 7, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/werk-7>. A summary of this study in English-language: Michael Pröbsting: Marxism, Migration and revolutionary Integration, in: Revolutionary Communism, No. 1 (English-language Journal of the RCIT), <http://www.thecommunists.net/oppressed/revolutionary-integration/>

\_\_\_ Revolution in Griechenland. Möglichkeiten, Gefahren und Perspektiven, November 2011; in English: Perspectives on the Greek Revolution. Greek tragedy is the lack of revolutionary leadership of workers movement! For Workers’ Councils, Workers’ Militias and a Workers’ Government! <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-revolution-or-tragedy/>

\_\_\_ China’s transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: *Revolutionary Communism* (English-language Journal of the RCIT) No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>

\_\_\_ No to chauvinist war-mongering by Japanese and Chinese imperialism! Chinese and Japanese workers: Your main enemy is at home! Stop the conflict on the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands in the East China Sea! 23.9.2012, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 6, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-between-china-and-japan/>

\_\_\_ 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, 2013, <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>

\_\_\_ On some Questions of the Zionist Oppression and the Permanent Revolution in Palestine, in: *Revolutionary Communism* Nr. 10 (June 2013), <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/permanent-revolution-in-palestine>

\_\_\_ Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics, 18 March 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 21, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>

\_\_\_ Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Summary of the RCIT's Analysis, 28 March 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 22, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-china-and-russia/>

\_\_\_ More on Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Reply to Chris Slee (Socialist Alliance, Australia) and Walter Daum (LRP, USA), 11 April 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 22, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-slee-on-russia-china/>

\_\_\_ Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power. On the Understanding and Misunderstanding of Today's Inter-Imperialist Rivalry in the Light of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism. Another Reply to Our Critics Who Deny Russia's Imperialist Character, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 25, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>

\_\_\_ Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism, RCIT, Vienna 2014 (the book can be downloaded as a pdf at <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/>)

\_\_\_ The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism. Again on China as an imperialist Power. Reply to a Polemic from CSR (Venezuela) and PCO (Argentina), December 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 32, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/>

\_\_\_ The British Left and the EU-Referendum: The Many Faces of pro-UK or pro-EU Social-Imperialism. An analysis of the left's failure to fight for an independent, internationalist and socialist stance both against British as well as European imperialism, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 40, August 2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/british-left-and-eu-referendum/>

\_\_\_ Migration and Super-exploitation: Marxist Theory and the Role of



Migration in the present Period of Capitalist Decay, in: *Critique* Vol. 43 No. 3 (August 2015)

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency: The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists, March 2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 8, [www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013)

\_\_\_ Aggravation of Contradictions, Deepening of Crisis of Leadership. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation, 9.9.2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 15, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-september2013/>

\_\_\_ Open Letter on the Arab Revolution, October 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/open-letter-on-arab-revolution/>

\_\_\_ Escalation of Inner-Imperialist Rivalry Marks the Opening of a New Phase of World Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation (April 2014), in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 22, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-april-2014/>;

\_\_\_ Perspectives for the Class Struggle in Light of the Deepening Crisis in the Imperialist World Economy and Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation and Perspectives Ahead (January 2015), in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 32, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-january-2015/>

\_\_\_ Revolution and Counterrevolution in the Arab World: An Acid Test for Revolutionaries (May 2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-arab-revolution/>

\_\_\_ Throw Open the Gates of Europe to Refugees! Long live International Solidarity of the Workers and Poor! Down with the Imperialist Fortress EU! Advance the Arab Revolution to Build Workers and Peasant Republics! 15.9.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/refugees-are-welcome/>

\_\_\_ Europe / North Africa: Storm the Gates of Rome! Open Borders for Refugees! Stop the Imperialist EU-War against Refugees! No to the Preparations for an Imperialist Aggression against Libya! 22.5.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/eu-war-against-refugees/>

RKOB: The European Union and the issue of the accession of semi-colonial countries, 14.10.2012, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 6, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/eu-and-semi-colonies/>

Roberts, Michael: The Great Recession. Profit cycles, economic crisis. A Marxist view (2009)

\_\_\_ A world rate of profit. Globalisation and the world economy (2012)

\_\_\_ Revisiting a world rate of profit (2015)

\_\_\_ Greece: Samaras gambles, 12.12.2014, <http://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2014/12/12/greece-samaras-gambles/>

Rothschild, Joseph: The Communist Party of Bulgaria. Origins and

Development 1883-1936, Columbia University Press, New York 1959

Roudometof, Victor: *Collective Memory, National Identity and Ethnic Conflict. Greece, Bulgaria and the Macedonian Question*, Praeger Publishers, Westport 2002

Siokorelis, Vasileios K.: *Economic Effects of Migration from Albania to Greece*, in: *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2011

Skrvelis, Efharis: *Industrial restructuring and the State in Greece: national developments within an international setting*, Durham University, 1990

Slaveski, Trajko and Nedanovski, Pece: *Foreign Direct Investment in the Framework of Cross-Border Co-Operation in Selected Balkan Countries*, 2001

Spourdalakis, Michalis: *The Greek Experience*, in: *Socialist Register Vol.22 (1985-86)*

Stavrianos, Leften Stavros: *The Balkans, 1815-1914*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, London 1963

Syriopoulos, Theodore C.: *Financing Greek Shipping: Modern Instruments, Methods and Markets*, in: Athanasios A. Pallis (Editor): *Maritime Transport: The Greek Paradigm*, *Research in Transportation Economics*, Vol. 21, Elsevier Ltd, Oxford 2007

Thanopoulou, Helen A.: *A Fleet For The 21st Century: Modern Greek Shipping*, in: Athanasios A. Pallis (Editor): *Maritime Transport: The Greek Paradigm*, *Research in Transportation Economics*, Vol. 21, Elsevier Ltd, Oxford 2007

The Law Library of Congress, Global Legal Research Center: *Greece: Status of Minorities*, October 2012

The Shipbuilders' Association of Japan: *Shipbuilding Statistics*, Issue of September 2009, September 2001 and March, 2015

Theotokas, Ioannis and Harlaftis, Gelina: *Leadership in World Shipping. Greek Family Firms in International Business*, London 2009

Thomsen, Stephen and Woolcock, Stephen: *Direct Investment and European Integration. Competition among Firms and Governments*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Pinter Publishers, London 1993

Triandafyllidou, Anna and Maroufouf, Michaela: *Greece: Immigration towards Greece at the Eve of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. A Critical Assessment*, IDEA Working Paper 2009

Trichopoulos, Dimitrios, Papaevangelou, George, Danezis, John and Kalapothak, Victoria: *The Population of Greece. A Monograph for the World Population Year 1974*, CICRED Series, Athens 1974

Trotsky, Leon: *A Discussion on Greece (Spring 1932)*, In: *Writings of Leon Trotsky: Supplement (1929-33)*, Pathfinder, New York 1979

\_\_\_\_ *The Dutch Section and the International (15-16 July 1936)*, in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-36)*

\_\_\_\_ *The Chinese Revolution (Introduction to Harold R. Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, London 1938)*; <http://www.marxists.org/archive/>

[trotsky/1938/xx/china.htm](http://trotsky/1938/xx/china.htm)

Truth Committee on Public Debt: Preliminary report (2015)

Tsafos, Nikos: Did the 1980s Ruin Greece? September 12, 2010, <http://www.greekdefaultwatch.com/2010/09/did-1980s-ruin-greece.html>

Tsakalotos, Euclid: The Political Economy of Social Democratic Economic Policies: The PASOK Experiment in Greece, in: Oxford Review of Economic Policy, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1998

Tsiliopoulos, E.: Agreement with Fraport-Slntel for Greek Regional Airports, November 4, 2015, <http://www.newgreektv.com/english-news/item/17673-agreement-with-fraport-slntel-for-greek-regional-airports>

Wegner, Eric: Griechenland vor einer Revolution? Marxistische Einschätzungen der Entwicklung des Klassenkampfes in Griechenland, arbeiterinnenkampf, Wien 2012  
Wikipedia: Demographic History of Macedonia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic\\_history\\_of\\_Macedonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Macedonia)

UNCTAD: FDI in brief: Greece. Outflows up, decline in inflows in 2002

UNCTAD: Web Tables for 1990-2012, [http://unctad.org/Sections/dite\\_dir/docs/WIR2013/WIR13\\_webtab05.xls](http://unctad.org/Sections/dite_dir/docs/WIR2013/WIR13_webtab05.xls) and [http://unctad.org/Sections/dite\\_dir/docs/WIR2013/WIR13\\_webtab06.xls](http://unctad.org/Sections/dite_dir/docs/WIR2013/WIR13_webtab06.xls)

Whitehouse, Mark: Greece's Predicament in One Scary Chart, Apr 24, 2015, <http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2015-01-30/greece-s-predicament-in-one-scary-chart>

Who Holds Greek Debt? April 24, 2011, <http://www.greekdefaultwatch.com/2011/04/who-holds-greek-debt.html>

# The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto

## *Programme of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*

### Preface

### Introduction

### I. The world we live in

### II. A new historical period of revolutionary character

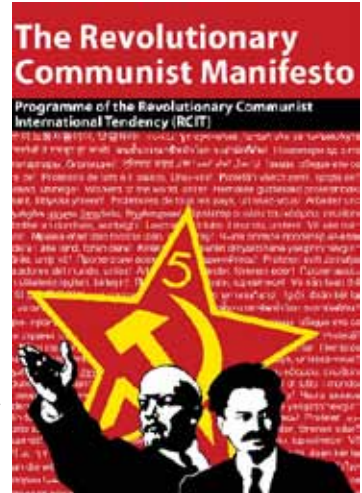
### III. The world we are fighting for

### IV. The leadership we have and the leadership we need

The struggle for the unions \* Changes in the working class \* Action Committee - factory committees - Councils \* The democratic protest movements

### V. The Program of the Revolution

An action program to save the humanity from the misery of capitalism \* Cancel the debts! Expropriate the banks and speculators! \* Against wage cuts, job insecurity and unemployment! \* Fight inflation! For the adjustment of wages to inflation! For price control committees! \* Defence of public services! Fight the privatization! \* An end to the “business secret”! For workers’ control! For a public employment programme! \* No division – Joint fight, regardless of nation, and location! \* No more tax breaks for the rich! Expropriate the super rich! \* Against the attacks on education! Education for all under control of the working class and youth! \* Revolutionary Struggle for Democracy \* Free the oppressed peoples from the clutches of the banks and corporations! \* Support the national liberation struggles of oppressed peoples! \* Fight against the super-exploitation and national oppression of migrants! \* Fighting fascism \* Save our planet from the capitalist climate catastrophe! \* Jobs and housing for the poor in urban slums! \* The land to the peasants! Organise the agricultural workers! The land to the peasants! Organise the agricultural workers! \* Joint struggle for women’s liberation! \* Combat the sexual oppression of church and state! \* An end to the oppression of young people! \* Down with militarism and imperialist war! \* The arming of the working class and the oppressed \* For a workers’ government, based on the poor peasants and the urban poor Joint struggle for women’s liberation! \* Combat the sexual oppression of church and state! \* An end to the oppression of young people! \* Down with militarism and imperialist war! \* .The arming of the working class and the oppressed \* For a workers’ government, based on the poor peasants and the urban poor



# 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*



**By Michael Pröbsting**

**Published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency***

*Look for details of the book at [www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net](http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net)*

# Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?

*The Road from  
Revolution to the  
Restoration of Capitalism*



**By Michael Pröbsting**

**Published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency***

*Look for details of the book at [www.cuba-sold-out.net](http://www.cuba-sold-out.net)*

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

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



**By Michael Pröbsting**

*Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*

*Read the book online at [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net)*

# Russia as a Great Imperialist Power

By Michael Pröbsting, March 2014

## Introduction

### I. What are the Criteria for an Imperialist State?

Imperialism and Super-Exploitation

### II. Russia: The Nature of its Monopoly Capital and Empire

Monopolization

State Capitalism

Excuse: The Breakdown in the 1990s

Russia's Rise as an Economic Power

Capital Export of Russian Monopolies

Russia as a Great Political and Military Power

### III. Rebuilding the Empire

Russia's Internal Colonies

Putin's Eurasian Union and the Semi-Colonies

Migration and Super-Exploitation

### IV. The Distinguishing Characteristics of Russian Imperialism

### V. The Arguments of Our Critics

WIVP (South Africa): Russia is a Semi-Colony of German Imperialism

LCFI: From "Imperialist" to "Pre-Imperialist" China and Russia

The LCFI's Schematic Understanding of Imperialism

The Great Imperialist Powers before 1914

Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks on Russia as an Imperialist Power

An Ultra-Left Version of Kautskyianism

Inverted Social-Imperialists

### VI. Appendix: The Capitalist Restoration in Russia (2001)





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

By Michael Pröbsting, August 2014

## Introduction

### I. Four Currents in the Workers' Movement

### II. Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and its Revisionist Distortions

Marx and the Centrality of the Production Process

Imperialism is Based on the Capitalist Value of Production

Is There a Capitalist Country Not Dominated by Finance Capital?

Monopolism as the Essence of Imperialism

The Role of the State in Monopoly Capitalism

Disparity between the Imperialist Powers

Can Only the Richest Countries be Imperialist?

The Disparity between the Great Powers in Lenin's Time, before 1917

Are the US and British Models of Imperialism Pure Robbery?

Explaining Eastern Imperialist Power before 1914

A Brief Overview of the Imperialist Powers Today

The Theory of the "Transitional" or "Sub-Imperialist" State

Is Inter-Imperialist Rivalry Intensifying or Minimizing?

Excuse: The Maoist Origin of the Super-Power Theory

Modern Apologists for Karl Kautsky's Theory of Ultra-Imperialism

Explaining Eastern Imperialist Power before 1914

### III. Social-Imperialism as a Caricature of "Anti-Imperialism"

"Third Campism" and the "Anti-Imperialist United Front

with Putin and Xi" in the Struggle between Imperialist Rivals

Inverted Social-Imperialism as a Variation of Class-Collaboration

### IV. Again on Russia as an Imperialist Power

Russian and Foreign Monopolies in Banking

Who Controls Russia's Monopolies?

Russia's Foreign Investment and Foreign Policy

Excuse: Eurasianism and Putin's Bourgeois Allies in Western Europe

### V. Summary

## About the Author

Michael Pröbsting was born in Vienna (Austria) in 1967. He became politically active when he was 14 years old and has been an organized Trotskyist militant since the age of 16. After five years of membership in the *United Secretariat of the Fourth International* of Ernest Mandel, he joined the *League for a Revolutionary Communist International* (later renamed to *League for the Fifth International*) in February 1989. He served on the leadership bodies of the Austrian section from 1989 and of the LRCI/LFI since 1994, until he and his comrades-in-arms were expelled by the majority of this organization in April 2011. Soon after this, they founded the *Revolutionary Communist Organization for Liberation* in Austria and the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* which has sections in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Occupied Palestine/Israel, the USA, and Austria. He serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

As part of his international political work, Michael Pröbsting has spent lengthy periods in Occupied Palestine (Israel) in 1985, Eastern Germany during the political revolutionary process of 1989-91, Britain in 1994, and during the revolutionary period in Argentina in 2002. In addition, he gained experience in workers' and anti-imperialist movements during numerous visits to Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Turkey, Greece, Kosovo, Serbia, Ukraine, Russia, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Germany, Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden, and the USA.

Michael Pröbsting is the author of many articles and pamphlets in both German and English. He has also authored books on Migration (*Marxismus, Migration und revolutionäre Integration*, 2010) and the Arab Revolution (*Die halbe Revolution. Lehren und Perspektiven des arabischen Aufstandes*, 2011). In addition, he has contributed to a book on Rosa Luxemburg (*Rosa Luxemburg – "Ich bin ein Land der unbeschränkten Möglichkeiten"*, 1999) as well as to the *The Credit Crunch – A Marxist Analyses* (2008), the latter of which has been published in English, German, and Turkish). In 2013, he published *The Great Robbery of the South*, which analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. During the same year he published a book dealing with the capitalist restoration in Cuba (*Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism*). His latest previous book appeared in 2014, and elaborated the theoretical foundations of the revolutionary party as well as their practical implementation under present conditions; it is entitled *Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism*.

# Contact the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

**Web:** [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net)

**Email:** [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net)

**Tel.:** +43-0650-4068314

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) has sections in Pakistan (Revolutionary Workers Organisation, RWO), Sri Lanka (United Lankan Workers Party, ULWP), Brazil (Corrente Comunista Revolucionária, CCR), Israel/Occupied Palestine (Internationalist Socialist League, ISL), USA (Revolutionary Workers Collective, RWC), and Austria (Revolutionary Communist Organisation LIBERATION, RKOÖ). In addition the RCIT has members in Yemen, Tunisia, Germany and Britain.

**Order from our contact address past issues of the  
RCIT's Journal *Revolutionary Communism!***







Greece is at the forefront of both the capitalist crisis in Europe and of the class struggle. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that what the Arab Revolution has been for the world in the past few years, Greece has been for Europe.

Subsequently, the question of the class character of Greece is of crucial importance both for the domestic as well as for the international workers' movement: Is it an imperialist state, a semi-colonial country or something else, and what are its specific features?

In Chapter I we outline in summary the Marxist theoretical conception of imperialist as opposed to semi-colonial states. Chapter II gives a brief historical overview of the development of Greek capitalism, while Chapter III deals with Greece's failed attempt to become a minor imperialist power. Chapter IV outlines the historic crisis of Greek capitalism from 2008 until today. Chapter V elaborates the most important programmatic conclusions and the concluding Chapter VI presents a summary of the previous chapters in the form of theses. The book contains 12 Tables, 35 Figures and 4 Maps.



Michael Pröbsting has been a revolutionary activist for 34 years. He is the author of numerous articles and pamphlets in German and English. He has published books on the World Economy (2008), Migration (2010), the Arab Revolution (2011), Imperialism and the Third World (2013), Cuba (2013), and on the revolutionary party (2014). He is the International Secretary of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*.