



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE RCIT

ONE WORLD - ONE STRUGGLE - ONE REVOLUTION



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

Issue Nr.73

September 2017

## **The Pentagon Study: US Empire on Warpath**

by Almedina Gunić and Michael Pröbsting

Price: €2,5 / \$2,5 / £2

# English-Language Journal of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), No. 73, September 2017

|  |      |
|--|------|
| North Korea: Stop the American Warmongers!   | p.3  |
| US Sanctions against Russia, Iran, and North Korea are an Economic Declaration of War                                      | p.4  |
| There is No Progressive Camp in the China-India Border Conflict!   | p.6  |
| <b>How the Pentagon Views the World Situation</b>  |      |
| <i>A New Study by the US Military Confirms Marxists' Analysis of the Current Historic Period</i>                           | p.8  |
| <i>Introductory Remarks</i>  | p.8  |
| <i>"An Environment where the one Certainty is in fact Uncertainty"</i>   | p.8  |
| <i>The "Status Quo," "Revisionist," "Revolutionary" and "Rejectionist" Forces</i>  | p.10 |
| <i>The "Post-US Primacy" Period:</i>   |      |
| <i>Recognition of the Decline of US Imperialism as the Absolute Hegemonic Great Power</i>                                  | p.11 |
| <i>The Emergence of China and Russia as Imperialist Powers and the Acceleration of the Rivalry between the Great Power</i> | p.12 |
| <i>A Looming Global "Arab Spring"?</i>   | p.12 |
| <i>The Struggle for Hearts and Minds</i>   | p.14 |
| <i>More Imperialist Wars</i>   | p.15 |
| <i>Ideological Warfare: "The Strategic Manipulation of Perceptions"</i>  | p.16 |
| <i>"Gray-Zone" Challenge, Surge Demands, New Strategy:</i>   |      |
| <i>The Call for a Bonapartist Regime and the Restriction of Bourgeois Democracy</i>  | p.17 |
| <i>Historic Analogies</i>  | p.19 |
| <i>Final Remarks</i>   | p.20 |
| <i>Footnotes</i>   | p.21 |

The source of the picture at the cover is: Wikipedia, [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boeing\\_B-52](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boeing_B-52)

*Revolutionary Communism* is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Turkey, Brazil, Mexico, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria.

**www.thecommunists.net - rcit@thecommunists.net**  
**Tel/SMS/WhatsApp/Telegram: +43-650-4068314**

# North Korea: Stop the American Warmongers!

## Defend North Korea against the Madman of US Imperialism! Down with the imperialist sanctions against North Korea! No political support for the Stalinist Kim Regime!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 11 August 2017*

1. Donald Trump has yet again escalated his militaristic threats against North Korea. After announcing on 8 August that the Asian country would be “*met with fire and fury like the world has never seen,*” the US president added two days later: “*Maybe it wasn’t tough enough.*” Asked by journalists if he would consider a pre-emptive strike against North Korea, Trump said ambiguously, “*We’ll see what happens.*” (Reuters, 8 August 2017).

2. It would be very wrong to reduce the problem to one of the mental state of the current US president. True, on the surface, this bizarre combination of clown and psychopath in the White House appears as a sad aberration of history. However, it is not merely Trump, but the entire ruling class of US imperialism, that it determined to teach the world a lesson that no one dare to stand up to the American Empire! Just take the dramatic genocidal threat that US Defense Secretary James Mattis made in the last day to North Korea to “*cease any consideration of actions that would lead to the end of its regime and destruction of its people*” (CNN, 10 August 2017). Or consider the approval of Trump’s war rhetoric by the influential US Senator Lindsey Graham, who said he believes the president would be willing to launch a pre-emptive strike to prevent Pyongyang from launching a nuclear attack on the US homeland. In short, a military attack by US imperialism against North Korea has become a truly realistic possibility!

3. As we have made clear in past statements, the RCIT has not the slightest political sympathy for the Stalinist North Korean regime. However, what matters are not words, bombastic as they may be, but facts! It is the US and *not* North Korea which has launched countless wars on all continents, which is occupying foreign countries, which has dropped nuclear bombs, which possesses thousands of nuclear missiles, and which just four months ago dropped history’s most powerful non-nuclear weapon (the “*Mother of All Bombs*”) on Afghanistan! It is the US and other Great Powers that are placing sanction after sanction on the northeast Asian country and are thereby starving its people! In other words, it is US imperialism and its allies – and not the regime of Kim Jong Un – which pose a mortal danger to the North Korean people and humanity in general!

4. The RCIT therefore urgently calls upon the international workers’ movements and popular mass organizations to mobilize with the slogan “*Stop the US Warmongers!*” Likewise, they should mobilize in opposition to the sanctions which have been imposed on North Korea. In the event of a military conflict, the RCIT would call for the defeat of the imperialist forces and their allies and for the defense of North Korea.

\* *Stop the US Warmongers! For demonstrations, strikes and sabotage to stop US military aggression!*

\* *Down with the imperialist sanctions against North Korea! Stop the deployment of the THAAD missile defense system in*

*South Korea!*

\* *In any military conflict between the US or South Korea on one side and North Korea on the other: Defeat the imperialist forces and their allies and defend North Korea!*

\* *Down with the Stalinist dictatorship in Pyongyang! For a political revolution of the workers, peasants and oppressed in North Korea!*

\* *For the revolutionary unification of the Korean peninsula! For a Korean Workers’ and Peasant Republic!*

*International Secretariat of the RCIT*

*See also our past statements on the imperialist aggression against North Korea:*

RCIT: US Sanctions against Russia, Iran, and North Korea are an Economic Declaration of War, 30 July 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/north-america/us-sanctions-vs-russia-iran-north-korea/>

RCIT: North Korea: Stop the War Mongering of US Imperialism! 4 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/us-aggression-vs-north-korea/>

RCIT: New Imperialist Threats in East Asia: Hands off North Korea! 12.3.2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/defend-north-korea/>

RCIT: No War against North Korea! Call for Protests on the Day when a War starts! 6.4.2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-against-north-korea/>

*For our analysis of the Trump Administration and the crisis of US imperialism, we refer readers to various documents:*

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 18 December 2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/>

Michael Pröbsting: The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump’s Victory. On the Lessons of the US Presidential Election Outcome and the Perspectives for the Domestic and International Class Struggle, 24.November 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/meaning-of-trump/>

*For our analysis of the emergence of South Korea as a small imperialist power, we refer readers to the following document:*

Michael Pröbsting: Capitalist Development in South Korea and Taiwan (1997), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/capitalism-in-south-korea-taiwan/>

*For our analysis of China as an emerging imperialist country we refer readers to various documents:*

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

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

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

# US Sanctions against Russia, Iran, and North Korea are an Economic Declaration of War

**Down with the sanctions! Defend Iran and North Korea  
against any Imperialist Aggression! Oppose U.S. as well as Russian Imperialism**

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 30 July 2017*

1. Both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives nearly unanimously voted for a bill that includes drastic sanctions against Russia as well as against Iran and North Korea. Furthermore, it represents an implicit attack on the European Union as the bill also threatens sanctions against other countries that have business relations with these three states. Russia as well as the European Union have already announced to retaliate in case the bill becomes effective. This measure of US imperialism represents a serious escalation of both inner-imperialist rivalry as well as of imperialist aggression against countries like Iran and North Korea.

2. The U.S. Congress' bill is highly remarkable on several levels. First, the unanimity of both the chambers of the Congress – the Senate backed the bill by a margin of 98-2, the House of Representatives by 419-3 – reflects the fact that this move does not constitute a tactical maneuver of a party but represents the collective will of the ruling class.

3. This bill massively escalates the economic sanctions which Western imperialist powers have already adopted against Russia since 2014. The new sanctions focus on the energy sector. This reflects a strong economic motive of the US capitalist class as it desires to establish American dominance on the world energy market. The US is already the world's largest exporter of refined petroleum products. Furthermore the U.S. has massively increased its production of LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) through the highly environmentally damaging method of fracking. Hence, there is a strong motivation of US imperialism to weaken its competitors on the energy market like Russia, Iran and Qatar.

4. Furthermore, the bill reflects the desire of US imperialism to politically weaken Russia which is one of its major rivals in world politics. Moscow has demonstrated its rise as a Great Power as it currently humiliates Washington in Syria in front of the whole world. This imperialist rivalry is also an important background for the anti-Russian hysteria in the US concerning the alleged interference of the Putin regime in the U.S. elections last year. The contempt by most of the US ruling class for the Trump Administration is nurtured not only by the latter incompetence but also by the "unpatriotic" desire of the Trump clan to conspire with Putin against the Democratic Party. Hence the new bill also includes a remarkable provision that allows Congress to stop any effort by Trump to ease existing sanctions on Russia, a kind of explicit mistrust of the Congress against the American President.

5. The new bill will also have drastic consequences for the European Union as the sanctions target any company that contributes to the development, maintenance or modernization of Russia's energy export pipelines. As it is well-known European corporations are strongly involved

in joint energy projects with Russia (e.g. Nord Stream 2, Blue Stream pipeline, CPC pipeline). In short, the bill is an attempt to undermine the EU cooperation with Russia and to force it to become dependent on U.S. energy imports.

6. The imperialist EU has already recognized the danger of this bill. EU chief executive Jean-Claude Juncker reacted in a statement: "*The U.S. bill could have unintended unilateral effects that impact the EU's energy security interests. (...) If our concerns are not taken into account sufficiently, we stand ready to act appropriately within a matter of days. 'America First' cannot mean that Europe's interests come last.*" (Reuters: EU warns U.S. it may respond swiftly to counter new sanctions on Russia, July 26, 2017) Given the ongoing conflict between the U.S. and the EU about tariffs for steel imports, a trade war between the U.S. and the EU is looming – reflecting the accelerating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers in the current period.

7. In addition, the new bill imposes new sanctions against Iran. This is particularly remarkable since even the Trump Administration, which includes a strong faction of fanatical war-mongers against Iran, has been forced recently to admit that Iran has not violated the nuclear deal reached in 2015 between Iran and a group of Great Powers (Reuters: Trump says Iran complying with nuclear deal but remains dangerous threat, July 18, 2017). Hence the new sanctions reflect the determination of US imperialism to launch a new wave of aggression against a country which is both a competitor on the energy market as well as a local rival in Middle East politics.

8. Finally, the bill represents another acceleration of the imperialist aggression against North Korea. This is even more the case as Japan's Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida already announced that his government will join the U.S. in imposing additional sanctions on North Korea. These imperialist powers want to subjugate North Korea as it represents a small non-capitalist country which however possesses modern (possibly even nuclear) weapons and as such represents a challenge for the Western dominance in the region. Furthermore, it is allied with China – the main imperialist rival in Asia for the US and Japan.

9. The RCIT warns that this new bill is a dangerous escalation of the aggressive foreign policy of US imperialism which must be opposed by socialists in the US as well as internationally. Naturally, opposing the new US sanction does not make us supporters of Russian or European imperialism which themselves are involved in reactionary wars against oppressed people (e.g. Syria, Chechnya, Mali). Socialists must take a revolutionary defeatist position in any confrontation between such imperialist powers. Likewise, we will oppose any future retaliation sanctions by Russia or the EU.

10. We sharply denounce the threats and provocations of US imperialism against Iran and North Korea. The RCIT

unconditionally opposes the theocratic regime in Teheran and we call for the defeat of the Iranian forces in Syria where they are supporting the reactionary dictatorship of Assad against the legitimate popular uprising of the Syrian people. Nevertheless, we stand for the defense of Iran against any imperialist sanctions or against any military attack by the US or by Israel. The same policy applies to North Korea as we have pointed out in past statements.

*International Secretariat of the RCIT*

*For our analysis of the Trump Administration and the crisis of US imperialism we refer readers to various documents:*

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 18 December 2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/>

Michael Pröbsting: The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump's Victory. On the Lessons of the US Presidential Election Outcome and the Perspectives for the Domestic and International Class Struggle, 24.November 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/meaning-of-trump/>

RCIT: On the 100th Anniversary of the Outbreak of World War I: The Struggle against Imperialism and War. The Marxist Understanding of Modern Imperialism and the Revolutionary Program in Light of the Increasing Rivalry between the Great Powers, Revolutionary Uprisings, and Counterrevolutionary Setbacks, 25.6.2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/struggle-vs-imperialism-war/>

*For our analysis of Russia as an emerging imperialist country we refer readers to various documents:*

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017, Chapter III. The Great Power Rivalry and Its Consequences for World Politics, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/part-3/>

RCIT: World Perspectives 2016: Chapter IV.1. The Accelerating Rivalry between the Great Powers, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/part5/>

Michael Pröbsting: Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply

to our Critics, 18 March 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>

Michael Pröbsting: 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, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>

Michael Pröbsting: The Uprising in East Ukraine and Russian Imperialism. An Analysis of Recent Developments in the Ukrainian Civil War and their Consequences for Revolutionary Tactics, 22.October 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/ukraine-and-russian-imperialism/>

*See also our past statements on Iran:*

RCIT: For the Iranian Revolution! Down with the capitalist Mullah dictatorship! Down with Imperialism! For a working class revolution in Iran! February 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/iran-platform/>

Yossi Schwartz: Nuclear Agreement Signed: Will Iran Become the Policeman of Imperialism in the Region? 23.7.2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-iran-nuclear-deal/>

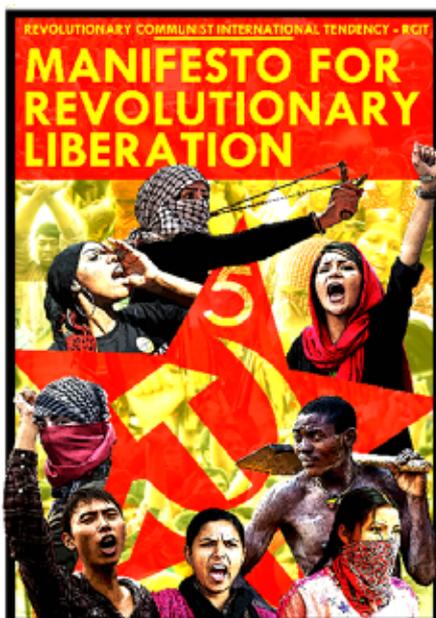
RKOB: Defend Iran against the U.S., EU and Israel warmongers! 9.11.2011, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/iran-no-war/>

*See also our past statements on the imperialist aggression against North Korea:*

RCIT: North Korea: Stop the War Mongering of US Imperialism! Down with the imperialist sanctions against North Korea! No political support for the Stalinist Kim Regime! 4 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/us-aggression-vs-north-korea/>

RCIT: New Imperialist Threats in East Asia: Hands off North Korea! 12.3.2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/defend-north-korea/>

RCIT: No War against North Korea! Call for Protests on the Day when a War starts! 6.4.2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-against-north-korea/>



## NEW RCIT PROGRAM!

# Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

*Adopted at the 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016*

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

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format*

# There is No Progressive Camp in the China-India Border Conflict!

## Neither Beijing nor Delhi! Down with Chauvinism and Expansionism!

*Joint Statement of the RCIT and the Economic Liberation Association (Zambia), 18.08.2017*

1. In recent weeks, tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region have accelerated to a level not seen since the 1980s. On 18 June, Indian troops, with two bulldozers, entered the area known as Doklam (by India) or Donglang (by China). This area is located on the strategically important Himalayan plateau at the tri-junction of Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan. The trigger for this attack by the Indian troops, has been the construction of a road in this area by China.

2. China's attempt to control Doklam/Donglang is an extremely sensitive issue to India. This area is extremely important to India's security as it overlooks the Siliguri corridor. This is the so-called *Chicken's Neck* which links mainland India with its remote northeastern regions. This territorial link of India with its Northeastern states is only 27km wide and 100km from China's Chumbi valley where significant Chinese military forces are stationed. Access to this region will potentially enable China to easily disrupt the land connection between two parts of India. While a short-term compromise between the two states cannot be excluded, conflicts between the two states can and will certainly emerge again. This is unavoidable given the acceleration of the rivalry between China and India in a historic period of capitalist decay as well as the fact that they share a 3,500km frontier of which large parts have for decades been in dispute.

3. One cause of the recent escalation of the conflict between China and India is the struggle between the two powers for influence in Bhutan. Geographically, this small country is sandwiched in the middle of two giants. Politically Bhutan is a reactionary monarchy. It has been a traditional satellite of India until recently. However, India's domination of Bhutan has been challenged in the recent past by the regional and global rise of China as an imperialist power. With its armed intervention in the Sikkim border region, Delhi hopes to reverse this trend and to regain full domination of Bhutan.

4. The conflict between Beijing and Delhi over the domination of Bhutan is however only a part of a comprehensive struggle between the two powers for regional hegemony. China's rise as an imperialist power has resulted in a series of economic and political initiatives both in Asia as well as globally (e.g. *Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Belt and Road Initiative*). Since the right-wing government of Modi took power in 2014, India has tried to oppose China's initiatives. Delhi has looked for closer collaboration with US and Japanese imperialism. As part of its foreign policy turn, it recently started to launch its own regional initiatives (e.g. *Chahbahar Project, a joint initiative with Japan called Asia Africa Growth Corridor*).

5. The RCIT and ELA (Zambia) have repeatedly pointed out that one of the most important changes in world politics in the past decade has been the rise of China as an imperialist power. Today China rivals the U.S. as a global force which is reflected in its leading presence amongst the world's largest corporations, banks,

billionaires as well as economic and military powers.

6. India on the other hand is not an imperialist power – albeit the reactionary Hindu chauvinist forces in the BJP would wish for. India is rather a peculiar semi-colony which is also a regional power. True, India's economy experienced a period of rapid economic growth and modernization in the past 25 years. As a result, it has been able to develop a certain number of monopolies which operate also on the world market and which exploit workers and poor in semi-colonial countries in Africa and Asia. However, looking at India's economy as a whole it is clear that its modern sectors cannot alter the backward capitalist character of the total economy. India remains a very poor country with the majority of its labor force still employed in agriculture. India has ensured its economic growth with the massive exploitation of its working class and with the increasing economic subordination to foreign imperialist capital. True, Indian monopolies operate and exploit abroad but given the size of the country and its economy they have a rather secondary character if we compare them to other countries. Foreign imperialist domination of India increases at a much faster rate than Indian capitalists can dominate other peoples abroad. Likewise, India is not able to play a significant global role in world politics. It is stuck in its permanent state of conflict with Pakistan and India. It cannot play any significant independent role in world politics but has to subordinate itself to Great Powers like the US, China or Russia.

7. Hence, Delhi will sooner or later will face the following alternative: Either it stops its obstruction against Beijing's *Belt and Road Initiative* and turns back towards closer collaboration. This would mean effectively that it subordinates itself under the leadership of imperialist China. Or Delhi continues its resistance against Beijing which would inevitable push it into the arms of US and Japanese imperialism. In this case too, it would subordinate itself under the leadership of imperialist powers. Whichever road it takes, India is doomed to play a secondary role in subordination to the Great Powers.

8. The RCIT and ELA (Zambia) state that the conflict between China and India is reactionary on both sides. Neither Delhi nor Beijing represents a progressive cause in this conflict. They both advance either direct imperialist interests (in the case of China) or the interests of defending hegemonic positions in the region and the desire to obstruct China's foreign policy in the service of US and Japanese imperialism (in the case of India). Hence revolutionaries should take a position of *revolutionary defeatism* in the conflict between China and India. They can neither support the expansion of Chinese imperialism nor can they lend support to India's reactionary policy.

9. The fundamental task of socialists and class-conscious workers in China and India consists in *opposing the chauvinist wave in their countries and in fighting against their own ruling class and their reactionary goals*. We say: *Chinese and Indian workers and oppressed: Your main*

*enemy is at home!* The task is to denounce the chauvinist and militaristic agitation of both governments as fundamentally in contradiction with the interests of the working class and the oppressed. The Chinese workers and poor peasants have no interests in war at its border for the control of a Himalayan plateau. The same is true for their Indian brothers and sisters. Such an anti-militaristic position should also include the socialists' active opposition against any chauvinist campaigns to boycott commodities from the opposing camp. Likewise, they should reject any economic sanctions against the "rival" country. Finally, they should oppose any chauvinist riots against other nationals or foreign companies as happened e.g. during the conflict between China and Japan about the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands in the East China Sea.

10. Socialists should organize to spread the struggle against exploitation, oppression and chauvinism and for freedom, democracy and social justice. This can only be achieved if the workers and the oppressed overthrow the ruling class and defeat all imperialist and reactionary forces. In other words, the task is to prepare for the revolution of the working class and the rural and urban poor so that the continent can finally be liberated by entering the road to a socialist future. The only solution to overcome all chauvinist tensions and national oppression lies in the formation of a socialist federation of Asia.

We refer readers to another joint statement of the RCIT and ELA (Zambia) which deals with the role of China and India in Zambia:

ELA (Zambia) and RCIT: Zambia: Down with the Exploitation by Foreign Powers! 18.08.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/china-india-in-zambia/>

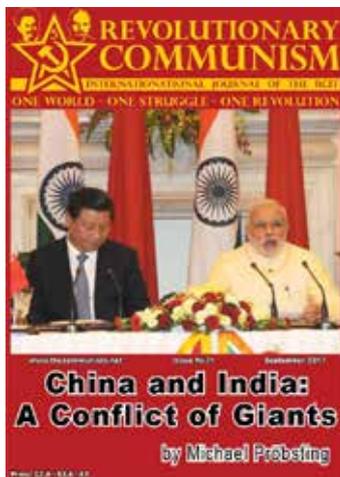
We also draw attention to a forthcoming extensive pamphlet about the China-India Border Conflict, its causes and its consequences which the RCIT will publish in the next days on its website [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net).

For our analysis of China as an emerging imperialist country we refer readers to various documents:

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

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

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



## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences

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

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

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A4 Format*

Introductory Remarks \* I. Recent Developments \* II. The Struggle for Domination of Bhutan \* III. The Background: Accelerating Rivalry between China and India in a Period of Capitalist Decay \* China's Belt and Road Initiative \* India's OCOR as an Alternative to OBOR? \* India's Increasing Ties with US and Japanese Imperialism \* How are the chances in a military confrontation between India and China? \* IV. China as an Emerging Great Imperialist Power \* China's Monopolies \* Super-Exploitation of the Working Class \* China's Capital Export \* China as a Military Power \* V. India: A Peculiar Semi-Colony in the Role of a Regional Power \* A Brief Historical Review \* The Characteristics of India's Semi-Colonial Economy \* India's Economic Elites: Many ... and at the same time Few \* The Parasitic Nature of the Indian Bourgeoisie \* India as a Regional Power and an Oppressor State \* Brief Remarks on an Historic Analogy: The Ottoman Empire \* VI. Revolutionary Tactics in the China-India Conflict \* Appendix: Imperialist vs. Semi-Colonial State: Some Theoretical Considerations \* 1. What are the Respective Characteristics of an Imperialist vs. a Semi-Colonial State? \* 2. Is a Transition from Being One Type of State to Another Possible? \* 3. Is the Category of "Sub-Imperialism" Useful? \* Footnotes

## How the Pentagon Views the World Situation

### A New Study by the US Military Confirms Marxists' Analysis of the Current Historic Period

By Michael Pröbsting and Almedina Gunić, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 25 July 2017

The Pentagon recently published a major study reflecting how US imperialism views its own crisis and the tasks it has set itself in the current global conjuncture. (1) This study deserves the full attention of all revolutionaries as it is, without doubt, remarkable in several respects.

First of all, the study is extraordinary simply because it originates in the Pentagon, the largest and most powerful imperialist military institution world-wide. In addition, the size of the study (141 pages), the length of its preparation (more than 9 months), and the wide range of institutions which were consulted when compiling it (2) – all demonstrate that this is not merely another study but rather a major and authoritative strategy document reflecting the viewpoint of US imperialism.

Second, the new Pentagon study is remarkable as it constitutes explicit recognition on the part of the US ruling class of its own crisis, its decline as the world's dominant imperialist power, to say nothing of the frank, aggressive, and reactionary strategy which it posits as necessary to counteract these trends.

Third, the study is profoundly important because it confirms – from the perspective of the imperialist counter-revolution – a number of essential analyses of the world situation which Marxists have elaborated during the past several years.

The goal of the following article is not to recapitulate the analyses of the global economic and political developments which the RCIT has already elaborated extensively in various documents. Readers interested in our analyses can access them in our publications. (3)

Instead, here we intend to provide readers with an overview of how the leading US strategists view the decline of their Empire and how they want to counteract this descent.

#### Introductory Remarks

The RCIT has repeatedly pointed out that socialists can intervene and lead the vanguard in ongoing workers' and popular struggles only if they possess a correct understanding of the world situation. Or in other words, they must find a rational orientation from which to view the present dynamics of the global struggle between the classes and the Great Powers.

To a certain degree the same is true for the ruling class. The imperialist bourgeoisie of the leading powers have created a number of think tanks and intellectual institutions the task of which is to analyze the world situation and to outline strategies which can help the capitalist thieves to advance their interests against their rivals as well as against the oppressed classes.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that it is important for revolutionaries to be sufficiently informed about the analysis and strategies of their class enemies. The current

article is intended to help in this effort.

Before we begin with our analysis of the Pentagon document, we wish to elucidate a few points. First, we draw our readers' attention to a very useful article by the journalist Nafeez Ahmed. (4) While we go further in our analysis, Ahmed's article is certainly helpful in giving a critical overview of the Pentagon document.

Second, all quotes below – if not noted otherwise – are from the Pentagon document with the page number referenced in brackets.

Third, readers should be aware that the Pentagon analysts – as it is always the case with all bourgeois ideologists – use a specialized jargon which is designed to hide and lead to confusion about the real meaning of its statements. We face such obfuscations everywhere in the world of bourgeois ideology (e.g., capitalists are "employers," great powers and monopolies are "global players," etc.). To give just two examples: In the document under discussion, the Pentagon analysts apply the term "*revolutionary*" not to militant working class and popular forces, but rather to hostile small states like Iran or North Korea, which in fact are respectively a bourgeois-theocratic regime and a Stalinist one. Likewise, they lump together working class struggles, anti-establishment trends in the internet, reactionary Salafist-Takfiri forces like Daesh, etc. as so-called "*rejectionist forces*." Therefore, it is vital for revolutionaries not to become confused by accepting the jargon at face value, but to "read between the lines" so as to understand the true meaning of the Pentagon analysts.

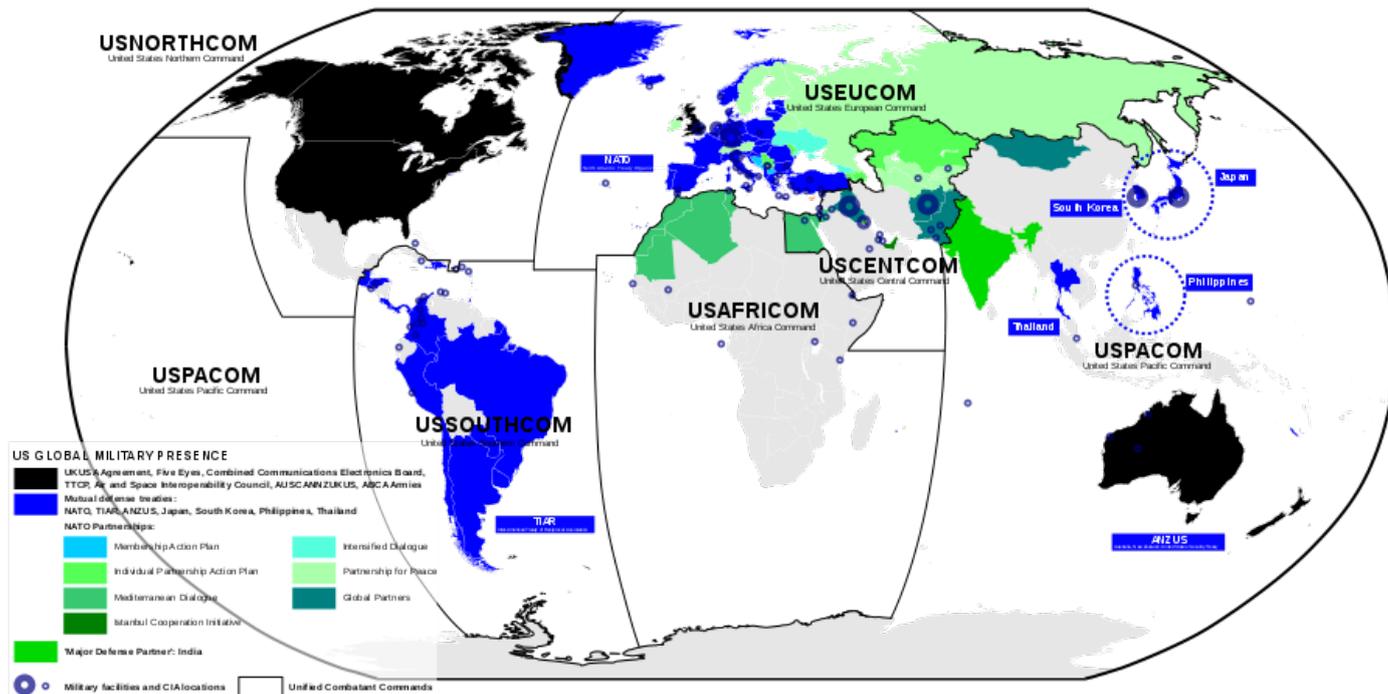
#### "An Environment where the one Certainty is in fact Uncertainty"

We have repeatedly pointed out that the historic period which began in 2008 with the Great Recession is characterized by a fundamental crisis of capitalism on the economic, political as well as military planes. This crisis is accelerating and sharpening the inherent contradictions (read interests) between the various classes along with those between individual states, the result being increasingly acute class struggles, revolutions, counter-revolutions and military conflicts. This basic lack of equilibrium on the world stage is the reason that we in the RCIT characterize this historic period as "*revolutionary*." The entire Pentagon document that we're reviewing here implicitly confirms our analysis, but uses different terminology to obfuscate this reality for the sake of their own bourgeois ideological interests and ends.

The document succinctly expresses the Pentagon's recognition that the stability of the old imperialist order is gone as follows: "*Thus, American senior leaders and strategists will have to simultaneously design, build, and persistently adapt strategic responses to an environment where the one certainty is in fact uncertainty.*" (p. 5)

This undermining of the certainty of the global order built

Map 1: US Global Military Presence



Source: Wikipedia, [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b5/US\\_Global\\_Military\\_Presence.svg/940px-US\\_Global\\_Military\\_Presence.svg.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b5/US_Global_Military_Presence.svg/940px-US_Global_Military_Presence.svg.png)

# Books of the RCIT

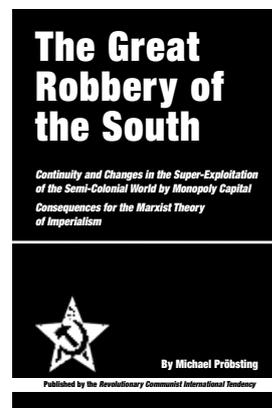
## Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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

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

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

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



by the US since 1945 is “not merely fraying but may, in fact, be collapsing”: “In brief, the status quo that was hatched and nurtured by U.S. strategists after World War II and has for decades been the principal “beat” for DoD is not merely fraying but may, in fact, be collapsing.” (p. 5) (5)

As we will see below, the Pentagon recognizes that the US is no longer the dominant power in the world; that new imperialist powers like China and Russia have emerged; that all societies around the globe are facing a basic crisis of social and political stability and popular trust; and that, hence, the US will be increasingly exposed to popular uprisings.

The Pentagon is fully aware that this is global uncertainty is no temporary phenomena, but rather manifests a fundamental, historic paradigm-shift. This is the *Leitmotiv* of the whole document. The authors even give the new period a name: “post-U.S. primacy.” To emphasize the long-term character of this development, they state that we are living in “the early post-U.S. primacy epoch”.

“The United States and its defense enterprise are navigating uncharted waters of late. The potency, endurance, and resilience of once unassailable post-Cold War American reach, influence, and effectiveness are increasingly in doubt. (...) This report argues that the United States has recently entered, or more accurately has freshly recognized that it is in the midst of what can only be described as the early post-U.S. primacy epoch. While jarring for strategists and policymakers who are accustomed to the assumption of primacy, they will need to adapt. This new reality has far-reaching implications for American defense policy, strategy, planning, and risk calculation. From a defense strategy and planning perspective, post-primacy has five basic defining characteristics.

\* Hyperconnectivity and the weaponization of information, disinformation, and disaffection.

\* A rapidly fracturing post-Cold War status quo.

\* Proliferation, diversification, and atomization of effective counter-U.S. resistance.

\* Resurgent but transformed great power competition.

\* Violent or disruptive dissolution of political cohesion and identity.” (p. 53)

### The “Status Quo,” “Revisionist,” “Revolutionary” and “Rejectionist” Forces

In analyzing the world situation, the Pentagon strategists differentiate between four different categories of forces: “Status Quo,” “Revisionist,” “Revolutionary” and “Rejectionist.”

“This study identified four competing post-primacy forces:

\* Status Quo: Values the distribution of power and authority and intends to maintain it.

\* Revisionist: Benefits from the current order but seeks a meaningful redistribution of power and authority in their favor.

\* Revolutionary: Seeks a wholly different order within which they can exercise control over their immediate sphere of influence without interference.

\* Rejectionist: Rejects current order, actively seeks to undermine it and any that might try to maintain or exercise control of it.” (p. 56)

Before continuing, we repeat our earlier warning that readers should not become confused by the strange jargon of the bourgeois Pentagon ideologists, but instead recognize what their analysis reflects.

The so-called “Status Quo” forces are, unsurprisingly, the traditional allies of US imperialism.

“The order and its constituent parts, first emerged from World War II, were transformed to a unipolar system with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and have by-and-large been dominated by the United States and its major Western and Asian allies since. Status quo forces collectively are comfortable with their dominant role in dictating the terms of international security outcomes and resist the emergence of rival centers of power and authority.” (p. 56)

The “revisionist” powers are those which do not challenge the capitalist world system, but which desire a shift in the balance of forces, i.e., a bigger share of the pie. These are basically the emerging imperialist powers, China and Russia. This categorization reflects that Washington recognizes that these are Great Powers which are players in their league and, as such, they can seriously challenge US hegemony.

“Revisionist forces benefit from the same basic international order but believe they have a rightful place at the table in the negotiation and determination of the precise terms of that order going forward. In short, they seek a new distribution of power and authority commensurate with their emergence as legitimate rivals to U.S. dominance. In the current environment, Russia and China are the most obvious examples of revisionist powers. Both are engaged in a deliberate program to demonstrate the limits of U.S. authority, will, reach, influence, and impact.” (pp. 56-57)

Furthermore, as an aside we must note that the Pentagon’s characterization of Russia and China as Great Powers who aren’t challenging the imperialist order in itself, but which are rather seeking a shift in the balance of forces in their own favor. This recognition reveals another important fact: US imperialism does not exclusively see these powers as rivals, but also as potential allies in joint actions against popular insurgencies and “terrorist dangers,” against which they can collaborate. The joint imperialist intervention against the so-called “Boxer Rebellion” in China in 1899-1901 or the current coordinated military aggression of primarily the US and Russia in Syria are examples of such “united fronts” of the imperialist Great Powers.

The Pentagon authors reserve the (misnamed) category “revolutionary” for smaller, non-imperialist states like Iran and North Korea. They do so because any successful resistance of the latter against the US hegemony would represent a serious setback for Washington’s hegemony in the region under question.

“Revolutionary forces are neither the products of, nor are they satisfied with, the contemporary order. They lie outside for a variety of political, cultural, and historical reasons. At a minimum, they intend to destroy the reach of the U.S.-led order into what they perceive to be their legitimate sphere of influence. They are also resolved to replace that order locally with a new rule set dictated by them. Iran and North Korea may be seen as the best current examples of revolutionary forces in action.” (p. 57)

Finally, there are the so-called “rejectionist” forces. This is an entirely arbitrary and confused characterization assigned to any and all movements and organizations (“non-state entities”) which in one way or another challenge US hegemony. Thus it is used to categorize at one and the same time authentic worker and popular revolutionary

movements, petty-bourgeois nationalist and Islamist guerilla forces, anti-globalizations movements, Wikileaks and up to and including Daesh.

*“Rejectionist forces offer very little in the way of legitimate political alternatives. Rejectionism is just as it sounds—the outright violent or disruptive rejection of legitimate political authority regardless of who happens to exercise it. Rejectionists seek to destroy formal sources of political power, especially those perceived to represent existential threats to their freedom of action. Of all the forces at play, the rejectionists are largely represented by various nonstate, sub-state, and transnational entities and movements that prey on the current vulnerability or rejection of contemporary political convention and tradition. They free-ride on hyperconnectivity to mobilize adherents around radical, criminal, or fundamentally unconventional sources of inspiration, and their reach is increasingly limited only by the number of disaffected willing to listen to and act on their various messages.”* (p. 57)

All these developments – the rise of Russia and China as new Great Powers, the existence of smaller states which challenge the US dominance in a given region, the emergence of anti-US movements and organizations – deeply worry the Pentagon strategists:

*“In the end, three of the four dominant competitive forces at work in the international system are, in effect, militating against the effective maintenance of a U.S. position of influence.”* (p. 58)

**The “Post-US Primacy” Period:  
Recognition of the Decline of US Imperialism  
as the Absolute Hegemonic Great Power**

Naturally, the Pentagon is most concerned by the decline of the US as *the* hegemonic Great Power. As mentioned above, the US strategists call the new period “*post-U.S. primacy epoch*”.

*“The first is the increasing vulnerability, erosion, and, in some cases, the loss of an assumed U.S. military advantage vis-à-vis many of its most consequential defense-relevant challenges. The second concerns the volatile and uncertain restructuring of international security affairs in ways that appear to be increasingly hostile to unchallenged U.S. leadership. At Our Own Peril identifies this new or newly recognized period as one*

*of “post-U.S. primacy.””* (p. xv)

Similar to our own analysis of the historic periods in the past decades, the Pentagon strategists differentiate between the period immediately after the collapse of Stalinism, the one which opened in 2001 with the 9/11 attacks and finally the current one of “*post-U.S. primacy*”. (6)

*“Indeed, this study argues that the volatile restructuring of international security affairs currently underway marks the American entrance into a third transformational era since the end of the Cold War. (...) The first of the preceding two eras is commonly referred to as the “post-Cold War” period, a time where the United States and its military benefitted from unprecedented reach and advantage vis-à-vis the nearest or most threatening of its state rivals. The second era can most reasonably be described as the “post-9/11” period. It saw the United States and its defense establishment suffer a disruptive “strategic shock.””* (p. 4)

*“The 17-year period after the Cold War . . . was a unique time when American power was essentially unchallenged. . . . we have been moving into a new era – a period of enhanced global competition, and the acceleration of trends that challenge our preeminence, complicate our decision-making, and demand of us greater agility and geopolitical savvy.”* (p. 4)

While the Pentagon analysts still recognize the military advantage of the US compared with its imperialist rivals, they are aware that Washington is no longer able to shape the outcome of regional conflicts as it desires.

*“Indeed, while the United States remains a global military power, it no longer can – as in the past – automatically generate consistent and sustained local military superiority at range.”* (pp. 4-5)

*“While the United States may still be the most important international actor in the state system, it can no longer count on the unassailable position of dominance, supremacy, or pre-eminence it enjoyed for the 20-plus years after the fall of the Soviet Union. Recognition of post-primacy is not a defeatist perspective. It is a wakeup call. The concept of post-primacy is the basic recognition that global security affairs are much more competitive now than at any other time since the Cold War.”* (p. 19)

*“While the United States still clings to significant political, economic, and military leverage, that leverage is increasingly*

# China's transformation into an imperialist power

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

**By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)**

**Price: €3 / \$3,5 / £2 (plus delivery charges)**

**Order the pamphlet via our contact address: [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net)**

exhibiting less reach, durability, and endurance. In short, the rules-based global order that the United States built and sustained for 7 decades is under enormous stress.” (p. 46)

“... consequential hazards are multiplying, metastasizing, and morphing to such an extent that the U.S. military can no longer hope to favorably influence security outcomes everywhere and every time it prefers.” (p. 99)

“Post-primacy will require some humility on the part of the United States in this regard, because, increasingly, self-interest trumps collective interest.” (p. 101)

We note, as an aside, that the Pentagon document indicates that there have been some controversial discussions inside the military and security establishment. It seems that some disputed the authors’ assumption that the US has entered a “post-primacy” period.

“Post-primacy is not—as some might suggest—a defeatist perspective. Instead, it is a passionate plea against complacency. It is the cold, calculating, and reasonable recognition of new levels of American vulnerability in an environment where the capability and capacity for strategic-level harm focused against core U.S. interests transcends boundaries, warfighting domains, and traditional defense conventions and biases.” (p. 93)

### The Emergence of China and Russia as Imperialist Powers and the Acceleration of the Rivalry between the Great Power

Unfortunately, a number of Marxists still fail to recognize the fact that the political physiognomy of world capitalism has changed in the past two decades and that China and Russia have emerged as new imperialist powers. The Pentagon strategists, whose job it is to analyze the challenges for US imperialism, understand much more clearly the nature of Washington’s rivals.

The document approvingly quotes a study of the neo-conservative Heritage Foundation which assessed in its “2017 Index” the “Russian and Chinese threat to U.S. vital interests to be ‘high.’” (p. 65)

Hence, the Pentagon document describes repeatedly the danger which US imperialism faces from its Chinese and Russian rivals.

“For example, the United States is in direct competition with revisionist great powers like China and Russia who have discovered complicated military and non-military work-arounds to limit U.S. freedom of action, drive up U.S. risk perceptions, and erode American reach.” (p. 59)

“... the persistent threat of escalation and the ability of both the Chinese and Russians to generate—at a minimum—niche local advantage vis-à-vis U.S. and allied forces can create paralyzing risk dilemmas for U.S. decision-makers ...” (p. 60)

“As discussed earlier, the United States faces new and meaningful opposition from at least two great powers who are bent on revising the contemporary status quo. China and Russia are engaged in purposeful campaign-like activities that are focused on the material reduction of American influence as the principal arbiter of consequential international outcomes.” (p. 60)

Related to the accelerating conflict between the US and China and Russia respectively is the increasing rivalry between the Western Great Powers themselves. We have already witnessed this in the growing conflicts, particularly between the US and the EU on protectionist issues, climate change, military expenditures, etc.

“As will be discussed in the next section, an important feature of the post-primacy environment is the increasing adherence to self-interest first among Western politicians and other U.S. allies. This leaves the United States facing the prospect of being at-risk and friendless in an increasingly hostile environment where barriers to entry into effective counter-U.S. resistance are increasingly lower.” (p. 45)

“Many states and peoples are operating under a renewed commitment to self-interest over any notions of collective common good. This more Hobbesian worldview makes alliance building and maintenance challenging. (...) Indeed, the study team concluded that increasing trends toward what the current administration calls “economic nationalism” and its election on the back of a more inward looking brand of populism are themselves sources of pressure on the U.S.-led status quo.” (p. 58)

“Many of these global partnerships are becoming much more conditional. This may be a function of increased nationalism and its attendant focus on self-interest first. However, it is also likely a function of the proliferation, diversification, and atomization of effective counter-U.S. and counter-Western resistance as well.” (p. 101)

### A Looming Global “Arab Spring”?

The Pentagon strategists are clever enough to understand that the world has changed not only on the level of Great Powers and their relation of forces. They also recognize – in their own way, confused by the fog of bourgeois ideology – that the global capitalist system is in an organic crisis. To put it in the Pentagon’s own words, they see a “generalized disintegration of traditional authority structures.” As a result popular distrust in governments, mass unrest and insurgency are spreading around the world.

In addition to organized hostile forces (like Daesh), the Pentagon strategists also identify popular mass uprisings as a fundamental threat. The name they give to this type of “threat” is characteristic for the imperialist mindset, and call it “leaderless instability.” Which kind of popular unrest do the Pentagon strategists have in mind when they consider such a “threat” of “leaderless instability”? The only example they mention is the “Arab Spring,” i.e., the popular uprising in the Arab world which started in 2011.

In this context we would like to point out two things. First, the Pentagon’s reference to the Arab Spring as the only example for the threat” of “leaderless instability” is remarkable given the fact that during the past year so many so-called “Marxists” have denied the fundamental progressive and democratic character of the Arab Revolution. As we have shown in numerous documents, various Stalinists have denounced the uprising of the workers and poor peasants from the beginning; centrists like Alan Woods’ IMT, the Cliffite IST or the Morenoite LIT welcomed the arch-reactionary military coup of General al-Sisi in Egypt and others, like the PTS/FT, the PO/CRCI or the CWI, have declared after some time that the Syrian Revolution is “dead” and no longer worthy of support. Again, significantly, the Pentagon imperialists are far better in their characterization of the Arab Spring than vast sectors of the reformist and centrist left. (7)

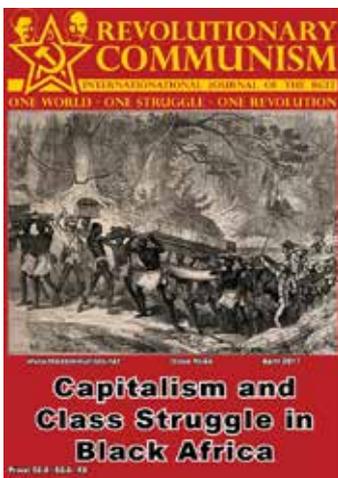
“As each of these play out and on still other levels, the United States is buffeted by hostile, inhospitable, or uncertain networks, movements, and/or environmental disturbances manifesting as

**Table 1. US and China: Their Share among the World's 500 Largest Corporations, 2001 and 2016 (*Fortune Global 500 List*)**

|      | USA    |       | China  |       |
|------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
|      | Number | Share | Number | Share |
| 2001 | 197    | 39.4% | 12     | 2.4%  |
| 2016 | 134    | 26.8% | 103    | 20.6% |

**Table 2. Foreign Direct Investment Stock of Great Imperialist Powers, 1990, 2000, 2015 (Millions of \$US)**

| Country | FDI inward stock |           |           | FDI outward stock |           |           |
|---------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|
|         | 1990             | 2000      | 2015      | 1990              | 2000      | 2015      |
| USA     | 539,601          | 2,783,235 | 5,587,969 | 731,762           | 2,694,014 | 5,982,787 |
| Japan   | 9,850            | 50,322    | 170,698   | 201,441           | 278,442   | 1,226,554 |
| Britain | 203,905          | 63,134    | 1,457,408 | 229,307           | 923,367   | 1,538,133 |
| Germany | 111,231          | 271,613   | 1,121,288 | 151,581           | 541,866   | 1,812,469 |
| France  | 97,814           | 390,953   | 772,030   | 112,441           | 925,925   | 1,314,158 |
| China   | 20,691           | 193,348   | 1,220,903 | 4,455             | 27,768    | 1,010,202 |
| Russia  | -                | 32,204    | 258,402   | -                 | 20,141    | 251,979   |



## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# Theses on Capitalism and Class Struggle in Black Africa

*An Analysis of Imperialist Exploitation and Oppression  
and the Perspectives of the Liberation Struggle*

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

Introduction \* Some Background Notes on Black Africa's Modern History: How Colonial Plunder and Oppression Blocked Independent Development \* Popular Struggles against Colonialism Led to Formal Independence \* Formal Independence as Disguised Imperialist Dependency \* The Reactionary Role of White Settlers \* Is Capitalist Black Africa Rising? \* Africa in the Grip of Imperialism \* China as a new Imperialist Great Power Challenging the Western Domination \* The Working Class and the Oppressed \* Rising Class Struggle \* Key Lessons for a Revolutionary Strategy in Black Africa \* Imperialist Domination and Authoritarian Regimes Remain in Place despite Formal Changes \* Breaking the Capitalist Chain – The Program of Permanent Revolution \* The Revolutionary Struggle against Imperialism \* Imperialist Chauvinism and the Anti-Imperialist Patriotism of the Oppressed \* The Independence of the Working Class and the Struggle against the Popular Front \* The Struggle for Pan-African Unity \* The Revolutionary World Party and its African Sections \* Footnotes

organized and purposeful resistance (e.g., Islamic State of Iraq and Syria [ISIS] and al-Qaeda) on the one hand and leaderless instability (e.g., Arab Spring) on the other. The former threatens core U.S. interests and enduring defense objectives directly, the latter by implication. All are part of a generalized disintegration of traditional authority structures (...), fueled, and/or accelerated by hyperconnectivity and the obvious decay and potential failure of the post-Cold War status quo. While the most prominent of these forces currently emanate from the greater Middle East, it would be unwise not to recognize that they will mutate, metastasize, and manifest differently over time. Thus, it is imperative for the creation of an objective-based vice threat-based risk model." (p. 59)

Secondly, the warning of the Pentagon strategists is interesting, as they indicate in their document that there exists a global danger of similar uprisings like the Arab Spring. This has to be understood in the context of the process of popular opposition to "traditional authority structures" globally and the emergence of various armed insurgency movements, phenomena which the authors summarize as resistance towards (imperialist) globalization.

"First and following the logic outlined thus far, all states and traditional political authority structures are under increasing pressure from endogenous and exogenous forces. The sources of that pressure are undermining the effective or legitimate exercise of political power worldwide. Sources of pressure include aspects of all of the aforementioned post-primacy characteristics including hyperconnectivity, the weaponization of information and disinformation, rapid deterioration of the post-Cold War status quo, the proliferation and diversification of meaningful resistance, the emergence of gray zone methods, and the rise of distributed sources of allegiance and identity. Paraphrasing one SRG member, some are fighting globalization and globalization is also actively fighting back." (pp. 61-62)

"Vulnerable states are also falling victim to more organic networked rejectionist forces and movements that effectively challenge the legitimate exercise of political authority wherever they emerge. The growth, persistent presence, and corrosive impact of these stateless environmental forces lead to noticeable spikes in terrorism, insurgency, and civil conflict, and undermine the U.S.-led order often less by purpose than by implication. In reality, the "rules" in "rules-based" are failing and the United States is struggling to keep pace." (pp. 46-47)

"Thanks to the internet, the public can identify people with the same values and fears, exchange ideas, and build relationships faster than ever before. Our governments are simply not part of that conversation: we have 19th century institutions with 20th century mindsets, attempting to communicate with 21st century citizens. Our governments are elected, dissolved and re-elected only to pursue short-term agendas, yet the cycles that innovate and build trust with voters require long-term investment." (p. 54)

The Pentagon strategists are also worried about the prospect that such unrest could spill over to the United States itself.

"Finally, it is impossible not to recognize the profound atomization of resistance as well. The United States and its population are increasingly exposed to substantial harm and an erosion of security from individuals and small groups of motivated actors, leveraging the confluence of hyperconnectivity, fear, and increased vulnerability to sow disorder and uncertainty. (...) At the same time, the U.S. homeland, individual American citizens,

and U.S. public opinion and perceptions will increasingly become battlefields." (p. 59)

In short, the Pentagon admits that the world order founded upon the dominance of US imperialism faces a very uncertain and instable future. The strategists characterize this as a global "persistent disorder and conflict."

"The future security environment will be defined by twin overarching challenges. A range of competitors will confront the United States and its global partners and interests. Contested norms will feature adversaries that credibly challenge the rules and agreements that define the international order. Persistent disorder will involve certain adversaries exploiting the inability of societies to provide functioning, stable, and legitimate governance. Confrontations involving contested norms and persistent disorder are likely to be violent, but also include a degree of competition with a military dimension short of traditional armed conflict." (p. 58)

"As the United States and its foreign partners adapted to a war with Islamic extremists in the aftermath of 9/11, and as insurgencies raged in Iraq and Afghanistan, the term "persistent conflict" or "an era of persistent conflict" grew popular in Pentagon lexicon. (...) "The defense implications of this trend are clear. First, employing language originally introduced in 'Outplayed', all states great and small are increasingly "wrestling on quicksand." In sum, the nexus of hyperconnectivity, distributed sources of identity and allegiance, profound discontent, and political factionalism are merging with access to the means of meaningful resistance, harm, and disruption to dangerous effect. Therefore, while the United States and China compete for Pacific primacy, for example, they do so on a less stable political foundation than in the past. Moreover, this reality holds for virtually all states regardless of their inherent stability, political orientation, external alignment, or foreign activism. Second, senior U.S. defense and military leaders should recognize that they have entered a period of "Persistent Conflict 2.0."" (p. 62)

### The Struggle for Hearts and Minds

The Pentagon strategists are particularly worried about the loss of hegemony by the ruling class over the hearts and minds of the popular masses. Ignoring the fact that the main factor for this lies in the deteriorating living conditions for the vast majority of the workers and oppressed and the associated policy of the ruling class, the imperialist ideologists claim that the reason for popular distrust is the governments' lack of control over the dissemination of information via the internet. The rapid spread of news and calls for mobilization – termed "hyperconnectivity" by the Pentagon – is seen as a worrying trend.

"However, it would be fair to argue that the United States faces a range of fundamental hazards from across joint domains (including and increasingly most troubling – the cyber domain). Further, it faces new or growing challenges from and within the electromagnetic spectrum, on and from the bloodless battlefields of information and influence, and finally, from the leaderless forces of social disintegration and virtual mobilization and resistance." (p. 43)

"The study team suggests there is a single core defense implication of hyperconnectivity – "speed kills." With hyperconnectivity comes a quantum increase in the velocity of change in strategic circumstances. It raises the specter of sudden, violent, or disruptive political contagions; rapid, unintended military

escalation; as well as war prosecuted by alternative—even overtly non-violent—means at increasingly faster processing speeds. Furthermore, it enables virtual mobilization and distributed collective action under no centralized authority or control and at speeds that will outpace 20th-century bureaucracies at every turn.” (p. 56)

“Furthermore, like-minded, geographically distributed resistance will emerge via virtual mobilization to further contest traditional authority by employing and liberally mixing violence, disruption, and destruction under no central or formal command and control.” (p. 62)

The Pentagon pundits advise the military establishment to assume that keeping information secret is nearly impossible.

“Furthermore, individuals, groups, and states are now able to access imagery and sensitive open source information that once was tightly controlled by governments. In the end, senior defense leaders should assume that all defense-related activity from minor tactical movements to major military operations would occur completely in the open from this point forward.” (p. 54)

In this context it is worth drawing attention to a new category which the Pentagon strategists introduce in their document. Given the many crimes and conspiracies of the ruling class, the military and the super-rich which have been exposed in the past by Wikileaks or by heroic individuals like Edward Snowden or Chelsea Manning, the authors introduce the category of “fact-inconvenient information.” By this category, which expresses so succinctly the moral bankruptcy and hypocrisies of the imperialist rulers and which is nearly as debunking as the Trumpist invention of the “alternative facts,” the document’s authors mean information which is authentic and compromising for the ruling class. In other words, they openly admit that the truth is inconvenient for the ruling class.

“Fact-inconvenient information exposes comprising details that, by implication, undermine legitimate authority and erode the relationships between governments and the governed.” (p. 55)

We remark, as a side-note, that this is a good example for the fact that all technological revolutions do not only increase the productivity of the capitalist production process and the strength of the state apparatus but also, as an unintended bi-product, open up vast new possibilities for the oppressed to strengthen their resistance.

## More Imperialist Wars

What do the Pentagon strategists suggest to the ruling class as the way forward for US imperialism? Basically they advise the ruling elite to deploy a strategy which is based on an assessment of a reality characterized by “post-U.S. primacy.” Most of their advice focuses on continuing and intensifying the reactionary offensive of US imperialism domestically as well as abroad.

This means, first and foremost, that the US should prepare itself to commit more acts of aggression and wage more wars both against insurgencies of oppressed people in the semi-colonial world as well as against its Great Power rivals. The authors summarize their recommendations as follows:

“This study identified six enduring defense objectives as a result of an extensive survey of U.S. post-Cold War defense and security policy:

- \* Secure U.S. territory, people, infrastructure, and property against significant harm.

- \* Secure access to the global commons and strategic regions, markets, and resources.

- \* Meet foreign security obligations.

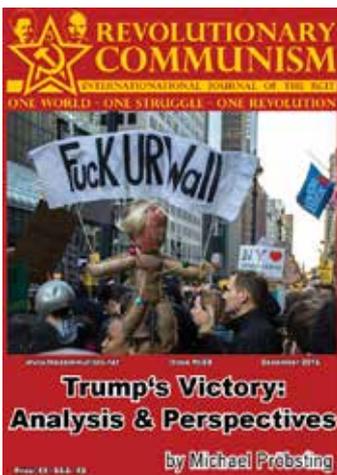
- \* Underwrite a stable, resilient, rules-based international order.

- \* Build and maintain a favorable and adaptive global security architecture.

- \* Create, preserve, and extend U.S. military advantage and options.” (p. 41)

The formulation “create, preserve, and extend U.S. military advantage and options” declares unequivocally that the key objective of US imperialism is to counter its political and economic decline by expanding its already huge military apparatus – including its arsenal for “nuclear and conventional deterrence.”

“While as a rule, U.S. leaders of both political parties have consistently committed to the maintenance of U.S. military superiority over all potential state rivals, the post-primacy reality demands a wider and more flexible military force that can generate advantage and options across the broadest possible range of military demands. To U.S. political leadership, maintenance of military advantage preserves maximum freedom of action. Further, it underwrites yet another bedrock principle of American defense policy—nuclear and conventional deterrence. Finally, it allows U.S. decision-makers the opportunity to dictate or hold significant sway over outcomes in international disputes in the shadow of significant U.S. military capability and the



## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump's Victory

By Michael Pröbsting, November 2016

Introduction \* I. The Election Outcome \* II. Where is the Trump Administration Heading? \* III. Global Consequences: The Beginning of a New Era \* IV. Lessons and Perspectives for the Struggle \* V. Summary Theses \* Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 40 pages, A4 Format

*implied promise of unacceptable consequences in the event that capability is unleashed.”* (p. 48)

The Pentagon strategists hope that such an increased military apparatus will help the US to deter all opponents and to accept its hegemony. We remark, as a side-note, that all the military superiority which the US already possessed in the period after 1991 did not help it to avoid its decline. Clearly, these bourgeois ideologists don't understand that the strength of a Great Power is primarily determined not by the size of its arsenal but by its economic strength as a producer of capitalist value. (8)

The seemingly harmless phrase *“secure access to the global commons and strategic regions, markets, and resources”* has massive implications. It means that US imperialism must secure unhindered “access” to all regions and markets around the world. This follows clearly from a sentence a few pages later: *“Failure of or limitations on the ability of the United States to enter and operate within key regions of the world, for example, undermine both U.S. and partner security.”* (p. 44)

And it is no accident that later in the study the authors refer to *“China’s campaign to expand its control over the South China Sea”* (p. 77) as an example for the challenges which the US is facing.

One does not have to be a genius to understand that this is the screenplay for wars not only with semi-colonial states but also with imperialist rivals. However, it is obvious that a US military confrontation with China or Russia can easily result in World War III – something which the RCIT has repeatedly pointed out in recent years.

Faced with such huge challenges and dangers, the Pentagon strategists are clever enough to advise the US ruling class to look for allies and alliances even though they themselves – as we have shown before – are fully aware that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the US to create stable alliances. And as everyone has been able to observe in the half year or so since he has become US president, Dumb Donald has been successfully undermining nearly all US alliances with every passing month.

*“Post-primacy is no time to act alone. Despite the common refrain that the United States will act with others when it can and unilaterally when it must, allies and partners are increasingly an indispensable U.S. strategic hedge. The United States has two basic types of defense alliances and partnerships.*

*First, there is the regional variety. According to either treaty or convention, regional allies and partners help the United States maintain favorable security conditions within regions whose stability is essential to U.S. security. Japan and the Republic of Korea in the Pacific, and Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Israel in the Middle East come to mind in this regard. Obviously, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Alliance is a clear example of a regionally-based entente as well. The U.S. position in those regions by and large relies on stable bi- or multi-lateral relations, as well as routine and in extremis military cooperation.*

*The second global variety of ally and partner helps the United States maintain stability in their region as well, while also reliably participating in the more general policing of the international status quo that they all prefer and benefit from. Much has been said already on the vulnerability of that preferred status quo. This category includes many NATO nations. However, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and France are particularly active U.S. global partners.”* (p. 100)

Furthermore the authors emphasize that given the

increasing instability and uncertainty the U.S. must be permanently prepared for unexpected crisis, insurgency and wars. Hence, Washington must prepare to fight a war at any given moment. However the report criticizes that despite the already existing readiness for immediate strikes – or to put it in the Pentagon speak: the *“‘fight tonight’ perspective”* – it has not been a strength of the *Department of Defense (DoD)* to have an elaborated mid- and long-term military plan in the past. This does not mean that the report proposes to change the *“‘fight tonight’ perspective”*. The opposite is the case: the report suggests that a massive surge is necessary to improve the readiness for such immediate strikes and to combine them with the willingness to take more risks and in the consequence to face the risk of more casualties – or to put it again in Pentagon speak: to have a better *“principal risk portfolio”*. For this reason the study also suggests that the U.S. should prefer allies and partners who are more willing to accept casualties.

*“In short, while defense strategy and capabilities naturally favor known knowns— like traditional threats from China, Russia, Iran, North Korea, and myriad Islamic extremist groups— strategy development, risk identification, and risk assessment in reality should employ a wider, more imaginative perspective.”* (p. 21)

*“Filtering objectives through the environment and its hazards, identifying a cogent strategic approach to defending those objectives and, in the process, identifying key elements of the next decade’s potential surge demand terminates for risk assessment purposes in identification of what this study calls DoD’s principal risk portfolio.”* (p. 28)

*“‘Away games’ are increasingly more difficult to sell to war weary populations. Combined with the prospect of hyperconnectivity bringing more problems home, the United States should focus its risk harmonization first on those allies and partners with whom it is likeliest to rely on for worldwide coalition action. Often, the regional allies and partners see the local threats more clearly.”* (p. 101)

### **Ideological Warfare:**

#### ***“The Strategic Manipulation of Perceptions”***

However, the Pentagon strategists point out that US imperialism must wage wars not only on a military level but also on an ideological plane. As mentioned above, the authors of the study consider the lack of control of the spread of information via the internet as a major factor undermining Washington’s hegemony. To counteract this, they advise actively using the internet to manipulate public opinion (*“the strategic manipulation of perceptions”*).

While the authors don't go into detail how best to do this, it is clear from the context that they hope to achieve this on one hand via more state control of the internet – Putin’s Russia and the Chinese regime serve as models for how an imperialist government can control the internet in modern times. On the other hand, the authors suggest a pro-active, fast campaign of misinformation so that the US government is not forced to react but can be proactive (remember the advice mentioned above: *“speed kills”*).

*“Thus, securing computer networks and cyber lines of communication from the predations of opportunistic opponents remains a critical component of U.S. defense calculations. However, this is essential but also insufficient in the contemporary*

environment. Indeed, to date, American strategists have focused to the point of distraction on defense against the purposeful interruption or destruction of the United States' information-focused connective tissue, as well as intrusion into and damage to sensitive information repositories. However, consequently, they have been less focused on the purposeful exploitation of the same architecture for the strategic manipulation of perceptions and its attendant influence on political and security outcomes." (p. 55)

**"Gray-Zone" Challenge, Surge Demands, New Strategy:  
The Call for a Bonapartist Regime and  
the Restriction of Bourgeois Democracy**

It is quite obvious that the report offers to the DoD not only a clarification of its understanding of the concept of a "post-primacy epoch" but also suggests a new strategic change in the military planning. This change can be summed up in the following points:

- \* Massive surge
- \* Change of military strategy via concentrating on so-called "Gray-Zone" conflicts
- \* Orientation towards winning more regionally-based allies
- \* Long-term plans focused on at least a decade
- \* Higher independence of the military and security apparatus from the respective governing party in order to follow the long-term plans
- \* Change of the propaganda away from the old chimera of "saving democracy" and with this
- \* Increasing Bonapartism to keep up with the new Great Powers Russia and China

Demands for a surge are certainly not surprising as the military apparatus as such is always in favor of larger resources for itself. However the main emphasis on a

changed situation for the former unchallenged hegemon in combination with the call for long-term planning can and will be the door-opener for the military to get its surge demands fulfilled.

The following quote is highly instructive as it touches the vision of the military apparatus: "Both [Russia and China, Ed.], as well as other strategic cultures, envision a more complex continuum of cooperation, competition, collaboration, and conflict. Moreover, many other nations do not organize their government institutions with the same black and-white military and non-military distinctions as the U.S. maintains." (p. 59)

As it is stated in the first paragraphs of this article Marxists should be aware that the report is written in the language of bourgeois ideology. It is important to read also between the lines of this quote as it expresses quite obviously the pressure of the military apparatus to overcome the mentioned "black and-white military and non-military distinctions". In concrete it means to orientate towards the model of Bonapartist governments as they already exist in Russia and China concerning the structures of the military apparatus and its relation to the political apparatus.

In this context the permanent emphasizes in the report on a long-term strategy, on more flexibility of the military forces and on the expanded definition of what the US should define as a "hazard" and therefore should be prepared to fight via surge – all these are more or less subtle messages to get rid of "antiquated" bourgeois-democratic conceptions on order to meet the "21st-century defense demands".

The recurrent references to "gray zones" as the important battlefields and to the necessity to learn from the methods of Russia and China in handling these gray zones are another hint to enlarge the military apparatus and to militarize the US policy to a much higher level than already

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today

#### The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today.

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – MARXISM AND THE UNITED FRONT TACTIC TODAY. The book's subtitle is: The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today. On the Application of the Marxist United Front Tactic in Semi-Colonial and Imperialist Countries in the Present Period. It contains eight chapters plus an appendix (172 pages) and includes 9 tables and 5 figures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

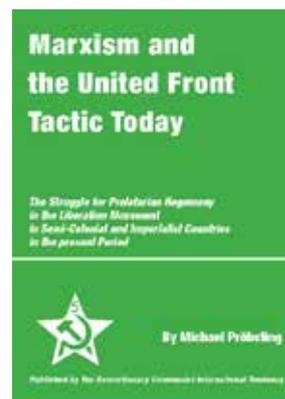
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

The united front tactic is a crucial instrument for revolutionaries under today's circumstances in which the mass organizations of the working class and the oppressed are dominated by social democratic, Stalinist and petty-bourgeois-populist forces.

The purpose of this document is both to summarize the main ideas of the Marxist united front tactic while at the same time explaining its development and modification which have become necessary due to political changes which have transpired in the

working class liberation movement since the tactic's original formulation.

In this book we initially summarize the main characteristics of the united front tactic and elaborate the approach of the Marxist classics to this issue. We then outline important social developments in the working class and the popular masses as well as in their political formations in recent decades. From there we will discuss how the united front tactic should be applied in light of a number of new developments (the rise of petty-bourgeois populist parties, the decline of the classic reformist parties, the role of national minorities and migrants in imperialist countries, etc.). The eight chapters of the book are accompanied by nine tables and five figures.



before. In the end of this road Bonapartism is waiting as the salvation for the United States to stay competitive in the global struggle with its rivals.

*"For example, the United States is in direct competition with revisionist great powers like China and Russia (...). At the same time, mid-level revolutionary powers like Iran and North Korea present the United States with similar complex "gray zone" challenges. These manifest largely on a regional basis as both direct sophisticated military threats, as well as more destabilizing, surreptitious manipulation of fragile political balances within and between vulnerable states and peoples." (p. 59)*

*"Thus, while the United States faces a clear resurgent great power challenge, the nature and character of that challenge is not a mirror image of past—especially Cold War—competition. Contemporary great power antagonism instead occurs principally in the "gray zone" where U.S. adversaries' substantial military capabilities are sidelined, over the horizon, or only marginally employed, but deter more activist U.S. responses nonetheless. Meanwhile, the principal competition occurs in murkier, less obvious forms of state-based aggression, where "rival states marshal various instruments of influence and intimidation to achieve warlike ends through means and methods falling far short of unambiguous or open provocation and conflict." (p. 60)"*

*"Accordingly, the study team concluded that the United States must "go gray or go home" in defense strategy development and risk calculation. Gray zone challenges manifest as more than military threats. Indeed, the military component of gray zone*

*threats is often the subtle menace of unacceptable cost delivered from "sanctuary" over the horizon. Nonetheless, there are very real military and security components of effective counter-gray zone activities or campaigns. Moreover, these are likely best understood and designed within the context of defense and military strategy. The gray zone challenge is widely recognized in defense and military circles. Furthermore, it has to date proven widely effective against traditional U.S. approaches to military competition." (p. 61)*

According to the report the new road that the US should enter results from the shift in world politics. Translated into Marxist language this means: The revolutionary historic period provokes a massive acceleration both of imperialist rivalries up to wars as well as of mass uprisings up to revolutions. The Pentagon paper tries to make the US fit to come out of these profound convulsions of the revolutionary period as the still hegemonic imperialist power.

*"As the Pentagon contemplates future strategy and risk, it will need to come to terms with a generalized erosion or dissolution of traditional authority structures. To date, U.S. strategists have been fixated on this trend in the greater Middle East. However, the same forces at work there are similarly eroding the reach and authority of governments worldwide." (p. 62)*

It is thus the military apparatus of the United States that pushes for a political transformation in the heart of the imperialist U.S.-beast to become more aggressive and belligerent than ever before.

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book called *BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE*. The book's subtitle is: *Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*. The book is in English-language. It contains four chapters on 148 pages and includes 42 pictures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

A few months ago, our movement commemorated its 25th anniversary. In the summer of 1989 our predecessor organization, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) was founded as a democratic-centralist international tendency based on an elaborated program. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) continues the revolutionary tradition of the LRCI. Below we give an overview of our history, an evaluation of its achievements as well as mistakes, and a summary of the lessons for the struggles ahead. This book summarizes our theoretical and practical experience of the past

25 years.

In Chapter I we outline a summary of the Bolshevik-Communists' theoretical conception of the role of the revolutionary party and its relation to the working class. In Chapter II we elaborate on the essential characteristics of revolutionary party respective of the pre-party organization. In Chapter III we deal with the history of our movement – the RCIT and its predecessor organization. Finally, in Chapter IV we outline the main lessons of our 25 years of organized struggle for building a Bolshevik party and their meaning for our future work.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/> ■

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

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

### Historic Analogies

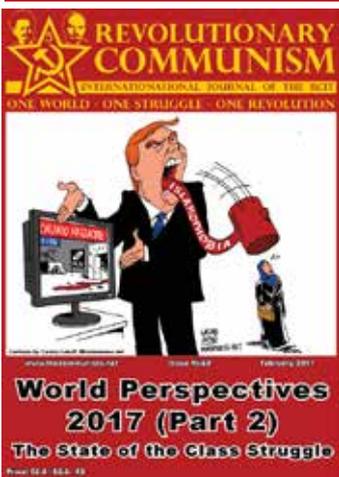
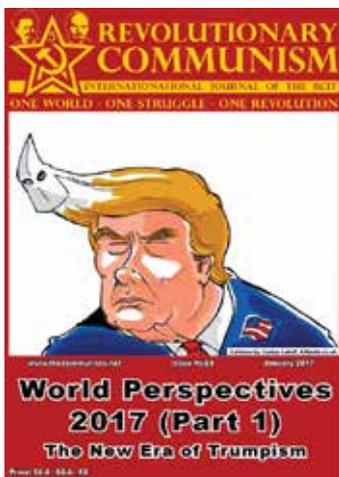
In conclusion, we would like to examine some historic analogies which seem useful for better understanding the doomed future of the American Empire. Based on lessons from history, we can see that the decline of an empire has never happened in a gradual and peaceful way. Quite the contrary, in every single case, such a process is accompanied by both grave political crises and revolutionary class struggles at home as well as wars with rivaling powers abroad.

Here, we shall limit ourselves to give just a few examples. When the *Roman Empire* stagnated and decayed between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, this process went hand in hand with numerous social uprisings of impoverished peasants and slaves, like the movement of the *Agonistici* (often also called “*Circumcellions*”) and the *Donatists* in North Africa or the *Bagaudae* in Gallia and Hispania, as well as numerous invasions by so-called barbarian peoples like the Huns, Vandals or Goths.

A similar process could be observed in ancient China when mass uprisings of poor peasants – most famously the so-called *Yellow Turbans* and the *Heishan bandits* – decisively shattered the huge, but corrupt and decadent, *Han Empire* between the years 184 and 205. The crisis resulted in the so-called *Three Kingdoms* period (until the year 280) in which China was devastated by endless wars between the emperors Wei, Shu, and Wu and which reduced the population to about one quarter of its previous level!

Likewise, the decline and finally collapse of the Manchured *Qing Empire* was characterized by a series of armed popular uprisings until its collapse in 1911 – to name only the most significant ones: the so-called *White Lotus Rebellion* (1794–1804), the *Taiping Revolution* (1850-64), the *Nian Rebellion* (1851-68), the *Miao Rebellion* (1854–73), the Muslim Hui’s *Panthey* and *Tongzhi Hui Revolts* (1856-73 and 1862–77 respectively), and the *Yihetuan (Boxer) Uprising* (1899-1901). At the same time the empire suffered from repeated defeats in wars with rival powers like the two *Opium Wars* against Britain (in 1839-42 and 1856-60) or the 1894-95 war against Japan.

The *British Empire*, which dominated the Western world for centuries, also experienced a steady decline starting from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century – accompanied by series of strikes during *The Great Unrest* 1910-14 or the *General Strike* in 1926, as well as numerous popular uprisings in the colonies like the *Indian Independence movement* (e.g., the *Salt March* of 1930, an armed uprising in 1942, mutiny in 1945), anti-colonial uprisings in Egypt (1919) and Iraq (1920-23) or the *Irish Uprising* in 1916. At the same time, British imperialism couldn’t impede the emergence of rivaling great powers (chiefly the US and Germany). So while its empire came to an end while it was on the victor’s side during the two world wars, in both cases it came out of these wars in a weaker position than it entered them and was finally replaced by the American Empire as the hegemonic imperialist power.



## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism

Introduction \* I . A New Political Phase Has Opened: The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class in the Era of Trumpism \* II. Some Theoretical Question about the New Political Phase \* III. The Great Power Rivalry and Its Consequences for World Politics \* IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution \* V. Class Struggle in the US after Trump’s Victory \* VI . The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class and the Resistance in Latin America \* VII. Imperialist Interference and the Struggle for Democracy in Sub-Sahara Africa \* VIII. Europe in the Era of Chauvinism, Militarization and Brexit \* IX. Russia: Victorious Outcome of NATO’s Cold War \* X. China: Strengthened as a Great Power but Before a Serious Recession \* XI. The Class Struggle in Asia \* XII. Perspectives for Building of the Revolutionary World Party Today  
\* Footnotes

Published as two special issues of RevCom with altogether 56 pages, A4 Format

### Final Remarks

To summarize, the Pentagon study reveals that the strategists of US imperialism are fully aware of the decline of the American Empire and the emergence of new rivals (China and Russia). They also recognize the fundamental crisis of world capitalism and the rising popular mistrust and opposition to “*traditional political authorities*” and, hence, that the world is increasingly replete with popular uprisings.

The authors of this study hope to reverse the US decline by expanding even more its military arsenal and by waging more wars against popular insurgencies, unruly small countries and Great Power rivals. They desire to counter the rising global hatred against the American Empire by manipulating the dissemination of information and control of the internet.

However, both a concrete analysis of the political and economic state of US imperialism as well as historic analogies teaches us that the American Empire is doomed. This empire is in the final period of its decadence and it is just a question of time before it will collapse (even if this might take years or even decades). The American Empire will not face a different fate than its Roman predecessor.

However, revolutionaries must assure that the imperialist order will not be replaced by barbarism and chaos, the result of a nuclear world war or ecological disaster, but by a world-wide socialist society where all wealth and resources will be carefully planned and utilized in the interest of humanity. This is our task and for this all authentic revolutionaries must organize and join forces!

#### Footnotes

(1) At Our Own Peril: DOD Risk Assessment In A Post-Primacy World, Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press, June 2017

(2) These include a Republican member of the US Senate, nearly all relevant army commands, the National

Intelligence Council, the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency, various imperialist think tanks (American Enterprise Institute, the Center for Strategic and International Studies [CSIS], RAND Corporation, and the Institute for the Study of War) and also unnamed “*foreign partner national security leaders and analysts*”.

(3) Besides various books, studies and articles on individual issues of the global class struggle, we refer readers to the RCIT’s World Perspective documents which we published during the past years:

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries (adopted on 18 December 2016), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/>

RCIT: World Perspectives 2016: Advancing Counterrevolution and Acceleration of Class Contradictions Mark the Opening of a New Political Phase. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries (January 2016), <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/>

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

RCIT: Escalation of Inner-Imperialist Rivalry Marks the Opening of a New Phase of World Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation (April 2014), in: Revolutionary Communism No. 22, pp. 36-49, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-april-2014/>;

RCIT: Aggravation of Contradictions, Deepening of Crisis of Leadership. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation Adopted by the RCIT’s International

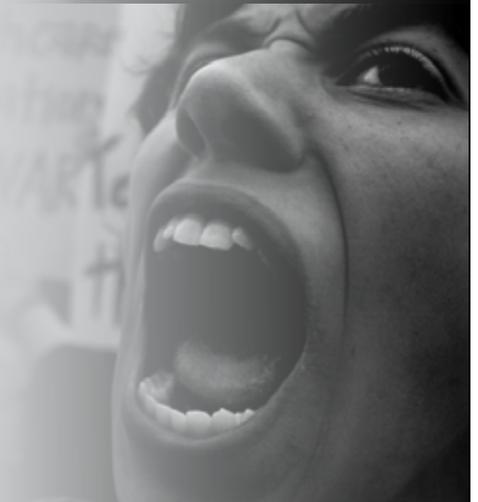
## Two Pamphlets on the EU and Brexit

\* **Marxism, European Union and Brexit**

\* **The British Left and the EU-Referendum**

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

Price for one pamphlet: 2 Pound (plus delivery charges)  
Order the pamphlet via our contact addresses



Executive Committee, 9.9.2013, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 15, pp.24-40, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-september2013/>;

RCIT: The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists. Theses of the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, March 2013, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 8, pp.33-42, [www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013)

(4) Nafeez Ahmed: Pentagon study declares American empire is 'collapsing', 2017-07-17, <https://medium.com/insurge-intelligence/pentagon-study-declares-american-empire-is-collapsing-746754cdaebf>

(5) Here, in his article, Nafeez Ahmed exaggerates somewhat and maintains that the Pentagon states not only that the global order is "collapsing," but in fact the American Empire is as well.

(6) For the RCIT's analysis of the historic periods, we refer readers to chapter 14(i) in our book 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, Vienna 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>

(7) For the RCIT analysis of the Arab Revolution in general and the Syrian Revolution in particular, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents which

can be accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. In particular we refer readers to the following documents:

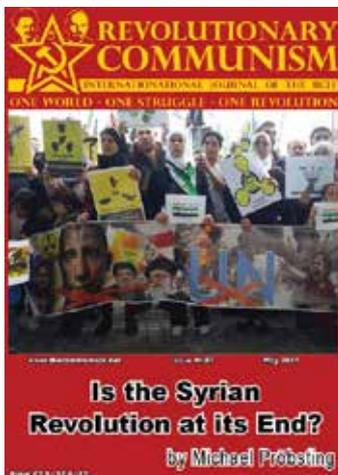
Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/>

Johannes Moraga: Syria: Was the Chemical Attack a "False Flag" Operation? Let's make Syria the graveyard for Assad, Putin and Trump! Victory to the Revolution! 14 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-false-flag/>

RCIT: Syria: No to Trump's Missiles Strike! Drive all Great Powers out of Syria! Victory to the Syrian Revolution! 7 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-air-strike-in-syria/>

RKO BEFREIUNG: Press Conference on Assad's Chemical Weapons Attack and the US Air Strike, Report (with video) on a press conference of the Syrian Community and the Austrian Section of the RCIT on 7 April 2017 in Vienna, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/press-conference-syria-7-4-2017/>

Yossi Schwartz: Raqqa: Defeat the US Imperialist



## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified?

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2017

*An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution*

**Introduction \* The Nature of the Local Coordination Councils in Syria \* The Contradictory Nature of the Petty-Bourgeois Rebel Factions \* A note on the adjectival juxtaposition of "progressive" to liberal democrats versus "reactionary" to Islamists \* Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham and Other Islamist Militias \* The Role of Religion in Democratic and National Liberation Struggles \* Some Arguments on the Ongoing Progressive Character of the Syrian Revolution \* Have the Rebels Become Agents of US Imperialism and Regional Powers? \* On Foreign Powers' Support for Liberation Movements p\* Lenin and Trotsky on Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference \* What Did Lenin and Trotsky Say about Getting Support from Imperialists? \* Imagining Two Different Scenarios of the Revolution's Success & Failure \* A Period of Defeats and Retreats: What Are the Reasons? \* Some Thoughts on the Future Prospects of the Arab Revolution \* The Urgent Need for a Revolutionary Party \* Footnotes**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

Offensive! An assessment of the US/SDF/YPG war against Daesh, April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-offensive-in-raqqa/>

RCIT: Down with the Assad Tyranny! Victory to the Syrian Revolution! For a Workers and Peasants Republic! Draft Platform of Syrian Revolutionaries in Political Solidarity with the RCIT, April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/draft-syria-platform/>

RCIT: Defeat the Imperialist Invasion in Syria – Victory to the Revolution! Down with the American and Russian interventions! No to the imperialist plan to divide Syria! Down with the butcher Assad and his imperialist allies! 13.03.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/imperialist-invasion-in-syria/>

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 18 December 2016, Chapter IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/>

[world-perspectives-2017/part-4/](https://www.thecommunists.net/world-perspectives-2017/part-4/)

RCIT: Revolution and Counterrevolution in the Arab World: An Acid Test for Revolutionaries, 31 May 2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-arab-revolution/>

For an analysis of the Egyptian coup of 2013, we refer readers to the numerous documents which can be accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. For a thorough analysis of the Egypt coup and the left, we refer readers in particular to: Michael Pröbsting: The Coup d'État in Egypt and the Bankruptcy of the Left's "Army Socialism". A Balance Sheet of the coup and another Reply to our Critics, 8.8.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/egypt-and-left-army-socialism/>.

(8) We have analyzed the economic decline of US imperialism extensively in our book *The Great Robbery of the South* as well as in the *World Perspective* documents mentioned above.

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



# 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!*

*No socialism without a revolution!*

*No revolution without a revolutionary party!*

