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The Struggle against Imperialism: Marxism vs. Centrism Today

Plus: National Platform of the Spalakh (Ukraine)

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Picture on the cover: A children’s hospital in Mariupol after a Russian airstrike (Source: Wikipedia, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4e/%D0%9D%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BB%D1%96%D0%B4%D0%BA%D0%B8_%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80%D1%96%D0%BB%D1%83_%D0%B4%D0%B8%D1%82%D1%8F%D1%87%D0%BE%D1%97_%D0%BB%D1%96%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BD%D1%96_%D1%82%D0%B0_%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE_%D0%B1%D1%83%D0%B4%D0%B8-%D0%BD%D0%BA%D1%83_%D0%B2_%D0%9C%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%96%D1%83%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%96%2C_9_%D0%B1%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%B7%D0%BD%D1%8F_2022_%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BA%D1%83.jpg)

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National Platform of the Marxist Group “Spalakh” (Ukraine)

By Spalakh (Ukraine), 25 March 2024

Note by the RCIT: Below we publish the translation of the national platform of *Spalakh* (Ukraine). The RCIT has fraternal relations with this group of young activists and are we are currently jointly working to create the basis for their integration into our international tendency. (See: *For an Independent and Socialist Ukraine free from Russian Occupation and Western Domination!* <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/fraternal-relations-between-spalakh-ukraine-and-rcit/>)

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I. The world in the face of numerous conflicts

We are in the stage of late capitalism. This system has existed longer than is appropriate for the stage in the development of mankind, which is why it began to rot. Its necrosis permeates all social relations: from international to personal relations.

On an international scale, we are witnessing the aggravation of the inter-imperialist confrontations, which is manifested by the rapid increase in the number of wars on the planet in the last 30 years. It involves various actors, such as the U.S., Russia, China, the collective EU and others. More and more states are emerging, demanding redistribution of global capital, more and more wars are being provoked, and these wars affect more and more states.

Conflicts are growing both between states and within states. Governments of all countries, without exception, attack workers' rights, which were fought for by the people with sweat and blood until today. Every year the proletariat is defeated in the struggle with the ruling class. The reaction to such arrogance is different: in regions like in Europe, the proletariat stands up sharply in defence of these rights through numerous rallies and actions for social payments and salaries, for the inclusion of migrants in society and for solidarity with the peoples of other countries; in other countries, such as in Ukraine and Russia, the power of the progressive working class is suppressed by the forces of reaction and it cannot even cry out while the despotism of the authorities fetters its freedom. Such a difference is connected with the contradictory development of economies during the period of state-monopoly capitalism, their differentiation and backwardness.

II. Ukraine's place in the world

Ukraine is not independent from the processes of disorder of capitalism in the world. Politics did not knock on our door but flew in with a rocket. However, it is a mistake to focus our attention exclusively on the power which launched this rocket at us and to derive our worldview exclusively from this experience. It is worth considering the place of the Ukraine in global time and space.

Even before the war, Ukraine and its people were plundered by both national and foreign capitalists, starting with independence in 1991 and the subsequent restoration of capitalism. By 2014, Ukraine was already torn apart by the monopolies of two blocs of countries: America and

Russia. In face of this, the local ruling class had to choose whom to sell to in order to repay the national debt to these countries. The offers were generous on both sides, so the country had to go through a coup d'état to finally decide who to sell to, and the choice fell on the West. As a result, some clans fought for the “Russian peace”, others – for the “open community”. But as a result, the entire working class was defeated! After all, it is this class which suffers from joining any imperialist bloc. Therefore, Spalakh advocates that the Ukraine does not join any such bloc: against NATO, the EU and the CSTO!

Consequently, the country entered an even worse period of economic decline, along with the war against Russia. The mass of the unemployed was constantly growing, the strength of the working class was falling, it could not oppose anything. This caused the entry into the period of the so-called “reaction”, the reign of hatred and chauvinism, the loss of the working class's voice and numerous possessions of the USSR era. The Maidan government did not differ significantly from the pre-“revolutionary” one. Every day, Ukrainians lost their political freedoms, the standard of living worsened, and Russia was blamed for these problems. It is undoubtedly guilty of killing civilians and starting a war, but it cannot serve as an excuse for all the atrocities of our government in all the essential problems of the people. And although the authorities made Bonapartist decisions about the fight against corruption and the creation of a relevant committee, the fight against oligarchs and the relevant law ... it is known why this did not yield any results.

III. Rescue of Ukraine

Our main goal, accordingly, is to bring the working class to direct power over the country and its economy, attention, and not the seizure of power by the party instead of the people. The latter is rather what happened in 2014 as a result of the revolution. Of course, the liberals took power then; but it would not have saved the situation if it had been the rotten and opportunistic KPU (Communist Party of Ukraine).

Bringing the proletariat to power means liberating the country both from its own capitalists and from control by Russia and the West. This is the realization of this secret desire of all Ukrainians – the independence of Ukraine under the workers' banner. And no obstacle should stand in the way of this desire.

Shamefully, there are socialists who believe that war is not a time for changes, because it might destabilize country. Nonsense! Only a revolutionary struggle within Ukraine, taking control by the people, will help lead it to victory by using all its resources and hands. Currently, the resources are either not used, or they are completely stolen: a staggering number of unemployed, closed enterprises, property stolen and taken abroad, “there is no money” – but there are oligarchs.

In order to stop embezzlement and mobilize all resources, it will be necessary to resort first to the nationalization of only the key branches of the country's economy, but this

does not mean “total expropriation of all and everything”. The first major step will be the creation of a people’s bank by nationalizing all the country’s banks, which during the war made record profits and profited from the poor. Prohibition of microfinance offices, introduction instead of interest-free loans for consumption by everyone. An important step will also be the return of the moratorium on the sale of land, the nationalization of already sold state lands in order to pay off the further state debt thanks to the rent. At the same time, the current debt to the West must be written off and not paid. Ultimately, the sale and corporatization of the country’s key enterprises, such as Ukroboronprom, Naftogaz, and Ukrenergo, will be stopped.

These measures are included in our general transition program, which must be implemented when the workers come to power. Our economic demands do not exclude, but on the contrary, encourage the democratic struggle of the working class for higher wages, for media freedom, for the rights of LGBT+ people, etc. Our transition program can be implemented only in the conditions of the already raging class struggle, and not in the period of reaction and flattery to the ruling class with toothless demands for reforms. Because each of these measures is complementary, that is, they need each other, and therefore it is impossible to fulfil only one point in order to “please” the people by expropriating a single oligarch on the wave of populism, because the sum of the system does not change by permuting the terms.

The transition to a planned economy is not a panacea, as it may seem to dogmatic socialists. The plan is indeed capable of achieving victories in technical tasks, as it saved the USSR during the Patriotic War, but any private ownership interests corrode it, cause the atomization of the economy and lead to the market, which we saw at the dawn of the collapse of the USSR. That is why the economy must be governed by workers’ councils, which will form the highest elected body responsible for planning on a national scale.

The councils will play an ever-increasing role and authority in governing the country and will act according to the principle of democratic centralism. The party, on the contrary, will initially play a strong role within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the more the workers’ councils learn to run the country, the more the party will distance itself from the authorities. Therefore, the party will become a place for politically savvy workers to impart knowledge to the workers’ councils and to advance the development of Marxism, not for mass joining of people for party rations and the cramming of vulgarized Marxism. That’s right, here we are alluding to Stalin’s “draft” into the party, which caused the party’s boundaries to swell, while most of the revolutionaries were physically repressed by shootings, and those who remained were diluted among the millions without the right to vote. Instead of bringing the people through the workers’ councils to power, Stalin only brought many “people” into the party, and he brought the party to power with his 1936 constitution. We follow Trotsky’s slogan of “Power to the Soviets!” and the correct implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, while for the party it is the practice of party maxim and labour duty for each member.

Self-organized combat units, such as TRO, can be the starting point for the formation of Soviets. That is why it

is worth insisting on the independence of TRO from the state Armed Forces, encouraging the people to grassroots organization. Only when the people get real weapons and know that no one will take them from them “from above”, then they will fight for their land to the end, then democracy will reign. There will be no need for inhumane methods to close everyone in one country by banning travel abroad, there will be no need to drive people like cattle into the ranks of the Armed Forces by force through the TCC. Therefore, we will relentlessly contrast the grassroots organization with the Armed Forces, where the higher ranks “get fat” and ministers are changed at will.

Therefore, our slogan is the *transformation of the national liberation struggle into a people’s war!*

IV. The terrible state of the left movement of Ukraine

Having set such goals, Spalakh understands the need to build a party, but there is no force in Ukraine that would follow the true path to socialism in its theory and practice.

The honesty of the revolutionaries before the people is assessed most easily by whether they are ready to sell their interests to someone else. Unfortunately, the people cannot buy and pay for a party, but the capitalists love it - there is enough money. Many organizations fail such a test. It is known that the official *Communist Party of the Ukraine* (KPU) sold itself to Russian oligarchs and promoted their narratives on the territory of Ukraine, which gave rise to the false analogy of “communism = racism”, which we are now relentlessly trying to break. Stalinists, such as those from *Borotba*, are usually the most frequent clients of the Kremlin, due to their overlapping interests. On the other hand, we have organizations that exist exclusively on grants from Western funds. Such as the *Socialni Rukh* (Social Movement), which mainly consists of the petty-bourgeois layer, whose interests are more oriented towards Western imperialism. The final result for such organizations is not to live on handouts from abroad, but the desire to adapt to the trough of the Ukrainian government and have a stable flow of income.

A somewhat more difficult test of an organization is its adherence to a true Marxist scientific method. Here we are dealing with a Marxism that is generally correct, but inconsistent, that is, erroneous in certain respects. One of these errors is the division of Marxists after the beginning of the war and the incorrect analysis of the current conflict. Semi-Stalinists like the *Workers’ Front of Ukraine* (RFU), which are dependent on and partly aligned with the Russian left movement, repeat without verification the Russian narrative of neutrality in relation to war. In Russia, such an approach might be justified by individualistic fear of prison and/or Great Russian chauvinism, but in Ukrainian realities it is completely untrue and leads to harm and collaboration with Russian imperialism, and does not find understanding among the Ukrainian people. Each individual case requires analysis, but in general it is based on a misunderstanding of the importance of the national issue, whether it is in relation to Ukraine or even Palestine. In both cases, such inconsistent Marxists fail this test.

Therefore, the national question is one of the key ones in the conditions of national oppression in Ukraine. Spalakh recognizes not just an abstract right to self-determination that can be applied to anything, even fictitious entities

like the LDNR [Luhansk People's Republic and Donetsk People's Republic, Ed.], as some other leftist organizations believe. Concretely, we support the right to self-determination of the Ukrainian people and its sovereignty within its own border in 1991. We support the right to free use of the Ukrainian language and the protection of this language both in Ukraine and in the occupied territories. We actively support Ukrainization.

However, at the same time, we strongly condemn the violent measures taken by the authorities within the framework of the Moratorium on Russian cultural products and the law on Decolonization 2022, measures to discriminate against non-Ukrainian speakers, as well as the ban on the use of the Russian language in public, the barbaric destruction of books, cassettes with songs, works of art and monuments etc. Among these, even the Ukrainian heritage of Soviet science is destroyed anti-democratically, as "ideologically incorrect". Therefore, there should be room for development not only of the Ukrainian culture, but also of those of minorities, among which the most numerous is the Russian – the one, which is currently the most persecuted. After all, "A nation that oppresses other nations cannot be free," wrote Marx.

In addition to the national minorities of neighbouring countries, we should not forget about granting autonomy to unrecognized peoples living exclusively on the territory of Ukraine, such as Carpatho-Rusyn and Crimean Tatars. What is most important for us is the will of the workers' representation of these peoples, and not that of the corrupt bandits, such as those from the Mejlis, who mercilessly robbed the people of Crimea since independence, and who now pretend to be the voice of the oppressed Crimean Tatar people, although in fact they serve Ukrainian and Turkish big capital. The national question of the peoples of

Crimea can be resolved only with the return of Ukraine's sovereignty and a voluntary regional referendum, and not with machine guns.

Spalakh tries to expose similar errors of inconsistency of other left-wing organizations – be it in the field of materialism, in opposition to imperialism or in the national question. However, at the same time, we oppose sectarianism, meaningless criticism and self-obsession. Despite their number, there is almost no open contact between the above-mentioned organizations and they are openly ignored. Therefore, Spalakh insists on the formation of communication between all left-wing forces in Ukraine, regardless of the number of supporters, in order to make any discussion a public domain in order to arrive at the truth.

V. Building of the International

That is why Spalakh's main task is to become not only a bridge between different organizations of Ukraine, but also an international bridge by being a section of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and establishing relations with socialists of many countries. To promote the international solidarity of Ukrainians with various people's movements regardless of the place on the planet, support whether it is strikes in France or the struggle of the Palestinian people for independence. Foster internationalism, fight against nationalism and its manifestations in the form of "geopolitical" consciousness and the division of the world into good and bad nations. The highest goal is the overthrow of global capital through a world revolution that is not limited by borders like it was in the case of the Stalinist USSR. Let's work together so that the proletarians of all countries unite!



Publications of the RCIT

Ukraine: A Capitalist Semi-Colony

On the exploitation and deformation of Ukraine's economy
by imperialist monopolies and oligarchs since capitalist restoration in 1991

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2023

Introduction * I. The Marxist Theory of Imperialism and the Concept of Semi-Colonies * II. The Dead-End of Bureaucratic Stalinism * III. The Devastating Social & Economic Consequences of Capitalist Restoration * IV. The Semi-Colonial Deformation of Ukrainian Capitalism since 1991 (1. Oligarchs: the creation of a comprador bourgeoisie; 2. A semi-colonial supplier of raw materials for the capitalist world market; 3. Deep in the trap of foreign debt; 4. Foreign investment: the imperialist plunder of the Ukraine; 5. Migration: the Ukraine provides cheap labour force) * V. Ukraine: A Dependent Country Torn between Great Powers in East & West * VI. Russia's Push to Colonise the Ukraine since February 2022 and NATO's Efforts to Increase its Influence * VII. The Way Forward: From National Liberation to Social Revolution * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 28 pages, A4 Format

One Cannot Be a Communist Without Being an Anti-Imperialist

The IMT about the Houthis' struggle against Israel and Western imperialism

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 23 January 2024

Shortly after Israel started its genocidal war against the Palestinian people in Gaza, *Ansar Allah* (popularly known as the Houthis) began to launch a series of solidarity actions in order to support the victims of the Zionist aggression. They have fired drones and missiles strikes both against the territory of Israel as well as against Israel-linked cargo ships.

These actions have a major impact on Israel's economy but also on global trade. Four of the five biggest shipping companies have decided to pause their operations through the Red Sea. An increasing number of companies have stopped doing business with Israel and many ships entering the Red Sea are using the phrase "*We have no relation to Israel*" on automatic identification systems to avoid attacks from the Houthis.

As a result, shipping via the Red Sea has declined from 500,000 containers per day in November to about 200,000 currently. Israel's maritime trade in the Red Sea has substantially decreased and revenues of Israel's port of Eilat dropped by more than 80%. Likewise, Europe also experiences major repercussions since 40% of its trade with Asia and the Middle East passes through the Red Sea.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) has stated since the beginning of the war that socialists cannot be neutral in this war. "*The RCIT and its comrades its Occupied Palestine unconditionally support the struggle of the Palestinian resistance. In this war, socialists, democrats, all righteous people around the world, have only one side to take – the side of the oppressed. We say: victory to the Palestinian people! Defeat Israel!*"¹

Likewise, when *Ansar Allah* began its solidarity actions, we expressed our support. "*We reiterate the RCIT's position of unconditional support for the heroic Palestinian resistance. In any confrontation the Houthis and EU (or US/UK) naval forces, we side with the Yemeni resistance. We also fully side with all other forces fighting the Israeli or the Western imperialists. In all these conflicts we advocate the military victory of the Palestinian and pro-Palestinian forces and the defeat of the Zionist and imperialist enemies.*"²

Against Imperialism but not with those fighting the imperialists?

In contrast to authentic socialists, a number of self-proclaimed Marxist organisation limit themselves to denounce the Israeli genocide in Gaza as well as the Western imperialist military intervention in the Red Sea but refuse to take the side of the oppressed. Unfortunately, the "*International Marxist Tendency*" (IMT), led by Alan Woods, belongs to this category.

After the U.S. and its allies began to launch military strikes against the Houthis, the IMT published three articles on it.³ Surely, the comrades denounce the imperialist aggression and warn against an expansion of the war to the whole region. Woods writes: "*But what effect will this raid have in practice? Will it serve to deter the Houthis from carrying out further attacks on shipping? The answer was delivered*

immediately in a defiant reply by the Houthi militia leader, who threatened a "strong and effective response" (...) The Houthis clearly have the support of the mass of the population. (...) The attack on Yemen has further inflamed the anger of the masses in every country of the region. This angry mood was sufficiently inflamed even before this. But now the whole region is a huge powder keg, waiting to explode."

All this is fine but completely insufficient. In fact, all the observations about the doomed character of imperialist aggression are – as my comrade Yossi Schwartz from the RCIT's section in Occupied Palestine aptly named – *nice observations without a revolutionary program*".⁴ Great that imperialism is in a mess. But what are the tasks for communists? Which side should they take?

Another leading member of the IMT, Ben Curry, formulates in his article the slogan "*We say: hands off Yemen! Down with the imperialist murderers!*" But in a war between the oppressors and the oppressed, this is not enough! In such a conflict, communists take a side – the camp of the oppressed. Today, this means to support the military struggle of the Palestinian as well as the Yemeni resistance.

The tactic of the anti-imperialist united front

Opposing the imperialist enemy *without* taking the side of the very forces which actually fight this monster – this is empty phrase mongering characteristic for centrism but not communism. As we have pointed out repeatedly, the Communist International – and later Trotsky's Fourth International – advocated the tactic of the *anti-imperialist united front*.

This specific tactic is a concrete application of the united front tactic which was elaborated for situations where revolutionaries constitute a minority and where the struggle is led by non-revolutionary forces (reformists, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalists and Islamists). It basically means to jointly fight with such non-revolutionary forces in order to strike against the common enemy. At the same time, communists keep their organisational independence, advocate their revolutionary program and criticise the shortcomings of their united front partners.

Such stated the Communist International in their *Theses on the Eastern Question*, adopted at its Fourth Congress in 1922, about the importance of the anti-imperialist united front tactic: "*The expediency of this slogan follows from the prospect of a prolonged and protracted struggle with world imperialism which demands the mobilization of all revolutionary elements. This mobilization is the more necessary as the indigenous ruling classes are inclined to effect compromises with foreign capital directed against the vital interests of the masses of the people. And just as in the West the slogan of the proletarian united front has helped and is still helping to expose social-democratic betrayal of proletarian interests, so the slogan of the anti-imperialist united front will help to expose the vacillation of various bourgeois-nationalist groups. This slogan will also promote the development of the revolutionary will and the clarification of the class consciousness of the working masses and put*

them in the front ranks of those who are fighting not only against imperialism, but also against the survivals of feudalism.”⁵

Applying the same method to the conditions of China’s national liberation war against the Japanese invaders – which took place under the leadership of the anti-communist and bourgeois nationalist Chiang Kai-shek – Trotsky explained in 1937: “In participating in the military struggle under the orders of Chiang Kai-shek, since unfortunately it is he who has the command in the war for independence – to prepare politically the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek ... that is the only revolutionary policy.”⁶

The IMT’s tradition of reactionary abstentionism in anti-imperialist struggles

Unfortunately, the IMT – as well as all other groups in the tradition of Ted Grant – has always opposed the communist tactic of the anti-imperialist united front. In all major conflicts between imperialist states and oppressed peoples, they refused to side with the latter but rather took a neutral position, i.e. a policy of *reactionary abstentionism*.⁷

In contrast, the RCIT and its predecessor organisation always sided with those forces opposing the imperialist aggressor. We did so in Argentina during the Malvinas War against Britain, despite the fact that it was led by a reactionary military regime; in Iraq in the two wars 1991 and 2003 (and the subsequent occupation) against U.S. imperialism and its allies, despite the fact that the resistance was led by (petty-)bourgeois Baathist and Islamist forces; the Taliban-led resistance in Afghanistan against the imperialist occupiers in 2001-21; the Irish resistance, led by Sinn

Fein / IRA, against the British occupiers, the Palestinian resistance led by Hamas and other nationalist and Islamist organisations or the resistance of the Ukrainian people, led by the pro-Western Zelensky government, against the Russian invasion.⁸

The IMT – similar to the CWI and the ISA – has always refused to take the side of these (petty-)bourgeois forces fighting against the imperialists and oppressors. They always limited themselves to general denunciations without drawing the necessary conclusions. Trotsky once characterized such an approach as typical for centrism – in contrast to authentic Bolshevism.

„Nevertheless, Ledebour’s position even on this question does not leave the precincts of centrism. Ledebour demands that a battle be waged against colonial oppression; he is ready to vote in parliament against colonial credits; he is ready to take upon himself a fearless defense of the victims of a crushed colonial insurrection. But Ledebour will not participate in preparing a colonial insurrection. Such work he considers putschism, adventurism, Bolshevism. And therein is the whole gist of the matter.

What characterizes Bolshevism on the national question is that in its attitude toward oppressed nations, even the most backward, it considers them not only the object but also the subject of politics. Bolshevism does not confine itself to recognizing their “right” to self-determination and to parliamentary protests against the trampling upon of this right. Bolshevism penetrates into the midst of the oppressed nations; it raises them up against their oppressors; it ties up their struggle with the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries; it instructs the oppressed Chinese, Hindus, or Arabs in the art of insurrection and it assumes full responsibility for this work in the face of civilized

Books of the RCIT

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

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

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

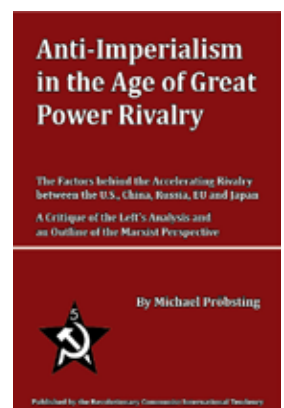
Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry demonstrates the validity of the Marxist analysis of modern imperialism. Using comprehensive material (including 61 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that a correct understanding of the rise of China and Russia as new Great Powers is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

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

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

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

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



executioners. Here only does Bolshevism begin, that is, revolutionary Marxism in action. Everything that does not step over this boundary remains centrism.”⁹

We are aware that the IMT made a certain shift to left in the last period. While it traditionally adapted to the social democratic and Labour parties, it now orients more towards an independent profile and renames their sections and papers “communist”. Naturally, this is a welcome development! But it is not enough to change names – the decisive issue is to change the program and the methods. In the case of the wars in the Middle East, this means first and foremost, to support clearly and unambiguously the military struggle of the Palestinian as well as the Yemeni resistance.

The comrades of the IMT need to understand that one cannot be a communist without being an anti-imperialist with all consequences!

Footnotes

1 RCIT: “This is the Time to Expel the Occupiers!” Support the Heroic Palestinian Resistance! Defeat Israel! 7 October 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/fifth-gaza-war-support-the-heroic-palestinian-resistance/>. We refer readers to a special page on our website where all RCIT documents on the 2023 Gaza War are compiled, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-gaza-uprising-2023/>.

2 The RCIT has published the following statements and articles on the Houthis solidarity actions: Imperialist EU to Send Warships to Red Sea to Fight the Houthis. US, UK and European forces - out of the Middle East! Defeat Israel! Support the Palestinian and Yemeni resistance! 18 January 2024, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/imperialist-eu-to-send-warships-to-red-sea-to-fight-the-houthis/>; From Zionist War on Gaza to Israeli-American War against Arab Peoples. Stop the genocide of the Palestinian people! Defeat Israel! Kick the US/UK forces out of the Middle East! Victory to the resistance! 16 January 2024, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/from-zionist-war-on-gaza-to-israeli-american-war-against-arab-peoples/>; UN Security Council Legitimizes US-Led Naval Force in Red Sea to Attack the Houthis, 10 January 2024, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/un-security-council-legitimizes-us-led-naval-force-in-red-sea-to-attack-the-houthis/>; U.S & Allies Send Naval Force to Red Sea to Support Terrorist Israel against Houthis, 18 December 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/u-s-allies-send-naval-force-to-red-sea-to-support-terrorist-israel-against-houthis/>; Gaza War: The Houthis Have Opened the Second Front. Major international shipping companies stop their operations through the Red Sea after a series of attacks by the Yemeni rebels, 16

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The Gaza War 2023-24

See all relevant RCIT documents on our website:

<https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-gaza-uprising-2023/>

Russia: Zyuganov's KPRF and some "Trotskyists" on the Prigozhin Coup

A critique of the Stalinists' support for Putin as well as of the wavering line of the RRP

By Alexey Sedov, Denis Sokolov and Michael Pröbsting, *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)*, 28.6.2023

It is a well-known truth of Marxism that wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions are the most decisive tests for communists. Failed coups – like the one which Wagner boss Yevgeny Prigozhin carried out on 24 June – belong to this category. Such events represent elementary collisions of antagonistic political forces which reveal the nature of any party as they leave little space for evasiveness.

The RCIT and *Socialist Tendency* (RCIT Section in Russia) have taken a clear position from the very beginning of the attempted coup. We denounced it as a "reactionary rebellion against a reactionary regime" and as a "quarrel between thieves." Consequently, we stated: "The workers and oppressed have nothing to win by supporting one of these war criminals – both are worse!" Likewise, we reiterated our support for the Ukrainian people in its just war of national defence against Russian imperialism – which has been the key factor for provoking the deep crisis of the Putin regime.¹

KPRF: "Rally to the President and the Motherland"

Unsurprisingly, the Stalinist KPRF, led by Gennady Zyuganov, took a very different position. It immediately rallied to the flag of President Putin in the hour of need. In the first statement, published on 24 June, Zyuganov called to support the President and "the motherland" against Prigozhin's "provocation". "I listened attentively to the President's address, and fully support his call to unite as much as possible in this formidable and responsible time."²

He demanded from the Wagner boss to "stop this provocation" so that "we" can "unite as much as possible and support the guys who are fighting for our Motherland, liberating native Ukraine from the Nazis, Bandera and fascists."

In the statement of its Central Committee, published a few hours later on the same day, the KPRF basically repeated this approach. "In this critical situation, the call of the President of the Russian Federation to rally our fellow citizens in the face of external threats deserves understanding and support. Attempts by the globalists to destroy Russia mean the need to cast aside all ambitions and defend the Motherland - the way our fathers and grandfathers defended it. (...) To raise an armed rebellion in such a difficult time for the Fatherland means to take the side of the enemy."³

Similar to the Kremlin's line, the KPRF praises the "heroism and self-sacrifice of the Wagner fighters in the fight against Nazism" – a cynical term by which they mean the Ukrainian people who are suffering from Russian state terrorism since 24 February 2022. Such appreciation for the reactionary mercenaries of Wagner is only logical because these Great Russian chauvinists have unreservedly supported the Kremlin's war against the Ukrainian people from the very first hour. "The Communist Party of the Russian Federation actively supports the guys who are fighting on the front

lines against Nazism and Bandera."

After the attempted coup had failed, Zyuganov heartfully thanked Putin, Belarus President Lukashenko and the church in two statements for helping to "resolve the crisis". "Today there is a need to thank President Putin and President Lukashenko, the leaders of all parties and movements, His Holiness, all public organizations that rallied and, as a single organism, opposed yet another violence, military squabbles, and lawlessness in the country. (...) Yesterday I discussed this topic in great detail with the president. We came to the conclusion that it is necessary to develop such protective mechanisms that would not allow this to happen again in the future."⁴

It should not go unnoticed that the KPRF leader tellingly managed to combine his Stalinist-Putinista sermon with a vulgar antisemitic remark by claiming that in the reactionary Provisional Government in 1917 "only the Minister of Railway Transport was not a member of the Masonic Lodge." But that should not come as a surprise since Ruskij Mir chauvinists are by their very nature hostile to national and religious minorities and don't shy away of flirting with the worst ideological traditions which resulted in horrible pogroms against Jews in the 19th and 20th century.

The KPRF's unconditional support for Putin is only the logical continuation of its policy in the past years. As we did show in various articles, Zyuganov's party is the "left" wing of the Putin regime. It is a "communist" party only by name. It supported Putin's military intervention in Syria since 2015, in Kazakhstan during the popular uprising in January 2022⁵ and, of course, the invasion of the Ukraine 14 months ago.⁶ All this is combined with un concealed support for the imperialist "fatherland" and chauvinist Ruskij Mir ideology. In short, Zyuganov's KPRF is a bourgeois, Great Russian chauvinist and social-imperialist party which is an integral component of the political system created by the Putin regime.⁷

RRP: "Oppose the coup in order to avoid lawlessness"

The statements of the *Revolyutsionnaya Rabochaya Partiya* (Revolutionary Workers Party, RRP) on the Prigozhin coup are also worth mentioning. The RRP is a national-isolated Trotskyist organisation which has loose links with the Italian PCL.⁸ It positively distinguishes itself from the reactionary filth of the Stalinist-Putinistas as they neither praise the President nor his war against the Ukrainian people.

However, one can not fail pointing out that these statements are characterised by wavering between a principled stance and opportunistic adaption to social-patriotism – with a drift towards the latter. In fact, only the very first statement on 24 June contains the key words which were essential for authentic Marxists in the situation of such an attempted coup: "neither side of the conflict is proletarian and does not deserve to be supported."⁹

However, when the pressure of the regime and, in particular, of Zyuganov's KPRF became stronger hour-by-hour and day-by-day, the RRP leaders increasingly adapted to an opportunistic position as they focused their fire primarily on Prigozhin. In a second statement, published later on the same day, they warned that the coup could result in worse conditions than the Putin regime. Now, Prigozhin is called a "terrorist and extremist" – which is, of course, true but why not use the same characteristics for the Putin regime, as his executioner the Wagner boss acted for many years?!

Consequently, they called the working class to "resist the coup in an organized manner": "We urge you not to believe any populist claims of "justice" by the rebels. The victory of these forces will lead not only to a change of groups at the trough of the state, but to even greater unbridledness of the military and police. The working class must resist the coup in an organized manner..."¹⁰

Such an opportunistic adaptation to the KPRF's position on the coup became even more clear in another press release, published two days later. Here, the RRP leaders state again that "the success of the rebellion would have led to greater unbridled police arbitrariness." Repeating the above-mentioned warning of Zyuganov about the danger of "lawlessness", they advocate a concealed defence of the Putin regime in the hour of the coup: "Mass workers' organizations needed to resist the insurrection in order to prevent lawlessness"¹¹

Such an approach to the attempted coup of Prigozhin lacks any Marxist principles. Instead of taking a consistent position of class independence which *equally* opposes both reactionary camps – Putin as well as Prigozhin – the RRP leaders claim that the former would be the "lesser evil" and, hence, the working class should focus on defeating the coup.

It is particularly revealing – and completely outrageous for authentic Marxists – to justify such opposition against a coup with the argument that this would "prevent lawlessness". With such communist friends of "law and order", one needs no enemies!

The RRP's strategic line of opportunist adaptation to the KPRF

The wavering approach of the RRP is no accident. It is the continuation of their long-standing opportunist adaption to the Stalinist-Putinista KPRF. As we did show in other documents, the RRP supported Zyuganov's KPRF at the municipal elections in September 2022 and even stood its own candidates on the KPRF's list. Recently, it decided to support the KPRF's candidate at the upcoming mayoral elections in Moscow ... who happens to be Zyuganov's grandson!

The RRP's opportunistic orientation to the KPRF is also the political fundament for its failure to take a principled internationalist and anti-imperialist stance against Putin's war in the Ukraine.¹² While the RCIT and *Socialist Tendency* support the Ukraine's just war of national defence against Putin's invasion, these pseudo-"Trotskyists" refuse to side with the Ukrainian people, waver on the question if Russia is an imperialist power, and – as a concession to social-patriotism – call for "proletarian measures" to defend "the motherland".¹³

As we stated above, historic events – like Prigozhin's failed coup on 24 June – are a decisive test for all those who claim to adhere to the banner of communism. Zyuganov's KPRF has demonstrated once again that it is a party of the Putin regime. And, unfortunately, the RRP's leader have also shown that they lack a Marxist compass of class independence but rather opportunistically adapt to the small and large Zyuganovs in Ruskij Mir.

We conclude by reiterating that authentic Marxists must break decisively with the RRP's policy. The RCIT and its Russian supporters of "*Socialist Tendency*" look forward collaborating with all revolutionaries who join us in the struggle against social-imperialism and chauvinist patriotism!

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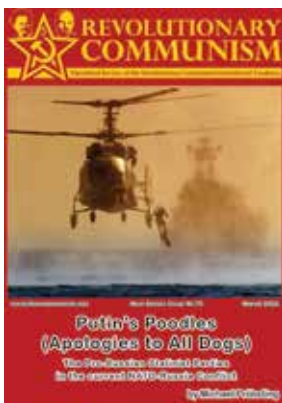
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

Putin’s Poodles (Apologies to All Dogs)

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

by Michael Pröbsting, February 2022

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

Russia: Zyuganov's "Disciplined Party Members"

A critique of the "Trotskyist" RRP's unwavering support for the Stalinist, social-imperialist and Pro-Putin KPRF

By Alexey Sedov, Denis Sokolov and Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 29.12.2023

After the Putin regime announced that the next Presidential elections will be held on 15–17 March 2024, Zyuganov's KPRF nominated Nikolay M. Kharitonov who was already the party's candidate at the elections in 2004. He is an inconspicuous figure from the right-wing of this Stalinist-capitalist party. He authentically represents the KPRF's policy of servile subordination to the regime about everything – including Putin's imperialist predatory war against the Ukraine – as he did already announce that he will even refrain from criticizing Putin during his electoral campaign! As we did already say in the past, the KPRF leaders pursue a Great Russian Stalinist, social-imperialist and Pro-Putin policy and, therefore, remain loyal servants of the Kremlin.¹

Unfortunately, there are also some self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" organisations which don't view the KPRF's strategy of daily capitulation to the Bonapartist regime as an obstacle for serving it. The self-proclaimed *Revolyutsionnaya Rabochaya Partiya* (Revolutionary Workers Party, RRP) is one of these. Since many years, it collaborates with these Great Russian Stalinists and adapt their own policy to that of Putin's servants. Hence, the RRP continued their opportunist orientation to Zyuganov's party even after the beginning of Putin's invasion of the Ukraine.

As we did show in other documents, the RRP supported the KPRF at the municipal elections in September 2022 and even stood its own candidates on their party list. At the Moscow mayoral election in September 2023, the RRP leadership supported the KPRF's candidate (Zyuganov's grandson!).²

It is therefore not surprising that the RRP leadership calls its supporters to continue supporting the Kremlin "communists" at the upcoming Presidential elections – irrespective of Kharitonov's declaration not to criticise Putin. In two recently published documents – a resolution of a conference in Moscow and a statement of their Central Committee – the RRP defends such an arch-opportunist orientation in more detail.³

The KPRF: "a traditional proletarian party"?

It is true that the RRP leaders are unhappy with the crawling capitulation of Zyuganov & Co. and criticise such. But for them, the KPRF is first and foremost a workers party with some leaders at the top who err. Such says the resolution of the Central Committee that the KPRF "is a traditional proletarian party".

This is sheer nonsense. As a matter of fact, the KPRF has never been based on mass organisations of the working class (like trade unions or other mass organisation). It was created in 1993 out of the remnants of the Stalinist bureaucracy whose regime had collapsed two years before. It always refrained from opposing the capitalist-bonapartist regime or simply supported in all key moments like Putin's war against the Chechen people in 1999-2009, his military operation in Kazakhstan in January 2022 to smash the

popular uprising, his imperialist war against the Ukraine since February 2022 or during Prigozhin's coup attempt in June 2023.

In short, the KPRF is a bourgeois-populist party which serves the bonapartist Putin regime and fully shares its Great Russian imperialist policy abroad. It is not an instrument of the working class and its struggles but rather an organisation which is – and has always been – closely linked with the Putin regime. It does not lead, or initiate, class struggles but rather works hard to avoid such. It serves the ruling class and not the proletariat!

Because of such arch-reactionary policy, the KPRF constantly loses members and support. The RRP itself has to admit such: "All this will certainly cause (and has already caused) demoralization in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Many party members and supporters publicly renounce the party and leave it."

But the RRP leaders consider this as a catastrophe which they want to prevent by any means necessary. "The collapse of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which Zyuganov and a significant part of the party's leadership is preparing, will be a significant defeat for the working class. The working class may lose its only legal political organization and parliamentary means of struggle. The task of all communists is to prevent this."

In order to halt such weakening of the Great Russian Stalinists, the RRP promises to work hard inside the KPRF as "disciplined party members", to fight for the program of the KPRF and to try to reform it from within. "To fight for the program of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation is to expose its leadership. Critical comrades must prove themselves to be disciplined party members and prepare to change the party's course."

Consequently, the RRP leaders promise to support the KPRF's presidential campaign with Kharitonov at the top. "[I]t is quite possible that it will result in protest voting in the elections. We must take this into account, and, working within the framework of the presidential campaign with the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, push it to work with the masses."

The RRP's arch-opportunist approach to the KPRF is a bizarre version of the method of Ted Grant – the founding father of the centrist-"Trotskyist" tradition to which the OKI/IMT and CA/CWI/ISA adhere. These forces did (and partly still do) conduct "deep entryism" inside reformist as well as openly bourgeois parties. They have worked as "disciplined party members" of such parties for years and decades in the hope that these forces could finally be "reformed". As a result, they didn't change these parties but rather acted objectively as servants of the reactionary leadership of these parties.⁴

Adaption to Great Russian social-imperialism

It is only logical that the RRP's opportunistic adaption to the Great Russian chauvinist KPRF goes hand in hand

with its adaption to social-imperialism. In both documents Putin's war against the Ukraine is not criticised at all! Neither is Zyuganov's policy of full-blown support for the imperialist invasion even mentioned!

The RRP leaders bring up the Ukraine War only once when they refer to their discussions how they can best support the mobilised soldiers at the front with material supplies! *"At a conference last fall, we discussed in detail the problems with supplying the mobilized. Now in some sectors of the front the situation has improved, while in others there is corruption, theft, and a horrific violation of the rights of the mobilized. In general, Moscow has absolutely no control over the supply situation at the front, due to the bureaucratic system, which does not provide for a response from below; everything is decided by the local command, which is why arbitrariness flourishes in full bloom. However, at the round table, which was held by deputies from the Communist Party of the Russian Federation in the State Duma, the main problem was the rotation of military personnel and leave, since the loss of husbands and sons for an indefinite period increasingly forces relatives of those mobilized to consolidate into communities disloyal to the regime."*

Hence, the only worry of the RRP leaders is how to better supply the Russian soldiers so that they can fight more effectively to keep and expand the imperialist occupation of the Ukraine! As we did explain in other articles, these pseudo-"Trotskyists" refuse to side with the Ukrainian people, waver on the question if Russia is an imperialist power, and – as a concession to social-patriotism – call for "proletarian measures" to defend "the motherland". In short, they shamefully adapt to Great Russian social-imperialism!

In this context, it is also telling that the RRP Central Committee says the following in its statement: *"Particularly shameful is Zyuganov's statement that Kharitonov is supported by all "left-wing patriotic" forces. The Left Front, the Movement for New Socialism have already refuted this, and we, for our part, also refute this lie."* This means, in other words, that the RRP considers itself to be part of the "left-wing patriotic forces". An astonishing self-disclosure which, however, presents an accurate self-characterisation of the RRP's systematic adaption to the policy of Great Russian social-imperialism!

Authentic socialists take a completely different position in the Ukraine War and advocate a principled internationalist and anti-imperialist stance.⁵ *Socialist Tendency* (the Russian section of the RCIT) has called for the defeat of Russian imperialism since the beginning of the war. We have consistently supported the Ukraine's just war of national defence against Putin's invasion – of course without lending any support to Western imperialism. We share such an approach with the whole RCIT as well as with our comrades of *Spalakh* in the Ukraine.⁶

The position on the Ukraine War, the approach to the social-imperialist KPRF – these are cardinal questions for socialists in Russia. The RRP leaders have consistently failed to take an internationalist and anti-imperialist position. All those who reject such reactionary opportunism should break with the these mis-leaders and join forces with those who advocate the policy of revolutionary defeatism against the Putin regime!

Footnotes

1 See on this e.g. Alexey Sedov, Denis Sokolov and Michael Pröbsting: Russia: Zyuganov's KPRF and some "Trotskyists" on the Prigozhin Coup. A critique of the Stalinists' support for Putin as well as of the wavering line of the RRP, 28 June 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/russia-zyuganov-s-kprf-and-some-trotskyists-on-the-prigozhin-coup/>; see also a pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Putin's Poodles (Apologies to All Dogs). The pro-Russian Stalinist parties and their arguments in the current NATO-Russia Conflict, 9 February 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/nato-russia-conflict-stalinism-as-putin-s-poodles/>

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3 See РЕВОЛЮЦИОННАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТИЯ (РРП): РУКОВОДСТВО КПРФ ВЕДЕТ ПАРТИЮ В ПРОПАСТЬ, 25.12.2023, https://m.vk.com/wall-49023139_171293; РРП: Резолюция Московской конференции, 18.11.2023, <https://vk.com/@-49023139-rezoluciya-moskovskoi-konferencii-2023>. All quotes are from these two documents if not indicated otherwise. The translation is ours.

4 See e.g. the pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: The Poverty of Neo-Imperialist Economism. Imperialism and the national question - a critique of Ted Grant and his school (CWI, ISA, IMT), January 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/grantism-imperialism-and-national-question/>. See also WPB: Militant after Grant: the unbroken thread? in: Permanent Revolution No. 10 (1994), https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/archive-documents-from-the-lrci-and-lfi/#anker_37

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

6 See e.g. Joint Statement of *Spalakh* and RCIT: In the Ukraine and in Palestine: Against the Occupiers! Support the Oppressed People! 23 November 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/joint-statement-of-spalakh-ukraine-and-rcit-on-wars-in-ukraine-and-gaza/>

US-China Rivalry: The Xi-“Trotskyists”

Lambertists issue a disguised call for social-imperialist support for the Middle Kingdom against the U.S. Empire

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 23 June 2023

In the latest issue of its newsletter, the *International Workers Committee against war and exploitation* (IWC) has published an appeal in which it advocates support for Chinese imperialism in the conflict with its American rival.¹

The IWC is a front organization of the so-called Lambertists, a self-proclaimed international tendency led by the French POID. This is manifested in the fact that Daniel Gluckstein happens to be both the National Secretary of POID as well as the International Coordinator of the IWC.

The Lambertist appeal consists of two parts. The first part denounces the U.S. foreign policy in East and South-East Asia where Washington tries to find allies against Beijing. The second part approves and quotes from another appeal which has been issued by a so-called “Workers Tribune on China”: “We make this call from activists and workers in China (From Mainland China and Hong Kong) our own.”

The appeal claims that a military conflict between the U.S. and China would be not a clash between two imperialist powers resp. between their ruling classes. In the case of China, the Lambertists state, it would be rather a war against the Chinese people. “Whatever the pretext, a war against China will be a war against our people.”

The appeal goes on to repeat the well-known propaganda mantra of the Stalinist-capitalist regime about the status of Taiwan. According to Beijing, the Taiwanese people adamantly belong to the Middle Kingdom and have no right to decide about their own fate. Hence, the Lambertist appeal states that the status of Taiwan is to be decided not by the Taiwanese people themselves but ... by the “the Chinese people, including all their components.”

“The Chinese people in mainland China, as well as those in Hong Kong do not regard their brothers and sisters in Taiwan as enemies and do not want a confrontation with them. It is up to the Chinese people, including all their components, and to them only, to decide on their future. That means that we are strongly opposed to any intervention whether on the economic, political or military ground on the part of foreign powers.”

Given the fact that China has 1,400 million people (who are dominated by a dictatorship) and that Taiwan has a

population of only 23 million, one does not need to be an Einstein to calculate the outcome of such a decision by “the Chinese people.”

It is only logical that since the Lambertists consider Taiwan to be part of China, they view any military intervention of the PLA as legitimate while only a U.S. intervention would constitute interference by a “foreign power”.

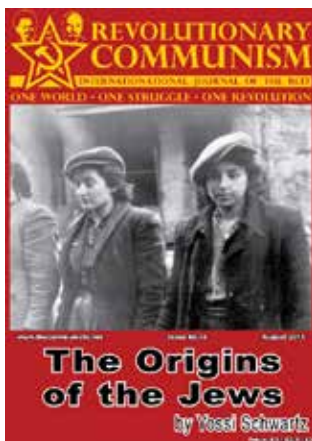
As we did show somewhere else, the Lambertists justify their support for China with the bizarre claim that – despite a pro-capitalist policy of the “Chinese bureaucracy” – capitalism has still not been restored in the Middle Kingdom. In other words, they claim that China would still be a “deformed workers state.” Hence, they call for the defence of China against “imperialist plundering.”²

A social-imperialist fantasy world

In the real world, capitalism has been restored in China already more than three decades ago. Not only this, but China – as we did show in several studies – did even become an imperialist power in its own right more than a decade ago. In fact, today China is challenging the U.S. in nearly all relevant economic, military and political fields.³

The issue of Taiwan is far more complicated than the Beijing regime present it. As a matter of fact, Taiwan was conquered by the Qing dynasty in the late 17th century. However, its control was always rather loose and there were several local rebellions against the central authorities. Since Japan’s conquests of the island in 1895, Beijing has never again reestablished effective control of Taiwan. When Chiang Kai-shek’s reactionary *Kuomintang* lost the civil war against the Communist Party and was forced to retreat to the island, he had first to brutally smash a local uprising of the Taiwanese people in February 1947 who demanded autonomy or independence.

Contrary to the chauvinist propaganda of Beijing, the Communist Party of China recognised in the 1920s and 1930s that the Taiwanese people had their own distinctive identity and should have the right of national self-determination. It was only later, after the Mao-Stalinists had



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fully taken control of the party, that the CPC joined the right-wing *Kuomintang* in claiming that the island would be an “inseparable part of the Chinese nation.”⁴

National self-determination for Taiwan! Revolutionary defeatism against both U.S. and China!

There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism exploits the issue of Taiwan for its own interests. Washington doesn't care about the self-determination of the local population since its main objective is to contain the rise of its imperialist rival. From this follows that socialists must lend no support to the chauvinist and militarist policy of U.S. imperialism. However, this does not mean that socialists could side with the other imperialist power!

The RCIT supports the national right of self-determination of the Taiwanese people. However, such national rights can not be exercised in alliance with an imperialist power (like the U.S.)!

We reiterate our long-standing position that socialists must not support any imperialist camp – neither Washington nor Beijing! In any military conflict between these two states, we take a *revolutionary defeatist position* against both powers. This means that in case of a war between the U.S. and China, revolutionaries refuse to support any side and advocate a policy based on the principles of Lenin and Liebknecht expressed in the famous slogans “*The main enemy is at home*”, “*defeat is the lesser evil*”, and “*Transform the imperialist war into a civil war against the ruling class*”.

Such an approach is the complete opposite to that of the Lambertists who join the camp of Chinese imperialism. Lenin called such direct or indirect supporters of a Great Power “*social-imperialists*”. We can add today that the Lambertists, who have nothing to do with the revolutionary tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, are rather Xi-“Trotskyists”.

Footnotes

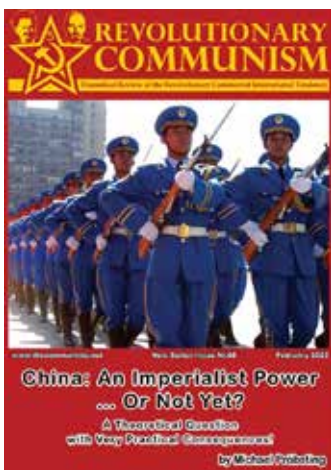
1 Workers, youth and peoples do not want war. No to escalation

of the war! A call from labour activists in the Philippines, Japan, Taiwan, China (HK and Mainland), Korea and Australia, in: IMC Newsletter, No. 234, 16 June 2023, pp. 3-4. All quotes in this article are from this document if not indicated otherwise.

2 See on this Michael Pröbsting: “Defending China”: Pseudo-Trotskyism in the Period of Great Power Rivalry. The Lambertist POID/IWC is another sad example of social-imperialism, 12 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/lambertists-defend-imperialist-china/>

3 For our analysis of capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power see e.g. the book by Michael Pröbsting: *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>; see also by the same author: “*Chinese Imperialism and the World Economy*”, an essay published in the second edition of *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism* (edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope), Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020, https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-319-91206-6_179-1; China: An Imperialist Power ... Or Not Yet? A Theoretical Question with Very Practical Consequences! Continuing the Debate with Esteban Mercatante and the PTS/FT on China's class character and consequences for the revolutionary strategy, 22 January 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-imperialist-power-or-not-yet/>; China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power (2012), in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>; How is it possible that some Marxists still Doubt that China has Become Capitalist? (A Critique of the PTS/FT), An analysis of the capitalist character of China's State-Owned Enterprises and its political consequences, 18 September 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/pts-ft-and-chinese-imperialism-2/>; Unable to See the Wood for the Trees (PTS/FT and China). Eclectic empiricism and the failure of the PTS/FT to recognize the imperialist character of China, 13 August 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/pts-ft-and-chinese-imperialism/>; China's Emergence as an Imperialist Power (Article in the US journal 'New Politics'), in: “*New Politics*”, Summer 2014 (Vol:XV-1, Whole #: 57). See many more RCIT documents at a special sub-page on the RCIT's website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

4 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Did the Chinese Communist Party always consider Taiwan as part of the Chinese nation? LINKS, 6 October 2022, <http://links.org.au/did-chinese-communist-party-always-consider-taiwan-part-chinese-nation>



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