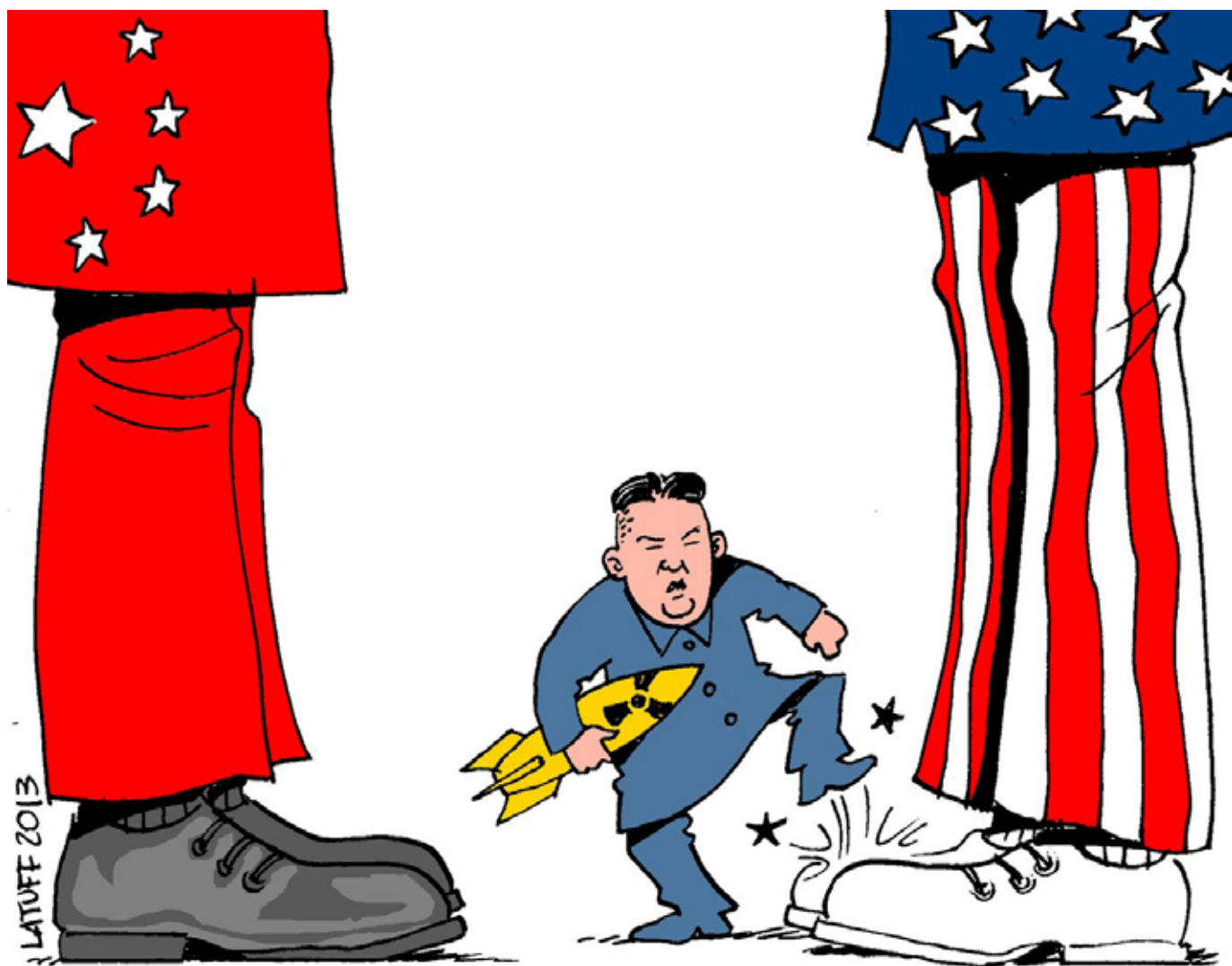




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Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Zambia, Kenya, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria. Furthermore, the RCIT has fraternal relations with the *Alkebulan School of Black Studies* (Kenya), the *Pacesetters Movement* (Nigeria), the *Pan-African Consciousness Renaissance* (Nigeria), *Courant des Jeunes Penseurs Congolais* (Democratic Republic of Congo), the *Marxist Group 'Class Politics'* (Russia) and *Sınıf Savaşı* (Turkey).

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Remember the Martyr Razan al-Najjar – the Heroic 21-year old Palestinian Nurse, Killed by an Israeli Sniper

A Tribute from the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 3 June 2018

On Friday 1 June, the Israeli army killed another unarmed Palestinian in Gaza. This time they murdered a young woman, Razan al-Najjar. Sister Razan, who wore a very visible medical uniform, was shot in the chest by a so-called "butterfly bullet", which explodes upon impact, pulverising tissue, arteries and bone, while causing severe internal injuries. She has become the latest martyr in the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people.

Sister Razan was a young volunteer medic who had become a familiar face at the Khan Younis encampment, one of five set up along the length of the fence east of the Gaza Strip. She was admired by the people for her selfless dedication to help others.

In an interview with Al Jazeera on April 20, Razan said that she felt it was her "duty and responsibility" to be present at the protests and help the wounded. "The Israeli army does intend to shoot as many as they can," she said at the time. "It's crazy and I'd be ashamed if I was not there for my people." (<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/meet-palestinian-women-forefront-gaza-protests-180419154907955.html>)

In another interview with *The New York Times* last month, Razan described the enthusiasm she had for the work she did. "We have one goal - to save lives and evacuate [wounded] people," she said. "We do this for our country," she continued, adding that it was humanitarian work.

Sister Razan challenged patriarchal stereotypes towards women working in the field, where she herself would put in 13 hour shifts, beginning from 7am until 8pm. "Women are often judged but society has to accept us," Razan said. "If they don't want to accept us by choice, they will be forced to accept us. Because we have more strength than any man." (<https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/middleeast/100000005932394/palestinian-medic-killed-at-gaza-protest.html>) And, indeed, she has demonstrated that women are no less dedicated to the freedom struggle than men and that they de-

serve an equal place in the liberation movement as well as the whole society!

Sister Razan has already become an icon not only in Palestine but the whole Arab and Muslim world. Her funeral on 2 June in Gaza was attended by thousands of people.

She became the 123th Palestinian to be killed by Israeli forces since 30 March – when the popular protests began calling for the Palestinians' right of return to the homes from which they were expelled from in 1948. More than 13,000 others have been wounded.

Brothers and sisters, we can revenge Israel's murder of our martyr Razan al-Najjar only by continuing and intensifying the struggle for the liberation of Palestine! Let us never forget:

Israel is a terror state! As long as this Apartheid state exists, there can be no justice and no peace!

All the Great Powers support Israel and its strangling of the Palestinian people!

Nearly all heads of the Arab and Muslim states don't raise a finger to help the Palestinians! In fact, without the aid of General Sisi's dictatorship in Egypt, Israel wouldn't be able to impose its barbaric blockade against the people in Gaza!

Likewise we must never forget that the corrupt PA leadership of Abbas collaborates since many years with the Israeli army and helps it to suppress the Palestinian resistance in the West Bank!

As revolutionaries, anti-imperialists, and socialists we in *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* remain committed to support the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people!

Break the blockade of Gaza!

Long live the Palestinian liberation struggle!

Down with Zionism!

For the right of all Palestinians to return to their home!

For a free, red Palestine! For a Socialist Federation in the Middle East!

Order RCIT Documents in Arab Language

The image is a collage of political posters and images. On the left, a poster with a red star and hammer/sword symbol, featuring portraits of Lenin and Stalin, with text in Arabic: "البيان الشيوعي الثوري" (The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto) and "الثورة والثورة المضادة في العالم العربي: اختبار للثوريين" (Revolution and counter-revolution in the Arab world: a test for revolutionaries). In the center, a woman in a black and white headscarf with a red sash. On the right, a poster for "AWRA ثورة" (Revolution) with a red star and the text "الحرية لنور المصباح" (Freedom is the light of the lamp). At the bottom, there are smaller images of a man and a woman.

Jordan: Mass Protest against IMF-imposed Austerity Package

For an indefinite General Strike to Bring Down the Government!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 04 June 2018

1. Jordan is hit by a wave of mass protests. In response to the reactionary austerity policy of the government of Prime Minister Hani Mulki, the trade unions called a general strike on 30 May. This strike was very successful with a massive participation of the workers and small business people. Since then, spontaneous protests take place on a daily basis – in Amman, the capital city, Ramtha, Maan as well as other cities.

2. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has put a stranglehold on Jordan, as it does with so many other countries of the semi-colonial world. Currently, Jordan's public debt is about 94% of GDP. Not satisfied with the millions of US-Dollars it already squeezed out of the Jordan, the IMF demands further attacks on the living conditions of the popular masses. Even now, unemployment, according to official estimations at 18.5%, and poverty are widespread.

3. Last month, the government proposed an income tax draft law, yet to be approved by parliament, aimed at raising taxes on employees by at least 5% and on companies by between 20% and 40%. The measures are the latest in a series of economic reforms since Amman secured a \$723m three-year credit line from the International Monetary Fund in 2016.

4. This shows once more the character of the IMF as an executive organ of the imperialist banks and corporations in West and East. It can not be reformed but must be smashed by an international revolution of the working class and the oppressed.

5. While Prime Minister Hani Mulki insists on enforcing the bill, many members of Jordan's parliament obviously fear the consequences of the protests. A majority of 78 out of parliament's 130 representatives are opposed to the income tax law. However, until now, King Abdullah II backs the government and calls on parliament to lead a "comprehensive and reasonable national dialogue" on the new tax law.

6. These are the most important protests in Jordan since years. The workers and poor are raising slogans not only demanding the withdrawal of the bill. They also call increasingly for the downfall of the government. They chant slogans like: "We are here until we bring the downfall of the bill... This government is shameful", "Our demands are legitimate. No, no to corruption", "The ones raising prices want to burn the country" and "This Jordan is our Jordan, Mulki should leave".

7. The importance of the latest wave of mass protests goes far beyond Jordan. The Kingdom is a key ally of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. Except Egypt, it is the only Arab country which officially recognizes Israel and entertains "normal" diplomatic relations with it. If the protests continue and escalate, they could open a pre-revolutionary situation. This could become an important factor to accelerate the sharp contradictions in the Middle East. As we have pointed out in numerous documents, the current situation in the region is characterized both by the una-

shamed aggression of the imperialist Great Powers (Russia against the Syrian people, the U.S. against Iran) and reactionary dictatorships (Assad in Syria, Sisi in Egypt, Khamenei/Rouhani in Iran, etc.) as well as important class struggles and liberation wars (Palestine, Syria, Yemen, Iran, Tunisia, etc.)

8. Socialists in Jordan must fight against any popular illusions in the king. Neither should they spread any trust in the trade union leadership. They should call for the formation of action committees in the workplaces, neighborhoods, schools and universities in order to organize the workers and oppressed. Such committees should organize the struggle and pressurize the trade unions not to give in. Socialists should call the trade unions and popular organizations to organize an indefinite general strike to stop the bill and to bring down the government.

9. Furthermore, socialists should explain that the mass protests in Jordan are part of a regional process of class struggles and liberation wars. They should call for active solidarity with the struggles of the brothers and sisters in Palestine, Syria, Yemen, Iran, etc. For an Intifada in the whole Middle East!

10. Most importantly, socialists need to advance the construction of a revolutionary party nationally and internationally. Only such a party can give the necessary leadership for those struggles. Only such a party can transmit the socialist program to the masses. It is therefore the central task of all consistent revolutionary forces to focus on building such a party. The RCIT urges all revolutionaries in Jordan to fight together for the founding of such a party.

** Victory to the Jordan masses! Down with the IMF-dictated rise of income taxes! Down with the government of Prime Minister Hani Mulki!*

** Organize an indefinite general strike! For the formation of action committees in the workplaces, neighborhoods, schools and universities!*

** For a workers and poor peasants government!*

** Link the mass protests in Jordan with the popular struggle in Palestine, Syria, Yemen, Iran, etc. For an Intifada in the whole Middle East!*

Bureau of the RCIT's International Secretariat

Many more articles on the Middle East can be read on our articles on our website at: <https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/africa-and-middle-east/>

Our latest general analysis of the situation in the Middle East is summarized in Chapter V of Michael Pröbsting's recently published book: *World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, February 2018*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>.

Denounce the US terror listing of Syria's Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham!

**The Trump Administration delivers another blow to the Syrian Revolution.
Continue the Solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Syrian people!**

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 03.06.2018

1. On May 31, the Trump Administration has officially designated the Syrian anti-regime resistance movement *Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham* (HTS) as a “terrorist organization” and an “al-Qa’ida affiliate”. (1) This decision provides the legal framework to launch all kinds of attacks against HTS as well as people and organizations associated with it. In a statement published on the next day, HTS rejected Washington’s accusations and denounced its decision. (2)

2. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) strongly condemns the decision of the Trump Administration. It is nothing but another attack of U.S. imperialism against the Syrian Revolution – not the first and certainly not the last. As a matter of fact, there has been a public rupture between the HTS leadership and the al-Qaida long ago (3). As a matter of fact HTS has not undertaken a single armed attack outside of Syria – even the fanatical Assad supporters or the Western Islamophobic hypocrites have not made such allegations against HTS until now!

3. The reasons for Washington’s decision are rather the following:

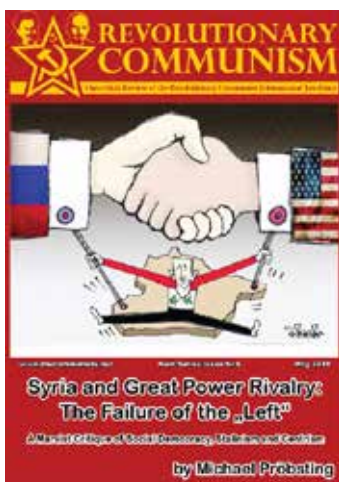
i. HTS is the strongest and most significant guerilla movement which is determined to continue the liberation struggle against the Assad regime and its Russian and Iranian masters.

ii. In opposite to a number of pro-Turkish FSA factions, HTS has not participated in the treacherous Astana talks and has always denounced those rebel factions which supported this process. As the RCIT has pointed

out repeatedly, the Astana talks – organized by Russia, Iran and Turkey and supported by the Assad regime and treacherous parts of the rebel’s leadership – are a process to organize the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution. (4)

iii. The Trump Administration has intensified the U.S. strategy, which already begun under the Obama Administration, to support the liquidation of the Syrian Revolution. Hence the conflict in Syria becomes more and more a proxy conflict between different forces struggling for spheres of influence. These forces are under the command of or allied to Russia and Iran (the Assad regime and various affiliated militias), Turkey (various factions integrated into or allied with the Euphrates Shield forces) or the U.S. (the mainly-Kurdish SDF/YPG). The HTS is the last significant force with more than 10,000 fighters and a significant political-civilian infrastructure (the “*Syrian Salvation Government*”) which is independent of these powers and which is committed to continue the liberation struggle against the Assad regime.

4. These developments can only be understood in the context of the general contradictory process in the Middle East, as we have pointed out in a recently published joint statement. This process is characterized, against the backdrop of the decline of capitalism, by an acceleration of the rivalry between various imperialist Great Powers (U.S. and Russia) as well as regional powers (Israel, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia). At the same time, the situation in the Middle East is characterized by ongoing liberation struggles of the oppressed people like in Syria, Palestine,



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2018

*The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation
of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia –
A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism*

**Introduction * The liberation struggle of the Syrian people against Assad retains its just character *
Against all imperialist aggressors! * Old and new Great Powers * The Ex-Stalinist turned social democrats:
“God save the United Nations” * The Stalinists (and some caricatures in Trotskyist camouflage):
social-imperialist servants of Assad and Putin * The Morenoite LIT, UIT and FLTI: the heart on the right
place but not their brains * CWI and FT: failure to understand the imperialist nature of China and Russia *
CWI / SWP(UK) / FT: refusing to support the Syrian Revolution * Conclusion * Footnotes**

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

Yemen, etc. (5)

5. Our defense of HTS against the terror listing is based on similar reasons as we oppose the terror listing of organizations like the Palestinian Hamas or the PFLP. We do not share the ideology or the political goals of HTS. It is a petty-bourgeois Islamist organization with a sectarian Salafist outlook. The Syrian Revolution can not succeed with forces like HTS. Victory can only be achieved if the liberation struggle is led by a revolutionary workers party based on a program of socialist evolution is necessary.

6. However, such a revolutionary party does not exist at the moment – in fact the outrageous support of the so-called “Communist” Parties in Syria, as well as many other Stalinist and Bolivarian parties world-wide, for the Assad regime have discredited socialist ideas massively. HTS currently represents the most significant force which is continuing the liberation struggle. This is why all powers – Russia, Iran, Assad, U.S. and Turkey – are determined to smash HTS or to force it into capitulation. In addition to regularly airstrikes and ground assaults by Russia and the regime forces, HTS and its allies suffer since several months from a coordinated campaign of attacks and assassinations from within the rebel-controlled North of Syria. These coward attacks are most likely organized by the Turkish MIT and its Syrian collaborators among the Euphrates Shield forces. As a result, HTS lost several hundred fighters and leaders since February this year. In fact, the massive pressure by these powers has resulted in massive tensions and splits in HTS and the creation of a wing which seems to be ready to capitulate to the Turkish occupation forces. If the imperialists and the regional powers succeed in smashing HTS or forcing it into capitulation, it would most likely represent the liquidation of the last obstacle for a counter-revolutionary settlement in Syria.

7. This is why it is important for all socialists and all supporters of the Syrian Revolution to oppose the US terror listing of HTS. This is why it is necessary to continue the support for the liberation struggle of the Syrian workers and poor peasants against the Assad regime. This is why it crucial to strengthen the international solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed people against imperialism, dictatorships and foreign occupation in the Middle

East and around the world. This is why the RCIT calls all authentic revolutionaries to join us in our efforts to build a Revolutionary World Party! (6)

International Secretariat of the RCIT

Footnotes

(1) U.S. Department of State: Amendments to the Terrorist Designations of al-Nusrah Front, Media Note, Office of the Spokesperson, Washington, DC, May 31, 2018, <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2018/05/282880.htm#.WxB2IEv4KuA.twitter>

(2) HTS responds to US designations as terrorist group, Nedaa Syria 1 Jun, 2018, <http://nedaa-sy.com/en/news/6464>

(3) There are numerous sources which document this rupture. We have collected a number of them in footnote 9 in Michael Pröbsting: Syria/Idlib: The Attack of the Astana Conspirators could be repelled thus far, 05.03.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-idlib-the-attack-of-the-astana-conspirators-could-be-repelled-thus-far/>. Anyway, even if such a rupture between HTS and al-Qaida would not have occurred we would oppose the aggression of US imperialism. Albeit we denounce al-Qaida as a politically reactionary organization, there can be no doubt that it is the imperialist Great Powers which are the main enemies of the oppressed people.

(4) See on this various statements which are collected in a special section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>. In particular we refer to 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/> and chapter V of Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, February 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/worldperspectives-2018/chapter-v/>.

(5) See Warmongering in the Middle East: Down with all Imperialist Great Powers and Capitalist Dictatorships! Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), Alkebulan School of Black Studies (Kenya), Pacesetters Movement (Nigeria), Pan-Afrikan Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria), Marxist Group ‘Class Politics’ (Russia), and Sınıf Savaşı (Turkey), 13 May 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-warmongering-in-the-middle-east/>

(6) See on this e.g. RCIT: Six Points for a Platform of Revolutionary Unity Today”; <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/may-day-2018-joint-statement/>

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Has the Trump-Kim Summit Opened the Road to Peace in East Asia?

End the imperialist sanctions against North Korea! Drive the U.S. Military out of the Korean Peninsula! No to the Stalinist-Capitalist Regime of Kim Jong-un!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 14.06.2018

1. The Singapore summit of U.S. President Donald Trump and North Korea's head of state Kim Jong-un has been an extraordinarily hyped event in Western and Korean media. Several thousand journalists assembled to report about the meeting of "the two (!) dictators" (as a host of the ultra-conservative U.S. *Fox News* remarked and later apologized for this). The summit resulted in a joint statement which announced that both sides "commit to establish new U.S.-DPRK relations", that they "will join their efforts to build a lasting and stable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula", that "the DPRK commits to work towards complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula", and that both sides "commit to recovering POW/MIA remains" (from the Korean War in 1950-53). (Trump and Kim's joint statement, June 12, 2018, Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-usa-agreement-text/trump-and-kims-joint-statement-idUSKBN1J80IU>) Furthermore, Trump announced in a press conference after the summit that the U.S. would halt its "tremendously expensive" annual war games on the peninsula, which he said were "provocative" for North Korea. Trump also said that North Korea had agreed to destroy a missile-engine test site (which has not been confirmed by North Korea until now). North Korea's official news agency KCNA announced that the U.S. President had agreed to lift sanctions against the North (which has not been confirmed by the U.S. until now). Finally, Trump and Kim invited each other to visit the United States and North Korea, respectively, and both accepted the invitation.

2. Unsurprisingly, the outcome of the summit was hailed as a "tremendous success" both by Trump and his hardened right-wing supporters as well as by North Korea's state media. KCNA described the summit as the "meeting of the century" which "epoch-making" talks would bring an end to "extreme, hostile relations" between the countries. Trump was also full of praise – in particular of himself and his expertise in "deal making". He said the meeting with Kim went "better than anybody could have expected", that he and Kim have developed "a very special bond" and that he learned that Kim is a "talented man" who "loves his country very much". The White House also published a bizarre four minute video trailer about the summit which, as a mixture of Hollywood and simple propaganda techniques, praised Trump and Kim as "two men, two leaders, one destiny"! (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QVVFARIR0Tc>)

3. The reaction from the rest of the world has been more sober. Many note with relief that the U.S. has stepped back from its policy of aggressive warmongering against North Korea, at least for now. This is particularly the case for China, Russia and South Korea which have no interest in military tensions in their close proximity. However, many politicians and experts agree that the joint statement is very algebraic, without specific measures and without

a timetable. It is open for different interpretations. Take for example the phrase "denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula". While the U.S. Administration understands this as a unilateral "complete, verifiable, irreversible disarmament" of Pyongyang, North Korea understands this rather as including the end of the U.S. "nuclear umbrella" over South Korea and Japan and a removal of U.S. troops from South Korea. Numerous prominent U.S. politicians both from the Republican as well as the Democrat Party expressed caution and fear that Trump might make too many concessions. Japan, the most important ally of the US in Asia, has expressed its reservations about the suspension of the annual war games.

4. Naturally, it is not possible to predict the exact nature of further negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea. What can be said for now is that Kim Jong-un certainly benefits in the short term more from the summit than the old man with the orange hair. Given the international isolation of the regime and given the fact that the country is one of the poorest in the world, it has been already an achievement to receive diplomatic recognition from the biggest global power and arch-enemy No.1. Furthermore the regime had not to give any other concession than repeating the traditional algebraic formula "to work towards complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula". Trump's announcement to suspend the annual war games is also a plus on the side of Pyongyang.

5. Naturally, each of these results can be revoked at any time – particularly if your counterpart goes by the name Donald Trump. However, a renewed policy of militarist aggression by U.S. imperialism against North Korea would now have to be paid by higher political costs than before. Furthermore, and much more important for Pyongyang, it will be now easier for North Korea to overcome its relative international isolation and to revitalize its political and economic relations with other countries. As we reported somewhere else, the regime has already made clear that modernizing its economy and expanding its trade and foreign investments with South Korea, China and Russia is a top priority. South Korea's monopoly capitalists, organized in the *Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry*, already stated hours after the summit ended that they "fully prepare for a new age of economic cooperation between North and South Korea."

6. As the summit will result in a reduction of the military tensions on the Korean Peninsula, at least in the short term, we can say that China is the second winner of this event. China's relationship with North Korea has never been without frictions. While the country on the Korean Peninsula is certainly the weaker part in the relationship, it would be wrong to view Pyongyang simply as a subordinated lackey of Beijing. China's ruling class opposes the desire of the Kim regime to build an arsenal

of nuclear weapons as it would make Pyongyang more independent. Beijing rather wants the country as a stable but subordinated puffer state at its eastern borders. Neither does it want to give US imperialism an additional pretext for warmongering in its close proximity. For all these reasons Beijing tactically supported the UN sanctions against North Korea.

7. Nevertheless, North Korea has been and remains strategically an ally of Chinese imperialism. In fact, China's alliance with the regime in Pyongyang, reinforced by the two meetings of Kim Jong-un with President Xi Jinping since March, gave North Korea sufficient diplomatic strength in order to withstand Washington's pressure. In other word, we think that the Singapore summit is another example confirming the RCIT's analysis of the world political situation. It demonstrates once more China's rise as an imperialist Great Power and, at the same time, the decline of US imperialism.

8. Why did U.S. President Trump agree to hold the summit and to sign its final communiqué (after he temporarily cancelled the summit on 24 May)? The main reason is, in our opinion, to be found in the increasing political weakness and isolation of the Trump Administration both domestically as well as on the international stage. Domestically Trump is despised by the majority of the working people as well as of the middle class and the bourgeoisie. In addition, he faces the Special Counsel investigation by former FBI Director Robert Mueller. This investigation is proceeding despite all maneuvers of Trump and seems to bring to light numerous highly embarrassing and criminal activities of the U.S. President and his inner circle. On the field of foreign policy, the Trump Administration basically ruptures relations not only with its most important imperialist rivals, China and Russia, but also with its Western European allies and even with Canada and Mexico. The U.S. President is threatening trade war against nearly everyone. Outside of the small circles of fanatical Zionists and cronies of Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince bin Salman, very few do not despise the dump geriatric in the White House. Under these circumstances, Trump desperately needs some kind of political success. Proclaiming diplomatic success on the Korean Peninsula and having a big photo op in Singapore has been one of the very few options.

9. What are the political consequences of the summit? Has it opened the road to peace in East Asia? The answer to this is simply "No". Of course, in the short term it is likely that the massive military tensions, which dominated the Korean Peninsula some months ago, will be reduced. As we said before, the Trump Administration is desperately looking for some kind of political success. This is even more so as the 2018 midterm elections for the Senate and House will take place on 6 November, for which the primaries have already begun. If the Republicans lose their majority in both Houses, life will become even more difficult for the Trump Administration. Another factor shaping Washington's foreign policy towards Pyongyang is the acceleration of the US warmongering against Iran. The threat of another big war in the Middle East limits Washington's desire to risk simultaneously a second war in East Asia.

10. However, the fundamental factors which have provoked the political and military crisis on the Korean

Peninsula have not disappeared and cannot disappear. These factors are first and foremost the accelerating rivalry between the two biggest imperialist Great Powers, US and China, with Russia and Japan also playing a role. We have already seen in the past weeks an acceleration of tensions between Washington and Beijing both about trade as well as about control of the South China Sea. As soon as the sanction regime against North Korea softens, Pyongyang will intensify its foreign trade relations and it is most likely that it will be rather Beijing, Seoul and Moscow which will benefit from this and not Washington.

11. Other factors influencing the developments on the Korean Peninsula are:

* The interest of South Korea's monopoly bourgeoisie to get better access to the North Korean labor and consumer market;

* The interest of imperialist Russia to intensify its economic relations with both Korean states and not to lose out in terms of regional influence in East Asia.

12. In conclusion, we think that in the short term the relations between the US and North Korea will be strongly influenced by Trump's narrow domestic political calculations, i.e. his desperate need for some kind of political success. In the longer run, we think that the imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and China will be the central axis determining the developments on the Korean Peninsula. Given the decline of capitalism and the general aggravation of global tensions between the Great Powers, the rivalry between Washington and Beijing will inevitable accelerate. Therefore, we consider a peaceful development for the Korean Peninsula as impossible.

13. Another important consequence of the summit could be an acceleration of the process of capitalist restoration in North Korea. As the RCIT has elaborated somewhere else, North Korea is currently experiencing a thoroughly reactionary social transformation. It is a former Stalinist workers state with a bureaucratic dictatorship, which has undergone in the past years a process of capitalist restoration transforming the country into a capitalist semi-colony. The ruling elite – led by a kind of monarchic rule of the Kim family dynasty since its foundation – has transformed into a Stalinist-Capitalist ruling class. Under such conditions, it is crucial for the regime to revitalize its economy by intensifying foreign trade and investment so that it can consolidate the capitalist production relations and increase the surplus value production.

14. The RCIT repeats its categorical rejection of the imperialists' demand to denuclearize North Korea. We have always pointed out that such a demand is nothing but reactionary hypocrisy. According to the 2017 issue of the SIPRI Yearbook, the U.S. is – together with Russia – the world's biggest nuclear power with a war head inventory of 6,800. North Korea possesses, at maximum, 10-20 war heads! Furthermore, it is the U.S. and not North Korea which is regularly waging wars in other countries – most recently in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. Finally, while North Korea is no threat to the US, tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers and modern weapon system are stationed on the Korean Peninsula. We therefore strongly defend the right of North Korea to possess nuclear weapons, irrespective of our political opposition to its regime. Such weapons are a means to defend itself against the aggression of imperialist powers. The fact, that Washington has been forced

to start such negotiations with the Kim regime is a result of the latter possession of such weapons. Would Iran also have nuclear weapons, US and Israeli imperialism might be more careful in their policy of warmongering.

15. Faced with these developments, the RCIT confirms its revolutionary program for the Korean Peninsula.

* *End the imperialist sanctions against North Korea now!*

* *Dissolution of the U.S. military bases in South Korea and withdrawal of 28,500 US soldiers stationed there! No deployment of the THAAD missile defense system in South Korea!*

* *For demonstrations and strikes against all forms of imperialist aggression!*

* *Defend the right of North Korea to possess nuclear weapons!*

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

* *No to Chinese and Russian imperialism!*

* *For class struggle against exploitation and oppression in both Koreas! Down with the imperialist ruling class in South Korea! Down with the Stalinist-Capitalist ruling class in North Korea!*

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

* *Build a Revolutionary Workers Party as part of a Revolutionary World Party! Unite the Korean revolutionaries now on the basis of a Marxist program! Join the RCIT!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

* * * * *

See also the RCIT's past documents on the Korean Peninsula:

Michael Pröbsting: *Again on Capitalist Restoration in North Korea*, 12 June 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/>

[asia/again-on-capitalist-restoration-in-north-korea/](https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/)

Michael Pröbsting: *World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings*. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, RCIT Books, Vienna 2018, Chapter VI, pp. 95-105, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>

RCIT: *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!* 11 August 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/stop-usmadman-threatening-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/ussanctions-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/>

Michael Pröbsting: *US Aggression against North Korea: The CWI's "Socialist" Pacifism. Hippie Day-Dreaming is an Impotent Tool in the Struggle against Imperialist War! Authentic Socialists say: Defend North Korea! Defeat US Imperialism!* 12.09.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/cwi-and-north-korea/>

On the RCIT's analysis of China as an imperialist power see the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018 - A World Pregnant With Wars And Popular Uprisings

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – WORLD PERSPECTIVES 2018: A WORLD PREGNANT WITH WARS AND POPULAR UPRISINGS. The book's subtitle is: Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries.

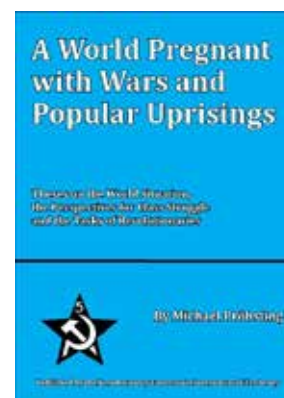
This book is a major contribution of our organization to keep the Marxists' analysis of the world situation and its accelerating contradictions updated. As we emphasize in the document, we consider it as crucial for revolutionaries to understand the nature and the inner dynamics of the current historic period. Without such an understanding it is impossible for socialists, indeed for all liberation fighters, to possess the necessary political compass on which they can base their program, strategy and tactics.

Since several years does the RCIT publish annual studies on the world situation in which it analysis its most important developments and changes. This book updates the Marxist analysis of the state of the world economy, of the relations between the Great Powers, of the struggle between the classes and the tactics of revolutionaries. We also deal in depth with new issues respectively extend our theoretical analysis on several questions. In particular we have deepened in this book,

among others, our understanding of the nature respectively the transitional character of the present world political phase, of the nature of different types of wars and the tactical conclusions arriving from this, of the complex nature of the conflicts in the Middle East, of the capitalist restoration in North Korea and, finally, we have elaborated a new proposal for an international platform for the unification of revolutionary forces in the present phase.

The book contains a preface, introduction and seven eight chapters plus an appendix (118 pages) and includes 23 figures, 9 tables and 2 maps. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>



Again on Capitalist Restoration in North Korea

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 12 June 2018

In our recently published book *“World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings”*, we have dedicated a chapter on the political and economic developments on the Korean Peninsula. Therein we have outlined the background of the imperialist aggression against North Korea and the necessity for Marxists to take a position of revolutionary defensism in order to defeat the U.S. and its allies.¹

In addition to elaborating on the character of South Korea as an imperialist state, we focused our analysis on the ongoing transformation of North Korea from a Stalinist planned economy into a capitalist semi-colony. We have explained, based on a Marxist analysis of political and economic developments in the past years, that the Rubicon to capitalist restoration in North Korea has been crossed and that it is not justified to view this country any longer as a workers state whatsoever.

Of course, our analysis that North Korea has become capitalist does not alter our defense of it against its imperialist enemies. However, it is crucial to have a correct assessment of the character of the Kim Jong-un regime in order to assess the inner laws of its development as well as its inner contradictions.

A Brief Summary of the RCIT's Analysis

In our analysis provided in the above mentioned book, the RCIT has concluded that North Korea's Stalinist regime has transformed in the past years from a bureaucratic caste into a ruling class. We have elaborated somewhere else the criteria which reflect if such a transformation takes place: *“When can we state that such a capitalist restoration has taken place? The answer is: when a Stalinist bureaucratic workers' government is replaced by or transforms itself into a bourgeois restorationist government. Such a bourgeois restorationist government is one which is firmly resolved, both in words and deeds, to reestablish a capitalist mode of production, i.e., to move decisively against planned property relations in favor of creating a capitalist economy based on the law of value.”*²

North Korea's new ruling class is certainly not without inner contradictions. It is fair to say that this class consists – as it has been the case in China and Vietnam – of both party functionaries related to the “old” sectors of the planned economy as well as those who are closely connected or partly even identical with the new layer of *Donju*, i.e. “red capitalists”.

This capitalist transformation has manifested itself, among others, in a massive expansion of the private market sector. The regime promotes the creation of such private markets and, as a result, the number of government-approved markets in North Korea has doubled to 440 since 2010. According to a recent assessment of Lee Byung-ho, director of South Korea's intelligence service, at least 40% percent of the population in North Korea is now engaged in some form of private enterprise.³ There is some estimation that the private sector now accounts for up to half of GDP.

This does not mean that the process of capitalist restoration has been completed. In fact, such a process usually

takes a number of years as we have seen in other countries after 1989-91. However, as we already said, the Rubicon has been crossed. As a result of this process the task of the North Korean working class has changed – similar to China and Vietnam: on the table is no longer a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy but a social revolution against the ruling Stalinist-Donju Class.

In this article we do not intend to repeat the RCIT's analysis provided in the book. We rather want to provide our readers with some additional information which has become public in the most recent past. The large interest in North Korea has resulted in the publication of several studies and articles on its social and economic developments which, in our view, fully confirm our analysis. As we will demonstrate below they provide strong evidence for our assessment that the process of capitalist restoration has accelerated since Kim Jong-un took power in 2011.

“A Market Economy with a Huge State Sector”

Various economists who have studied the transformation of North Korea's economy in the last years have arrived to the conclusion that the regime has developed into a market economy with a significant state sector. Andrei Lankov, a North Korea expert at Seoul's Kookmin University and director of the Korea Risk Group and to whom we already referred to in our past analysis, stated in a recently published article: *“A Stalinist state is about central control, a highly centralized command economy. They don't have that any more, they have lost the command economy.”*⁴

On another occasion, Lankov concluded: *“They are going seriously capitalist”*. He also called Kim Jong Un the most pro-market leader North Korea has ever had.⁵

Obviously, the regime in Pyongyang is following China's model of shifting from a planned economy to a market economy because it was combined with keeping the continuity of the ruling elite.

Since the regime started its economic reforms in 2011 important changes have taken place which advanced the implementation of the capitalist law of value. An article published by Bloomberg reports that these reforms allow *“factory managers to set salaries, find their own suppliers, and hire and fire employees. Farming collectives have been replaced by a family-based management system, which has led to far greater harvests. The government has even come to tolerate private enterprise on a limited basis. (...) Although the government denies having abandoned the old socialist system, the evidence is undeniable: By some estimates, the private sector now accounts for up to half of GDP.”*⁶

Andray Abrahamian, another economist who has taught business skills extensively to North Koreans under the aegis of Singaporean NGO Chosun Exchange, arrives to the same conclusion: *“It is a mixed economy that has transitioned very far from the command economy it once was. It's better to think of it as a market economy with a huge state sector that is in some ways integrated into that economy and in some ways separate. So, large state-owned enterprises have to use market principles to survive and thrive, by and large. But also much*

smaller enterprises get created and also compete. Awkwardly, they don't really recognize private ownership yet, so much happens in a grey area."⁷

Another example of the regime's conscious pro-capitalist policy is the so-called *Chosun Exchange*. This is a project - "Chosun" is a native Korean word for Korea - which teaches North Koreans the basis of "entrepreneurialism", i.e. the training of future capitalists and managers. It has been in operation for 11 years. According to a report, this organization has partnered with hundreds of foreign professionals to train thousands of business-minded individuals in North Korea. The NGO's operations focus on business, finance, law, and economic policy.⁸

As we pointed out in our analysis, the new capitalist class of *Donju* is closely intertwined with the ruling bureaucracy. Many of them engage in public-private partnership projects. A famous example of them is Ri Sol-ju, Kim Jong-un's wife. It is no surprise that many of Kim's flagship economic projects are such playgrounds for the wealthy such as ski and beachfront resorts.

Daniel Pinkston, an international relations expert with Troy University in Seoul, reports: "The interesting aspect of the political economy is that regime loyalists are granted property rights to engage in market activities. Whoever has the mobile phone business, or the used car smuggling business, controls that and gets revenues, and the state can control those property rights."⁹

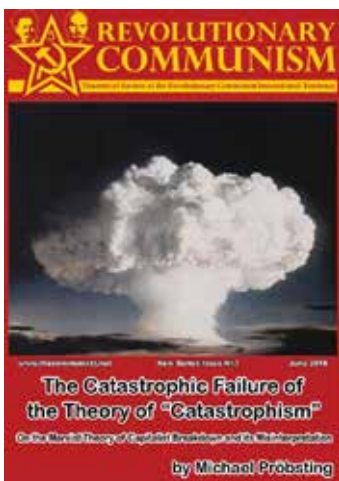
Another indication of the advance of capitalist restoration is the successful monetary reform. Professor Steve Hanke from the Johns Hopkins University recently published an article in *Forbes*, one of the most prominent U.S. business

magazines, in which he showed that Kim Jong-un overcame the problem of hyperinflation which plagued North Korea in the late 2000s. The country's hyperinflation peaked in early March 2010, when the monthly inflation rate reached 926%. However, the regime succeeded in removing its economic problems by a policy of "spontaneous 'dollarization' and 'privatization'", as Hanke terms it. As a result, the Chinese yuan and the US Dollar today play a significant role in the huge currency black-market where they can be exchanged at stable rates with the North Korean won.

"Kim Jong-un's approaches of spontaneous "dollarization" and "privatization" has worked much better than the press and experts in international affairs would have us believe. Just look at the KPW/USD exchange-rate chart below. The most important free-market price in North Korea has been very stable since 2012. Rice prices have also been stable since 2012. This suggests that the specter of inflation doesn't appear to be haunting over the North Korea."¹⁰

Another recently published study on North Korea arrived to the same conclusion: "The informal exchange rate for the won has been remarkably stable since 2013, following a period of hyperinflation in the aftermath of the 2009 currency revaluation."¹¹

As a result, the regime of Kim Jong-un has been able, despite the sanctions, to initiate a period of growth since 2011. According to the latest estimates released by the Central Bank of Korea in the South, which tracks North Korea's economic activities, North Korea's GDP has been projected to have expanded (albeit at a low rate) every year with the exception of 2015.¹²



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Catastrophic Failure of the Theory of "Catastrophism"

By Michael Pröbsting, May 2018

On the Marxist Theory of Capitalist Breakdown and its Misinterpretation

by the Partido Obrero (Argentina) and its

"Coordinating Committee for the Refoundation of the Fourth International"

Introduction * A Note on the PO's term "Catastrophism" * What did the Marxist Classics Say? A Brief Overview * Empirical Evidence for the Long-Term Decline of Capitalism * What will come after Capitalism? * Epoch and Periods * The Current Historical Period which Opened in 2008/09 * Empirical Evidence for the Decay of Capitalism in the Present Historic Period * The Dialectical and the Mechanistic Interpretation of Cycles on Capitalism * Permanent Collapse? No, there is Collapse and Collapse * Consequences of "Catastrophism" (I): Confusion on Capitalist Restoration * Consequences of "Catastrophism" (II): Confusion on China and Russia as Capitalist Powers * Excuse: The Theory of "Long Waves" and Dialectical Materialism * From Economic Crisis to Revolutionary Situation? * Can the Crisis of Leadership be Solved without an International Democratic-Centralist Organization? * Conclusions * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 32 pages, A4 Format

Who will become the new Imperialist Master?

Related to this pro-market policy is the substantial growth of foreign trade since 2011. At least until the recently imposed harsh sanctions, foreign trade accounted for almost half of the annual output measured as GDP.¹³

In the last decade China has become North Korea's most important trade partner. China now represents more than 90% of Pyongyang's trade.

As we have stated in our analysis of North Korea's capitalist restoration, the country has no chance of playing a dominant role given its small and backward economy. Rather, it is becoming a capitalist semi-colony. As such it is going to be dominated by other, imperialist powers. The question is which ones?

Obviously South Korea, an imperialist state itself, will play an important role.¹⁴ Already in the past, Seoul has fostered close economic relations. Indeed, there are strong factors which could enhance such a development. Given the cultural and language proximity, South Korea's *chaebols* – as the big corporations of the country are called – would welcome the opportunity to super-exploit the extremely cheap labor force in the North. They already did so in the past when the two countries ran the joint inter-Korean Kaesong Industrial Complex – a factory park in the North's border city of Kaesong. While it was shut down in early 2016 in the wake of missile and nuclear tests, it gave South Koreans monopoly capital a taste of the advantages of investing in the North. Just compare this: the average monthly wage paid to a North Korean worker was \$169. A minimum wage worker in the South earns nearly 10 times that, at about \$1,470 a month, working a 40-hour week.¹⁵

Furthermore North Korea has a vast amount of mineral resources which the *chaebols* would like to exploit. Since North Korea does not disclose the details of its natural resources, it is difficult to come up with an estimate of potential value. However, one estimate by the Korea Resources Corporation in the South puts it at more than \$3 trillion. In addition, North Korea is known to have a big reserve of rare earth metals, essential materials in producing digital devices such as smartphones. In contrast, while South Korea is the fifth largest consumer of minerals in the world, the country is poorly endowed with natural resources and has to rely on 90% of the mineral resources it consumes from foreign imports.¹⁶ Unsurprisingly, the South Korean government has already earmarked roughly \$1bn for an inter-Korean economic cooperation fund.

The advantageous Position of Chinese Imperialism

However, South Korea is certainly not the only imperialist power to play a hegemonic role in North Korea. China is a much stronger imperialist power than South Korea.¹⁷ It is furthermore much better positioned as a future master of North Korea than the U.S. due to geographic, political and historic reasons. U.S. has a long history as an imperialist aggressor against the Korean people. China, on the other hand, helped the Korean people to defend themselves in the 1950-53 war and has sided with it since then.

Naturally, this will not stop the U.S. to try taking advantage of the capitalist restoration of North Korea. But we are rather skeptical that the American monopoly capitalists will succeed to play a dominant role.¹⁸

In contrast, China as a rising imperialist power can offer North Korea integration into its ambitious global economic initiative – the so-called *Belt and Road Initiative*. This is an infrastructure project which spans over 60 countries and will cost over a trillion US Dollar.¹⁹ Jeon Kyong-man, an economist at the Institute for Korean Integration of Society, therefore could be quiet right when he points out that after the hype of the Trump Kim summit, Pyongyang's focus could turn not to Washington but rather Beijing: "*Kim is talking to Trump because he needs to get the United States to back off sanctions. After that, headlines will be all about Kim and Xi Jinping.*"²⁰

Kim Jong-un has already made two visits to meet Xi since March, while a high-level delegation from his ruling Workers' Party toured China's industrial hubs in an 11-day visit in May that focused on China's high-tech urban transport and latest scientific breakthroughs.

Zhang Anyuan, chief economist at Dongxing Securities in Beijing, points out China's advantageous position compared with its imperialist rivals: "*Taking into consideration geographic location, economic system, market size, economic development stage, China-North Korean economic cooperation has advantages that are irreplaceable and hard to replicate.*"²¹

Finally, imperialist Russia also hopes to gain from the political developments on the Korean Peninsula. It had already reached agreement with South Korea in 2008 on a \$100bn deal to supply annually 7.5 million tones of Russian natural gas starting via a pipeline to be built via North Korea. While this project was placed on hold in the wake of souring inter-Korean relations in the past years, the Putin government intends to revive this project.

In short, several imperialist powers – the U.S., China, Russia and South Korea – hope to utilize the capitalist restoration in North Korea for their advantage. However, one important actor has not spoken yet – the working class of North Korea which has a strong and battle-hardened ally among their brothers and sisters in the South!

It is the working class which we suffers most from the consequences of capitalist restoration. It will not silently put up with a hire and fire regime and super-exploitation. Neither will it put up with arrogant foreign capitalists and managers. Hence, the process of capitalist restoration will be a very rocky one for the Kim Jong-un regime and its cronies!

Footnotes

1 See chapter VI in Michael Pröbsting: *World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2018, pp. 95-105, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>

2 Michael Pröbsting: *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism*, August 2013, p. 54, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/cuba-s-revolution-sold-out/>

3 Choe Sang-Hun: *As Economy Grows, North Korea's Grip on Society Is Tested*, *The New York Times*, April 30, 2017 <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/30/world/asia/north-korea-economy-marketplace.html>

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8 Asia Times staff and Nile Bowie: Singaporean NGO shapes North Korea entrepreneurs, June 8, 2018 6 <http://www.atimes.com/article/the-singaporean-ngo-that-shapes-north-korean-entrepreneurs/>

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10 Steve Hanke: North Korea’s Economic Crisis -- What Crisis? Forbes, 24 April 2018 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stevehanke/2018/04/24/north-koreas-economic-crisis-what-crisis/2/#520e3054a13d>

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12 Musun Kim: Is North Korea’s economy coming out of the cold? Al Jazeera, 2018-06-07 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/north-korea-economy-coming-cold-180607194512806.html>

13 Yoon Young-kwan: Getting to Yes with Kim Jong-un, 10 June 2018, Project Syndicate, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/kim-trump-singapore-summit-recipe-by-yoon-young-kwan-2018-06>

14 For an analysis of the historical development of South Korea’s capitalism we refer, in addition to chapter VI of our book on the World Perspectives 2018, to an elder study: Michael Pröbsting: Capitalist Development in South Korea and Taiwan (1997), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/capitalism-in-south-korea-taiwan/>

15 Musun Kim: Is North Korea’s economy coming out of the cold? Al Jazeera, 2018-06-07 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/north-korea-economy-coming-cold-180607194512806.html>

16 Musun Kim: Is North Korea’s economy coming

out of the cold? Al Jazeera, 2018-06-07 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/north-korea-economy-coming-cold-180607194512806.html>

17 On the RCIT’s analysis of China as an imperialist power see the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

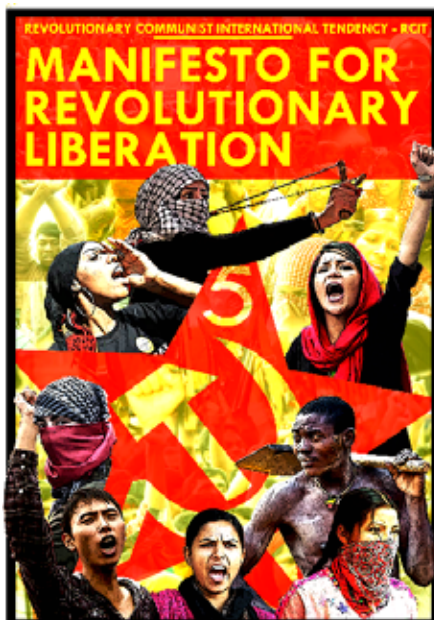
In particular we refer readers to Michael Pröbsting: The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, Vienna 2013, chapter 10, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>

18 We have dealt with the acceleration of the rivalry between the Great Powers in various World Perspective documents and other documents which are collected on the sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>. The latest assessment can be read in chapter IV in World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>

19 The RCIT has dealt with China’s BRI imitative in various documents. See e.g. our pamphlet Michael Pröbsting: 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? 18 August 2017, Revolutionary Communism No. 71, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-india-rivalry/>

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PROGRAM OF THE RCIT

Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format

In What Sense Can One Speak of Capitalist Restoration in North Korea?

Reply to Several Objections Raised by the Polish Comrades of “Władza Rad”

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 21 June 2018

The RCIT has published two documents in the past few months in which it analyzed the political and socio-economic transformation process in North Korea. We arrived at the conclusion that the regime of Kim Jong-un has advanced the restoration of capitalism for several years. As a result, a capitalist class (the *Donju*) has emerged which is linked with the regime and which already controls significant sectors of the country's economy. (1) We concluded that we can no longer consider North Korea as a degenerated workers state ruled by a Stalinist bureaucratic caste but rather as a semi-colonial bourgeois state dominated by a Stalinist-Capitalist ruling class. (2)

The Editorial Board of the Polish Trotskyist website *Władza Rad* has thankfully translated and published our latest article on capitalist restoration in North Korea. (3) The comrades accompanied our article with a brief introduction. Therein they expressed their agreement with our recognition of the process of capitalist restoration. However, they also stated their disagreement with our conclusion that the Rubicon has already been crossed. (4)

Here is the essential part of the comrades' criticism: *“The text contains interesting information. However, the main thesis of the article – that the DPRK has already become a capitalist state – seems premature to us. It is one thing to say that the restoration of capitalism has started in the DPRK (thesis 1). But it is another thing to state that the DPRK has already become a capitalist state, i.e. one in which the restoration has been finalized (thesis 2). The article presents evidence to support the first thesis. It shows that North Korea is pursuing a policy similar to that which was implemented in China when it was moving towards social counterrevolution. The second thesis, however, is unsustainable. Where is the private ownership of the means of production in the DPRK? Where is hereditary property? Even if the germs of the capitalist class have appeared in the DPRK, it will only become a dominant class when it can legally safeguard its privileged economic and social position. For this it is necessary to legally allow private property and inheritance, i.e. to allow freely to buy or sell a factory, as well as transfer production assets and financial assets to children. This legal pillar of the rule of the bourgeoisie is still missing in the DPRK.”*

We have also received similar doubts and criticism from comrades of other organizations with which the RCIT is in contact. We therefore wish to reply to these arguments in this article in the hope that we can clarify this issue.

Has the Process of Capitalist Restoration been Completed?

None of our critics has disputed the numerous facts which we have provided to substantiate the RCIT's analysis of capitalist restoration in North Korea. We therefore consider that it is not these facts which are under dispute by the comrades but rather the method with which we derive from our analysis that the Rubicon of the process of

capitalist restoration has been crossed.

One problem in our debate is, so it seems to us, that the comrades of *Władza Rad* misinterpret the RCIT's analysis of North Korea's capitalist restoration. They write that we would assume that the *“restoration has been finalized”*. In fact, this is not the case.

We have stated both in our book on the world situation as well as in our latest article on North Korea that the process of capitalist restoration has *not* been finalized. In our book we stated explicitly: *“This does not mean that the process of capitalist restoration has been completed. In fact, such a process usually takes a number of years. We have seen this in Russia and even more so in China and Vietnam that it can take many years until all enterprises in the industrial and banking sector are subjugated to the capitalist law of value and until the whole working class is transformed into labor commodities. Likewise there are still many tasks for the restorationists in North Korea to complete. But the Rubicon has definitely been crossed and North Korea has to be characterized as a capitalist semi-colonial state.”* (5) This argument was repeated in our article.

What is the difference between these the two formulations – *“the process of capitalist restoration has been finalized”* and *“the Rubicon of the process of capitalist restoration has been crossed”*? In stating that the Rubicon has been crossed we emphasize that the process of capitalist restoration, while not being completed, has already reached a new qualitative stage; a stage where a regime holds power which is dedicated to implement bourgeois relations of production and which is linked to the emerging capitalist class of *Donju*.

In other words, we are fully aware that a number of steps are still ahead in order to fully restore capitalism. Indeed, the comrades name several of them like creating the legal conditions for private ownership of factories.

To give a comparison: no one would deny that a new born baby still has many years ahead in order to grow and to mature as a human being. But neither will anyone deny that birth has resulted in a new qualitative stage of the embryo.

On the Relationship of the Regime and the Capitalist *Donju* Class

The Polish comrades raise the objection: *“Where is the private ownership of the means of production in the DPRK? Where is hereditary property? Even if the germs of the capitalist class have appeared in the DPRK, it will only become a dominant class when it can legally safeguard its privileged economic and social position.”*

It seems to us that the comrades focus too much on aspects of the ideological superstructure than on the socio-economic class reality. The decisive issue to determine the class character of a state is not its legal framework but the reality of the class nature of its regime. North Korea might not formally have a bourgeois constitution. But this

is rather a secondary factor if the private capitalist sector already accounts for up to half of the economic output!

There can be no doubt, and the comrades do not object to this thesis, that there exists a sizeable capitalist class in North Korea. No one can deny that the Kim regime has supported the emergence of the *Donju* class. In fact, it is closely related with it.

In addition to various reports which we reproduced in our past documents on North Korea, we want to draw attention to another highly informative report published by the *Washington Post*. This paper of the US big bourgeoisie, which is unsuspecting of any socialist sympathies, published a highly interesting article about the relationship between the party officials and the *Donju*. Here are a few excerpts:

"North Korea now has a 1 percent. And you'll find them in 'Pyonghattan,' the parallel universe inhabited by the rich kids of the Democratic People's Republic. (...) North Korea as a whole remains economically backward — industry has all but collapsed, and even in Pyongyang, the official salary remains less than \$10 a month — but the rise in recent years of a merchant class has created a whole layer of nouveaux riches in the capital city. 'Donju,' or 'masters of money,' have emerged with the tentative moves toward becoming a market economy that began about 15 years ago but has picked up momentum under Kim Jong Un, the third-generation leader who took over the reins of North Korea at the end of 2011. The donju usually hold official government positions — in ministries or the military, running state businesses abroad or trying to attract investment into North Korea. On the side, they trade in everything they can get their hands on, including flat-screen TVs and apartments. The money that they are making now flows through society,

through the markets that are present in every population center to the high-end restaurants of Pyongyang." (6)

In other words, the Kim regime does not oppress the emerging bourgeoisie as it would have been the case in a Stalinist degenerated workers state. Quite the opposite, the Kim regime has rather promoted its emergence and is linked with it. This is why we speak about a Stalinist-Capitalist ruling class.

The comrades of *Wladza Rad* are mistaken to put too much emphasis on the legal issue of heredity in order to assess the class character of the state. In fact, North Korea is a model that there can be heredity without a legal framework. Just look at the top of the regime: it has been dominated by a single family clan since its foundation more than 70 years ago!

What is the Criterion for Crossing the Rubicon of Capitalist Restoration?

We have explained in our literature that the decisive criterion to assess the class character of a state is the class interests which a given regime defends. Such an understanding is crucial in order to grasp the capitalist transformation process: *"When can we state that such a capitalist restoration has taken place? The answer is: when a Stalinist bureaucratic workers' government is replaced by or transforms itself into a bourgeois restorationist government. Such a bourgeois restorationist government is one which is firmly resolved, both in words and deeds, to reestablish a capitalist mode of production, i.e., to move decisively against planned property relations in favor of creating a capitalist economy based on the law of value."* (7)

Books of the RCIT

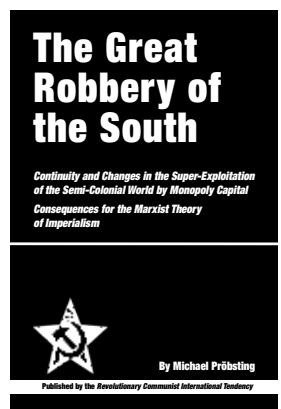
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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)



So we ask the comrades, do they agree that the Kim regime defends the interests of the emerging bourgeoisie in North Korea? If they do not agree, we ask them why has the regime nurtured a capitalist class for years and allowed it to take over a significant sector of the economy?! Why are so many party officials linked with the *Donju*!?

If they do agree with our thesis, then we ask why do they not recognize that North Korea has become a capitalist state? Is it because the economy is not already fully capitalist? But then, the comrades would also have to argue that Eastern Europe did not become capitalist in 1989/90, that the USSR did not become capitalist in 1991 and that China did not become capitalist in 1992. This would be the only consistent conclusion because in these years, the economy of the mentioned countries was also not dominated by a bourgeoisie. This was rather a process which took some years. However, in our analysis these countries became capitalist in the years 1989-92 because a bourgeois-restorationist government took power.

Our approach is based on the method elaborated by Leon Trotsky, the co-leader of the October Revolution, with Lenin, and the founder of the Fourth International. Trotsky explained in a theoretical article published in 1937 that the class character of a state and the class character of its economy can be not identical for a certain period of time. Such a period can even take years. He emphasized that the decisive criterion is which class interests does a given regime defend and not how much of its factories have already been privatized.

"But does not history really know of cases of class conflict between the economy and the state? It does! After the "third estate" seized power, society for a period of several years still remained feudal. In the first months of Soviet rule the proletariat reigned on the basis of a bourgeois economy. In the field of agriculture the dictatorship of the proletariat operated for a number of years on the basis of a petty-bourgeois economy (to a considerable degree it does so even now). Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy. But what does such a type of temporary conflict between the economy and the state mean? It means a revolution or a counter-revolution. The victory of one class over another signifies that it will reconstruct the economy in the interests of the victors. But such a dichotomous condition, which is a necessary stage in every social overturn, has nothing in common with the theory of a classless state which in the absence of a real boss is being exploited by a clerk, i.e., by the bureaucracy." (8)

Such an understanding seems to us to be the correct Marxist approach. The conclusion from this is that North Korea is ruled by a bourgeois-restorationist regime which is linked with the new capitalist *Donju* class. The country faces a similar process like China or Vietnam in the 1990s. This is why we can no longer consider North Korea as a degenerated workers state ruled by a Stalinist bureaucratic caste but rather as a semi-colonial bourgeois state dominated by a Stalinist-Capitalist ruling class.

We hope that this article was helpful in clarifying the RCIT's arguments and hopefully to overcome any misunderstandings or differences.

Footnotes

- (1) The literally meaning of *Donju* is "masters of money".
- (2) Michael Pröbsting: Again on Capitalist Restoration in North Korea, 12 June 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/asia/again-on-capitalist-restoration-in-north-korea/>; Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, RCIT Books, Vienna 2018, Chapter VI. The Korean Peninsula: Imperialist Aggression, Capitalist Restoration and Revolutionary Defensism, pp. 95-105, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>
- (3) Michael Pröbsting: Jeszcze raz o restauracji kapitalizmu w Korei Północnej, <http://www.1917.net.pl/node/23163> resp. <https://www.thecommunists.net/home/polski/jeszcze-raz-o-restauracji-kapitalizmu-w-korei-polnocnej/>
- (4) The introduction with the critical comment can be read in Polish language on *Władza Rad*'s website at the same link as the one in the previous footnote. We have reprinted this introduction and translated it also in English here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/forum/wladza-rad-critique-on-rcit-s-analysis-of-north-korea/>.
- (5) World Perspectives 2018, Thesis 143, p. 101
- (6) Anna Fifield: North Korea's one-percenters savor life in 'Pyonghattan', Washington Post, May 14, 2016 https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/north-koreas-one-percenters-savor-life-in-pyonghattan/2016/05/14/9f3b47ea-15fa-11e6-971a-dadf9ab18869_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.702cd1ae865d
- (7) Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism, August 2013, p. 54, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/cuba-s-revolution-sold-out/>
- (8) Leon Trotsky: Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State? (1937), in: Writings of Leon Trotsky 1937-38, Pathfinder Press, New York 1976, p. 63, online: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1937/11/wstate.htm>



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

Support West Papua's Struggle for National Self-Determination!

Joint Statement of the Pan-Afrikan Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria) and the RCIT, 19 June 2018

1. West Papua is the western half of the island of New Guinea, bordering the independent state of Papua New Guinea. It has a population of around 4.3 million people and is home for over 250 diverse groups with different cultures and languages yet, with the existence of great affinities.

2. West Papua is occupied by Indonesian state since 1962. Since then the colonial rulers exploit the country's resources and labour force and brutally suppress the Papuan people who desire for independence. More than half a million people have been killed by the occupation forces and many more injured, arrested, tortured and exiled. National oppression even goes so far that it is illegal to sing West Papuan traditional songs, to dress in Papuan traditional attire or to raise the Papuan traditional flag.

3. The imperialist Great Powers (e.g. the U.S., Western Europe, China, Japan, Russia, etc.) are in fact accepting and supporting Indonesia's occupation of West Papua. The same is true for their international institutions (like the United Nations), even if they sometimes raise some critical words. This demonstrates once more that the liberation of oppressed people can not be achieved with the help of the imperialist powers and the institutions they control.

4. The Papuan people have repeatedly rebelled against the colonial occupation and there is an ongoing liberation struggle both by peaceful as well as armed means. PACOR and the RCIT state their unconditional support for the Papuan's people liberation struggle and their desire for national self-determination and independence. This means that we demand the immediate expulsion of the Indonesian colonial authorities from West Papua so that the people can decide on their future without any interference and intimidation.

5. We oppose the exploitation of West Papua's natural resources by foreign corporations. We demand the unconditional release of all imprisoned activists which have been thrown into jail by the Indonesian authorities. We demand the right of all exiled activists to return. West Papuans must be allowed to dress and speak in their traditional ways on their homeland. We also demand an immediate end of the systematic colonialization of the island by the Indonesian authorities by sending non-Papuan settlers to the island in order to change the national composition of its population.

6. PACOR and the RCIT are of the opinion that the struggle for national liberation of West Papua should be combined with an anti-imperialist and socialist perspective.

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.

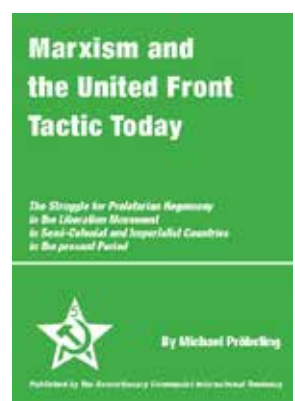
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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.



Brazil: Truckers' Strike Put Temer's Government against the Wall

For an indefinite general strike to put down the putschist government and for the cancellation of all neoliberal reforms

Statement of the Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (Section of the RCIT in Brazil), 6.6.2018

Brazil was hit by the biggest truck drivers strike in its history. In response to the nearly daily readjustment of diesel price implemented by the illegitimate government of Temer through the *Petrobras* oil company, at least six truck workers' trade unions started a nationwide strike on May 21. The strike lasted for 10 days and ended with a success due to the massive participation and the support from the majority of the population. In fact, the strike paralyzed the country into a true general strike.

Neoliberal Reforms Provoke Dramatic Price Increases

The putsch that brought down Dilma Rousseff's democratically elected government of the Workers' Party, has opened a period of systematic neoliberal structural reform. Among them are the Labor Reform, massive cuts in social services, as well as a process of privatization of the national energy sector with a focus on the oil company *Petrobras*.

Since then, in order to guarantee the profit of its national and international shareholders, the company has started a policy to readjust fuel prices on a daily basis, following the increase in world oil prices, including diesel, gasoline, kerosene and cooking gas. As both the dollar and the price of a barrel of oil have been increasing internationally,

Petrobras has readjusted the price of gasoline in the refineries 11 times in 17 days, and also the diesel for seven consecutive times. Gasoline accumulated a 16.76% rise in one month, while diesel accumulated 15.16% in a month. Such a pricing policy is being a harsh assault on the living conditions of the working class as well as the petty bourgeoisie.

Contradictory Character of the Trucker Strike

We can characterize the truckers' strike as having two contradictory factors: First, this strike had a negative element because it is a mostly petty bourgeoisie sector. Many truckers own their trucks, and so their main requirement was just to lower the price of diesel. Furthermore, the leaderships of the truckers' unions have strong ties with right-wing parties like the PSDB. It's not a mistake to characterize this movement as a lockout. And it was these leaders who have accepted the Temer government's offer to subsidize public money only for reducing the price of diesel, without modifying the policy of readjustments with gasoline, benefiting the transport companies.

Another negative factor was the noisy presence on the streets and at the social networks of groups of truck drivers

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?

The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new book. It's called *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?*. The book's subtitle is: *The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism*. The book is in English-language. It has 5 chapters plus an appendix, 108 pages and includes 19 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is *Michael Pröbsting* who is the International Secretary of the RCIT.

In *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* Michael Pröbsting analyses the character of the Cuban Revolution 1959-61, its bureaucratic degeneration, and the recent march of the Castro leadership towards capitalism.

The author demonstrates how the Cuban Revolution, despite the initial modest intentions of its leaders, was spurred forward to more radical policies by grass roots struggles of Cuban workers and peasants. In fact, the very abolishment of capitalism by the Cuban regime was no part of the original game plan of either Castro's *Movimiento 26 de Julio* or of the official Cuban communist party (PSP), but rather was a product of precisely such pressures from below.

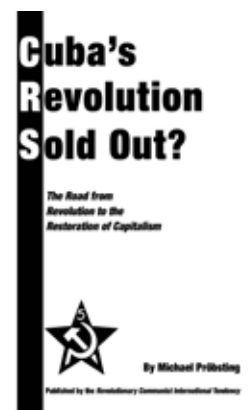
Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? describes in detail how a number of relatively recent political, economic, and social measures were

purposely taken by the Cuban government to open the road back to capitalism. Pröbsting elaborates the key role of the world's new great imperialist power, China, in Cuba's state policy as exemplified in the June 2011 Sino-Cuban agreement for a first Five-Year Plan of cooperation between these two states.

Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? examines these developments from the viewpoint of Marxist theory, the nature of the ruling bureaucracy in Stalinist states, and the process of restoration of capitalism under such regimes.

In conclusion, the book proposes a socialist program for political and social revolution in Cuba to halt the advance of capitalism and to eradicate the country's bureaucratic dictatorship.

Price: 8 Euro / 12 US-Dollars /
7 British Pound
(plus delivery charges) ■



defending the return of the military regime; however we consider that this group was only a minority among the truckers.

Second, the positive element was that for the first time in many months a sectoral strike put the coup regime against the wall when the truckers turned this sectoral strike de facto into a national general strike. The country literally stopped for 10 days. It was a real mess because the supermarkets were emptied of perishable products such as fruits and vegetables, millions of chickens and pigs died of hunger due to lack of feed. Gasoline disappeared from the gas stations, transforming the main cities of the country into atypical holidays, public offices and schools, including universities cancelled classes, police vehicles themselves had difficulty filling and did not go to the streets, etc. And, even so, the strike counted on more than 90% of support of the population.

Historically the governments of Brazil since the late 19th century have not developed transportation by railways or waterways. They preferred to develop road transport and thus this system reaches at least 65 percent of the total, placing the country heavily dependent on the imperialist countries that control international oil prices.

The government's decision to send the army against the truck drivers was not completely fulfilled; the soldiers went to the streets but did really not repressed. The strike ended only because the trade union leaders received government subsidies for diesel and froze it prices for 60 days in an agreement signed in an official document.

The Role of Trade Union Leaders and Left-wing Parties

In general, almost all left-wing parties (PSOL, PSTU, PCO) supported the truck drivers' strike, with the call that the struggle should be extended to other sectors. The PT merely gave the drivers advices on the question of the damages caused by the daily increases and denounced the government's policy, but did not call the general strike.

The great failure in this improvised general strike was not on the part of the truckers, but on the part of the CUT leadership itself. It should have taken advantage of the chance of the mobilization of the truck drivers to call for a general strike. The CUT and the other trade unions centrals together with the leftist parties missed a great chance to put that coup government down and return to democracy in order to cancel all neoliberal reform measures.

The only ones who mobilized, and even too late, were the

oil workers. The oil workers' strike began the day after the truck drivers' strike ended. However, the heavy hand of the regime imposed a fine of 2 million real per day (about 500,000 dollars) if the strike continued. Faced with such a repression, the leadership called for an end to the strike, promising to reorganize itself for the future. In practice, the semi-Bonapartist putschist regime is banning the right to strike guaranteed by the constitution.

But the regime, that never felt so weak not only still is in crisis, continues to weaken. Last Saturday, the president of *Petrobras*, Pedro Parente, resigned. Parente is a businessman, supporter of the rightist PSDB and representative of the international financial market. Pedro Parente was responsible for imposing the policy of daily fuel readjustment that was the factor that caused the truck drivers strike. A policy that proved to be disastrous for the government!

The Temer government, which by itself was in fact so weak, has not fallen so far because the putschist regime can not find a consensus name to take over the government. But that may change in a few days, anything is possible. Some analysts even talk about the possibility of cancelling the elections.

That is why the only correct attitude of leaders of social and political movements should not be to mobilize for the elections, but for the general strike and to put an end this putschist regime.

** For the general indefinite general strike to put down the putschist government and for the cancellation of all neoliberal reforms!*

** Not the criminalization of political demonstrations and the criminalization of social movements!*

** Public safety is not the role of the Armed Forces! For the cancellation of the federal military intervention in the state of Rio de Janeiro!*

** For the creation of action committees in factories, unions, neighborhoods, favelas and peripheral regions in defense of our rights and against the Government of the putschists and against any military intervention! For the creation self-defense committees of the workers and the poor in the neighborhoods and peripheries!*

** Down the constitutional law that allows the military to intervene in political matters!*

** For a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly!*

** For a Workers and Poor Peasants Government!*

** For a revolutionary Workers Party as part of a new World Party of the socialist revolution – the Fifth International!*

O Comunismo Revolucionário

Portuguese-language Journal of the RCIT

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Austria: Islamophobic Racism on the Rise!

Solidarity with the Muslim Brothers and Sisters! No to the Closure of 7 Mosques and the Expulsion of 40 Imams and their Families!

Statement of the RKO BEFREIUNG (Austrian Section of the RCIT), 8. June 2018

1. The Austrian government announced in a press conference on 8 June a series of racist, Anti-Muslim measures. These include the closure of seven mosques as well as the expulsion of 40 imams and their families. Furthermore it aims for the dissolution of the Arab Religious Community.

2. The RKO BEFREIUNG (Austrian Section of the RCIT) condemns these decisions utterly. They represent a new level of Islamophobic racism against our Muslim brothers and sisters. We see once more that this government is on the right-wing edge of Europe – similar to Hungary's Orban or the Italian Lega Nord. Chancellor Kurz and Vice Chancellor Strache represent a bonsai imperialist state compared to the U.S. – but on the political level they are on the same wavelength like the world-wide No. 1 of all racist dumbasses, Donald Trump.

3. The explicit reference of Austria's minister Gernot Blümel to the notorious "law on Islam" underlines once more the repressive character of this law. The Austrian Section of the RCIT already stated at the time of its decision (in 2015) that the "law on Islam" results in massive discrimination of Muslims and transforms them into second-class citizens.

4. The right-wings governments' justification for its measures against the Muslims is a mockery of common sense. Chancellor Kurz announced in an authoritarian way: *"Parallel societies, political Islam and tendencies toward radicalization have no place in our country". "Political Islam"?* How can a representative of a party protest against this which explicitly characterize itself since the beginning of its existence as a "Christian" party and which has always been closely connected with the Catholic Church and defended its privileges?! And we remember very well when Strache raised the crucifix on the platform at an anti-Islam rally. *"Parallel societies"?* In this country, Austrians have the right to choose if and which church they want to join and if they choose to have Austrian or non-Austrian citizens as their friends. Why should Muslims not have the same right?! *"Tendencies toward radicalization"* – says who? A government of which half is an extreme right-wing party whose functionaries repeatedly express their sympathy for the Nazi regime and which has very close relations with the semi-fascist Jobbik party in Hungary as well as with Russia's ruling party of the authoritarian Putin regime?!

5. The grotesque attempts of the right-wing Kurz/Strache government shall hide that it pursues a neoliberal policy of systematic attacks on social and labor rights which is combined with a tightening of racist oppression against migrants. It shall furthermore legitimize the governments' pro-Israel policy which finds expression not only in repeated expressions of sympathy for this Apartheid and terror state but also in the official participation of the Austrian ambassador at the ceremony for the opening

of the US embassy in Jerusalem a few weeks ago – on the same day when Israel's army slaughtered 61 unarmed Palestinians in Gaza.

6. Our rigorous rejection of the governments' anti-Muslim measures does not imply that we share the conservative-Islamist ideology of the associations affected (e.g. the Turkish ATIB association). On the contrary, as revolutionary socialists we reject the Erdoğan government in Turkey. We defend the right of national self-determination of the Kurdish minority. But only a political blind ignorant can fail to recognize the fact that the attack of the government is not about the political views of ATIB or any other association but rather the attempt of a neo-liberal, racist government sympathizing with Christian fundamentalism which tries to secure its power via a hate campaign against the Muslim minority.

7. Nobody should hope that today's decision of the government might be a one-time, bad spook. Vice Chancellor Strache has already made clear that these measures *"are only the beginning"*. We must be prepared for a wave of racist repression against Muslim brothers and sisters. It is crucial to build resistance against this!

8. We appeal to the Muslim migrant associations to resist resolutely against these government measures and to organize mass demonstrations on the streets. Their renunciation to mobilize against the "law on Islam" in 2015 was a serious mistake. This must not happen again!

9. We appeal to the trade unions, to the progressive social democrats and the left not to stand idle by but to show their solidarity with the Muslim brothers and sisters. The social democratic racist road (of the Viennese social democratic leadership which calls for a headscarf ban) is the road into political nirvana helping coming into power of an authoritarian imperialist regime of a "strong man" which will loot the laboring people even more. Progressive activists must overcome the widespread Islamophobic prejudices and enter the road of fighting shoulder to shoulder of Muslims and non-Muslims against racism. Act in the spirit of solidarity because consider: today it is the Muslims, tomorrow it is you! The Austrian Section of the RCIT calls all activists to get active in the spirit of solidarity!



Where Do Socialists Stand in Face of the Looming Global Trade War?

A Showcase of the Practical Consequences of the Assessment of the Class Character of the Chinese State

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 17 June 2018

In these days, the imperialist Great Powers are close to an open trade war. US President Donald Trump announced on 15 June a 25% tariff on \$50bn of imports from China. This tariff affects more than 800 strategically important imports from China. China's Commerce Ministry said it would respond with tariffs "of the same scale and strength" and that any previous trade deals with Trump were "invalid." China also listed 659 U.S. products which would be affected by this tariff. (1) As the *Asia Times* commented, this development is "raising the specter of a full-blown trade war between the two economic giants." (2)

Furthermore U.S. imperialism also threatens to impose tariffs on imports from the European Union, Japan, Canada as well as other countries. Naturally, it is possible that the Great Powers will find a last-minute compromise. This could delay the outbreak of a full-blown global trade war. But it is evident to every prudent observer that even if such an escalation can be avoided for now, it is only a matter of time until the next crisis erupts. Sooner or later, a full-blown trade war between the imperialist powers is inevitable.

We do not intend to deal at this place with the economic background of these developments which is located in the accelerating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers in face of the decline of capitalism, particularly since the beginning of the current historic period in 2008. For a closer analysis we refer readers to the various World Perspective documents which the RCIT has published in the past years. (3)

We rather wish to draw the attention of socialists to the following issue: *where do socialists stand in face of the looming global trade war?* It is obvious that this is not a side-issue of the class struggle. The looming global trade war is rather a prelude for World War III between the Great Powers. By this we do not mean that such a World War is around the corner. No, there are multiple steps, crisis, catastrophes in between the present tensions and such a military escalation which probably will take a number of years. But everyone with a minimum knowledge of history – just think about the first half of the 20th century – will have to recognize that a full-blown trade war between Great Powers opens the road to war in order to finally settle matters in favor of one or the other camp.

So, where do socialists stand in face of the looming global trade war? The answer to this question is related to the class character of the states involved. Socialists in imperialist countries never support the policy of economic protectionism of their ruling class – like imposing tariffs on imports from other countries, forbidding the import of certain commodities, etc. Therefore, when a trade dispute or even a trade war erupts between two or more imperialist states, socialists in all countries involved oppose such sanctions.

For this reason the RCIT has always opposed the sanctions of the Western imperialist states against Russia in 2014 and vice versa. We take the same stance in the current looming trade war: we oppose the protectionist steps of *all* imperialist states – the U.S., China, European Union, Russia, Canada, Japan, etc.

Socialists take a different position in cases where imperialist states impose sanctions against non-imperialist, semi-colonial countries. In such cases, they fight against the sanctions imposed by the imperialist power. However, socialists take a different position concerning the semi-colonial country. They defend the latter against the imperialist aggressor and support its counter-measures against the opponent. They call workers in the imperialist countries to break the sanctions against these countries.

For this reason the RCIT defend countries like North Korea, Iran or Venezuela against the sanctions imposed by imperialist powers.

Such is the set of revolutionary tactics which the RCIT applies today on these issues and which is derived from the Marxist understanding of imperialism and the program of revolutionary defeatism which Lenin and Trotsky elaborated.

We therefore ask socialists in other organizations: which stand do you take in relation to the looming global trade war?

For the Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists who consider China as a "socialist state" or a "deformed workers state", the answer is simple: they will take the side of China in this dispute.

For those who consider China and Russia as non-imperialist, semi-colonial, countries, they will, if they are consistent, also take the side of these states and defend them against U.S. imperialism.

Only a clear analysis of China and Russia as imperialist Great Powers – like the U.S., the European Union and Japan are – allows for a consistent program of anti-imperialist and defeatist tactics.

The current looming trade war is a powerful example that the theoretical discussion on the class character of China and Russia is not a play with words or an academic exercise. Rather it is one of the most important issues of the current historic period which has tremendous practical consequences.

This is the reason why the RCIT has elaborated in the past years a number of studies on the political and economic nature of Russia and China. We have demonstrated that these states have become emerging imperialist powers. (4) We have shown that the program of revolutionary defeatism applies to Russia and China as well as to U.S., the European Union, Japan and other imperialist states. (5)

There are various organizations who accept that Russia and China have become somehow "powers" capable of

challenging the old Western imperialist Great Powers. But these organizations staunchly refuse to characterize Russia and China as imperialist states. (6)

However, the looming global trade war will force all these organizations to take a clear and unambiguous stance. Either they share the RCIT's position of opposing all Great Powers and their protectionist sanctions. Such an agreement is important but then, they have to ask themselves, why do they take such a position without recognizing the imperialist character of Russia and China? Would they take a similar defeatist position in countries like North Korea, Iran or Venezuela which are undoubtedly not imperialist but semi-colonial states? We are sure they that they would not. So is it not time for these organizations to accept the analysis of Russia and China as imperialist powers?!

Or are these organizations consistent and draw from their refusal to recognize Russia and China as imperialist powers the logical conclusion that they must side with these two states against the U.S.?! That would be too bad as it would make them part of the camp of pro-Eastern social-imperialism.

Whatever these socialists conclude, the looming global trade war demands a concrete and practical program: either the program of anti-imperialist defeatism or the program of social-imperialism. There is no third option.

Footnotes

(1) David Lawder, Ben Blanchard: Trump sets tariffs on \$50 billion in Chinese goods; Beijing strikes back, Reuters, June 15, 2018 / <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china-media/china-state-media-condemn-u-s-tariffs-leave-room-for-negotiation-idUSKBN1JC03P>

(2) Asia Times: Trade war looms as Trump announces China tariffs, June 16, 2018 <http://www.atimes.com/article/trade-war-looms-as-trump-announces-china-tariffs/>

(3) Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, RCIT Books, Vienna 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>; RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, 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, 23 January 2016, <https://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, 11 January 2015, <https://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 Adopted by the RCIT's International Executive Committee, April 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* (English-language Journal of the RCIT) No. 22, <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 Executive Committee, 9.9.2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 15, <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, www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-

[situation-march-2013](https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/); Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>.

(4) On the RCIT's analysis of China and Russia as emerging imperialist powers see the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>. Concerning China, we refer readers in particular to Michael Pröbsting: 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? 18 August 2017, *Revolutionary Communism* No. 71, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-india-rivalry/>; Michael Pröbsting: The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/>; 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* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>.

Concerning Russia, we refer readers in particular to 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, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>; 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, Special Issue of *Revolutionary Communism* No. 21 (March 2014), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>.

(5) See on this, in addition to the above mentioned documents: 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/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South, chapter 13; Yossi Schwartz: Marxism and War, 30.1.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/marxism-and-war/>; Michael Pröbsting: Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference. The failure of sectarian "anti-imperialism" in the West: Some general considerations from the Marxist point of view and the example of the democratic revolution in Libya in 2011, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism/>; Michael Pröbsting: No to chauvinist war-mongering by Japanese and Chinese imperialism! Chinese and Japanese workers: Your main enemy is at home! Stop the conflict on the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands in the East China Sea! 23.9.2012, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 6, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-between-china-and-japan/>

(6) See for our criticism of various socialist organizations e.g. the RCIT pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“. The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia – A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>

Activities on the Afrika Liberation Day 2018: Forward to the Liberation of the African Continent!

Report (with Pictures) from the activities of the Alkebulan School of Black Studies (Kenya),

the Pan-Afrikan Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria) and COGITO (Democratic Republic of the Congo), 14th June 2018

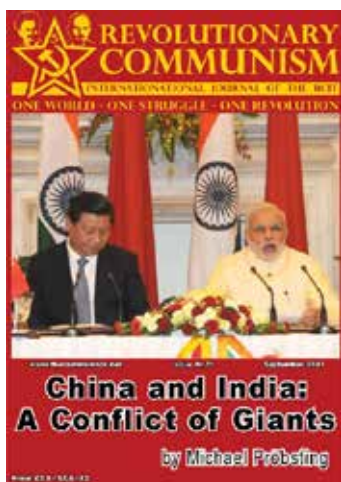
On the weekend of the 25th to the 26th May rallies and meetings took place in various countries of the black continent, celebrating Afrika Liberation Day. The comrades of the Alkebulan School of Black Studies stated on the events of these days: “*DIVIDED BY COLONIAL BORDERS, UNITED BY HISTORY AND CULTURE-AFRICA MUST UNITE!*”

Comrades from the Pan-Afrikan Consciousness Renaissance in Nigeria organized a political symposium with the theme “*Building Unity in the Struggle Against Capitalism and Neocolonialism*” in honour of the Afrika Liberation Day. They reported: “*The symposium was well attended by over 30 comrades from different organizations. Prominent among these organizations were comrades from the Black N Proud Movement, Movement Against Slavery and Poverty, National Conscience Party, Kowa Members, State 55, DSM, SPN to mention a few. The first lead-off was well articulated by Comrade Seni Ajayi, wherein he decried the continuous efforts of the Buhari-led anti-people, pro-rich-government towards the privatization of all existing sectors of the Nigerian economy. He concluded by affirming that likeminded organizations must essentially work*

together at this material point in time in order to salvage the obvious deplorable state of the country. Comrade Dagga Tolar in his lead-off dissect the historical effects of the capitalist relations on the Nigerian society.

The backward state of the educational sector was historicized within the context of the overbearing roles played by capitalism and other neoliberal policies towards this trajectory. Bro. O-Jay of the defunct Black Panther Party, United States, stressed the need for revolutionary organizations to form alliances despite their infinitesimal ideological differences, in as much as the goals to get rid of capitalism remains the same. Prof. Ibidapo of the University of Lagos in his submission opined that the Afrikan masses must unlearn and relearn everything about their history in order to be proud of their humanity. He concluded that the revolution must also be about the decolonization of the already dispossessed minds of the Afrikan masses. Comrade Laroye Sanda from Ibadan, who graced the gathering beyond expectation also exhumed the essentiality of raising the banner for a socialist Afrika and the world at this material point in time by comrades as the only way out for humanity.

Shortly after the lead-offs, solidarity messages from different or-



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

ganizations poured in. The solidarity messages from the RCIT, Black N Proud and other comrades from different organizations were well received."

Comrades from the youth organization COGITO in DR Congo organized a meeting with more than twenty young people attending. Various questions have been discussed like "Is Africa really free?", "What is the state of the African continent?", etc. The comrades reported: "We believe that Africa has had its independence in terms of papers that is to say that from the legal point of view we can say that Africa is independent and is equal to other continents (America, Asia, Europe, etc.). But pushing our reflection, we find that apart from this

legal independence, Africa remains always dependent on the colonizing countries in the sense that it remains dependent on the great powers in several domains (economic, security, education, health, etc.) and also these great powers continue to dictate the mode of economy and policy that African countries must have.

Thus, the young people gathered within COGITO, think that it is high time that the Africans rise up against imperialism and demonstrate to the face of the world that the African is able to be independent and do all that he wants in all freedom."

The comrades of the Alkebulan School of Black Studies in Kenya intervened in a celebration which was visited by various organisations. The gathering was attended main-



Pictures from Public Meetings on Afrika Liberation Day 2018, organized by PACOT (Nigeria, above) and COGITO (DRC, below)

ly by students, local residents and youth. The comrades reported: "The main agenda was for Africa to create a United Socialist States of Africa, Forever. The need to create a Mass, Permanent Revolutionary Party." On the main slogans of the celebration our comrades added: "* Women have a right and the duty to fight! To emancipate women from our own outdated cultural bondage, Kwame Nkrumah words were adopted on this "The degree of a country's revolutionary awareness, maybe measured by the political maturity of its women".

* The vital role of Culture in Revolution.

* Students Spark the Revolution and join the workers to eliminate capitalism.

* Solidarity with the people of Palestine: Death to the Zionist occupation " Our Freedom is incomplete without the FREEDOM of the PALESTINIANS (Quote by Nelson Mandela)."

The Comrades from the Pan-Afrikan Consciousness Renaissance in Nigeria stated: "At a time when the imperialists are building their military base in Ghana; penetrating Nigeria with their institutions and structures; spreading their tentacles and domination across the economy of Kenya, Zimbabwe, Azania, and other countries; facilitating the racist attacks of Black people in the diaspora; emboldening the racist, fascist, terrorist-Israeli government against the teeming Palestinian population, the discussions and practical actions against imperialism and international capitalism is long overdue." Furthermore the comrades reported: "The questions and comments sessions raised several polemics in regards to what should form the basis of the duty of a Pan-Afrikan movement in the 21st century, such as ours, and a resolution was reached through the convener that as inspired by Kwame Nkrumah, the revolutionary duty of a genuine Pan-Afrikan movement today cannot be beyond

the struggle for a socialist Afrika and by extension a socialist world. In the same vein the struggle towards the destruction of all elements of mental slavery amongst the rank and file of the already dispossessed Afrikan masses was well articulated by the convener. "

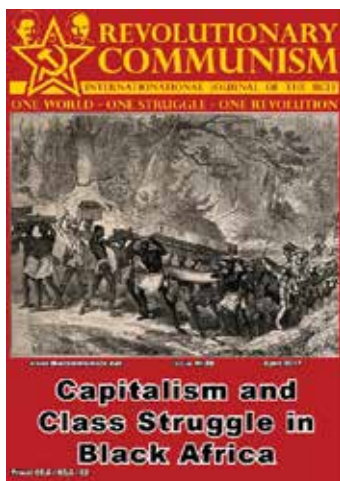
We as the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) fight consistently against imperialism and for the freedom of the people in Black Africa and all around the world. We want to thank the comrades of the Alkebulan School of Black Studies in Kenya and the comrades of the Pan-Afrikan Consciousness Renaissance in Nigeria for the reports. Despite of political differences which we want to clarify and hopefully overcome together in near future we share the passionate, revolutionary approach of the comrades towards the liberation of Black Africa.

Forward to the socialist revolution! For the United Socialist States of Africa!

* * * * *

The RCIT sent greetings to the PACOR Conference on the 2018 Afrikan Liberation Day which can be read here: <https://www.thecomunists.net/rcit/rcit-greetings-to-pacor-conference-on-2018-afrikan-liberation-day/>

The Alkebulan School of Black Studies (Kenya) is a sympathizing section of the RCIT, <https://www.facebook.com/alkebulanschool/> . The comrades from the Pan-Afrikan Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria) have fraternal relations with the RCIT, <https://m.facebook.com/pacorenaissance/?ref=bookmarks>. The RCIT is currently discussing with the comrades from COGITO (DR Congo) about ways to intensify collaboration.



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

Advance the Unity of Revolutionaries in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Africa!

Declaration of Fraternal Relations between the Courant des Jeunes Penseurs Congolais (DR of Congo) and the RCIT, 20.6.2018

1. After a period of discussion and collaboration the *Courant des Jeunes Penseurs Congolais* (COGITO), and the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) have decided to establish fraternal relations.

2. While we are aware of different ideological origins of both organizations, we find a programmatic basis for our fraternal relations in the RCIT's "*Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa*" (<https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/manifesto-for-the-revolutionary-liberation-of-black-africa/>)

3. We recognize the fundamental fact that the Democratic Republic of Congo – a big country with huge mineral reserves – is subjugated to massive super-exploitation by the imperialist Great Powers (like the US, EU, China) and their corporations. These Great Powers find compliant lackeys in the local capitalist elite, symbolized by the corrupt and authoritarian regime of Joseph Kabila. We fight for a perspective of workers, youth and popular struggle in order to defend democratic and social rights. The Congolese working people will only become free if they are

liberated from capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. The same holds true for the whole of Africa.

4. On the basis of such a perspective, we will collaborate in order to advance the construction of a political alternative for the Congolese workers, youth and poor peasants. We plan to jointly develop and fight for a revolutionary Action Program for the Democratic Republic of Congo. We will publish reports about our activities and launch, when necessary, initiatives for international solidarity. Based on such experience of joint work we will see if the basis for closer organizational unity exists.

5. Naturally, our fraternal relations do not revoke the autonomy and organizational independence of COGITO which will continue to struggle for its demands in DRC with non-violent methods.

6. We call upon revolutionaries in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Africa and internationally to join us in our struggle to rebuild a revolutionary World Party – an international party determined to fight for socialist revolution in Africa and around the world!



NEW RCIT AFRICA PROGRAM!

Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

Adopted at the 2nd World Congress of the RCIT in November 2017

Introduction * Foreign Exploiters – Out of Africa! * The Wealth to Those Who Create It! Economic Freedom Now! * Down with the Capitalist Dictatorships and Corrupt Pseudo-Democracies! * Organize the Workers and Oppressed for the Mass Struggle! * For a Government of Workers and Poor Peasants! For a Socialist Revolution! * For Pan-African Unity! For the United Socialist States of Africa! * For a United Front of Struggle! Overcome the Crisis of Leadership – Build a Revolutionary Party Nationally and Internationally! * Appendix

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

