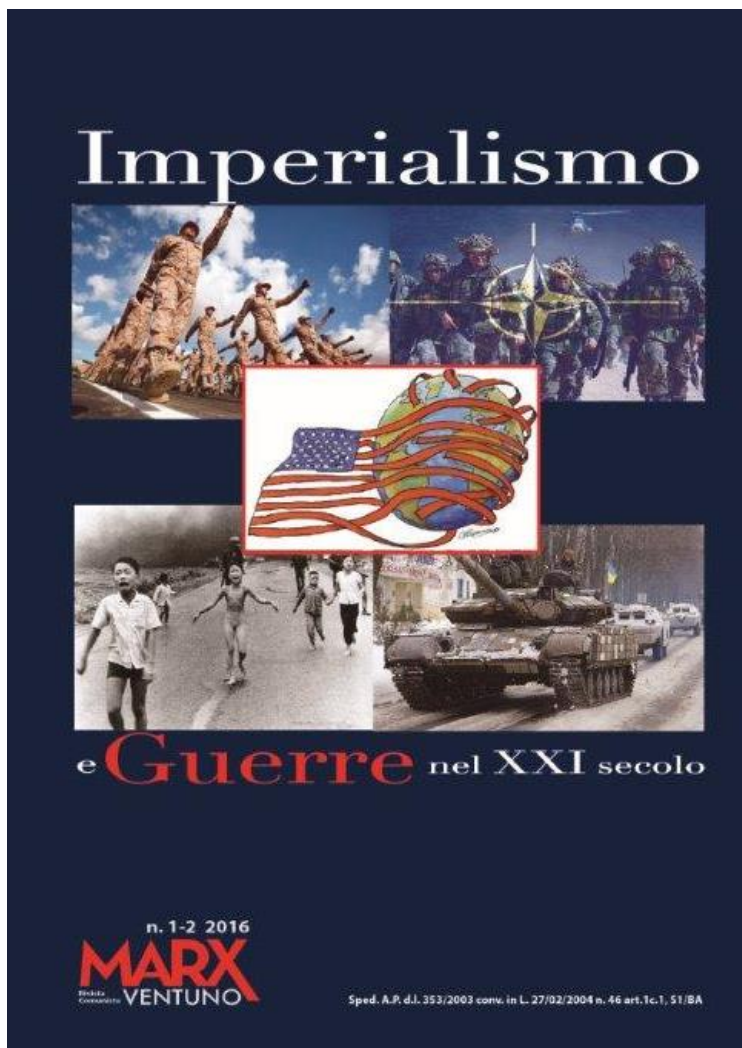


Imperialism and war in the XXI century

MarxVentuno

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Introduction

Andrea Catone

A spectre is haunting the Earth: “a third world war is not inevitable, but quite possible. In large segments of the American ruling class it is gaining ground the idea that only through an overwhelming military superiority over the rest of the world and the recourse to local wars and special destabilizing operations it is possible to preserve their world primacy” (F. Sorini).

Here there is a collection of articles, essays and critical notes on the topic “imperialism and wars in the XXI century”. We have inserted, both as a “prologue” and as a necessary reminder, an article written by **Mauro Gemma** in the anniversary of NATO’s criminal aggression to Yugoslavia in 1999 – to which Italy, then led by a centre-left government presided by Massimo D’Alema and supported by also the PdCI, gave a decisive contribution – a warning to all Communists and anti-imperialists not to forget “that dark page of national history”, so that the grave errors of subalternity to the imperialistic “left” shall not be repeated.

After **Spartaco Alfredo Puttini**’s essay on the “long century of imperialistic world wars”, which invites us to get a long-term perspective in order to understand the current crises haunting the international arena, some key viewpoints are provided to interpret the world’s political situation in 2016, identifying in US/NATO imperialism and in the strategic guidelines of the White House and of the Pentagon after the Fall of the USSR the main source of wars from 1991 (“first Gulf War: Iraq”), to the present-day “strategy of chaos”, aiming at redefining borders and societies in the Middle East and in North Africa. Communists and the anti-imperialist movement must be fully aware of the overwhelming dangers posed by US imperialism in the preparation of war and thus act consequently, in order to create a large front of peoples and countries against the main enemy.

The texts that we present here are on the same wavelength.

Fausto Sorini, having examined the various world regions and outlined an overall, as well as detailed, sketch of the BRICS, points to the absolute priorities of the anti-imperialist and peace movement, stigmatizing the attitude of those who see in a general “clash of powers” the cause of the war, an equivocal evenhandedness behind which the central role of the danger represented by American imperialism fades out and there turn up insane theses on a “new Russian imperialism or “Chinese imperialism”.

Manlio Dinucci, with his voluminous *The art of war. Annals of the Usa/Nato strategy (1990-2015)*, published in 2015 by Zambon and reviewed here by Fabio De Leonardis, documents in a very clear and extensive way the aggressive strategy pursued by the US and NATO after the fall of the USSR. As a continuation and prolongation of those “annals”, we add here his precise interventions appeared between November 2015 and May 2016, which depict with crystal clarity and an extraordinary summarizing ability the main features of the present-day situation. Since 1991 the US have reoriented their strategy and, in agreement with European powers, NATO’s strategy. Since then, the states that were deemed to be an obstacle to their plan of global hegemony have been fragmented or demolished through war one after the other – Iraq, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Libya,

Syria, Ukraine, and others – while others (among which Iran) are still being considered as a target. These wars, which have produced millions of victims, have desegregated entire societies, creating a huge mass of desperate people whose frustration and revolt end up on the one hand in actual resistance, while on the other they are exploited by the CIA and other secret services (including the French ones) to enlist fighters in a “jihad” that effectively serves US/NATO strategy.

Federico La Mattina’s essay clarifies, through a historical account and a critical analysis of the mainstream discourse, the nexus between the pro-NATO fascist coup in Ukraine and the ongoing devastation in Syria and Libya, plus in general the Middle East and North Africa.

Particularly important is the long political and historical analytical essay by **Samir Amin**, *The geostrategy of the United States in trouble. Egypt 2015*. The director of the Third World Forum in Dakar, in a synthesis that resumes and develops his numerous essays and articles published in Arabic, provides us – from the perspective at once of a Marxist theoretician and of a militant engaged in his people’s emancipation struggle – with a historical and political analysis of the class, socioeconomic and political contradictions of a key country of the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region.

José Reinaldo Carvalho, responsible for the International relations of the Communist Party of Brazil, whose address to the 17th International Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Party, held in Istanbul at the end of October 2015, we propose here, warns us that “US-led imperialism, in order to keep its grip on the world and prevent the emergence of competitors, attacks with threats and military aggressions the basic rights and liberties, the sovereignty and self-determination of peoples. In Latin America the economic and political contradictions have generated a peculiar situation of resistance and struggle against dictatorships, imperialist rule, neo-liberalism, conservatism, national and class oppression; a situation that US imperialism is now trying to subvert by any means – from Brazil to Venezuela”.

With the Maidan coup in Ukraine (February 2014), NATO’s further advance towards Russia’s borders and the sanctions imposed by the US and the EU, it has looked more and more evident, even to those who had previously underestimated the problem of NATO’s eastwards push, that Russia is nowadays the main country to be subjected to US-NATO siege and aggression and that it is resisting to it. And because of this resistance, Russia has also become the privileged target of media attacks that, aimed at fostering a wave of russophobia, depict present-day Russia as an aggressive, militaristic, imperialistic country.

To a class analysis of the situation in the Ukraine and in the Donbass is devoted **Aristart A. Kovalev**’s essay “*Who will stop the war in Ukraine?* Published on *Političeskoe prosvěšćenie* (“Political Education”), the Communist Party of the Russian Federation’s theoretical journal, the article is part of a section devoted to Russian Communists and to their interpretation of the international situation and of class struggle at the international level today. The imperialists had to replace Janukovych with a more pliant puppet, in order to drag Ukraine into the EU and NATO and to use it to provoke a war with Russia. To this purpose, the US have carried out a coup, exploiting as their main shock force Bandera’s fascist followers. The fascist aggression has triggered widespread resistance among the population, especially in the south-eastern regions of the country. The resistance was ruthlessly crushed, but things turned out differently in Crimea and in the Donbass. The reunion of Crimea to Russia and the insurgence in the Donbass have served as an artificial “pretext” for Kiev to unleash an actual war against its own people, presenting it as a war

against Russia, with the latter depicted as the aggressor. In the Donbass the insurgent people proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of Donetsk and of the People's Republic of Lugansk. The situation in the Ukraine, in the Donbass and in Russia, with all its contradictions, is then analyzed from a class perspective; subsequently, a program for the establishment of an authentic people's power is put forth.

We also propose the intervention of **Stanislav Eduardovich Anichovsky**, director of the Centre for Political Education of the CC of the CPRF at the V World Socialism Forum (Beijing, October 13-14, 2014), *Imperialist globalism is a dead end*, and some texts published on the journals and reviews of other Russian Communist political groups, such as **A. V. Denisjuk's**, *American imperialism threatens World War III* (from *Serp i molot* – “hammer and sickle” – central organ of the All-Soviet Communist Party of Bolsheviks). The article traces, on a documentary basis, the US strategy after the fall of the USSR and points to the necessity of a large united front against the “main enemy”: “After the destruction of Socialism, Washington set as its task that of establishing on the territory of the former USSR a political regime that is militarily weak and economically dependent. Yeltsin and his successors have sold the country's national interests. Now, however, after the return of Crimea to Russia and the military operation in support of Syria's official authorities, Russia is leading its own independent foreign policy. [...] It is vital for all the planet's inhabitants to unite the forces of the countries that oppose the US aggressive policy in order to prevent the fulfillment of America's imperialist plans”.

As it can be inferred from the texts, fundamentally all Russian Communists support Putin's Russia's foreign policy, which is credited with the merit of pursuing a political course that is independent from US imperialism and radically different from Yeltsin' disgregating and pliant foreign policy. It has seemed useful to us to publish also the debate – in which took part the KKE's Greek Communists and the general secretary of the Syrian Communist Party **Ammar Bagdash** – which was opened by **Viktor A. Tyulkin's** essay, “La lotta dei comunisti contro l'imperialismo quale fonte di guerre”, published in *Marksizm i sovremennost'* (“Marxism and contemporaneity”), and on the *International communist review*. The article proposes, in the wake of the 1935 VII Congress of the Komintern, the establishment of a large front of countries and peoples against the most dangerous enemy, US imperialism, qualified as “export Fascism”.

Concerning present-day Russia, **Marco Pondrelli** reviews the *Limes's* recent issue (January 2016) on “Putin's World”.

Another section of the journal is devoted to the analysis of the Asian front, where Obama has radically reoriented the US foreign policy against China. **Diego Angelo Bertozzi** analyzes its aspects (“Pivot to China”): the overall picture of international relations sees China as the object of a new system of military, political and economic encirclement centered on Washington, which is set on safeguarding its own hegemonic position dating back to the post-WWII period. What is known as “Pivot to Asia”, announced in 2011 by the Obama administration, is turning out to be the ideological cover of a new system of military alliances and partnerships with several Asian countries, some of which have been its historical allies ever since the Cold War.

Frederick William Engdahl, associate director of *Global Research* and author of *Target: China. How Washington and Wall Street Plan to Cage the Asian Dragon* (2014), interviewed here by **Wang Zhen**, a contributor to *International Critical Thought* (one of the English-language journals promoted by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), provides further elements for a political,

economic and geostrategic analysis which clarifies the US aim to prevent the emergence of a great and sovereign Chinese economic power.

Further reflections and elements of knowledge and are provided by **Francesco Maringio's** essay; on returning from a recent stay in the PRC for study purposes, he analyzes in detail its foreign policy after the CPC's XVIII Congress.

Again from China comes to us a spur for a thoroughgoing reflection on the role of *cultural imperialism*. The VI World Socialism Forum, held in Beijing in mid-October 2015, had as its guiding thread the theme of "colour revolutions and cultural hegemony". We propose here the address by **Li Shenming** (whom our readers already know for the article appeared on n. 1/2015, *To properly evaluate the two historical periods before and after the 'reform and opening*. Right after the Forum, on October 18-19, 2015, the **I World Cultural Forum** was held, during which Gramsci's name and the reference to the huge critical legacy of the *Prison Notebooks* resounded several times (and not only in my intervention).

We present here the final document of the Forum, which poses the question of cultural imperialism (against which – in the long phase of transition from financial monopoly capitalism to socialism – a world common front of cultural resistance, solidly based on Marxism, should take form), paying particular attention (as Li Shenming's text also warns us) to internet-based cultural *soft power*.

As regards the role and the collocation of EU's imperialist countries or of the European imperialist pole, the general attitude of the texts we present here is to grasp their subalternity to US imperialism (in this regard, see also Samir Amin's analyses). "Today – writes Manlio Dinucci – 22 out of 28 EU countries, more than 90% of the population of the Union, are also members of NATO. One cannot think of breaking free of the powers represented by the EU without freeing oneself of US rule and influence on Europe, both directly and through NATO", while for Engdahl, "the EU, rather than a collective imperialist, is a group of minor powers whose goals at once combine and conflict with each other". EU states are tolerated to the extent that they are what Z. Brzezinski called "US vassal states". Which does not mean in any way the suppression of Lenin's fundamental category of "inter-imperialistic contradictions".

As Sorini clearly explains, "Our analysis, which indicates in the US, and most markedly in its most extremist ruling circles, the biggest threat to world peace, certainly does not ignore that there are also other imperialist powers, like Japan or some EU countries (notably Germany, France, the UK, Italy...), which are playing their own (also military) game, in the world scenario of inter-imperialistic contradictions. From this point of view the war in Libya is a perfect illustration of the way each of these countries plays a game of its own in which convergence and competition with other NATO partners, including the US themselves, combine: they converge on containing the expansion of China's and Russia's influence on Africa, but also diverge in their inter-Atlantic competition for the control of Libyan oil and of that strategically important region".

The main problems of the theoretical and political debate on imperialism are not faced here, except in the article in which **Samir Amin** criticizes in detail Hardt's e Negri's notions of "multitude" and "empire". We are going to devote to this question one of our next issues, starting from Lenin's fundamental and vital "popular essay" *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in order to account for the transformations of capitalism and what they entail – as regards what has changed and what has remained the same since a century ago – in the essential features of capitalism.

The overall picture provided by the studies and the essays collected here is far from being

reassuring. It can be argued that the current phase is the most dangerous one since the end of World War II, one in which – as highlighted by many authors of this monographic issue of *MarxVentuno* – the explosive mixture of a systemic crisis, in a perspective of “secular stagnation” for Western capitalism, and of NATO and US military strategy.

This dangerous situation of war preparation involves not only foreign policy, but also domestic policies, where general monopoly financial capital (as defined by Samir Amin) tends to authoritarian centralization and to the weakening, if not the suppression of democratic institutions and of the role of elected assemblies, even if under the guise of “reforms”.

Opposing the “constitutional deformation” (as it was aptly defined by Felice Besostri) in Italy and an extreme majority electoral law like the “Italikum” (which, as highlighted by the Constitutional Council, presents to a still larger extent the same problems of unconstitutionality of the “Porcellum”) does not only mean to defend the Constitution born by the Resistance.

It also means contrasting an authoritarian turn that serves, in the present-day world context here outlined, to give a free hand to governments in the preparation and implementation of war. That is the main reason, although not the only one, why all “partisans of peace” must mobilize in the battle against the “Italikum” and the “Constitutional reform”. The next special issue of the journal will be devoted to this struggle.

May 22, 2015



ABSTRACTS

Mauro Gemma

March 1999: the US-NATO aggression to Yugoslavia

On March 24, 1999 NATO attacked Yugoslavia, openly violating International Law and accelerating its “triumphal march” eastwards, which involved the incorporation of almost all Eastern European former socialist states until NATO’s threat reached the borders of the Russian Federation. To this criminal enterprise contributed also Italy, at the time under a centre-left government headed by Massimo D’Alema. Today, while our country is about to take part in the umpteenth US/NATO-led military operation, it is necessary to refresh our memory on that dark page of national history, because there are still too many who claim its legitimacy and too many who pretend to have forgotten it.

Spartaco Alfredo Puttini

The Century of the long- imperialist world wars

In order to understand the crises that the world is currently facing, it is necessary to adopt a long-term perspective. We are now in a context characterized by a confrontation between US imperialism's attempt to preserve its hegemony, aimed at establishing a unipolar world order under Washington's full spectrum dominance, and the anti-hegemonic front of the countries and forces (first of all Russia and China) that aim at re-establishing a power balance to favor the emergence of a multipolar order in international relations.

Fausto Sorini

The world political situation in 2016. Some key interpretative perspectives

The Third World War is not inevitable, but highly possible. In large segments of the US leadership it is gaining ground the idea that only an overwhelming military superiority over the rest of the world and the recourse to local wars and special destabilizing operations can allow them to preserve their world primacy. *The communist and the anti-imperialist movement have to be fully aware of the absolute danger of the prevalence of US imperialism in the preparation for war and consequently act for the construction of a large front of peoples and states against the main enemy.* BRICS countries and their allies, despite the remarkable differences in their political and socio-economic structures, represent today the pole that is challenging the US global leadership. That is why they are under attack (from Russia to Brazil). Within BRICS countries the strategic partnership between Moscow and Beijing has become for the past few years its main hinge. In Europe also a determining match of world balance is being played: if the EU or part of it (Germany, France, Italy, Greece...) went out of Euro America's control, US global leadership would be mortally wounded.

Manlio Dinucci

USA/NATO: the main enemy against which a united front is needed

L'arte della guerra. Annali della strategia Usa/Nato (1990-2005), Dinucci's book published in 2015 provides the clearest and most comprehensive aggressive strategy implemented by the US and NATO after the fall of the USSR. The last months of 2015 and the early months of 2016 confirm in detail the tendency analyzed in the volume. As a continuation and completion of those "annals", here are re-proposed in chronological order the articles published on *il manifesto* in the section "L'arte della guerra". Essential and effective as they are, they provide a useful update on the areas of crisis in the world, from the Middle East to Libya, to the more and more offensive role of NATO and of the US against Russia, in the Middle East and in North Africa. The development of US strategy of a tighter control over EU countries, not only from the military point of view but also from the economic one, through the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. Very detailed is also the denunciation of the "falsehood factory", as well as that of the violation of the antifascist Italian Constitution, which constitute the main thread underpinning and linking all the articles, with a worrisome focus on the nuclear escalation of the US and the installation in Italy of the new US atomic bombs B61-12, the equivalent of 300 Hiroshima bombs. The US and NATO are today the main enemies of peace and peoples, against which a united front is needed.

José Reinaldo Carvalho

The international context and the tasks of the Communists

The world is experiencing a serious and dangerous situation. In order to maintain world domination and to avoid the emergence of competitors, US-led imperialism attacks the freedom and fundamental rights, sovereignty and self-determination of peoples with military threats and assaults. In Latin America, the economic and political contradictions have created a peculiar situation of resistance and struggle against dictatorships, imperialist domination, neo-liberalism, conservatism, national and class oppression; a situation that US imperialism is now trying to subvert – from Brazil to Venezuela – by any means. But, just as the historical leader of the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro, has said, “humanity has no alternative but to change its course”. The main goal today is to defeat US imperialist strategies, its war policy, its conservativeness and neoliberal dogmas, the brutal offensive it wages against peace, national sovereignty, democracy and the peoples’ rights. Within this framework, Brazilian Communists are fighting for a unity of action between communist and workers’ parties and at the same time for the convergence and unity between democratic and anti-imperialist forces and movements, at the Latin-American and at the world level, as well as with mass organizations and peace movements.

Samir Amin

The geostrategy of the United States in trouble. Egypt 2015

The article analyzes both from a class perspective and an international one the development of the events that followed the 2011 “Egyptian Revolution”, observed from a long-term historical vantage point. The emergence of the Muslim Brothers is explained as a result of, on the one hand, the mass de-politicization and impoverishment brought about by the 1970-2013 neoliberal cycle, on the other, of the support to fundamentalist Islamism by the “triad” (USA-EU-Japan) in order to maintain the Arab world in a condition of “lumpen-development” through the perpetuation of a neo-liberalism that benefits only monopoly capital and the local comprador bourgeoisie. It shows how the Brothers’ government tried to introduce a semi-theocracy and how this attempt was rejected by the masses, thus prompting the army to execute a coup against Morsi. It also explains that the movement has been so far unable to find a political and organizational synthesis and that this led it to limit itself to asking for the ousting first of Mubarak and then of Morsi and to claiming a parliamentary democracy that in the present imbalance of forces would not be able to reflect popular interests. A transitory programme for the movement is then proposed, and it is explained how Egypt today has to face the choice whether to remain a subaltern country with a *comprador* economy or whether to follow the path of an authentic popular democracy that could give impulse to an economic development benefiting the popular classes.

Federico La Mattina

Libya, Syria, Ukraine: a critique of the dominant discourse

The more or less low-intensity wars that are currently being fought in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, the emergence of the Islamic State's "caliphate", the terror attacks – from the Middle East to Paris and Brussels, via Turkey, Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia – are often presented to the public opinion as signs of a "clash of civilization", integrated by a view of present-day Russia as a resurgent expansionist and militaristic empire that is putting world peace at risk. The latter are in fact ideological representations that serve the imperialist policies of the USA and the West, and the task that this article sets out to do is to deconstruct them using the tools of the historical, political and economic analysis of two fundamental areas where an international confrontation arising from the changes in the geopolitical balance of the new millennium is taking place: the Middle East and North Africa, where the US and the old European colonial powers, especially France, are destabilizing and crushing states and borders which had been drawn a century ago, starting from the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement; the "eastern front", where the US, NATO and the EU countries as subaltern allies have put Russia under siege – the crisis in Ukraine has represented a moment of strong intensification in this escalation – because Putin, has not been as pliant to western impositions as Yeltsin before him. Between these two areas of confrontation there is a strong nexus.

Andrea Catone

The Russian Communists, imperialism and anti-imperialist struggle today

With the Maidan coup in Ukraine (February 2014), the further advance of NATO towards Russia's borders and the sanctions imposed by the US and the EU, it became increasingly obvious that today Russia is the target country of US/NATO siege and aggression. Russia, because of his resistance against the US/NATO aggression, is also the privileged target of media attacks, which aim at fuelling a wave of Russophobia, representing contemporary Russia as a continuing Tsarist policies and as an aggressive, militarist, imperialist country. Therefore, it is especially interesting to report the evaluations and political proposals of Russian Communists on the international situation and the tasks of communists and anti-imperialists. Russian Communists of different organizations and trends broadly agree in identifying the main enemy in the US and in supporting the independent foreign policy carried out by Vladimir Putin.

Aristart A. Kovalyov

Who will stop the war in Ukraine?

After the dissolution of the USSR, the USA dragged Russia and Ukraine (and the other post-Soviet states as well) into neo-colonial subjection.

Yet, after Russia's 2007 declaration of the launching of an independent foreign policy, Ukraine's president Janukovyč began to steer a middle course between Russia and the EU. The imperialists needed to replace Janukovyč with a more pliant puppet, to drag Ukraine into the EU and NATO and to provoke a war with Russia by means of it. To this end, the US executed a coup, exploiting

Banderan fascists as their main shock force. The historical origins of the latter are then analyzed. The fascist aggression sparked off widespread resistance among the population, especially in Ukraine's south-eastern regions. The latter was harshly repressed, but things turned out differently in Crimea and in the Donbass. Crimea's reunification with Russia and the Donbass insurrection have served as an artificial "pretext" for Kiev to launch a real war against its own people, presenting it as a war against Russia, depicted as the aggressor. In the Donbass the people has risen up and proclaimed the Donetsk People's Republic (DNR) and the Lugansk People's Republic (LNR). The situation in Ukraine, in the Donbass and in Russia is then analyzed from a class perspective, taking into account all its contradictions, and a political programme for the establishment of authentic people's power is set out. The main task of world resistance today is the victory of antifascists in the Donbass, which might bring about a wave of popular revolts throughout Ukraine and prompt social struggles in the territory of the whole former USSR and then throughout Europe.

Stanislav Eduardovich Anikhovsky

Imperialist globalism is a dead end

It is necessary to distinguish globalization as an objective historical process of peoples moving closer and of a world becoming united and interdependent, from globalism, which constitutes instead the present-day form of imperialism. The latter is a dead end for development, and it has to be countered by another global system: socialism.

A. V. Denisyuk

American imperialism threatens World War III

After the destruction of socialism, Washington set as its task that of establishing on the territory of the former USSR a political regime which had to be militarily weak and economically dependent. Yeltsin and his successors sold out the country's national interests. However, nowadays, after the joining of Crimea and the military operation in support of Syria's official authorities, Russia is leading a more or less independent foreign policy. Furthermore, *post-Soviet and Eurasian integration* is going on, and Russia is acting as its main driving force, thanks to its economic potential and powerful military-industrial complex (inherited from the USSR). The fact that such integration is taking place on capitalistic foundations does not diminish its importance as a powerful political factor in the development of new international relations that could counterbalance US imperialism's unilateralism. Today Russia is strengthening cooperative relations in various domains with several Asian, African and Latin American countries, and even with some EU member states. The most important documents of the US military and security doctrine are analyzed, showing how their policy is trying to preserve their global hegemony on the basis of their military force. The USA are energetically swallowing in the NATO bloc the former Warsaw Pact and socialist countries, and even some post-Soviet countries. In the Pentagon's strategy the latter have to act as bridgeheads to launch military (including nuclear) attacks against Russia. *All the planet's inhabitants have the vital necessity to strengthen the forces of those countries that oppose American*

aggressive policies in order to prevent the fulfillment of the plans of US imperialism.

Viktor A. Tyulkin

Struggle of communists against the source of wars – Imperialism

Since the end of the USSR-led socialist camp, which constituted for 50 years a political pole countering world imperialism, the latter, with its shock troops represented by the US and NATO, has been acting more and more aggressively against international law (see the aggressions to Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria...). The deepening of the economic crisis after 2008 has driven capital to an escalation of aggressions abroad in order to widen its markets and control strategically important areas. A distinctive feature of fascism as a policy is the reject of democratic institutions and the application of openly terroristic methods of state policy. Today, in their domestic policy, the US and NATO countries still maintain, though in a lame form, elements of bourgeois democracy, but in their foreign policy they crush any democratic form. It is a modern form of fascism that Tyulkin calls “export fascism”. The communist movement, without supporting any imperialist group and starting from the interests of the working class and the necessity to create conditions which are more favorable for the development of class struggle, has to fight against this “export fascism” that brings the people of the attacked countries back to a situation which is much less favorable to socialist revolution than the pre-existing one. Today it is necessary to unite on concrete bases all the antifascist forces – in the same way as the Komintern and the USSR did, allying themselves temporarily with the antifascist powers – in the struggle against the aggression to Syria, against the continuing occupation of Syrian and Palestinian territories by Israel, against Kiev’s *junta* punitive actions in the South-East of Ukraine, against the threats to Iran and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. It is necessary to unite all progressive and honest people and urge them to reject this expanding export fascism. Communists consider that this struggle has a definite class character.

Diego Angelo Bertozzi

The pivot to China

The press, and especially the Western press, has been spreading for a long time an image of People’s China as a more and more aggressive country that is going to have neighboring countries feel the full weight of its military force. The arguments that support these denunciations have a self-evident limit that gives away a clear choice: that of avoiding taking into account the overall picture of international relations, in which China is the object of a new system of military, political and economic encirclement promoted by Washington, which aims at safeguarding its hegemonic position dating back to the post-war period. What has come to be known as the “pivot to Asia”, announced in 2011 by the Obama administration, is turning out to be the ideological cover of a new system of alliances and military agreements with several Asian countries, some of which have been America’s long-term allies ever since the Cold War. A system in which Japan, currently undergoing a constitutional revision, will play a more active role. Furthermore, to all this one has to add the

Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, which leaves Beijing out and has been strongly promoted by Washington, which considers it as important as a new aircraft carrier.

Francesco Maringò

China's foreign policy after the 18th Congress

The 18th Congress of the CCP (2012) confirmed the general tendency of the PRC's international policy: it is engaging in a pacific solution of international controversies; it opposes hegemonic policies in any forms; it does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries; it will not search for hegemony, nor will it carry out an expansionist policy. But the Congress clearly marked a turning point: a greater assertiveness in foreign policy in order to create an international climate more favorable to China's development, which the Obama Administration, with its Pivot to Asia (2012) and Trans-Pacific Partnership (2015) ostensibly wishes to hinder. Hence the need to adapt the PRC's Defence to the new global context, in particular with a reinforcement of the Navy. The change of pace in relation to Deng's maxim (to keep a low profile) is evident, but if its strategic underpinning is not in question, the prevision (and the engagement to do what is possible to this effect) is that in the mid-term and long-term there will not be a world war and that priority has to be given to the country's development. This underpinning is still today the main hinge of China's policy. In attaining its national goals, the CCP is also posing the question of the reformulation of international rules and of the affirmation of a socialist system able to win the challenges of its time. However, like in a long table tennis match, the more China accepts the rules of the game, the more the requests presented to it push for a change of its socio-economic system. Till when will a compromise be possible?

F. William Engdahl & Wang Zhen

The Rise of China and World Order

In this interview Engdahl summarizes years of studies on relevant contemporary global questions. In the XXI century we are still in the age of imperialism, whose central core is represented by the USA. Having emerged from WWII as the leading hegemonic force, they are tenaciously fighting to keep the world under their control. Their dollar-based debit system, whose pillars are Wall Street, the Federal Reserve and the Treasury, even if it is no longer guaranteed by gold, as before 1971, nor by oil, as after 1973, is still bolstered by its F-16 fighters, by its drones and by its Abrams tanks: the soft power methods of the 1970s, or even of the 1990s, have now been replaced by the hard power of the US military might, whose economic foundations are nonetheless rapidly deteriorating. The EU, rather than a collective imperialist, is a group of minor powers whose goals at once combine and conflict with each other. EU states are tolerated insofar as they are what Z. Brzezinski called "vassal states" of the USA. The only aim of the Pivot to Asia [see Bertozzi's article in this volume] is that of containing China and make sure that in the future it will "behave" as the leading circles of the Anglo-American global order dictate. Between 1880 and 1914 Germany emerged as an economic challenger to the British Empire's hegemony; London used all the financial, military and

political means available to encircle it and stop it. A very similar strategy is being adopted by the West to prevent the emergence of a great sovereign Chinese economic power, as Engdahl explained in his book *Target China*.

Li Shenming

Colour revolutions and cultural hegemony

The fundamental theory of “colour revolutions” and of cultural hegemony can be dated back to 1945, when Allen Dulles, then senior official of the US intelligence, sketched detailed plans to promote a “pacific evolution” of the USSR. After 1991, in the wake of the successful dissolution of the USSR, “colour” movements aiming at regime change have intensified in the post-Soviet area, in Asia and in all the countries considered economically or strategically relevant. For Kissinger, the global strategy of the US consists in transforming their power into moral consensus, so that the other countries will accept their values voluntarily, rather than through force: it is the “value revolution”, which aims at changing the values of the leaders of important regimes and countries [Kissinger 2001]. Present-day US world hegemony uses the Internet as a tool and the hegemony on values as its main content. The “Pivot to Asia- Pacific Strategy” pursued by the US aims at the outbreak of new “colour revolutions” on the basis of cultural hegemony in the countries of the area. The development of “Internet+” as a new means of production is going to bring about huge transformations in the relations of production, provoking new social conflicts and an increasing polarization between the haves and the have-nots. Poverty is never socialism, poverty is produced by social polarization; but poverty and social polarization will inevitably lead to socialism.

The First World Cultural Forum

On October 18-19, 2015, the First World Cultural Forum was held in Beijing, China. About one hundred experts and scholars from more than 10 countries participated in the Forum. Focusing on the theme of the relationship between the diversity of world cultural development and the promotion of the progress of human society, they expressed their opinions and spoke freely during the discussions on theory and the debates on academic issues. The 21st century will be a century of rapid development and progress of human civilization and of the revival of socialism. While the world socialist movement is still in the doldrums, all progressive people, all socialist countries, and all Marxists should firmly work for peace and development, consolidating and developing the existing positions and achievements obtained by socialist movements, promote a new awakening of the international working class through the spread of Marxism and the development of all advanced culture, organize the masses and accumulate power for the revival of the cause of world socialism.

Samir Amin

Contra Hardt and Negri: Multitude or Generalized Proletarianization?

The article analyzes the historical origins and the development of the notion of “multitude” proposed by Michael Hardt and Toni Negri and offers a radical critique of it, demolishing its scientific validity. It shows how the latter is based on erroneous generalizations appropriated in the past by the working class movement and which restricted the concept of proletariat to a segment of the latter, so that Hardt and Negri interpret what Amin calls “generalized proletarianization” as a return to the pre-industrial “multitude”. It also shows that Negri’s and Hardt’s thesis of the loss of validity of the law of value is actually unfounded. The article ends with a critique of Negri’s and Hardt’s idea that a new transnational structure, “Empire”, has replaced traditional State imperialism. Amin shows instead how capitalist globalization is based not on the decline of the State, but rather on the assertion of its power, for there could not be any globalized neo-liberalism without an active State, whether as a hegemonic power (the United States and their subaltern allies) or as comprador States that ensure the submission of peripheral societies to the requirements of central States’ imperialist domination.

Uno spettro si aggira sulla Terra: una terza guerra mondiale non è inevitabile, ma ampiamente possibile. Si rafforza in vasti settori della classe dirigente Usa l'idea che solo con una superiorità militare schiacciante sul resto del mondo e con il ricorso a guerre locali e operazioni speciali destabilizzanti è possibile conservare il primato mondiale. Oggi, 22 dei 28 paesi della Ue, con oltre il 90% della popolazione dell'Unione, fanno parte della Nato. Non si può pensare di liberarsi dai poteri rappresentati dalla Ue senza liberarsi dal dominio e dall'influenza che gli Usa esercitano sull'Europa direttamente e tramite la Nato. Occorre essere pienamente consapevoli della pericolosità assolutamente prevalente dell'imperialismo Usa/Nato nella preparazione della guerra e agire di conseguenza per la costruzione di un vasto fronte di popoli e paesi contro il nemico principale.

Sono qui raccolti articoli, saggi e note critiche sul tema “imperialismo e guerre nel XXI secolo”. A un inquadramento storico delle guerre imperialiste e alcune chiavi di lettura della complessiva situazione politica mondiale nel 2016, si accompagnano analisi sulle principali aree di scontro: il Medio Oriente e Nord Africa (con l'ampio saggio del marxista egiziano Samir Amin); la Russia, il paese oggi maggiormente sottoposto all'assedio Usa/Nato; l'Asia orientale, con il “pivot to China” dell'amministrazione Obama, volto a impedire l'emergere di una grande potenza economica cinese sovrana.

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