



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



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## Revolutionary Strategy in the Period of Ukraine War & Inter-Imperialist Rivalry

## English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.76, July 2022

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*Picture on the cover: Medina Gunic addresses the international conference in solidarity with the Ukrainian resistance which took place in Lviv (Ukraine) on May Day 2022*

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# For A Struggle against the Great Powers in East and West on an Internationalist and Anti-Imperialist Basis!

*Declaration of Fraternal Relations between the Socialist Tendency (Russia) and the RCIT, 8 June 2022*

1. After a short but intensive period of discussion, the *Socialist Tendency* (CT) – a revolutionary socialist organization in Russia – and the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) have decided to establish fraternal relations.

2. We are doing so on the basis of agreement on the key issue of the current world situation: the Ukraine War and the escalating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers. We have presented our far-reaching agreements in a recently published joint statement (*“Defend the Ukrainian People against Putin’s Invasion! Down with Russian and NATO Imperialism!”*, see the links below). In addition, both organizations have elaborated their internationalist and anti-imperialist views on the Ukraine War in a number of public documents (see the links below).

3. We are establishing fraternal relations also because we recognize the urgency for authentic revolutionary organizations to join forces in such a turbulent world situation characterized by wars, revolutionary and counterrevolutionary developments. In such a situation, revolutionary socialists have a huge responsibility not only because of such big tasks of the class struggle but also because of the dramatic crisis of working-class leadership.

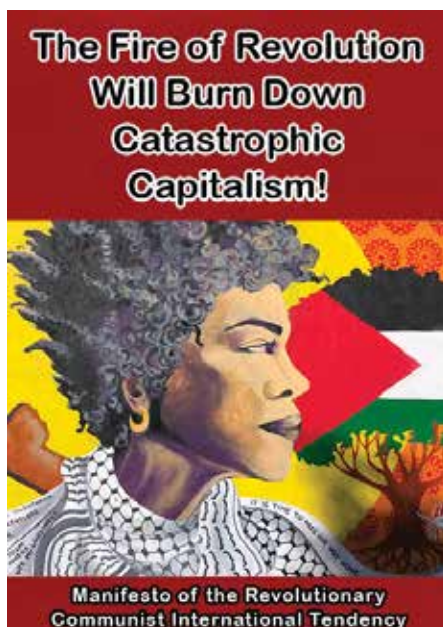
4. As a matter of fact, the current Ukraine War and the escalating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers have demonstrated once more the failure of large sectors of the reformist, Stalinist, populist and “Trotskyist” left to act as a political and ideological vanguard of the working class. Important Stalinist parties (e.g. KPRF, KRPR, OKP in Russia) as well as Bolivarian parties in Latin America advocate an undisguised pro-Russian social-imperialist position. Other Stalinists (e.g. the Greek KKE and parties affiliated with it), populist reformists (e.g. the “Progressive International” of Bernie Sanders, Yanis Varoufakis and Lula) as well as a number of “Trotskyists” (like

the Cliffite SWP/IST, Alan Woods IMT, Peter Taaffe’s CWI, the ISA, the PTS/FT, PO/CRCI, etc.) advocate formally a “neutral” position – denouncing both Putin’s invasion as well as the resistance of the Ukrainian war defense. Effectively, as Trotsky once said, in a war between an imperialist and a semi-colonial country, “a ‘neutral’ position is tantamount to support of imperialism.” We also strongly oppose those opportunists (e.g. sectors of the ex-Stalinist “Party of the European Left”, the Mandelist “Fourth International” and RSD in Russia, etc.) who combine their defence of the Ukrainian people with unprincipled support for imperialist sanctions by Western powers against Russia.

5. As a matter of fact, the close bonds between CT and RCIT are, among others, a result of the Russian comrades’ struggle against the reactionary abstentionist position of the British SWP in the Ukraine War. The comrades of CT were affiliated with the SPW/IST for about a year until recently. However, they have opposed the SWP’s “neutral” position from the very beginning and, after failing to get a hearing from the SWP leadership, they decided to split with this organization in early June.

6. We establish fraternal relations in order to initiate a process of systematic and close discussion and collaboration. Such a forum should allow us to clarify existing different assessments and positions as well as to gain experience and trust in joint practical collaboration. Via such a process we hope to be able to lay the basis for the fusion of our forces in the next period.

*Socialist Tendency* (Russia); <http://socialisttendency.com>  
*Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, South Korea, Pakistan, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Russia, Nigeria, Kenya, Britain, Germany, and Austria); [www.the-communists.net](http://www.the-communists.net)



## *New Program of the RCIT*

# Manifesto for the Liberation Struggle

*Adopted at the III. World Congress of the RCIT in April 2021*

- \* **Introductory Note**
- \* **A New Era of Counterrevolutionary Offensive and Revolutionary Upheavals**
- \* **The Capitalist State Monster Attacks Democracy! Defeat Chauvinism and Bonapartism!**
- \* **Great Power Rivalry and Imperialist Aggression in the South: Turn the Guns against the Lords of Power and Money!**
- \* **Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership: How to Organize and How to Fight?**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format*

## The soft and not so soft Zionism of the ISA

Yossi Schwartz, ISL the section of the RCIT in Israel/Occupied Palestine, 25.05.2022

While not covering for long weeks the Palestinian struggle against the Zionist oppression on the 74th anniversary of the Nakba, the right-wing centrists – the ISA has published an article that distorts history in order to recruit some naïve pro Palestinians to their pro Zionist program.

This article begins with decent account of the Nakba:

*“In November 1947, only about a third of the population of historic Palestine was Jews, who at that time were spread over 14% of the country. When the British mandate ended, as part of imperialism’s “divide and rule” policy, the UN’s Partition Plan stipulated that the Jewish population would receive 55% of the territory. The Arab-Palestinian population in the country understood that such a ‘solution’ would mean the forced displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, and therefore opposed it. Reviews with Palestinian refugees, the documentation of UN observers and evidence such as documents and photographs that have been uncovered in Israeli archives show the reality and the extent of this “catastrophe” for Palestinians. Expulsions took place in most Palestinian villages, with over 500 destroyed as a result of direct attacks by the Zionist paramilitary organizations. The studies of the historian Benny Morris indicate that 85% of Palestinian villages were emptied of their inhabitants in this way. In many cases, even after the village surrendered, residents were shot to death. The number of victims in each village ranged from 50 to 200 people. The survivors were often forced to flee to nearby locations until they too were attacked. Some residents were loaded onto trucks and expelled to neighboring countries. In total, it is estimated that over 700,000 Palestinians were made refugees through the Nakba.” [i]*

But then they equate the Settler colonialists with the native Palestinians and blame only the policy of divide and rule of British imperialism.

*“British Imperialism adopted a ‘divide and rule’ strategy, essentially pledging the same, relatively small piece of land to two different peoples, playing both national groups off against each other in order to secure their own interests in the region. However, as was argued by Trotskyists at the time, the right for self-determination cannot be fulfilled through oppression and at the expense of other national groups. Unfortunately, the national tensions were further escalated by the proposed partition plan of 1947”.*

Thus, instead of describing the conflict between the Zionist-European settler colonialists and the native people robbed by the Zionists, they turn the conflict to a clash between two equal nationalities manipulated by British imperial interests. At the same time, they recognize that the Zionists established state could not be supported as *“the right for self-determination cannot be fulfilled through oppression and at the expense of other national groups”.*

After denouncing the partition Plan of 1947 as a bloody trap for ordinary Jews and a disaster for the Arab masses they claim that *“We can also see the potential for an alternative that was glimpsed in the period that preceded the war in 1947. At this time, many Jewish and Arab workers identified their common class interests while fighting shared struggles to defend and improve their living conditions. This was especially reflected in a series of joint strikes, culminating in a powerful general strike in 1946 involving 30,000 Jewish and Arab workers. This saw slogans such as “Unity of Jewish and Arab workers is*

*the way to victory!” taken up by the strikers.”*

This is a gross distortion of history so typical to centrists. The strike of 1946 was just an exception which affirms the rule: the rule of the priority of the national colonization project over international class solidarity.

To begin with it was a strike of the workers against the British government in Palestine: The clerks in the administration, railways’ workers and the workers in the military camps, not a general strike against the British and the Zionist capitalists. *“The few thousands Jewish workers employed by the government were not privileged compared to the Arab workers.”*

*“Running Palestine as cheaply and with as low a burden on British taxpayers as possible was paramount. In terms of labor policy, that meant preference for employing low-wage Arab workers over Jewish ones in the state sector, which, when compared with the employment structures of the Arab and Jewish sectors, was the largest employer in the country” [ii]*

*“In April 1946, Palestine experienced its largest strike since the beginning of British rule. In terms of the number of strikers, the strike’s length, and its paralyzing effects, it was an unprecedented event. For the first time, the mass of low-grade government civil servants, with an overwhelming Arab majority, used the weapon of a general strike in Palestine’s public sector. Moreover, in contrast to any earlier collective action in either the Jewish or the Arab sector, it combined comprehensive cross-national cooperation with joint action by office and manual workers” [iii] \* As mentioned already, most workers involved were Arabs. British government employees in Palestine; December 1945 (excluding police)

	Employees	permanent	casual
Arabs	22,183	12,649	9,534
Jews	5,399	4,468	731

Source: Based on Reuveni, Mimshal, 236

The Histadruth – the Zionist only Jewish workers organization was not involved in the strike and actually opposed it.

*“Recent research has also exposed the indirect part played by the British authorities in facilitating the attempted closure of the economy of the Jewish community (the Yishuv) and the segmentation strategies of organized Jewish labor (the Histadrut). Consequently, defining the British impact as contextual and indirect has cemented the notion of the hegemony of labor Zionism, whose nationalism affected, almost single-handedly, the absence of cross-national workers’ collective action. This is evident in particular in the treatment of workers employed in the British sector, which has refrained from naming the government as the key factor in affecting these workers’ militancy and their ability to transcend their national divisions”.*

*“Arab-Jewish collective action during the Mandate was not an entirely unusual feature of employment relations in the government sector. As a joint workplace, the administration lacked the features that hampered joint action in the Arab and Jewish economics. Prominent among these features were the economic separation of these national sectors, Arab opposition to the Jewish labor movement, the Jewish labor movement’s segregationist ideology, and the restraining impact of the Histadrut (the umbrella organization). The office-work culture that evolved in the administration, expressed by bureaucratic loyalty to civil ser-*



vice that the British authorities were keen to cultivate, allowed a cross-national co-existence that Arab and Jewish politicians often found suspect and the nationally-oriented labor organizations criticized". [iv]

Even clearer is the following passage:

"The voices on the margin of Jewish labor that opposed this line and propagated a joint struggle between Jewish and Arab workers were aggressively outcast of mainstream institutions (e.g., the Communist Party and the Left plank of Workers of Zion). An exception to the rule emerged in 1924 in the mixed Palestine Railways Corporation, operated by the British government, where Jews were a minority of a few hundreds among several thousand Arab workers. There was established a joint Arab-Jewish trade union, albeit composed of separate national sections, which included about 20 to 25 percent of the workforce.

Yet the unity could not withhold for more than a few towards their Jewish partners, who despite understandings had continued to put their national interest before that of the joint class interest. And so, since 1925 two separate national unions acted side by side, with only sparse cooperation. The Jewish union denied the legitimacy of the Arab one, and required exclusivity of representation. During the Arab Revolt period, 1936-1939, international cooperation was obviously out of the question. The relatively affluent period around the W.W.II years, 1940-1946, saw the swan song of Arab-Jewish cooperation, and in 1947 Arabs and Jews took to arms. This exemplary case of the railway workers is, in retrospect, just an exception which affirms the rule: the rule of the priority of the national colonization project over international class solidarity" [v]

Thus, instead of a scientific analysis from the perspective of the international working class the ISA provide us with a pro Zionist dogma based on the false claim, that under the existing conditions when the Jewish workers are privileged and have a Zionist consciousness, a revolutionary joint struggle of Arabs and Jewish workers is possible. This is no more than a pie in the sky.

Then to put the cherry on the top of the Zionist cake they demand from the Palestinians to accept the right of self-determination of the Zionists, to accept the stealing of their lands and the denial of the right of return of the Palestinian refugees.

"The ongoing struggle for Palestinian liberation requires a programme to fight for and win justice for all the victims of Israeli capitalism and imperialism, while also pointing towards a genuine solution to the conflict. Facing Israeli capitalism, and its reliance on security and existential fears among millions of the Israelis, there's also a need to advocate for equal rights for both national groups, including self-determination." [vi]

It is hard not to understand that the return of the Palesti-

nian refugees to their lands will be the end of Israel as a state with Jewish majority, and that the right of self-determination for the Zionists precludes the right of self-determination of the Palestinians. Or that Marxists support the right of self-determination only of oppressed nations, while Israel like the South African apartheid was a state based on the oppression of the blacks and therefore the white racists did not have the right of self-determination, as Trotsky wrote on south Africa where he called for one free black South Africa like we call for Palestine red and free from the river to the sea:

"The overthrow of the hegemony of British imperialism in South Africa can come about as the result of a military defeat of Great Britain and the disintegration of the Empire. In this case, the South African whites could still for a certain period – hardly a considerable one – retain their domination over the blacks. Another possibility, which in practice could be connected with the first, is a revolution in Great Britain and her possessions. Three-quarters of the population of South Africa (almost six million of the almost eight million totals) is composed of non-Europeans. A victorious revolution is unthinkable without the awakening of the native masses. In its turn, that will give them what they are so lacking today – confidence in their strength, a heightened personal consciousness, and cultural growth. Under these conditions the South African Republic will emerge first of all as a "black" republic; this does not exclude, of course, either full equality for the whites, or brotherly relations between the two races – depending mainly on the conduct of the whites. But it is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state" [vii]

The ISA is similar to the "London Bureau", where parties like POUM, the Independent Labor party, the Workers and Peasants' Socialist Party (PSOP) in France, and the youth wing of Poale Zion-Has homer Hatzair (Mapam) that tried to fuse Marxism and Zionism and ended in 1948 as the biggest land rubber. They are all now in the bottom of historical garbage like many other social imperialists. Down with the Zionist apartheid state from the river to the sea! For a Palestine red and Free from the river to the sea!

#### Endnotes:

- [i] Israel-Palestine: 74 Years Since the 'Nakba' [ii] Ibid  
 [iii] David De Vries, British rule and Arab Jewish coalescence of interest: the 1946 civil 's servants strike in Palestine [iv] Ibid  
 [v] Reviewed Work(s): Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948 by Zachary Lockman Review by: Uri Ram, Israel Studies Bulletin, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Fall 1998), pp. 17-19  
 [vi] Israel-Palestine: 74 Years Since the 'Nakba'  
 [vii] Leon Trotsky Letter to South African Revolutionaries (April 1933)



## Publications of the RCIT

# The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

**Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?**

**Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism**

**Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism**

**Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:**

**Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism**

# The Abyss between “Dr. Leftist” and the Mass Worker

## A sociological survey reveals the bourgeoisification of the leading strata of the ex-Stalinist “Party of the European Left”

Article (with 2 Tables) by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, 17 June 2022

Marxists have repeatedly pointed to the wide gap between the dominating strata in so-called “left-wing” parties and the mass of the working class and the oppressed. This process has not only taken place within the social democratic parties. We have seen the same development in Stalinist and ex-Stalinist parties. A sociological survey which has been published recently by *transform* – the think tank of the ex-Stalinist “Party of the European Left” – fully confirms this assessment.<sup>1</sup>

The “Party of the European Left” (PEL) is an alliance of mostly ex-Stalinist parties. The most prominent members of this alliance are the LINKE in Germany, the French PCF, IU and PCE in Spain, and SYRIZA in Greece. Since January 2020, the two Spanish parties are part of the government led by the social democratic PSOE. And SYRIZA governed Greece in the period 2015-19, in coalition with the extreme right-wing party ANEL.

The sociological study of *transform* is based on surveys of delegates of PEL congresses in the years 2010, 2013, 2016 and 2019. Hence, it provides a good overview about the social composition of the leading strata of these parties.

### Figures don’t lie

Let us now point to the most remarkable results of the survey. First, it reveals that only 6% of all delegates are employed in the industrial sector! And skilled and semi-skilled workers make up only 2,5 % each of the leading strata of these parties!

Even the author of this survey has to admit that these figures “reflect the weak connection of parties of PEL with the traditional industrial proletariat.”. However, she tries to relativise this extraordinary development – given the fact that these parties have been part of the labour movement since many decades – by adding the remark “as far as such a proletariat still exists in the south and central-east European countries.”

This is a silly rehash of the usual bourgeois cliché that the industrial working class is “moribund”. As we have demonstrated in various works, the industrial working class has in fact expanded globally in the past decades. And while there has been a certain decrease in the richest, most parasitic, imperialist countries, even here industrial workers still represent a sizeable sector of the proletariat.<sup>2</sup> According to the 2019 edition of the *OECD Labour Force Statistics*, 23.9% of all employed in the European Union work in industry.<sup>3</sup>

Neither is it true that the industrial proletariat is “moribund” in the south and central-east European countries. According to the same OECD survey, the share of those employed work in industry is mostly between 20% and 35%. (See Table 1)

In fact, the share of industrial workers among the total proletariat is even larger. As Marxists have argued for long, the bourgeois category “employees” includes not only workers. Generally speaking, one can say that in the

rich imperialist countries, a considerable minority of wage earners are not part of the working class but are part of the salaried middle class (supervisory personnel, police, lower-grade manager etc.). In an extensive analysis of the class’s structure, we have estimated that, in the imperialist countries, the number of wage earners – making up to 90% of the total working population – can be divided into two, with approximately 2/3 working class while 1/3 are middle layer.<sup>4</sup> Since nearly all industrial workers do not belong to the salaried middle class, their share among the proletariat is actually higher than the above-mentioned official figures suggest.

Compare this with the share of industrial employees of only 6% among the PEL leading strata! In fact, this gap to the mass of the proletariat is even wider as we can assume that many PEL delegates working in industry have a privileged position with an income above average (the labour aristocracy) or are full-time bureaucrats.

To avoid any misunderstanding: we do not reduce the proletariat to the industrial workers. Large parts of those employed in the service sector – from retail workers to office clerks – are also part of the proletariat. But one can exclude that the leading strata of PEL parties has significant links with these layers if they hardly have any with the industrial workers!

It is therefore not surprising that more than 70% of the PEL delegates in the survey consider themselves as “middle class” and only ¼ as working class!

There is also another fact which reflects the specific social character of the leading strata of the ex-Stalinist parties. According to the *transform* survey, more than 80% of the delegates are academics! In contrast, merely 6% have “only” a professional qualification.

Again, compare this to the composition of labour force in the rich imperialist countries. According to another OECD study, more than 60% of the employees are either low-skilled or medium-skilled. (See Table 2) What a gulf between the mass workers and the academic-dominated bureaucracy of the PEL parties!

### The mass of the working class and the reformist party elite: two different worlds

These figures demonstrate beyond doubt that the reformist party elite lives in a completely different world than the mass of the working class. The RCIT and other Marxists have pointed for a long time to this development in various works.<sup>7</sup>

The political expression of this process could be seen in the last years in the failure of these so-called “left-wing” parties to play any role (or even to relate to) in important mass movements of the working class and oppressed in Western Europe (e.g. the Yellow Vests in France, protests against Islamophobic attacks against migrants, protests against anti-democratic attacks under the pretext of COVID, <sup>8</sup> etc.). Their inability to relate to the impressive mass

movements in the Arab Revolution – most importantly the heroic Syrian Revolution!<sup>9</sup> – is another example.

The role of SYRIZA – the PEL member in Greece – as the government party in 2015-19 executing the EU austerity program is another telling example for the bourgeois character of these parties. Currently, we see the same development in the context of the Ukraine War. While one sector capitulates to NATO policy (the Spanish PEL parties are even part of the government coalition), another sector appeases to Russian imperialism.<sup>10</sup>

True, this is not a completely new development. The social gap between the dominating strata of reformist parties and the mass of the working class and the oppressed exists already since the beginning of the imperialist epoch. V. I. Lenin – the founder of the Bolshevik Party and the leader of October Revolution – noted in 1916: „... *objectively the opportunists are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of a certain strata of the working class who have been bribed out of imperialist super-profits and converted to watchdogs of capitalism and corruptors of the labour movement.*“<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, it is impossible to ignore the fact that since then, the process of bourgeoisification of the reformist parties has massively deepened. Today, “Dr. Leftist” and the mass worker talk different languages and live in different worlds.

The RCIT considers it as an urgent task of authentic socialists in rich imperialist countries to build a revolutionary party which is rooted among the lower and oppressed sectors of the working class and which orientates to their struggles.

**Footnotes**

1 Cornelia Hildebrandt, Zu den Repräsentant\*innen der Europäischen Linkspartei, 31 May 2022, <https://www.transform-network.net/de/blog/article/zu-den-repraesentantinnen-der-europaeischen-linkspartei/> (All figures are from this article if not stated otherwise.)

2 See on this e.g. 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, Wien 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/greatrobbery-of-the-south/>, e.g. pp. 69-80, pp. 179-188, pp. 228-240; see also by the same author: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today. The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement in Semi-Colonial and Imperialist Countries in the present Period, RCIT Books, Vienna

2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/book-united-front/>, pp. 30-42

3 OECD Labour Force Statistics 2019, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/g2g9fb3e-en>, p. 27.

4 Markus Lehner: Arbeiterklasse und Revolution. Thesen zum marxistischen Klassenbegriff, in: Revolutionärer Marxismus Nr. 28 (1999)

5 OECD Labour Force Statistics 2019, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/g2g9fb3e-en>, p. 27.

6 International Labour Office: World Employment and Social Outlook – Trends 2015, pp. 72-89, Supporting Data

7 See on this e.g. the above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today; see also RCIT: The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto, 2012, [www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto](http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto)

8 The RCIT has analysed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively. Starting from 2 February 2020 we have published about 100 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>.

9 The RCIT has published a number of booklets, statements and articles on the Syrian Revolution which can be read on a special sub-section on this website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>

10 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 80 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/>; see also our joint statement with UIT-CI and LIT-CI, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-on-ukraine-war-13-3-2022/>

11 V.I.Lenin: Imperialism and the Split in Socialism (1916), in: LCW Vol. 23, p.110

**Table 1. Employment in Europe by Sector: Industry as a Percentage of Employment, 2018<sup>5</sup>**

Czech Republic	37.5%
Germany	27.3%
Greece	15.2%
France	20.0%
Italy	26.1%
Poland	31.7%
Portugal	24.8%
Slovakia	36.5%
Spain	20.3%
European Union	23.9%

**Table 2: Share of Employment by Broad Occupation (Skill) in Developed Economies, 2013<sup>6</sup>**

Low-Skilled	Medium-Skilled	High-Skilled
9.8%	50.9%	39.3%

## The Fundamental Meaning of the Ukraine War

### The current events are a key test for revolutionary strategy in the coming period

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25 May 2022

#### Introduction

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) has repeatedly pointed to the historical meaning of the Ukraine War and the escalating tensions between the Great Powers. <sup>1</sup> We explained that these events have provoked a sharp rupture in the world situation with long-term consequences. <sup>2</sup> In the article at hand, we do not intend to repeat our analysis. We shall rather discuss another, albeit related, issue.

We consider the current conflict as a fundamental event also because we are convinced that *similar events will take place more often in the coming period*. Therefore, the ability or disability to understand the complex character of the current war and the ability or disability to derive the correct tactical conclusions – all this reveals if a socialist organization is capable of standing such a historic test. They are such tests not only because of the crucial character of this event for the current world situation but also because they are *harbingers* of how such forces will position themselves in future, similar conflicts.

Hence, those who fail today, who are unable to draw the right lessons, those are doomed to repeat such betrayals in the liberation struggle of the workers and oppressed in the future. In the following, we will elaborate on this in more detail.

#### The dual character of the current conflict and our tactics

As the RCIT has demonstrated in its documents since the 24 February, the current conflict has a complex, contradictory character – or to be more precisely, it has a *dual character*. The failure to understand this has caused numerous reformist and centrist leftists to arrive at reactionary conclusions. We noted in our *Manifesto*, published a few days after the beginning of the war:

*“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 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.”* <sup>3</sup>

Such dual character of the current conflict has essentially remained in place since we published these lines.

From such an analysis we have concluded that the national war of defence of the Ukrainian people had a progressive and legitimate character and, therefore, socialists must support their resistance against the invasion of imperialist Russia. At the same time, we also recognize the reactionary character of the inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers. In this conflict, socialists oppose *both* camps – Russia as well as NATO. We summarized our position 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 oppose both camps!*

#### Why shall such events take place more often?

As we mentioned above, there can be no doubt that similar events with contradictory character will take place more often in the coming period. This is inevitable for the following reasons.

\* The deep crisis of global capitalism – economic, social, and political – pushes all Great Powers to extend their spheres of influence. <sup>4</sup> These powers will therefore try to subjugate semi-colonial countries directly or indirectly even more than they did in the past (via military attacks, economic sanctions, diplomatic pressure, etc.).

\* For the same reason, the interests of these Great Powers will collide with increasing ferocity. Hence, there will be more sanctions, more military threats, etc. and – as a result – a growing danger of open wars between the imperialist states.

\* It is therefore inevitable that a Great Power will try to exploit a conflict, in which its rival is involved, for its own interests. Hence, it is increasingly likely that one camp will send weapons to opponents who are facing aggression by the rivalling imperialist camp (as it currently takes place in the Ukraine War where NATO countries send military aid to the Zelensky government).

We have seen such events repeatedly in the past in periods of capitalist crisis. See for example Germany’s support for the *Easter Rising* in Ireland 1916 or Britain’s support for the Arab Rebellion during World War I. In both cases did socialists support these liberation struggles despite the interference by an imperialist power. <sup>5</sup>

Another example is the Sino-Japanese War from 1937 onwards where the U.S. sent aid to the Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek and imposed draconic sanctions against Japan. While Trotsky and the Fourth International supported the Chinese side, they continued to oppose Japanese as well as U.S. imperialism. <sup>6</sup>

And to mention one more event of complex character, take World War II which was, on one hand, an inter-im-



perialist conflict with Germany, Italy and Japan fighting against the Western Allies. In this conflict, Marxists could not support either of these camps. However, there was also the war of the USSR against Germany, of China against Japan as well as of the oppressed people in Europe against the Nazi occupation. In these conflicts, Marxists supported the just liberation wars against the imperialist aggressors.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, socialists need to combat imperialist interference in a given liberation struggle at each and every occasion. But this must not result in negating the progressive content of such popular rebellions and wars.

Lenin summarized quite well the approach of Marxists on just liberation struggles of the oppressed despite imperialist interference: *“The general staffs in the current war are doing their utmost to utilise any national and revolutionary movement in the enemy camp: the Germans utilise the Irish rebellion, the French—the Czech movement, etc. They are acting quite correctly from their own point of view. A serious war would not be treated seriously if advantage were not taken of the enemy’s slightest weakness and if every opportunity that presented itself were not seized upon, the more so since it is impossible to know beforehand at what moment, where, and with what force some powder magazine will “explode”. We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat’s great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilise every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis. If we were, on the one hand, to repeat in a thousand keys the declaration that we are “opposed” to all national oppression and, on the other, to describe the heroic revolt of the most mobile and enlightened section of certain classes in an oppressed nation against its oppressors as a “putsch”, we should be sinking to the same level of stupidity as the Kautskyites.”*<sup>8</sup>

### The political collapse of the opportunist left

As a matter of fact, large sectors of the self-proclaimed “left” have failed to recognize the dual character of the current conflict and, consequently, they refuse to take a

consistent internationalist and anti-imperialist position. In a recently published document on the world situation, we identified three trends of reactionary policy among these opportunist forces.

*“i) social-imperialism, i.e. direct or indirect support for an imperialist power (e.g. various Stalinist and Bolivarian parties supporting Russia; ex-Stalinist and left populist parties in Europe which support an independent foreign policy of EU imperialism or even participate in its government like in Spain);*

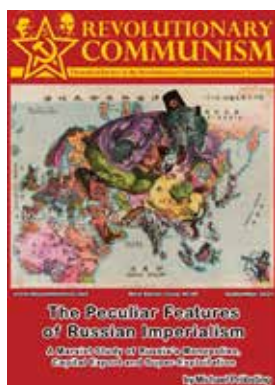
*ii) social-pacifism, i.e. impotent calls for “peace” without combining the struggle against war with the struggle against its material basis – capitalism – and without differentiating between progressive wars of oppressed people which deserve the support of socialists (like the resistance of the Ukrainian people) and reactionary wars which socialists can not support (such a policy is advocated by all kind of petty-bourgeois pacifists, Stalinists, reformists etc.);*

*iii) imperialist economism, i.e. denying the legitimate nature of the struggle of the Ukrainian people fighting against national subjugation by an imperialist power and subordinating this just war as a negligible detail to the rivalry between the Great Powers (such a position is supported by various Stalinist parties close to the Greek KKE as well as by numerous Trotskyite centrists like the CWI, ISA, IMT, IST, PTS/FT etc.)”*<sup>9</sup>

We can draw from this a few conclusions. In order to take a correct position in the Ukraine War and in similar, future conflicts, it is a precondition to recognize the imperialist character not only of the old Western powers (U.S., Western Europe and Japan) but also of the new, emerging powers – China and Russia. We have analysed in extenso Russian<sup>10</sup> as well as Chinese imperialism<sup>11</sup> and refer interested readers to our respective works.

### The failure to understand the imperialist character of Russia and its consequences

Recognizing the imperialist character of Russia is a condition sine qua non for understanding the nature of the war between Russia and the Ukraine as a conflict between an imperialist power and a non-imperialist, semi-colonial



## 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

country. Furthermore, such recognition is crucial to recognize the nature of the conflict between NATO and Russia as inter-imperialist rivalry which is reactionary on both sides and where socialists have to oppose both camps.<sup>12</sup>

Those who refuse to recognize the nature of Russian imperialism (and the same is true for China) are prone to fail taking the side of the oppressed people in the Ukraine War respectively in similar events in the future. And they are also prone to fail taking a revolutionary defeatist position opposing each and every Great Power in inter-imperialist conflicts.

We have seen numerous examples for such opportunist forces which deny the imperialist character of Russia and, therefore, refuse to defend the Ukraine. Examples for such are various Stalinist parties,<sup>13</sup> the Argentinean PO<sup>14</sup> and its affiliates (like DIP, EEK, etc.), the PTS/FT<sup>15</sup>, Alan Woods' IMT<sup>16</sup>, Peter Taaffe's CWI, various Stalinophile groups of the so-called Spartacist family, etc.

It is not accidental that these forces have also often refused to defend other oppressed people against imperialist aggression in the past. To provide a few examples, we refer to the failure of Stalinist parties to support the Syrian Revolution against Assad the butcher and against Russia's military intervention, to support the Chechen people against the Russian occupation or to support the Afghan resistance against the Western occupation.<sup>17</sup> The IMT, the CWI and the PTS/FT (as well as the Spartacists) also refused to side with the Syrian people after the first few years of the rebellion.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, most of these organizations also failed to support Argentina against British imperialism in the Malvinas War in 1982 or to side with Hamas against the Israeli aggression.<sup>19</sup>

As we can see that there exists an inner logic. The failure to recognize the imperialist character of Russia and China is closely connected with the failure to defend oppressed people against reactionary regimes and powers. It is therefore inevitable that these organizations will continue repeating their social-imperialist policy, that they will continue their refusal to join the camp of the oppressed.

For the same reason, such forces are prone to fail taking a revolutionary defeatist position against both imperialist camps. Such failure can result either in explicit support for Russia or China. Or it can result in implicit support for these powers when such reformist and centrist organization basically criticise only the Western imperialists but not (or only in passing) their Eastern rivals.<sup>20</sup>

### The theory of the "lesser evil" imperialism

Another form of social-imperialism is the policy of those opportunist leftists who formally recognize the imperialist character of both camps but negate the anti-imperialist conclusions from such an assessment. Effectively, they advocate the idea that of one power is the "lesser evil" imperialist compared to its rival. Stalinism introduced such a theory after the conclusion of its pact with France in 1935 when Western powers became the "lesser" imperialist compared with Nazi-Germany. Today we see similar examples with those organizations which fail to refuse, or even explicitly support, sanctions of Western imperialist powers against Russia.<sup>21</sup>

Those who fail to take a consistent defeatist line in conflicts between imperialist powers today, those who con-

sider it as permissible to support ("critically" or uncritically) acts of economic or diplomatic aggression of one Great Power against its rival – those are condemned to repeat such social-imperialist capitulation in the future. No socialist must forget that it is a fundamental principle of Marxism to refuse any support for one imperialist power or the other in such conflicts.

### The poison of pacifism and reactionary abstentionism: a variation of social-imperialism

*Pacifism* and *reactionary abstentionism* – two other trends of reactionary policy in the Ukraine War – also constitute a grave danger for the liberation struggle of the oppressed. As we have dealt with the program of pacifism in extenso in another recently published essay, we will focus at this place on the policy of reactionary abstentionism.<sup>22</sup>

A number of "left-wing" forces formally recognize the imperialist character of Russia and the inter-imperialist nature of the conflict between NATO and Russia. However, they ignore the legitimate national and democratic character of the Ukrainian resistance. They rather claim that the war has no independent meaning but is supposedly just a proxy conflict between NATO and Russia. Effectively, such a policy is a repetition of what Lenin called "*imperialist economism*" – a program which denies the legitimate and progressive character of national and democratic struggles of oppressed peoples, and which consequently subordinates such struggles to an abstract, general "anti-imperialism".

Examples for such a policy of reactionary abstentionism are various Stalinist parties close to the Greek KKE as well as Trotskyite centrists like the ISA or the IST in the tradition of Tony Cliff.<sup>23</sup>

Again, we must point out that the failure of these forces is not accidental but is based in their long-standing tradition. The Stalinists have supported the Assad regime in Syria, and the ISA and the IST have also refused to support the Syrian popular struggle for many years.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the ISA (which was part of the CWI at that time) as well as the IST failed to defend Argentina against Britain in 1982.<sup>25</sup> They also share the shameful tradition of refusing to support the Irish freedom struggle in the North against British occupation.<sup>26</sup>

It is therefore inevitable that these Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist organizations will continue to refuse support for the liberation struggles of oppressed people. They will continue finding excuses why they can't support the oppressed people against an imperialist aggressor. Make no mistake: those who have repeatedly failed to side with just liberation struggle, those who refuse to learn from their mistakes – these people are doomed to remain, objectively, traitors of the oppressed peoples, they are doomed to remain, objectively, social-imperialist supporters of the oppressors!

At this point we would like to add that we are fully aware that the character of a conflict like the Ukraine War can change. As we said in past documents, it would be nonsense to exclude such a possibility given the combined and contradictory character of this war. For example, a direct military intervention of NATO could result in such a transformation from a just war of national defence 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 Western imperialists resp. their proxy in Kyiv. But, we repeat, this is only a possibility in the future and revolutionaries base their strategy on the facts of today and not on speculations about tomorrow.

### Learn the lessons, break with the traitors!

It is crucial for authentic socialists to learn the lessons of historic tests like the Ukraine War and the current confrontation between the Great Powers. Let us briefly summarize these lessons.

1) Socialists must have a clear theoretical analysis of the imperialist Great Powers. There is no place for intellectual sluggishness and theoretical neanderthalism! Therefore, recognition of the imperialist character not only of the U.S., Western Europe and Japan but also of Russia and China is a precondition for Marxists in order to understand the character of the current historic period.

2) Socialists must never support one Great Power against another. They must rather oppose both sides. Likewise, socialists must not support any form of chauvinist Great Power policy (like sanctions etc.).

3) Socialists must stand with an oppressed people which is under attack of an imperialist aggressor. They have to advocate support for the just war of national defence (including calling for military aid) and for the defeat of the imperialist camp.

4) Socialists must oppose and denounce all forms of pacifism. Such a petty-bourgeois ideology only creates illusions in a non-violent path towards liberation. It also means, effectively, sabotage of military support for the oppressed. In addition, it can result in the situation that the aggressor can retain occupied territory.

5) Socialists must denounce reactionary abstentionism in a just war of liberation. Such abstentionism effectively means support for the camp of the aggressor.

6) Socialists must break with all organizations which advocate such policy of social-imperialism, pacifism and abstentionism. This is even more urgent since most of these reformist and centrist organizations have a long tradition of such anti-Marxist policy.

7) Socialists who support a consistent internationalist and anti-imperialist program must draw conclusions. They must break – politically as well as organizationally – with all organizations which fail to fight for such a program. Make no mistake: one can not genuinely fight against imperialist rape of oppressed people, one can not genuinely oppose all Great Powers *without* a clear and decisive rupture with the opportunist left! These reformist and centrist forces are an obstacle in the revolutionary struggle for liberation!

8) Socialists who draw such conclusions should join forces with those who have proven over many years that they defend – in words and deeds – the original program of Marxism in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky! The RCIT looks forward collaborating with all these comrades! It is only on the basis of such a consistent internationalist and anti-imperialist line that we can rebuild a *Revolutionary World Party!*

### Footnotes

1 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 70 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/>; see also our joint statement with UIT-CI and LIT-CI, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-on-ukraine-war-13-3-2022/>

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5 See e.g. chapter "The Irish Rebellion of 1916" in: V. I. Lenin: The Discussion on Self-Determination summed up (1916); in: CW Vol. 22, pp. 353-358

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7 For a Marxist characterization of World War II and the different types of conflicts in it, see e.g. Ernest Mandel: The Meaning of the Second World War, Verso, London 1986. See also e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference. The failure of sectarian "anti-imperialism" in the West: Some general considerations from the Marxist point of view and the example of the democratic revolution in Libya in 2011, Autumn 2012, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism/>

8 V. I. Lenin: The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up (1916) ; in: LCW Vol. 22, pp. 357-58

9 Michael Pröbsting: World Situation: In the Midst of a Global Political Tornado

10 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in Russia and its rise to an imperialist power. See on this e.g. several pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting: The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism. A Study of Russia's Monopolies, Capital Export and Super-Exploitation in the Light of Marxist Theory, 10 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-peculiar-features-of-russian-imperialism/>; by the same author: 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, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>; 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/](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/); Russian Imperialism and Its Monopolies, in: *New Politics* Vol. XVIII No. 4, Whole Number 72, Winter 2022, [https://newpol.org/issue\\_post/russian-imperialism-and-its-monopolies/](https://newpol.org/issue_post/russian-imperialism-and-its-monopolies/) (the same essay has been republished by International Viewpoint, 21. April 2022, <https://internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article7618>); Once Again on Russian Imperialism (Reply to Critics). A rebuttal of a theory which claims that Russia is not an imperialist state but would be rather “comparable to Brazil and Iran”, 30 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/once-again-on-russian-imperialism-reply-to-critics/>. See various other RCIT documents on this issue at a special sub-page on the RCIT’s website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>

11 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power. See on this e.g. the above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*; see also by the same author an essay published in the second edition of *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism* (edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope), Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020, [https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-319-91206-6\\_179-1](https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-319-91206-6_179-1); China: An Imperialist Power ... Or Not Yet? A Theoretical Question with Very Practical Consequences! Continuing the Debate with Esteban Mercatante and the PTS/FT on China’s class character and consequences for the revolutionary strategy, 22 January 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-imperialist-power-or-not-yet/>; China’s transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power (2012), in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>; How is it possible that some Marxists still Doubt that China has Become Capitalist? (A Critique of the PTS/FT). An analysis of the capitalist character of China’s State-Owned Enterprises and its political consequences, 18 September 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/pts-ft-and-chinese-imperialism-2/>; Unable to See the Wood for the Trees (PTS/FT and China). Eclectic empiricism and the failure of the PTS/FT to recognize the imperialist character of China, 13 August 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/pts-ft-and-chinese-imperialism/>; China’s Emergence as an Imperialist Power (Article in the US journal ‘New Politics’), in: “New Politics”, Summer 2014 (Vol:XV-1, Whole #: 57). See many more RCIT documents at a special sub-page on the RCIT’s website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

12 The RCIT has dealt on numerous occasions with the inter-imperialist rivalry of the Great Powers. See e.g. RCIT: *World Perspectives 2021-22: Entering a Pre-Revolutionary Global Situation*, 22 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2021-22/>; see also our 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/>; see also the following works by the same author: “A Really Good Quarrel”. US-China Alaska Meeting: The Inter-Imperialist Cold War Continues, 23 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/us-china-alaska-meeting-shows-continuation-of-inter-imperialist-cold-war/>; *Servants of Two Masters. Stalinism and the New Cold War between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West*, 10 July 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/servants-of-two-masters-stalinism-and-new-cold-war/>; for more works on this issue see these sub-pages: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/> and <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-global-trade-war/>.

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14 See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: *NATO-Russia Conflict: “Trotskyists” in the Camp of Russian Imperialism. The Argentinian “Partido Obrero” calls for “national emancipation and integrity” of the Eastern Great Powers*, 26 January 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/nato-russia-conflict-trotskyists-in-the-camp-of-russian-imperialism/>

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18 See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: *Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the “Left”. The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia – A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism*, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>

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20 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: *One-sided and Naïve ... at Best! A joint call by the friends of Chinese imperialism and the daydreamers of well-meaning global capitalism*, 31 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/joint-call-by-friends-of-chinese-imperialism-and-the-daydreamers/>; by the same author: *Stalinist and “Trotskyist” Supporters of Chinese Imperialism under the Fig-Leaf of “Anti-Imperialism”. A commentary on the statement “No to U.S. war threats against China!” by the “United National Antiwar Coalition” in the U.S.*, 4 April 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/stalinist-and-trotskyist-supporters-of-chinese-imperialism-under-the-fig-leaf-of-anti-imperialism/>; plus see the above-mentioned pamphlet: *Servants of Two Masters. Stalinism and the New Cold War between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West*

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22 Michael Pröbsting: *“Athens Declaration” on Ukraine War: A Disorientation Smoke Grenade. Critique of a statement issued by the “Progressive International” of Sanders, Lula, Varoufakis and Corbyn*, 17 May 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/athens-declaration-on-ukraine-war/>

23 See on this e.g. Yossi Schwartz: *The ISA, by opposing the delivery of weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian imperialism, serves Russian imperialism*, 14.04.2022, <https://the-isleague.com/the-isa-by-opposing-the-delivery-of-weapons-to-ukraine-to-fight-russian-imperialism-serves-russian-imperialism/>

24 See the above-mentioned pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: *Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the “Left”*.

25 See on this e.g. chapter 13 in the above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South*.

26 See on this e.g. two booklets published by our predecessor organization – the *League for a Revolutionary Communist International*: *The Death Agony of the Fourth International and the Tasks of Trotskyists Today*, [https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/archive-documents-from-the-lrci-and-lfi/#anker\\_7](https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/archive-documents-from-the-lrci-and-lfi/#anker_7); *The politics of the SWP – a Trotskyist critique* (1993), <https://fifthinternational.org/content/politics-swp-trotskyist-critique>



## “Athens Declaration” on Ukraine War:

### A Disorientation Smoke Grenade

#### Critique of a statement issued by the “Progressive International” of Sanders, Lula, Varoufakis and Corbyn

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 17 May 2022

A few days ago, the liberal-reformist “Progressive International” (PI) launched a statement – the so-called “Athens Declaration” – on the Ukraine War. The subject of the declaration, its contents as well as the political nature of its initiators make this statement a relevant issue which socialists have to deal with.

We will start by reproducing the declaration – which was formally launched by Jeremy Corbyn, Ece Temelkuran and Yanis Varoufakis on behalf of the “Progressive International” – in its entirety.<sup>1</sup>

*“The War on Ukraine calls for support for victims of war and a new non-aligned movement*

*\* We stand with the people of Ukraine, as we stand with every people suffering invasion, displacement and occupation.*

*\* We demand an immediate ceasefire, the withdrawal of Russian forces and a comprehensive Peace Treaty guaranteed by the European Union, the United States and Russia in the context of the United Nations.*

*\* We urge respect for International Law and all refugees, who must have their rights protected and offered a place of safety regardless of ethnicity, religion etc.*

*\* We oppose the division of the world in competing blocs that invest in rampant militarism, hyper-modern weapons of mass destruction and a New Cold War.*

*\* We believe that lasting peace can be achieved only by replacing all military blocs with an inclusive international security framework that de-escalates tensions, expands freedoms, fights poverty, limits exploitation, pursues social and environmental justice and terminates the domination of one country by another.*

*With these thoughts in mind, we call upon democrats across the world to join forces in a New Non-Aligned Movement. In this context, we view non-aligned, democratic and sovereign nations working together as the route to lasting peace and a world that can avert climate catastrophe and bequeath to the next generation a decent chance at creating the conditions for globally shared prosperity.”*

#### Empty bourgeois pacifism ...

Let us first deal with the contents of the declaration itself. Basically, it is a repetition of empty pacifist phrase without drawing any concrete consequences.

The PI says “We stand with the people of Ukraine, as we stand with every people suffering invasion, displacement and occupation.” Fine. Many bourgeois governments and media say this too. But what does this mean concretely? There is a war going on between two states. Which side are you on? Does the PI “stand with the people of Ukraine” in the sense that it supports its national war of defence? The statement doesn’t say anything about this and this is no coincidence since, in reality, the PI opposes the resistance struggle of the Ukrainian people against the invasion of Russian imperialism.

In early May, the U.S. magazine *TIME* published an interview with Lula, the historic leader of the Brazilian PT who was the country’s President in 2002-10 and who will run again for this position at the upcoming election in October this year. The PT is one of the leading forces within the *Progressive International*. In this interview, Lula refused to take the side of the Ukraine in this war and claimed that both sides are responsible for it. He stated that “we should say to Putin: ‘You have a lot of weapons, but you don’t need to use them on Ukraine. Let’s talk!’” At the same time, he said that Zelensky “did want war. If he didn’t want war, he would have negotiated a little more.”<sup>2</sup>

So, “at best”, the PI takes a neutral stance in this war instead of siding with the Ukrainian people against Putin’s invasion. This means that these bourgeois-liberals refuse to differentiate between an oppressed people and a oppressor, between the victim and the aggressor, between an imperialist state and a semi-colonial country. This has nothing in common with socialist or democratic principles!

The “Athens Declaration” calls for an “immediate ceasefire”. Sure, there can be circumstances where the camp of the oppressed, if it is in a weak position, can be forced to ask for an “immediate ceasefire”. If this is the case, socialists will support such. However, if this is not the case, the call for an “immediate ceasefire” will favour only the side of the aggressor since it means that he can freeze his conquests. Today, that would mean that Russia would keep large parts of the East and the South Ukraine.

Supporters of the PI might object that the “Athens Declaration” calls also for “the withdrawal of Russian forces.” This means, by the way, that even the PI feels obliged to recognize that the Ukraine is the victim of an illegitimate occupation by a foreign aggressor (of course, without drawing the consequences and supporting the oppressed people). However, the PI does not support the expulsion of the Russian aggressor by arms – since it calls for an “immediate ceasefire” – but for a solution via negotiations. This puts Putin in an advantageous position since his army already occupies large parts of the Ukraine.

#### ... Combined with Global Social-Imperialism

How should peace be achieved, according to the “Progressive International”? Effectively, these liberal reformists call for a negotiated peace treaty which is guaranteed by imperialist Great Powers – namely “the European Union, the United States and Russia in the context of the United Nations.” In other words, by European, American and Russian imperialism plus the UN which is dominated by five veto-wielding powers (U.S., Russia, China, France and Britain).

It is ironical that the PI does not recognize the glaring

contradiction of this demand and its following statements: *"We oppose the division of the world in competing blocs that invest in rampant militarism, hyper-modern weapons of mass destruction and a New Cold War. We believe that lasting peace can be achieved only by replacing all military blocs with an inclusive international security framework that de-escalates tensions, expands freedoms, fights poverty, limits exploitation, pursues social and environmental justice and terminates the domination of one country by another."*

How on earth should it be possible to create a peaceful, prosperous world without poverty if the imperialist Great Powers – among those which according to the PI should guarantee the Peace treaty in the Ukraine – continue to exist?!

No, peace and social justice are impossible to achieve without the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist Great Powers and the capitalist monopolies which dominate the world. There will be peace and social justice only if we build a global socialist society.

Effectively, the PI advocates a utopian perspective of a peaceful and just world order in which the Great Powers continue to exist. Even if there would be no formal military alliances like NATO and CSTO, the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan would still constitute imperialist powers. Would this remove the danger of imperialist war? Certainly not!

As is well-known, formal long-standing alliance (like NATO and CSTO) did come into existence only after 1945. However, even without the existence of such alliances, the existence of imperialist Great Powers and its rivalry provoked in the 20<sup>th</sup> century two World Wars with more than 100 million deaths!

As we will see below, this contradiction in the *"Athens Declaration"* is not caused by stupidity but rather by the cynical policy of liberal-reformist politicians who combine diplomatic language with bourgeois realpolitik.

### A *"New Non-Aligned Movement"*?

The PI statement calls for the creation of a *"New Non-Aligned Movement"* which would ensure such a peaceful and prosperous world. In fact, such a *"New Non-Aligned Movement"* would have no anti-imperialist or anti-capitalist content but would be rather another version of imperialist world order – probably one which would be dominated by China<sup>3</sup> and Russia.<sup>4</sup>

It is no accident that on the same day when the *"Athens Declaration"* was issued, the *"Morning Star"* – the Stalinist paper of the Communist Party of British – published an article by an Indian journalist which dealt with the *"New Non-Aligned Movement"*. Since the author is a proud patriot of his mother country which happens to be a regional power, the article is titled: *"India has a key role to play in a possible new world order"*.

But let us not dwell at this point into the social-patriotic credentials of Stalinism. We rather wish to draw attention to the authors attempt to concretize the nature of such a *"New Non-Aligned Movement"*. The Stalinist paper writes: *"It is also clear that the non-alignment of today must be based on the demand for the transformation of the world order, which will entail the rejection of the dictatorship of the World Bank and the IMF and the enduring impact of debt, the abolition of sanctions as a tool of war, and a more equitable United Nations."*

*This requires the building of structures for which there are precedents. The BRICS nations had the right idea with the New Development Bank, referred to as the BRICS Development Bank previously, which can be a model for future blocs."*<sup>5</sup>

So we see, the liberal-reformists and Stalinists view the BRICS and its institutions as examples for a *"New Non-Aligned Movement"*. But what is the BRICS? It is an alliance of China and Russia – two of the world's leading imperialist powers – as well as other capitalist regional powers (Brazil, India and South Africa). The BRICS's bank is just another imperialist financial institution – not better than the IMF or the World Bank but just dominated by different Great Powers! Just ask the African and Asian nations suffering from the consequences of Chinese loans!

In short, the so-called *"New Non-Aligned Movement"* is only a chimaera, a political slogan which represents the interests of Chinese and Russian imperialism and its allied ruling class in semi-colonial countries. It is no conception with which can identify in any way!

### Excuse: Marxism and Pacifism

We want to use this opportunity to say a few words about the petty-bourgeois ideology of pacifism which is currently preached not only by the liberal-reformists *"Progressive International"* but also by numerous bourgeois governments (including the Chinese) and *"left-wing"* forces.

Socialists differentiate between the honest pacifism of the masses and the factitious, hypocritical pacifism of the professional politicians and their hired academics. The former represents confused consciousness of the masses but contains a progressive wish to get rid of the plague of militarism and imperialist war. Naturally, revolutionaries have to explain pedagogically the shortcomings of such a view but, at the same time, they have to try to relate to such hopes and utilize them for the advance of the collective struggle of the masses.

Pacifism of bourgeois politicians and phrase-mongering left-wing intellectuals is something different. Revolutionaries have to denounce them sharply and explain to the popular masses the objectively reactionary role of such frauds.

The above-mentioned *"Athens Declaration"* of the PI is a good example for such hypocrisy. They demand peace and call for a *"peaceful world order"*. But who shall guarantee such peace? Obviously, those with power and arms. Who is this? Well, exactly the capitalist powers and their armies which also dominate the world today. In the case of the Ukraine, the PI explicitly names those which should guarantee a Peace Treaty: *"the European Union, the United States and Russia in the context of the United Nations"* – in other words, by imperialist powers and an institution controlled by such.

Hence, pacifism is a dangerous ideology which calls the oppressed not to use violence and which leaves the capitalist powers and their armies in place or even asks such robbers to ensure *"peace"*.

As a matter of fact, throughout history the oppressed could never achieve any meaningful progress *without violence*. From the abolition of slavery, the expulsion of colonial oppressor or the overthrow of a fascist or dictatorial regime – all these achievements would have been impossible without violence and armed struggle. This is not dif-

ferent today in the Ukraine where the people defend their country against a brutal foreign invasion.

Sure, socialists want peace too. But we want a peace which is *sustainable*. And this means an order of peace which is built on a social fundament where the causes of wars have been abolished. In other words, a society without class exploitation and oppression, i.e. a *socialist* society. The only meaningful strategy of peace therefore means to fight for a *socialist revolution* and to advocate violent means of struggle against the oppressor wherever it is necessary.

Pacifism therefore is a reactionary and harmful ideology which disarms and disorientates the oppressed. This is why the Marxist movement has been always hostile to such nonsense. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility of limited practical collaboration with pacifists against an imperialist war, as we also are ready to collaborate with reformists against economic attacks by the capitalist class, with nationalists or Islamists of oppressed nations against racism and colonial occupation, etc. Nevertheless, as an ideology and as a political force, pacifism is an enemy of socialism.

The Bolsheviks, the party which organized the first successful working-class revolution in 1917, always sharply denounced pacifism. At a conference in February 1915, they adopted a resolution which stated among others:

„Pacifism, the preaching of peace in the abstract, is one of the means of duping the working class. Under capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable. On the other hand, however, Social-Democrats cannot overlook the positive significance of revolutionary wars, i.e., not imperialist wars, but such as were fought.“<sup>6</sup>

“At the present time, the propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralise the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane, and turns it into a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of a so-called democratic peace being possible without a series of revolutions is profoundly erroneous.”<sup>7</sup>

Gregory Zinoviev, Lenin’s closest collaborator at that time, explained this idea very aptly in the Bolshevik’s central organ during World War I:

“Die Friedensidee zum Mittelpunkt” — “The idea of peace at the heart of our slogans”! Now they say that — after the first pan-European imperialist war has broken out! This is what you have learned from events!

“Nicht Friedensidee, sondern Bürgerkriegsidee” — not the idea of peace, but the idea of civil war — this is what we are tempted to shout at these great utopians who promise such a meager utopia. Not the idea of peace, but the idea of civil war, citizen Adler! This will be the central point of our program.

The problem is not that we failed to sufficiently preach the idea of peace before the war; it is that we did not preach the idea of class struggle, of civil war, enough or seriously enough. Because in wartime, the recognition of class struggle without a recognition of civil war is empty verbiage; it is hypocrisy; it is deceiving the workers.”<sup>8</sup>

“Yes, we are by no means principled pacifists; we are absolutely not opposed to all wars. We are against their wars, we are against wars of the oppressors, against imperialist wars, against wars whose goal is to reduce countless millions of workers to slavery. However “Social Democrats cannot deny the positive significance of revolutionary wars, that is, non-imperialist wars and, for example, those that were waged between 1789 and 1871

to overthrow foreign oppression and create capitalist national states out of fragmented feudal lands or wars that may be waged to safeguard conquests won by the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie” (see our resolution on pacifism in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40).“<sup>9</sup>

A few years later, the Communist International summarized the dangers of pacifism in the following way: “Imperialism is the capitalist reality, bourgeois pacifism the capitalist illusion. Pacifism is as incapable as bourgeois social reform of overcoming the contradictions, the evils, and the crimes of capitalism. But it will introduce dissension and uncertainty into the ranks of the bourgeoisie, the middle and petty bourgeoisie, and hence weaken the class enemy of the proletariat. Communists must take advantage of any such weakening by using the opportunity of every bourgeois pacifist initiative to lead the working class into struggle, in the course of which they will learn that militarism and imperialism cannot be abolished by the gradual triumph of reason and love of peace. . . . This conviction will counteract any crippling and debilitating effects of pacifism on the revolutionary militant energy of the proletariat, a danger associated with bourgeois pacifist propaganda. . . . The mists of pacifist sentimental hopes must not obscure the recognition that the bourgeoisie rule and exploit thanks to their command of the means of production of life and the means of production of death. The proletariat must take possession of both to liberate themselves from exploitation and bondage. Since they are kept from their freedom by force of arms, they must conquer it and defend it by force of arms.”<sup>10</sup>

These words have not lost their significance — in particular as we have entered a period characterized by more wars, revolutions and counterrevolutions!

### What is the “Progressive International”?

As we see, the “Athens Declaration” combines some pacifist phrases with a bourgeois-utopian conception of a new peaceful world order in which imperialist Great Powers and capitalist monopolies continue to exist. As we noted above, this is not the result of silliness but rather represents the attempt to cover a bourgeois and social-imperialist strategy.

This becomes evident if we look at the composition of the PI’s leadership which reflects the political forces dominating this alliance. Among the members of its Council are:<sup>11</sup>

\* Celso Amorim (Brazil), a close ally of Lula who served as the country’s foreign minister and, later Minister of Defense, for more than 12 years.

\* Natália Bonavides is another Member of Parliament representing Lula’s PT.

\* Fernando Haddad (Brazil), a leader of Lula’s PT, a former minister as well as the PT’s presidential candidate at the last election.

\* Andres Arauz (Ecuador), a former minister as well as Central Bank General Director.

\* Niki Ashton (Canada), a Member of Parliament representing the social-democratic NDP.

\* Edil Baisalov (Kyrgyzstan), the current ambassador of this country in London.

\* Alicia Castro (Argentina), a long-standing supporter of the Kirchnerist government party who has served for years as an ambassador.

\* Elizabeth Gómez Alcorta (Argentina), current Minister of Women, Genders and Diversity of the Kirchnerist gov-

ernment.

\* Leïla Chaïbi (France), a member of the European Parliament for Melanchon's *"La France insoumise"*.

\* Jeremy Corbyn (Britain), a member of Parliament in the UK and a former leader of the Labour Party.

\* John McDonnell (Britain), another member of Parliament in the UK and a former leading figure of the Labour Party.

\* Rafael Correa (Ecuador), former President.

\* Álvaro García-Linera (Bolivia), former Vice President.

\* Sacha Llorenti (Bolivia), former Minister and Ambassador.

\* Anyang Nyong'o (Kenya), a former Minister for 7 years and currently Governor of Kisumu County, Kenya.

\* Yanis Varoufakis (Greece), a member of the Hellenic Parliament, the co-founder of DiEM25, and a former finance minister of Greece.

As we see, the leadership of the *"Progressive International"* is dominated by figures who have served as former and current leaders of capitalist states and who represent liberal, reformist and Bolivarian parties.

To all these forces one has to add the Sanders Institute, i.e. the institute associated with the U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders which has played a key role in founding the PI a few years ago. While Sanders sometimes promotes left-liberal bills, he is a staunch supporter of the Biden Administration and voted in the past weeks for all anti-Russian laws and programs.

It is now very clear that the cynical combination of pacifist phrases and nebulous proposals for an "alternative new world order" represent a thoroughly bourgeois policy. These are effectively proposals for a reform of the imperialist world order *without* changing its oppressive and exploitative character. This is not surprising since the PI's leaders have served for many years as office-holder of capitalist states which have fitted well in this imperialist world order.

In reality, the PI is an impotent loose federation which has the power to confuse the consciousness of the masses but not the power to change the imperialist world order. Effectively, it is composed of reformist and Bolivarian forces which have always looked for collaboration with Chinese and Russian imperialism, of European reformists who aspire governmental position in imperialist governments of the EU and of supporters of the U.S. Senator Sanders who currently supports the militarist foreign policy of the Biden Administration.

On an ideological level, these forces preach a kind of global or Pan-Social-Imperialism – the utopian program of a reformed and peaceful imperialist world order. In reality, the PI is a necessarily loose federation which will collapse or be paralysed in case of any serious confrontation between the Great Powers in East and West.

### And a certain "Trotskyist" also tries his luck with the PI

In addition to this long list of (ex-)ministers and ambassadors, there is also a certain "Trotskyist" who tries his luck with the liberal-reformist *"Progressive International"*. His name is Oleg Vernyk and he represents a Ukrainian "trade union".<sup>12</sup>

To those who are active in the international Trotskyist movement for some time, Vernyk is well-known figure.

He organized a criminal enterprise in 2000-03, stealing thousands of dollars from well-meaning left-wing people in Western countries by faking the existence of various socialist "organizations" in the Ukraine. There exists even a separate Wikipedia entry about this fraud.<sup>13</sup>

Currently, Vernyk is part of the *International Socialist League* (ISL or LIS by its Spanish-language acronym), an international Trotskyist organization whose largest section is the MST in Argentina. His membership in this organization seems to be no obstacle for participating in a liberal-reformist alliance which is dominated by (ex-)ministers and ambassadors of capitalist states.

The reason for Vernyk strange dual membership is not difficult to detect. This man is still looking for money. Just a few weeks ago, he published again appeals – on the websites both of LIS as well as PI – asking people to send him money.<sup>14</sup>

One must admit: what Vernyk lacks on socialist and moral principles, he makes up for by creative ways to find money!

### Concluding words

The "Athens Declaration" on the Ukraine War does not provide a perspective for the struggle against Putin's invasion as well as against the inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers. It rather represents a political smoke grenade which can only disorientate activists.

It is the political duty of authentic socialists to demarcate themselves sharply from such kind of pacifism and global social-imperialism. They must combat the harmful and demoralizing influence of the *"Progressive International"* and similar forces within the workers and popular mass organizations.

In contrast to the bourgeois policy of the liberal-reformist PI, the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* and other authentic socialists have advocated a consistent internationalist and anti-imperialist policy since the beginning of the war – a line which takes into account the *dual character* of the current conflict.

We recognize the progressive and legitimate character of the national war of defence of the Ukrainian people and, therefore, we support their resistance against the invasion of imperialist Russia. At the same time, we also recognize the reactionary character of the inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers<sup>15</sup> and, therefore, we oppose *both* camps – Russia as well as NATO. We summarized our position in the following slogans:<sup>16</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 call authentic socialists to fight together for a world without imperialist Great Powers and without capitalist monopolies as it only such a social order in which wars and violence will be eliminated! In order to advance such a struggle, socialists need to struggle against the harmful influence of bourgeois pacifism and liberal reformism as it is advocated by forces like the *"Progressive International"*. Such a historic task can only be achieved if authentic socialists join forces. We call all those who agree with such a



perspective to join the RCIT in this struggle and to jointly build a *Revolutionary World Party!*

### Foototes

1 Yanis Varoufakis, Jeremy Corbyn and Ece Temelkuran present the Athens Declaration, DiEM25 Communications, 13/05/2022, <https://progressiveinternational.wire/2022-05-13-corbyn-temelkuran-varoufakis-the-athens-declaration/en> and <https://diem25.org/yanis-varoufakis-jeremy-corbyn-and-ece-temelkuran-present-the-athens-declaration/>

2 Lula Talks to TIME About Ukraine, Bolsonaro, and Brazil's Fragile Democracy, by Ciara Nugent, May 4, 2022, <https://time.com/6173232/lula-da-silva-transcript/>

3 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power. See on this e.g. the above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*; see also by the same author an essay published in the second edition of *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism* (edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope), Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020, [https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6\\_179-1](https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6_179-1); China: An Imperialist Power ... Or Not Yet? A Theoretical Question with Very Practical Consequences! Continuing the Debate with Esteban Mercatante and the PTS/FT on China's class character and consequences for the revolutionary strategy, 22 January 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-imperialist-power-or-not-yet/>; China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power (2012), in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>; How is it possible that some Marxists still Doubt that China has Become Capitalist? (A Critique of the PTS/FT), An analysis of the capitalist character of China's State-Owned Enterprises and its political consequences, 18 September 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/pts-ft-and-chinese-imperialism-2/>; Unable to See the Wood for the Trees (PTS/FT and China). Eclectic empiricism and the failure of the PTS/FT to recognize the imperialist character of

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4 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in Russia and its rise to an imperialist power. See on this e.g. several pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting: *The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism. A Study of Russia's Monopolies, Capital Export and Super-Exploitation in the Light of Marxist Theory*, 10 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-peculiar-features-of-russian-imperialism/>; by the same author: *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*, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>; *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/>; *Russian Imperialism and Its Monopolies*, in: *New Politics* Vol. XVIII No. 4, Whole Number 72, Winter 2022, [https://newpol.org/issue\\_post/russian-imperialism-and-its-monopolies/](https://newpol.org/issue_post/russian-imperialism-and-its-monopolies/) (the same essay has been republished by *International Viewpoint*, 21. April 2022, <https://internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article7618>); *Once Again on Russian Imperialism (Reply to Critics)*. A rebuttal of a theory which claims that Russia is not an imperialist state but would be rather "comparable to Brazil and Iran", 30 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/once-again-on-russian-imperialism-reply-to-critics/>. See various other RCIT documents on this issue at a special sub-page on the RCIT's website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>

5 Prasanth Radhakrishnan: India has a key role to play in a possible new world order. A non-aligned future for the global South raises immense challenges and glimpses of hope for India



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\* Footnotes

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7 Ibid, p. 163

8 Gregory Zinoviev: Pazifismus oder Marxismus (Böse Folgen einer Losung.), in: G. Sinowjew / V. I. Lenin: Gegen den Strom, Verlag der Kommunistischen Internationale, Hamburg 1921, p. 116 (In English: Pacifism or Marxism (The Misadventures of a Slogan), in: Spartacist, No. 64, Summer 2014, <http://www.icl-fi.org/english/esp/64/zinoviev.html>

9 Ibid, p. 119

10 Communist International: Theses on the Fight against the War Danger (1922), in: Jane Degras: The Communist International 1919-1943. Documents Volume I 1919-1922, pp. 331-332

11 See <https://progressive.international/council>

12 See <https://progressive.international/members> and <https://progressive.international/members/faf064a-f64a-4a8b-97e7-2955acc1121d-the-all-ukraine-independent-trade-union-zakhyst-pratsi-aitu-labour-protection/en>

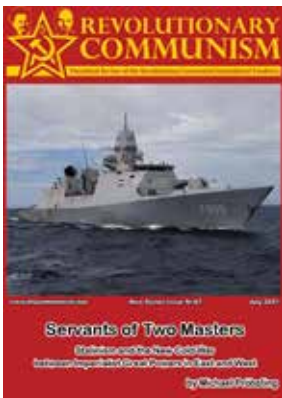
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16 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 60 RCIT documents on the current NATO-Russia conflict and the Ukraine War are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>. 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/>; see also our joint statement with UIT-CI and LIT-CI, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-on-ukraine-war-13-3-2022/>



## 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**

# Ukraine War: Supporting Western Sanctions Is Impermissible for Socialists!

## Support for the Ukrainian resistance must be combined with consistent anti-imperialism (a comradely critique of LIT-CI)

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 1 June 2022

### Introduction

The comrades of LIT-CI – an international Trotskyist organization in the tradition of Nahuel Moreno which is based in Latin America – have supported the just war of national defense of the Ukrainian people against Putin’s invasion since the very beginning. This has been the basis on which we signed with them – together with UIT-CI (another Trotskyist organization in the Moreno tradition) – a joint statement in mid-March calling for international solidarity with the Ukrainian people.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, we practically collaborated with these comrades (as well as others) in bringing humanitarian aid to the Ukraine and holding an international solidarity conference in Lviv on May Day.<sup>2</sup>

We therefore note with regret that LIT-CI has published an article on its website which calls the Western imperialist states to impose draconic economic sanctions against Russia. *“Furthermore, we must demand from all governments, imperialist or not, the complete severance of diplomatic and trade relations, i.e. an end to investments, exports and imports with Russia. External financing of the Russian war machine that is massacring the Ukrainian people must be stopped. This is especially important in European countries that import gas and oil from Russia. The European Union, the enemy of the working class, pays about 800 million euros daily to Putin for oil and gas. This injection of resources is crucial to Moscow’s war effort. The assets of Gazprom and Russian banks abroad must be expropriated. The assets of Russian companies and oligarchs in other countries must be expropriated. All this must be put unconditionally at the service of the Ukrainian resistance and the future reconstruction of the attacked country.”*<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, such a position is not an isolated case among socialists supporting the struggle of the Ukrainian people. Various centrist forces – like the Mandelist “Fourth International” – have also stated in the past three months their support for Western sanctions. As we have dealt in other articles repeatedly with this position, we can limit ourselves at this point to briefly summarize our arguments.<sup>4</sup>

### **We want to strengthen the Ukrainian resistance – but not NATO imperialism!**

The RCIT and all authentic socialists base their approach on the Marxist principles of internationalism and anti-imperialism. We therefore unconditionally support the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the aggression of Russian imperialism. At the same time, socialists can never consider any imperialist power – the U.S., Western Europe, Russia or China – as a “lesser evil”. It is therefore impermissible for socialists to lend support to any Great Power and its political, economic and military warfare against its rivals.

Unfortunately, the position to lend “tactical” support to this or that imperialist power against its rival has a long tradition and has been a hallmark of reformism. Social democracy and Stalinism, as well as various centrist forces, advocated such a policy for many decades as we noted in a recently published essay: *“Another form of social-imperialism is the policy of those opportunist leftists who formally recognize the imperialist character of both camps but negate the anti-imperialist conclusions from such an assessment. Effectively, they advocate the idea that of one power is the “lesser evil” imperialist compared to its rival. Stalinism introduced such a theory after the conclusion of its pact with France in 1935 when Western powers became the “lesser” imperialist compared with Nazi-Germany. Today we see similar examples with those organizations which fail to refuse, or even explicitly support, sanctions of Western imperialist powers against Russia.”*<sup>5</sup>

In our recent pamphlet on the world situation, we did show that the Western sanctions have failed to effectively weaken Russia. This is not surprising since it is an imperialist Great Power and not a semi-colonial country like Iran or Venezuela.<sup>6</sup>

More importantly, the primary result of such sanctions is to strengthen the chauvinism and the power of one imperialist state against another. Basically, sanctions imposed by one imperialist state against its rival serve to increase its monopoly power, serve to rally the population under the banner of “national unity” against an “foreign enemy”.

The same is the case with expropriations of Russian property by Western states. This is simply a redivision of property from one imperialist state to another. There is no anti-capitalist or progressive content in such demands because it does *not* represent a shift of property of an imperialist state (or monopoly capitalist) to the working class or to a semi-colonial, oppressed country. It rather means that one robber steals from another robber. Surely, socialists will not “defend” the property of the Russian imperialist state or of oligarchs. But neither do we support the Western robbers. For socialists there is no progressive camp in such inter-imperialist quarrels.

In short, sanctions and expropriations imposed by one imperialist state against another are an imperialist instrument in the Great Power rivalry. In fact, this is the whole purpose of such sanctions – not to aid the Ukrainian people! It is therefore impermissible for socialists to support demands which strengthen the power of the imperialist state machinery, which strengthen one camp against the other in the Great Power rivalry!

**One must differentiate between measures of an imperialist power and those of the working class or a semi-colonial country!**

The comrades of LIT-CI might object that they demand that the imperialist states should “*unconditionally*” hand over such expropriated assets of Russia to the Ukraine. But this does not remove the fact that they demand first and foremost that *the Western imperialist states* appropriate Russian assets. This is what the imperialists are already doing or threaten to do; unfortunately LIT-CI supports this and, by this, contributes to pro-Western social-imperialist confusion among the popular masses. The second demand of LIT-CI – that the Western imperialists hand over “*unconditionally*” such Russian assets to the Ukraine – this is a nice dream. As a matter of fact, the imperialists will use such expropriated Russian assets for strengthening Western influence in the Ukraine. Socialists must not aid the Western imperialists in their efforts to increase their power towards their rivals!

Of course, things are very different in the Ukraine (or any other state in conflict with Russian imperialism). We strongly support steps of political, economic and military warfare of the Ukraine (or other semi-colonial countries) in its resistance against the aggression of Russia (or another imperialist power).

This is exactly the point: Marxists must differentiate between political, economic and military measures of an imperialist power and such actions by a semi-colonial, oppressed people! Unfortunately, LIT-CI completely ignores this fundamental difference in the class character of such states and, therefore, deploy the *same* tactics to *different* types of countries!

Furthermore, things are, of course, also different when we come to international workers actions against Russian imperialism in solidarity with the Ukrainian resistance struggle. There have been already a number of such actions like the refusal of dockers in various countries to unload Russian ships or boycott activities of Belarus railway workers against Russian military supply. Socialists strongly welcome such demonstrations of international proletarian solidarity!

But socialists must not ignore the fundamental difference between actions of imperialist states and actions of workers. Workers sanctions strengthen the power and the self-confidence of the working class. They demonstrate to workers in Russia that their class brothers and sisters stand with the victims of imperialist aggression. In contrast, sanctions imposed by imperialist states strengthen not the working class but these very imperialist states. They strengthen the power and the self-confidence not of the working class but of the imperialist rulers.

In order to understand this issue – which seems to be complex but, in reality, is pretty simple – it is useful to call in mind Lenin’s famous principle “Кто кого?” (“Who, whom?”). Who fights against whom? If a slave defeats a master, socialists wholeheartedly welcome this. If a master beats up a slave, we try to stop him by any means necessary. If a master quarrels with another master, we do not take a side. We despise both and we urge the slaves not to aid neither one nor the other.

Furthermore, it is crucial to understand that support for imperialist sanctions and expropriation must not be con-

fused with support for military aid. The RCIT and all authentic socialists oppose the former but fervently support the latter! We fully support the right of the Ukraine to get weapons from wherever it is possible. We call for such military aid without any conditions attached.

The difference between imperialist sanctions and expropriation, on one hand, and military aid, on the other hand, is obvious. The former hands over, or increases, economic power of an imperialist state and its monopoly bourgeoisie. In contrast, military aid hands over weapons to the Ukraine. One measure strengthens an imperialist state, the other strengthens a semi-colonial country under attack by a Great Power. In other words, there exists a difference in class character between these measures.

**Trotsky and the Fourth International on military aid and sanctions**

The RCIT’s method in approaching these complex tactics is based on the tradition of the revolutionary Marxist movement. As we have pointed out in our works, socialists have always supported military aid for a country, for an oppressed people or class which is waging a just liberation war.\*

During the Italo-Ethiopian war in 1935, to take a single example, Trotsky and the Fourth International took the side of the semi-colonial country in Africa. They called for sabotage of the war efforts of Italian imperialism and for military aid for Ethiopia.

„Of course, we are for the defeat of Italy and the victory of Ethiopia, and therefore we must do everything possible to hinder by all available means support to Italian imperialism by the other imperialist powers, and at the same time facilitate the delivery of armaments, etc., to Ethiopia as best we can.“<sup>7</sup>

Similarly, Marxists at that time called for military aid for China in its war of defense against Japan or for Republican Spain in the civil war against the fascists.<sup>8</sup>

Likewise, our movement has always refused to lend any kind of (not even “critically”) support to 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. This assessment 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>9</sup> He therefore insisted that Marxists must break with all those who lend support to such sanctions of this or that imperialist power. “*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 separa-*



tion of them.”<sup>10</sup>

It is a shame that today socialists, who claim to stand in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, seem to have completely forgotten our tradition!

### LIT-CI on Russian imperialism: confusion in theory and tactics

LIT-CI's support for imperialist sanctions is all the more astonishing – to put it politely – since it's leadership stubbornly denies the imperialist class character of Russia! As we have demonstrated in several studies, Russia has become an imperialist Great Power already many years ago.<sup>11</sup>

In contrast to the RCIT, the comrades in LIT-CI consider Russia (as well as China) as a state which is supposedly “dependent on imperialism”.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, they put Russia in the same category with Brazil and Mexico (countries which are semi-colonies).<sup>13</sup>

As a result, LIT-CI stated in recently published articles that it would defend Russia in a conflict between NATO and Russia on the latter's territory. “This [the Ukraine War, Ed.] is not a NATO military invasion of Russian territory. In that case, we would undoubtedly position ourselves in defense of Russia, both because it is an economy dependent on imperialism and because it has been invaded.”<sup>14</sup> We admit, that there exists a certain consistency in the LIT-CI's approach: if Russia is a non-imperialist country, they have to defend it against NATO. However, such a consistency is just consistently wrong!

The consequence of such a complete false understanding of Russia's class character is that it pushes the comrades

objectively – against their intentions – into a pro-Russian position in the inter-imperialist rivalry.<sup>15</sup>

It seems that LIT-CI tries to find a “balanced” approach by combining such a pro-Russian somersault with an additional pro-Western somersault by calling Western imperialist government to impose draconic economic sanctions against Russia!

Consequently, such total confusion results in the situation that, on the one hand, LIT-CI calls NATO states to wage economic warfare against Russia and, at the same time, it calls to defend Russia against NATO in case of a military confrontation! The result of such obviously contradictory tactics is confusion at best. In any case, such an approach lacks any inner logic. If LIT-CI wants to support Russia, they should drop their support for Western sanctions. If they want to support the Western camp, they should drop their promise to defend Russia in case of a military conflict.

However, if they want to take a Marxist position based on internationalist and anti-imperialist principles, they have to drop both wrong tactics, i.e. they should oppose imperialist sanctions as well as the military defense of one Great Power against another!

Finally, one can not ignore another absurdity in the logic of LIT-CI's position. As we quoted above, the comrades deny the imperialist character of Russia. This means, objectively, that LIT-CI calls imperialist powers to wage economic warfare against – in their own view – a non-imperialist state like Russia!

All this does not make any sense and demonstrates how easily the lack of a clear Marxist theory and program – and in particularly a theoretically false analysis of Russia's

## 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

class character – can result in a completely confused policy characterized by zigzags in tactics! It is high time that the comrades in LIT-CI correct both their understanding of Russia's class character as well as their tactics in inter-imperialist rivalry!

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# What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*No future without socialism!*

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