



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



www.thecommunists.net

New Series Issue Nr.54

May 2021

10th Anniversary of the RCIT: A Decade of Revolutionary Struggle

Political Crisis in Nigeria * III. Congress of the RCIT

Stalinist and "Trotskyist" Supporters of Chinese Imperialism

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.54, May 2021

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Pictures on the cover: Contingent of the Austrian Section of the RCIT as a School Student Strike in Vienna in December 2013

*Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in South Korea, Pakistan, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Russia, Nigeria, Kenya, Britain, Germany, and Austria. Furthermore, the RCIT has fraternal relations with *Convergencia Socialista* (Argentina)*

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“ZeroCOVID” Left Calls for the Authoritarian State

A revealing article shows that the Lockdown Left calls for the expansion of the police and surveillance state

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8 April 2021

We have pointed out since the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis that most of the reformist and centrist left have capitulated to the political and ideological pressure of the ruling class. Hence, they fully support the Lockdown policy with all the anti-democratic consequences involved. In countries where they are part of the capitalist government (e.g. PODEMOS, IU and PCE in Spain or the SACP in South Africa), they implement themselves the policy of mass curfews, closures of small shops, restricting the right to assembly, and sending police and army.

In the past few months, large parts of the Lockdown Left have joined the so-called “ZeroCOVID” campaign which demand an even more draconic policy of mass curfews. This initiative praises countries like China and Australia as models and claims that a “short, hard lockdown in Europe” could result in the eradication of the virus.¹

Naturally, it is completely illusionary to imagine that a virus which has already spread all over the world could be eradicated via a short lockdown. The fact that countries like China and Australia themselves feel obliged to impose lockdowns and mass curfews in regions because the virus appears again and again demonstrates this.

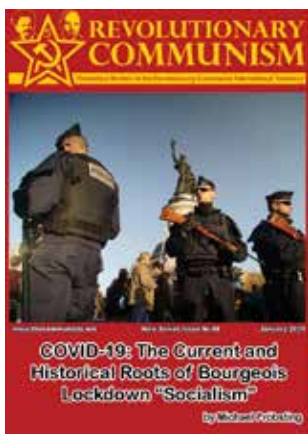
As the RCIT and other critics have explained, the whole Lockdown policy is thoroughly reactionary. First it is not particularly effective – a recent official study of the EU was forced to admit that Sweden, a country which imposed no Lockdown and hardly any restrictions, had less excess mortality in 2020 than most other European countries.² We

showed and elaborated in numerous documents that the Lockdown policy is mainly politically motivated (in order to justify a shift towards an authoritarian state in a period of deep political and economic crisis) and not based on health considerations.³ We published a number of articles in which we demonstrated that while COVID-19 is a serious pandemic (and not a hoax like the Trumpian muddle-heads claim), it is, however, not unique. We pointed out in our documents that humanity, unfortunately, has faced repeatedly various pandemics and diseases in past decades which have claimed hundreds of thousands or millions of lives a year. Examples for this are e.g. the so-called *Asia Flu* in 1957-58, the so-called *Hong Kong flu* in 1968, HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, severe Influenza seasons, etc. In addition, one should not forget to view the COVID-19 crisis in proportion to other diseases and preventable health risks (respiratory infections, tobacco, alcohol, etc.) which also cause millions of deaths every year.⁴

At this point we will not repeat our analysis which we outlined in numerous documents. Nor will we elaborate again our criticism of the Lockdown Left and refer interested readers to the relevant literature of the RCIT.⁵

Playing fast and loose with “Trotskyism”

In this brief article we will limit ourselves to the concrete example of a “Trotskyist” group which enthusiastically supports the “ZeroCOVID” campaign. The ex-revolutionary “League for a Fifth International” (L5I) drums up busi-



Publications of the RCIT

COVID-19: The Current and Historical Roots of Bourgeois Lockdown “Socialism”

Police State, Universal Basic Income & a new version of “War Socialism” of 1914

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2021

Introduction * 1. An Overview of the Policy of the Lockdown Left * 2. A Marxist Critique of Lockdownism and Universal Basic Income * 3. The Bourgeois Ideology of the “Caring State” (The Capitalist Handout State) * 4. The Objective Basis for Lockdown Socialism: Changes within the Political and Economic Physiognomy of Capitalism * 5. A Historical Analogy: The Mobilization of the Imperialist State for World War I * 6. War Socialism in 1914: The Social-Chauvinist Lensch-Cunow-Haenisch Group in German Social Democracy * 7. Lenin and other Marxists Declare War on War Socialism * 8. The Lockdown Left: A Worthy Successor of Social-Chauvinist War Socialists * 9. Once Again, the State Question: Marxism versus the Opportunist Left

A RCIT Pamphlet, 32 pages, A4 Format

ness for this initiative since the beginning in late 2020. Already before the emergence of this campaign, the L5I distinguished themselves by calling “*cops to enforce laws*” during the Lockdown period.⁶

A few days ago, the German section of L5I published an article on the COVID-19 crisis (which was also published on the German website of the ZeroCOVID campaign).⁷ There is no doubt that the article reflects the collective position of the L5I since the German group is the largest section of the L5I in Europe and since the L5I’s International Secretary happens to be also the editor of the German section’s publications.

This article is interesting as it elaborates more concretely how such Lockdown Leftists imagine their ZeroCOVID strategy. The central part of the L5I article states the following: *“In my opinion we need a combination of more tests, much more vaccinations, and – in particular – a solidarity lockdown which strongly restricts not only the private sphere but also the economy. Many intensive care physicians and scientists call for a hard lockdown as well as the revocation of all planned or already implemented relaxations. (...) A solidarity lockdown, as the initiative #ZeroCovid demands for some time, one could dramatically reduce the numbers of infections and, afterwards, one could introduce cautious relaxations by implementing a combination of increased vaccinations, PCR- and rapid tests as well as a continuation of strict hygiene regulations and digital tracing.”*

This statement is remarkable for several reasons. First, it is obviously a complete illusion to imagine that the pandemic could be overcome in two weeks. Every reasonable person knows this. Probably the supporters of the ZeroCOVID campaign know that too. But in order to sell the campaign to the popular masses, who increasingly hate and despise the Lockdown policy, the cheerleaders of the ZeroCOVID campaign give only a short duration of their ultra-draconic Lockdown. But, as everyone knows, once the people are locked up in their homes and the police and army patrols the streets, governments can easily extend the Lockdowns as they have demonstrated in the past 13 months again and again.

Second, the L5I article is remarkable since it is more honest than other articles of this organization (as well as of other supporters of the ZeroCOVID campaign). While usually the “left-wing” ZeroCOVID supporters emphasize the “anti-capitalist” aspect of their campaign in order to delude the public, this article openly states that a hard Lockdown, for which the campaign calls for, includes *“strong restrictions of the private sphere”*. Of course, these are diplomatic periphrases for a total curfew locking the people up in their homes.

Third, the L5I author prudently fails to mention how such a hard Lockdown with *“strong restrictions of the private sphere and the economy”* could be enforced. Of course, as we know from experience since spring 2020, this will be – and can only be – the capitalist repression apparatus. In fact, the initiators of the ZeroCOVID campaign directed their call to the bourgeois governments in Europe. In other words, the Lockdown Left and, in particular ZeroCOVID supporters like the L5I, call for the expansion of the bonapartist state machinery – the Leviathan state monster.

Fourth, even if we assume that the ZeroCOVID strategy could result in the eradication of the virus in Europe, how could such a situation be maintained in a world where

such a virus continues to exist? The answer is – and can only be – a complete sealing-off of the external borders of Europe, i.e. stopping migrants coming to Europe. In other words, the ZeroCOVID advocate in fact a social-chauvinist policy against migrants from the Global South.

Fifth, the article reflects once more the middle-class character of the Lockdown left as it fails to mention that there can never be a total lockdown. There will always be the lower strata of the working class – mostly migrants – who will have to work hard delivering food and other goods to the people locked up in their homes, to maintain electricity, telecommunication, and other basic services. But the middle-class left does not care about them because they all sit in their homes during the lockdown, watch TV or play videogames!

Sixth, the article is more honest in that it does not pretend that the hard Lockdown would at least have the benefit of restoring a “normal” life (without the restrictions). After the hard Lockdown of two (in fact more) weeks, *“one could introduce cautious relaxations by implementing a combination of increased vaccinations, PCR- and rapid tests as well as a continuation of strict hygiene regulations and digital tracing”*. We know very well the meaning of the diplomatic words *“cautious relaxations”* as it has been used so many times by the capitalist governments and their media. It means that most restrictions remain in place, i.e. a very hard Lockdown might be replaced by a not-so-hard Lockdown.

Less democracy, more police and surveillance state

Seventh, the following formulation is also revealing: *“a continuation of strict hygiene regulations and digital tracing”*. This means that the L5I (and other supporters of the ZeroCOVID campaign) support the anti-democratic restrictions since the category *“strict hygiene regulations”* means nothing but the ban of people to meet in private and the prohibition of mass assemblies and demonstrations. In other words, we see that the Lockdown Left unashamed supports the state-bonapartist policy directed against the popular masses.

Last but not least, the positive reference to digital tracing is also revealing. As is well-known, capitalist governments all over the world are advancing plans to surveil their population via modern technologies. China is most advanced in these efforts as it has implemented a “health code” system. All Chinese citizens are required by law to use a “health” app on their smartphones. After downloading the app, users enter their name, identity card number, telephone number and sometimes a photo. In addition, they have to input into this app their personal medical information, travel history, and COVID-19 contact history. This app tracks an individual’s travel, contact history, and biometric data (for example, body temperature) directly through one’s smartphone. One can enter public transports, restaurants, shops etc. only via a “green” Covid-19 health QR code on their smartphones.⁸ Many capitalist governments wish to implement such a surveillance system in their own countries. As we see, the pseudo-“Trotskyist” L5I and the ZeroCOVID supporters share such a vision.

In summary, we see that the Lockdown Left – including such Trotsko-Revisionists like the L5I – cynically support the reactionary expansion of the bonapartist state machin-

ery under the disguise of “anti-capitalism” and “solidarity”. In the Middle Ages, hard-headed clerics supported the Catholic Church which dominated in alliance with the kings and princes and lived from brutal exploitation of the peasants. Today, the Lockdown Left supports the capitalist governments which are expanding the police and surveillance state and live from the exploitation of the working class. The hard-headed clerics might have believed in their silly phrases and illusions as the Lockdown Left might sincerely believe in their daydreams of mass cures. In fact, one like the other turn out to be servants of the tyrants and exploiters!

In other words, “ZeroCOVID” means “ZeroSocialism”!

Footnotes

1 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the “ZeroCOVID” campaign. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and “Trotskyists” call for a “total and indefinite lockdown”, 22 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-zero-socialism-in-the-zero-covid-campaign/>

2 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Mr. and Mrs. Lockdown Left: We Told You So! Official studies on extra mortality in Europa show Sweden which had no Lockdowns performed better than most other countries, 26 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/mr-and-mrs-lockdown-left-we-told-you-so/>; see also Johan Ahlander: Sweden saw lower 2020 death spike than much of Europe – data, 24 March 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-europe-mortality/sweden-saw-lower-2020-death-spike-than-much-of-europe-data-idUSKBN2BG1R9>; Sweden’s 2020 death spike lower than much of Europe, data shows. Despite shunning strict COVID lockdowns, Sweden’s overall mortality rate was lower than most other European nations. 24 March 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/24/swedens-2020-death-spike-lower-than-much-of-europe-data-shows>

3 The RCIT has analysed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February 2020 we have published more than 80 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/col-lection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>. In particular we refer readers to the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/>. In addition, we draw attention to our book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, RCIT Books, April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/>. See also our very first article on this issue by Almedina Gunić: Coronavirus: “I am not a Virus”... but WE will be the Cure! The chauvinist campaign behind the “Wuhan Coronavirus” hysteria and the revolutionary answer, 2 February 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/wuhan-virus/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution. On the ruling class strategy in the current conjuncture, its inner contradictions and the perspectives of the workers and popular resistance, 20 July 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/the-second-wave-of-the-covid-19-counterrevolution/>; by the same author: The Police and Surveillance State in the Post-Lockdown Phase. A global review of the ruling class’s plans of expanding the bonapartist state machinery amidst the COVID-19 crisis, 21 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/police-and-surveillance-state-in-post-lockdown-phase/>; COVID-19: The Great Barrington Declaration is indeed Great! Numerous medical scientists protest against the reactionary lockdown policy, 11 October 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-the-great-barrington-declaration-is-indeed-great/>; Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: The Current and Historical Roots of Bourgeois Lockdown “Socialism”. Police State and Universal Basic Income are key elements of the new version of reformist “War Socialism” of 1914,

19 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/covid-19-the-current-and-historical-roots-of-bourgeois-lockdown-socialism/>.

4 See on this our numerous articles on the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic for total mortality: Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: A Comparison of Historical Data. An analysis of the COVID-19 death figures and those of past pandemics and climate disasters based on data from the World Bank, 19 January 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-comparison-of-historical-data/>; by the same author: COVID-19: Sweden’s Total Mortality in 2020 Compared with Past Years, 23 January 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-sweden-s-total-mortality-in-2020-compared-with-past-years/>; COVID-19: Some Interesting Facts (Which Governments & Media Conceal) Some Calculations about Total Mortality in Europe in 2020 compared with 2016 and 2018, 23 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-and-total-mortality-in-europe/>; COVID-19: How Severe is the Pandemic in Sweden Really? Once again, a comparison demonstrates that the mortality rate in 2020 is barely larger than in 2018, 8 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-how-severe-is-the-pandemic-in-sweden-really/>; COVID-19: Revealing Figures from Sweden. A comparison of the mortality rates of the first 9 months in 2020 with previous years confirm that this is a serious but not unprecedented pandemic, 23 November 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-revealing-figures-from-sweden/>; see also the chapter “Telling figures for Europe, Sweden and Ischgl” in the above-mentioned essay “The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution”.

5 For our critique of the Lockdown Left see e.g. chapter V of our above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It; see also by the same author the last chapters in the above mentioned essay: The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution; COVID-19 and the Lockdown Left: The Example of PODEMOS and Stalinism in Spain, 24 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-lockdown-left-podemos-and-stalinism-in-spain/>; Social-Bonapartism in Argentina. The Partido Obrero (Tendencia) of Jorge Altamira supports the State of Emergency, 29 April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/social-bonapartism-in-argentina/>; When Ultra-Leftism marries Social-Bonapartism and Gives Birth to “Post-Marxist” Obscurantism. A reply to the CWG/ILTT, 5 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-when-ultra-leftism-marries-social-bonapartism/>; Brazil: Social-Bonapartism of the Lockdown Left in Practice. How the leaderships of the trade unions, PT, PCdoB, the pseudo-Trotskyist PSTU and PSOL sabotage the struggle against the Bolsonaro government, 10 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-social-bonapartism-of-the-lockdown-left-in-practice/>; Lockdown Left says: “Cops Need to Enforce Laws”. The ex-revolutionary L5I as another example for shameful social-bonapartism in the era of the COVID-19 counterrevolution, 24 July 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/lockdown-left-l5i-says-cops-need-to-enforce-laws/>; COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the “ZeroCOVID” campaign. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and “Trotskyists” call for a “total and indefinite lockdown”, 22 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-zero-socialism-in-the-zero-covid-campaign/>; COVID-19: The Current and Historical Roots of Bourgeois Lockdown “Socialism”. Police State and Universal Basic Income are key elements of the new version of reformist “War Socialism” of 1914, 19 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/covid-19-the-current-and-historical-roots-of-bourgeois-lockdown-socialism/>

6 Lockdown Left says: “Cops Need to Enforce Laws”. The ex-revolutionary L5I as another example for shameful social-bonapartism in the era of the COVID-19 counterrevolution, 24 July 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/lockdown-left-l5i-says-cops-need-to-enforce-laws/>

7 Katharina Wagner: Tübinger Testmodell – Vorbild oder Irrsinn? GAM Infomail 1145, 7. April 2021, <https://arbeiterinnenmacht.de/2021/04/07/tubinger-testmodell-vorbild-oder-irrsinn/>; <https://zero-covid.org/coronapandemie-tuebingen-testmodell-vorbild-oder-irrsinn/> (our translation)

8 See on this e.g. the chapter “China: the most successful regime in making “Big Brother” omnipresent” in the above-mentioned essay “The Police & Surveillance State in the Post-Lockdown Phase”

Nigeria: More on the “Hijab” Crisis

By Oladipupo Jimoh, *International Liaison Personnel of the Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard (RCIT Section in Nigeria)*. 1.4.2021

No one who looks at the question can deny its thoroughly convoluted nature. I wish to simplify it by starting from the nature of the state, in this case, the Nigerian government, that is, its disposition towards religion. The Nigerian state has never been secular, never been indifferent towards religion. This is the very reason why it could adopt the many institutions of learning founded by religious bodies (at least 150 schools in Kwara state alone!) without much friction. Even in schools that were built by the government there still exist religious practices such as prayers on assembly grounds. Nigeria was and is at best a multireligious state.

At the same time these religious influences are nowhere near balanced especially as one moves from North through South or the other way round. This can be seen in the manner of religious rituals which persist in these regions. Many southern government schools hold morning assemblies which have Christian prayers and/or sermons from Monday to Thursday leaving Friday for Muslim prayers and doctrines but in most northern schools it is the Muslim prayer all week long.

The protocols laid down by the then military governor of Kwara State, Col. David (Lasisi) Bamigboye for the 1974 take over published by the Nation Newspaper throws more light on the nature of the controversy:

“For avoidance of doubts, let me mention some of your rights as proprietors under the new dispensation:- (a) The right of ownership of institutions. Proprietors still retain the greatest of proprietary rights namely, ownership of their grants aided institutions... (b) The names of schools remain as given by proprietors. (c) Religious orientation and practices in the schools remain generally undisturbed. (d) The right to nominate Board of Governors with responsibility for the day-to-day management and welfare of the institutions remain unchanged. The Board of Governors will continue to function normally except in regards to staff matters... (e) The total tone of the institutions remains the responsibility of the Board of Governors as the main organ of the Proprietors.”¹

The above is not to side with the Christians that Hijab should not be used in Christian mission schools, it shows rather the accommodating stance of the Kwara state government for the religious statutes by which the schools were run and not only so it strove to preserve it.

Even with the somewhat prevalent Christian appearance of the policy of grant aiding mission schools, an overwhelming majority of the schools were Christian owned, (Col. David Bamigboye was also Christian) there was an underlying onslaught to seize these assets as part of the project that expanded influence of the northern emirate/caliphate. Just as this take over of schools, the likelihood of which were first established by the British colonisers, is an extension of the colonial project so is the expanding influence of the northern cabals—both had the same purpose to make and keep Nigeria a neo-colony.

It does not matter whether these schools were funded or assisted in any way. A government which really intended to outperform its colonial masters would not only have properly funded existing schools but would have built more and provided them with adequate facilities for quality

learning but this was not the case. Many still opine that the standard of those schools dipped as the government took over. The so-called aids were at first limited and gradually increased albeit at the cost of growing Islamic influence in these schools.

The 2016 proceedings of the Appellate court shows the growing forcible overtake by more recent administrations in Kwara State:

“I am not unaware of the submissions made by the appellants in this regard...To them the introduction of certain policies to the schools under focus by government: such as the conversion of classrooms into mosques, the “flooding” of these schools with Islamic Teachers, the wearing of Hijab by female students and pupils...The appellants have by no means alleged the restriction of Christian students from(...)the practice of their religion by reason of the control exerted by them in the management of the affairs of those schools. If that were the case, their grievance would have been understood as genuine. This is not the case.”²

Once again, the argument that the Christian religious practices were not hindered so why should the Christian associations complain of “the conversion of classrooms into mosques” shows how tolerant the present state is to religious activity even in places of learning. This kind of state cannot be referred to as secular.

The argument that the so-called “aids-in-grants” transforms the schools automatically from private to public is punctured on every side and like the Titanic will find itself at the seabed sooner than later.

The US has given billions of dollars in aid to several businesses, does this transform those enterprises to government-owned enterprises, the answer is no. The European Union (EU) fraudulently gave billions of pounds to big pharmaceutical companies like Pfizer-Biontech to manufacture coronavirus vaccines, whether this makes them a public company, the European Union Commission will be the first to object.

The Nigerian government since the years of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in the 1980’s have indulged in funding private companies something that is now commonly known as Private Sector Partnership (PSP) yet no Nigerian government have come out to claim ownership of the companies in this “partnership”. Even now there are reports that the government is funding or plans to fund private universities will this make such universities automatically public? So why should the Christian mission schools be any different.

This cruel double standard can only be defended with force. Hence reports have it that the violent confrontations only began this year after the government of Kwara State reopened the schools without getting the verdict from the Supreme court. Therefore more analysis corroborate our view that the Hijab is only a symbol in the fight to balance or counterbalance the influence of religious forces in the government:

“What those that say they do not want Hijab wearers in their schools are fighting against is a gentrification of the spaces they have arrogated themselves on the basis of religion...The contest is no longer about the sartorial assertion of one’s faith but the test of boundaries that will affirm the right of one to dominate the other”³

In fact the court sessions have revealed that the matter is deeper than just a mere case of Hijabs since no one could have known that some classes had been converted into mosques without the publication of the court transcript.

All the claims of preserving the names of these schools as honorarium are just hogwash. The names were preserved because the government did not really mean to make the schools secular or pluralist or to take them over in full for that matter. Only now the expansionism in the south by the northern emirati cabal becomes unconcealable due to the near total collapse of the global capitalist system. Moreover the process of this conquest must be accelerated for the same reason.

That is why citations of the predominantly Muslim population of Ilorin emerges from the belligerents on the government's side. Some outrightly say that Ilorin is a Muslim town. Such claims naturally make one wonder if there are no schools in which Muslim coverings as the Hijab are mandated. In a country where people are set ablaze for verbally insulting the prophet Mohammed⁴ or wholestock of beer can be confiscated from bars and destroyed for purposes of Islamic mortification, how hard can enforcing the Hijab or other Muslim coverings for females be in a Muslim secondary school or some northern schools for that matter. One can give a similar argument that the school is located in a region densely populated by Muslims but this does not answer the question whether all Muslim women like to use the Hijab.

We hold that in a fight between rival religious forces to maintain or expand their influence revolutionaries and progressives must stand for a separation of state and religion. We must oppose the expansion of religious influence of any kind on the state and clamour for the relinquishing of the existing ones. For us, religion remains a private matter as long as the government is concerned.

In the case of Kwara state this means supporting the call for the return of the mission schools to the rightful proprietors—the religious establishments and the stoppage

of all grants, funds and aids to these schools. The schools are private not public. No government should hide their ineptitude under the veil of religious partisanship. The Nigerian state has never been secular and it cannot be so long as avenues exist to exploit religious sentiments for the interests of the ruling class.

Since our main aim is to end the unholy wedlock between religion and state we cannot stop at the question of mission schools but must fight religious influence in all facet and stratum of Nigerian governance. Sharia should be practiced only amongst groups which voluntarily subscribe to it. No one should be affected by Sharia if they have not voluntarily dedicated themselves to it. Similarly, those communities where Sharia is practiced must also be under the jurisdiction of secular courts. While we are against religious offences or provocation of any kind we reject also the forceful practice of Sharia on unwilling individuals.

Progressive Muslim and Christian workers must support the return of all mission schools to their religious establishments in terms of both administration and finance while also campaigning for proper funding and expansion of quality education at all levels. Muslim and Christian workers must unite to reduce the relationship between the government and religion to merely official nature. Only in this form can both experience the highest form of religious freedom without state interference and interreligious conflicts!

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<https://punchng.com/hijab-kwara-law-shows-govt-dont-own-mission-schools-says-baptist/>
2. <https://thenationonlineng.net/court-of-appeal-judgment-on-the-kwara-hijab-crisis/>
3. See on this: Oladipupo Jimoh: Is It Just An Hijab Controversy? 22.03.2021 Hijab not about 'religious discrimination' <https://www.google.com/amp/s/punchng.com/hijab-not-about-religious-discrimination/%3famp>
4. <http://saharareporters.com/2021/03/30/bauchi-community-torture-burn-man-death-allegedly-insulting-prophet-muhammad>



RCIT AFRICA PROGRAM

Manifesto for the Revolutionary Liberation of Black Africa

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

One-sided and Naïve ... at Best!

A joint call by the friends of Chinese imperialism and the daydreamers of well-meaning global capitalism

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 31 March 2021

A large number of self-proclaimed left-wing politicians, activists and intellectuals have issued a statement called “A New Cold War against China is against the interests of humanity”.¹ The statement opposes the Cold War policy of the U.S. against China and calls their governments for global cooperation of the powers to tackle “extremely serious common issues”.

Initiators and Text

The statement lists as organizations, which were initial signatories, the ANSWER coalition, the *International Action Center* and CODEPINK (US), the *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* and the *Stop the War* coalition (UK), the *Mouvement de la Paix* (France), the *Simon Bolívar Institute for Peace and Solidarity Among Peoples* (Venezuela), the *South African Peace Initiative* and the *Cuban Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples* and others.

Among its prominent individual initial signatories rank Diane Abbott (*Labour* MP, UK), Celso Amorim (Former Foreign Minister and Defence Minister of Brazil), Jill Stein and Ajamu Baraka (*Green Party* candidates for President resp. Vice-President in 2016, US), Sevim Dağdelen and Heike Hänsel (leaders of the *Die Linke* parliamentary group, Germany), Martin Jacques (a British academic who regularly publishes in *Global Times*, the English-language mouthpiece of the Chinese regime), Irvin Jim (General Secretary of NUMSA and leader of the *SRWP*, South Africa), Chris Matlhako (Second Deputy General Secretary, *South African Communist Party*), Maite Mola (Vice-President European Left Party, Spain), the Australian journalist John Pilger, N Ram (Former Editor-in-Chief of *The Hindu*, India), João Pedro Stedile (*MST*, Brazil), Yanis Varoufakis (former Finance Minister of Greece) and the prominent Chinese academics Wang Wen and Zhang Weiwei.

Let us first reproduce the entire statement:

“We note the increasingly aggressive statements and actions being taken by the US government in regard to China. These constitute a threat to world peace and are an obstacle to humanity successfully dealing with extremely serious common issues which confront it such as climate change, control of pandemics, racist discrimination and economic development.

We therefore believe that any New Cold War would run entirely counter to the interests of humanity. Instead we stand in favour of maximum global cooperation in order to tackle the enormous challenges we face as a species.

We therefore call upon the US to step back from this threat of a Cold War and also from other dangerous threats to world peace it is engaged in including: withdrawal from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces agreement; withdrawal from the Paris Climate Change Accords; and its increasing disengagement from UN bodies. The US should also stop pressuring other countries to adopt such dangerous positions.

We support China and the US basing their relations on mutual dialogue and centring on the common issues which unite humanity.”

Repeating the Calls of European Imperialism

Of course, only complete reactionaries will support the Cold War efforts of U.S. imperialism. But calling the biggest imperialist robbers to cooperate instead of confrontation is nothing progressive. In fact, it has been a long-standing demand from politicians representing European imperialism to ask the U.S. returning to “joint global efforts” in tackling the climate crisis, human rights issues, global trade issues, the nuclear deal with Iran, etc.

In so far, the “socialist” signatories only repeat the impotent calls of weaker imperialist powers which want to pressurize the U.S. – the long-time but declining hegemon – to keep the institutions of global imperialism working.

Nothing could be more absurd! Until 2016, when Trump became President, the U.S. fully participated in all these institutions. The whole period of globalization is characterized by collaboration (not without tensions, of course) between the imperialist powers on “global issues”. This was the period which saw a massive increase of global inequality², a series of imperialist aggressions (most prominently the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan³, Iraq⁴ and Syria⁵) as well as the dramatic climate catastrophe.⁶ How on earth should collaboration between these Great Powers now result in any positive developments for humanity?!

When you go to a doctor and for years and years, he or she fails to find out the cause of your illness and, as a result, your health continuously deteriorates, would any sensible person call such a man or woman as competent to cure illnesses?! Translated into the language of politics, one wonders why socialists should wish a return to a period of global collaboration of imperialist Great Powers which have led humanity into the current catastrophe?!

Pacifist Nonsense

Furthermore, the statement is characterized by silly pacifism. We are living in the age of imperialism. This is the age of Great Powers and as such these states have conflicting interests. Of course, there can be periods where one power is such a dominant hegemon that it can effectively subordinate the other imperialists and, hereby, impose global decisions. As it is well-known, the U.S. was such a hegemon for some time after the collapse of the USSR in 1991. But these times are over, as U.S. imperialism is in irreversible decline, as Marxists have pointed out repeatedly.⁷

In other words, “maximum global cooperation”, as the statement calls for, is either impossible because of the rivalry between the Great Powers or it is only possible due to the hegemony of the strongest imperialist state. Hence, such a call is either a pacifist illusion or an implicit call for hegemony by the biggest imperialist power. Authentic socialists can not support any of these options!

However, it is not an accident that the statement is based on such illusory pacifist principles. Looking at the list

of initiators, it is evident that many of them come from a Stalinist or ex-Stalinist background. It has been a long-standing dogma of these forces to call for “peaceful co-existence” between the imperialist Great Powers resp. between the imperialist states and the USSR.

One was as idiotic than the other. Robbers rob – it is in their nature. Great robbers rob more. They don’t live in peace with each other. They make deals, they need time to prepare the next coup. But in the end, they don’t establish a safe and wealthy life for all of us but fight each other for their own profit.

Hence, despite the reformists’ numerous calls for “peaceful co-existence”, humanity experienced two World Wars and a Cold War as well as the collapse of the USSR. In other words, the reformist concept of “peaceful co-existence” is either completely illusionary or an instrument which serves imperialism.

Support for imperialist China

Similar bad, but very telling, is another fact. While the statement criticizes the foreign policy of Washington, it does not mutter a single critical word about the second imperialist Great Power – China! ⁸ This is a scandal from a democratic as well as socialist point of view! Have the signatories forgotten the barbaric oppression of the Uyghur people in Xinyang (East Turkestan for the Uyghur people)?! ⁹ Or do these “socialists” not care because these are “only” Muslims and they implicitly sympathize with the brutal treatment by the Beijing regime? (“*The Muslims are just re-educated*”) Are they not aware that the people in Hong Kong have also faced a draconic crackdown in recent past? ¹⁰

May be these “socialists” say that these are issues within China and, as such, they belong to the sphere of national sovereignty of a state. But such an approach is fundamentally nationalist and reactionary. Does anyone of the signatories consider the racial oppression of Black and Latino people an issue belonging to national sovereignty of the U.S.? Would they suggest that socialists should not interfere on such issues?! Treating the oppression of national minorities as an “internal issue” is in complete contradiction to the Marxist principles of internationalism! Would any socialist, feminist, or democrat accept the idea that a man raping a woman is only bad if it takes place in public

but not if it happens inside his house?!

However, China’s reactionary policy is not limited to its domestic terrain. Everyone with the slightest interest in world politics is aware of the fact that China claims ownership of the whole *South China Sea* (or *East Sea* as it is called by Vietnam). Thus, it is violating the sovereignty rights of all other nations there (Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines). ¹¹ Likewise, it is obvious that the conflict between China and India is based exclusively on geopolitical power interests on both sides. ¹² If you want another example of China’s reactionary foreign policy, ask the people of Myanmar what they think about Beijing’s support for the military dictatorship which slaughters its people protesting against the recent coup d’état! ¹³

Furthermore, it should not be too much asking these professional politicians and academics to read a few studies in order to know that China has become the second Great Power in the political and economic arena and is also rapidly increasing its military strength. China’s corporations are playing a prominent role in the capitalist super-exploitation of the people in the global South.

As the RCIT has demonstrated in many works China’s rise as a new imperialist Great Power is an undeniable fact. In terms of share in world production and trade, capital accumulation, corporations, billionaires and military strength, China has become a leading power. ¹⁴

However, again, it is not an accident that the statement lacks any word of criticism against the Chinese regime. And, again, the reason for this is the (ex-)Stalinist political outlook of the initiators of this statement. They call “socialist” or “progressive” what, in fact, is capitalist and reactionary. They denounce reactionary policy when it comes from the Washington ... but are silent when it comes from Beijing!

Hence, the statement must be characterized as a de-facto declaration of support for Chinese imperialism combined with pacifist daydreaming. No sincere socialist, nor authentic democrat can sign it!

Authentic socialists have to oppose *all* imperialist powers – those in the West *as well as* those in the East. They should support workers and popular struggles and side with oppressed national minorities – both in East as well as in West. ¹⁵

Workers and Oppressed: Fight all Great Powers in East and West!

China’s transformation into an imperialist power

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

By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

Order the pamphlet via our contact address: rcit@thecommunists.net

Footnotes

1 <https://www.nocoldwar.org/statement>

2 See on this e.g. our book by Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>

3 See on this e.g. RCIT: Afghanistan: A Successful Strike against the US Occupation. Major Attack by the Afghan Resistance against a High-Level Meeting of Afghan and U.S. Generals in Kandahar, 19.10.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/afghanistan-a-successful-strike-against-the-us-occupation/>. Links to many other documents of the RCIT on the Afghanistan war are listed at the end of this statement.

4 See on this various articles which can be read on our website at: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>

5 The RCIT has published numerous documents on the Syrian Revolution which are compiled on a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>.

6 See on this e.g. RCIT: Revolutionary Change to End Climate Change! Only expropriation of the capitalist corporations opens the road towards the end of climate change, 20 September 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/revolutionary-change-to-end-climate-change/>

7 See on this 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, January 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>; See also the latest pamphlet by the same author: "A Really Good Quarrel". *US-China Alaska Meeting: The Inter-Imperialist Cold War Continues*, 23 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/us-china-alaska-meeting-shows-continuation-of-inter-imperialist-cold-war/>; we refer readers also to numerous documents of the RCIT on the Global Trade War which have been compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-global-trade-war/>.

8 For our analysis of China as an imperialist power see e.g., in addition to the above-mentioned book "*Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*", Michael Pröbsting: *Chinese Imperialism and the World Economy*, an essay in the second edition of *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope. It has been published by Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, in 2020, https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6_179-1; https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91206-6_179-1; see also by the same author: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>; 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/>; The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/>

9 For the RCIT's analysis of the oppression of the Uyghurs see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: China: Defend the Muslim Uyghurs against Oppression! 18.10.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/china-defend-the-muslim-uyghurs-against->

<https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/37-states-defend-china-s-treatment-of-uyghurs/>; Michael Pröbsting: 37 Signatures Are Worth a Thousand Words. On a letter of 37 states, including Muslim countries, sent to the United Nations defending China's treatment of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang, 16 July 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/37-states-defend-china-s-treatment-of-uyghurs/>

10 For the RCIT's analysis of the pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong see e.g. RCIT: China: Solidarity with the General Strike in Hong Kong! For an international solidarity movement as the Stalinist-Capitalist regime in Beijing prepares a brutal crackdown! 01 August 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/solidarity-with-the-general-strike-in-hong-kong/>; RCIT: China: Long Live the Popular Uprising in Hong Kong! After protestors storm the parliament: general strike against the extradition bill and the Lam Administration! 03 July 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/long-live-the-popular-uprising-in-hong-kong/>; RCIT: China: Mass Protests against Reactionary "Extradition Law" in Hong Kong. For an indefinite general strike to kill the bill and to bring down the Administration of Carrie Lam! 18 June 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/china-mass-protests-against-reactionary-extradition-law-in-hong-kong/>

11 See on this e.g. See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: No to chauvinist war-mongering by Japanese and Chinese imperialism! Chinese and Japanese workers: Your main enemy is at home! Stop the conflict on the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands in the East China Sea! 23.9.2012, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-between-china-and-japan/>

12 See on this e.g. the pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: *The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences. What are the background and the nature of the tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region? What should be the tactical conclusions for Socialists and Activists of the Liberation Movements?* 18 August 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-india-rivalry/>

13 See on this e.g. RCIT: Myanmar: Popular Masses turn against Chinese Imperialism! For an indefinite general strike and armed insurrection to bring down the dictatorship! No illusions in US and European imperialism!, 16 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/myanmar-popular-masses-turn-against-chinese-imperialism/>; We draw reader's attention to other documents of the RCIT on the military coup in Myanmar which are compiled on a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/collection-of-articles-on-the-military-coup-in-myanmar/>

14 The above-mentioned pamphlet "*A Really Good Quarrel*". *US-China Alaska Meeting: The Inter-Imperialist Cold War Continues* contains a series of tables with actual figures which reflect the role of China as a leading power.

15 For a more detailed discussion of the program of revolutionary defeatism, we refer – in addition to the above-mentioned book "*Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*" to the RCIT document *Theses on Revolutionary Defeatism in Imperialist States*, Resolution of the International Executive Committee of the RCIT, 8 September 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-on-revolutionary-defeatism-in-imperialist-states/>.

Stalinist and “Trotskyist” Supporters of Chinese Imperialism under the Fig-Leaf of “Anti-Imperialism”

A commentary on the statement “No to U.S. war threats against China!” by the “United National Anti-war Coalition” in the U.S.

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 4 April 2021

A few days ago, the “United National Antiwar Coalition” in the U.S. published a statement called “No to U.S. war threats against China!”¹ To a large degree, it is politically similar to another statement against the U.S. Cold War against China which has been recently issued by a broad spectrum of prominent reformist and left-liberal politicians and academics (“A New Cold War against China is against the interests of humanity”).²

The UNAC statement attacks in detail the political crimes and the war-mongering of U.S. imperialism. We reproduce the sub-titles of the chapters which give an overview on the content: “U.S. military bases around the world”, “Biden’s focus on China”, “U.S. Pivot to Asia”, “U.S. claims to champion democracy”, “U.S. threats of nuclear war”, “COVID-19 and U.S. sanctions”, and “The right of self-determination”. The statement ends with the following list of demands: “We demand: End U.S. aggression towards China! No to a new cold war! No militarization of space! Ban US nuclear weapons! Money for jobs and healthcare, not war! End racist anti-Asian slander and attacks!”

It is worth pointing out to the paragraph under the subtitle “The right of self-determination” which reads as follows: “UNAC supports the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, that is, to be free from military intervention and economic domination. This includes their right to seek and accept aid from other nations to help defend their sovereignty, as with Venezuela, Iran, and Syria. It includes their right to be free from U.S. threats of war, regime change and intervention.”

A few words on the initiators of this statement. UNAC is a coalition of “left-wing” forces and claims to have 160 affiliates in the U.S. It is politically dominated by an alliance of left-liberal and Stalinist organizations – like the *US Peace Council*, *BAYAN* (which is close to the Maoist CPP in the Philippines), the *Freedom Road Socialist Organization* and the *Workers World Party*. It also includes the pseudo-Trotskyist group “*Socialist Action*”, led by Jeff Mackler, which constitutes the dominant force of the so-called “*Left Opposition*” in the “*Fourth International*” (in the tradition of Pablo and Mandel).³

Opposing one imperialist camp but not the other

Basically, the UNAC statement shares the same approach as the above-mentioned pacifist-reformist statement. While it denounces all forms of racial oppression in the U.S., America’s militarism and its attempt to stop its decline as a hegemonic power, it does not utter a single word of criticism against China – the other force in the current Cold War!

As we pointed out in our criticism of the pacifist-reformist statement this reflects a one-sided approach which is tantamount to supporting China. In the situation of a Cold War which takes place on the political, economic, military

and ideological level, opposing only one camp but not the other means nothing else but taking the side of the latter.

At this place we will not repeat our arguments as outlined in our recently published article about the above-mentioned reformist/left-liberal statement.⁴ As the TCIT has demonstrated in numerous works, the U.S. is the former hegemonic but now declining Great Power⁵ while China is a new and rapidly rising rival.⁶ Authentic socialists must neither support the Western nor the Eastern imperialists but oppose *all* Great Powers – the U.S., China, EU, Russia and Japan.⁷ They should support workers and popular struggles and side with oppressed national minorities – both in East as well as in West.

Likewise, as we stated in our article, it is utterly cynical to criticize the oppression of racial minorities in the U.S. but not to raise a single word of criticism against the oppression of the Muslim Uyghurs in China!

Cheerleaders of Stalinist-capitalist regimes

In this brief article we want to draw attention to the following. The UNAC statement demonstrates the highly characteristic fact that Stalinist, Semi-Stalinist and Pseudo-Trotskyist forces cynically raise the banner of “anti-imperialism” but, in fact, they act as supporters of one imperialist camp (China-Russia).

Some naïve observers might think that the UNAC statement limits itself to criticize the U.S. imperialist policy only because it is based in North America and wants to draw attention to the crimes of “its” ruling class. But the truth is that the main forces of the UNAC coalition are basically supporters of the imperialist powers China and Russia and their allies.

The *Workers World Party* (WWP), originally a split from the Trotskyist SWP in 1959 which transformed into a semi-Stalinist force, is one of the key forces behind UNAC. It claims that China is a socialist country ruled by a “*competent Communist Party*” which is “*guided by Marxism*”. “*China’s large economy, with a firm foundation of publicly owned industries, can direct huge resources into scientific projects, and its Five-Year plans guide scientific and technological development to reach new heights. Its competent Communist Party embraces and promotes science not only to explore space, but also to bring the COVID-19 pandemic under control and clean up the environment for the benefit of the people. Guided by Marxism – that is, by scientific socialism – China prioritizes social goals and directs resources in a long-term, scientifically planned manner. Through this basis in Marxism, China has been able to develop rapidly and become a global scientific leader, pushing humanity to new understandings of the universe and opening up new pathways for the future.*”⁸

While the WWP leadership diplomatically addresses the issue of the existence of a large number of capitalists in

China, it claims that the socialist foundation still prevails. It expresses its confidence that the regime in Beijing “*may now be taking a closer look at the dangers internal capitalist forces bring to the country’s stable socialist development.*”⁹

The WWP leadership is not only a supporter of Chinese imperialism but also of other Stalinist-capitalist regimes. Only two months ago, it published a letter sent to the Communist Party of Vietnam holding its 13th National Congress. The very first sentence in the letter makes clear how much the WWP admires the regime: “*We are so glad to send our congratulations and highest regards to the Communist Party of Vietnam as you evaluate your past experiences and plan the future.*” It goes on to praise the “*socialist system deeply rooted in the people, such as that of Vietnam.*”¹⁰

The WWP repeats such pathetic eulogy also in the case of the notorious totalitarian regime in North Korea which has been ruled since its foundation in the 1940s by one and the same family clan. In another public letter, sent to “*dear comrade Kim Jong Un*” on the occasion of the Eighth Congress of the ruling party held in January 2021, the WWP leadership knows no limits in praising “*your exemplary socialist system.*” It concludes: “*The DPRK continues to be an inspiration to the people of the world who are fighting to achieve in our own countries a new and just society based in the working class. Long live the DPRK! Long live socialism!*”¹¹

The Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO), an organization coming from the Maoist tradition, is another key force in UNAC. Like the WWP it is an enthusiastic cheerleader of “*socialist China*”. In a report called “*Eye-witness China: How socialism is defeating COVID-19*”, the FRSO praised the authoritarian Lockdown policy of the “*socialist Chinese government*” and concludes: “*Experiencing firsthand how the pandemic was handled here really makes me proud to live in a country that puts the needs of its people as its first priority. Life is truly returning to normal in China, but it’s only because socialism carved a path to victory and helped save humanity.*”¹²

No doubt, Chinese imperialism has loyal friends in the U.S.!

At this place, it is useful to note that many socialists consider “*Marxist*” organizations of Stalinist, semi-Stalinist, Maoist, pseudo-Trotskyist, etc. origin as something like “*inconsistent revolutionaries*”. They believe that the difference between authentic Marxists and such forces is merely that one is more radical, more consistent in applying the Marxist program. This is, as the RCIT has emphasized repeatedly, a wrong viewpoint. Organizations which directly or indirectly support this or that capitalist dictatorship, this or that imperialist Great Power, are not “*inconsistent revolutionaries*” but rather forces which support the camp of counterrevolution. They aid the class enemy, not the workers and oppressed!

Supporting the Assad’s murderous tyranny in the name of “anti-imperialism”

These Stalinist cheerleaders of Chinese imperialism uncritically support also reactionary regimes, allied with Beijing and Moscow, which do not even pretend to have any affiliation with “*socialism*”. A prominent and disgusting example for this is their support for the Assad dictatorship which has slaughtered hundreds of thousands of people. They cynically denounce the popular uprising, which

began in March 2011, as a U.S. conspiracy and support Assad’s efforts to drown the insurrection in blood. While they oppose U.S. military interventions abroad, they support Russia’s air force and troops deployed in Syria. This becomes clear from the above-mentioned paragraph in the UNAC statement (“*This includes their right to seek and accept aid from other nations to help defend their sovereignty, as with Venezuela, Iran, and Syria*”)

This is also reflected by the fact that leading forces of UNAC are also active in the so-called “*Syria Solidarity Movement*”. This is a pro-Assad alliance which unconditionally supports the regime and its Russian and Iranian masters. Just a few weeks ago, on the “*10th anniversary of the continuing U.S. war on Syria*” (in fact, it was the 10th anniversary of the Syrian Revolution¹³), it stated: “*Syria has defiantly resisted for ten years, in the face of illegal U.S. attempts to dismember their sovereign state.*” Fortunately, the “*Syria Solidarity Movement*” states, Assad is not alone but has the support of other tyrants. “*With allies Russia, China, Iran, Hezbollah and Palestinian militias, support of Venezuela and Cuba to North Korea, and supporters in the global peace movement, the Syrian government has frustrated most of the above schemes and avoided becoming a Libya-style failed state.*”¹⁴

In summary, UNAC claims to “*support the right of oppressed nations to self-determination*” but, in fact, it defends the “*right*” of the Assad dictatorship to oppress the Syrian people.¹⁵

Shameful “orthodox Trotskyism”

Jeff Mackler’s *Socialist Action* conveniently fits to this crude alliance of Stalinists and petty-bourgeois alliance as a kind of “*Trotskyist*” appendage. It also opportunistically adapts since many years to the pro-Chinese/Russian imperialist camp. SA has always praised Cuba’s regime¹⁶, which has also entered the Stalinist-capitalist road since a number of years.¹⁷ Like its Stalinist friends, Socialist Action has a long-standing record of slandering the popular uprising as an “*U.S.-orchestrated “regime change” to remove the Assad government*”.¹⁸

Unfortunately, there are still many Trotskyist activist which view organizations like the “*Fourth International*” in the tradition of Pablo and Mandel as belonging to a kind of “*Trotskyist family*”.¹⁹ In fact, we see once more that verbal adherence to “*Trotskyism*”, defending “*orthodox Trotskyism*” in words does not mean anything. Every organization must be measured by its combat program, by its approach to the main issues of the world situation and the class struggle. All too often, verbal adherence to “*orthodox Trotskyism*” is nothing but a fig-leaf for support of sectors of the bourgeoisie and one or the other imperialist Great Power.

In summary, the UNAC statement represents a declaration of support for Chinese imperialism and its allies under the Fig-Leaf of “*Anti-Imperialism*”. Authentic socialist organizations and activists against the Cold War must totally refute this statement.

Footnotes

1 United National Antiwar Coalition: No to U.S. war threats against China! 24 March 2021, <https://nepajac.org/usmilitarychina.htm>, <https://www.workers.org/2021/04/55554/>

2 <https://www.nocoldwar.org/statement>

3 See the list of the members of the UNAC Administrative Committee, <https://www.unacepeace.org/about.html>

4 Michael Pröbsting: One-sided and Naïve ... at Best! A joint call by the friends of Chinese imperialism and the daydreamers of well-meaning global capitalism, 31 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/joint-call-by-friends-of-chinese-imperialism-and-the-daydreamers/>

5 See on this 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, January 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>; See also the latest pamphlet by the same author: "A Really Good Quarrel". US-China Alaska Meeting: The Inter-Imperialist Cold War Continues, 23 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/us-china-alaska-meeting-shows-continuation-of-inter-imperialist-cold-war/>; we refer readers also to numerous documents of the RCIT on the Global Trade War which have been compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-global-trade-war/>.

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10 Paddy Colligan: *Vietnam Communist Party to hold 13th National Congress*, January 28, 2021 <https://www.workers.org/2021/01/54134/>

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12 FRSO: *Eyewitness China: How socialism is defeating COVID-19*, April 7, 2020, <http://www.fightbacknews.org/2020/4/7/eyewitness-china-how-socialism-defeating-covid-19>

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14 Statement on the 10th anniversary of the U.S. war on Syria, <https://www.syriasolidaritymovement.org/2021/03/12/syria-solidarity-movement-statement-on-the-tenth-anniversary-of-the-war-on-syria/>, <https://www.workers.org/2021/03/55195/>

15 We draw attention to an excellent statement supported by numerous progressive Syrian and non-Syrian activists: *Erasing People through Disinformation: Syria and the "Anti-Imperialism" of Fools* <https://www.thecommunists.net/forum/erasing-people-through-disinformation-syria-and-the-anti-imperialism-of-fools/>

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18 Jeff Mackler: *U.S. imperialism bombs Syria & Iraq*, October 11, 2014, <https://socialistaction.org/2014/10/11/u-s-imperialism-bombs-syria-iraq/>

19 On the degeneration of various "Trotskyist" organisations see e.g. *Workers Power (the precursor of the RCIT): The Death Agony of the Fourth International and the Tasks of Trotskyists Today* (1983); this book can also be read online or downloaded as a pdf for free at <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/death-agonies-of-the-fourth-international-1983/>; Michael Pröbsting: *Healy's Pupils Fail to Break with their Master. The revolutionary tradition of the Fourth International and the centrist tradition of its Epigones Gerry Healy and the "International Committee"*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/healy-and-fourth-international/> There are also critical assessments of various so-called Trotskyist organizations in our above-mentioned book *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* as well as in Chapter 13 in our book by Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013: this book can also be read online or downloaded as a pdf for free at <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>; see also, by the same author: *Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the "Left". The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia – A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism*, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>

A Successful and Productive Congress

Report on the III. Congress of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

by the International Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 10 April 2021

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) held its III. Congress between 2nd and 5th April 2021. Due to the restrictions of capitalist governments, delegates from the RCIT's section were forced to meet via video conference.

Due to the competent preparation of the congress by a special commission, which had been elected by the outgoing International Executive Committee, delegates were able to discuss, amend and adopt a number of documents. We also debated organizational issues and elected an international leadership for the next period.

The congress reflected the progress of our tendency in several ways. Not only have we been able to grow in numbers as well as in geographical spread with a presence in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. Over the last years, the RCIT could create an international collective of cadres who are leading the work of the tendency both politically and organizationally.

This important achievement has been reflected in the broad range of authors of draft documents for the congress. The Mexican section produced a draft document on the international situation and a leading comrade from the section in Occupied Palestine elaborated a document on the current situation in the Arab world. Furthermore, two women members of the International Secretariat provided

a draft for a document on the liberation struggle of women and the strategy of socialist revolution.

In addition, the congress discussed, amended and adopted a new programmatic Manifesto called "*The Fire of Revolution Will Burn Down Catastrophic Capitalism!*" which had been drafted by a comrade of the International Bureau. This document, confirming the methods and strategies of the RCIT's previous programmatic documents – "*The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto*" (2012) resp. the "*Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation*" (2016) – represents an update which takes the changes and challenges of the new era into account.

Of particularly importance has been the discussion and adoption of a document called "*Thesis on the Liberation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersexual, Asexual, Two Spirited and all other sexes and sexual orientations (LGBTQIA2S+)*". Drafted by two women comrades, this document allowed us to discuss an issue with which we had previously not dealt in much detail.

The congress was both a reflection of our political and theoretical achievements in the past period as well as a pledge for future successes!

All congress documents will be published on the website of the RCIT in the next weeks.

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution

What It Is and How to Fight It

A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle

In *The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution* Michael Pröbsting analyses the dramatic events in spring 2020 which have opened a new historic era. A triple crisis has shocked the world. The Third Depression has begun, characterized by a devastating economic slump of the capitalist world economy which is certainly no less dramatic than the crisis which started in 1929.

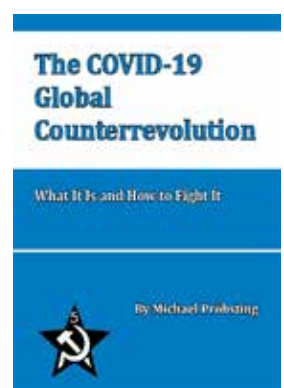
In addition, there is a wave of anti-democratic attacks of a scale which has not been seen in the imperialist countries since 1945. This has triggered a global turn towards Chauvinist State Bonapartism and the creation of a monstrous Leviathan-like state machinery.

And finally, the world faces COVID-19 – a pandemic which endangers many lives and which is exploited by the ruling classes in order to spread fear, to deflect attention from the capitalist causes of the economic crisis and to justify the turn towards chauvinist state bonapartism.

The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution also shows that large sectors of the reformist workers movement and the

so-called left fail to understand the meaning of this triple crisis. Similar to the situation in 1914 after the beginning of World War I we can observe a gigantic wave of opportunist capitulation by many self-proclaimed socialists as they support or at least do not denounce the global lockdown and the suppression of democratic rights which the ruling classes are imposing in the name of combat against the pandemic. *The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution* offers a Marxist analysis of this historic crisis and elaborates a revolutionary perspective for the struggles ahead.

The book contains an introduction and 6 chapters plus an appendix (176 pages) and includes 5 figures and a diagram.



A Decade of Concentrated and Successful Work

On the 10th Anniversary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 31 March 2021

In these days, the RCIT will experience the 10th anniversary of its existence. On 1st April 2011 (no, it was no April fool hoax!), a handful of comrades were expelled by the majority of the international leadership of our predecessor organization – the *League for a Revolutionary Communist International* (renamed in *League for the Fifth International* by 2003). Among the expelled comrades were Almedina Gunić, the International Women’s Secretary of that organization, as well as the author of these lines, a member of its international leadership for nearly two decades.

Our expulsion did not come as a surprise since the majority had prohibited us from attending any branch or leadership meetings already for several weeks as they feared an open debate of our ideas. Hence, we were prepared to continue our work without interruption and on the day after our expulsion, on the 2nd April, we held a small conference to found a new organization. While the initial group did live in Austria, we soon (re-)established relations with like-minded comrades from our former international organization in Sri Lanka, Pakistan and the U.S. We discussed joint plans, elaborated an international program and other documents, started an international English-language journal (*“Revolutionary Communism”*) and began to operate as an international organization. The formal and public announcement of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) took place one year later when all necessary preparatory steps were successfully implemented.

The background of the split was our struggle against the rapid process of centrist degeneration of the LFI. As we have documented the political issues of our faction struggle extensively in other works, we refer interested readers to these documents.¹ The development in the past decade since our split has fully confirmed our criticism of the L5I-majority. Following the motto “fast & furious”, they experienced further political degeneration resulting in the defense of neoliberal globalization as a “lesser evil” (compared to protectionism), in the statement that the imperialist European Union would represent “*bourgeois democratic progress*” (compared with the national state) and various other political shifts reflecting an spineless opportunist adaptation to bourgeois liberalism. Since spring 2020, the L5I has become a dedicated supporter of the state-bonapartist Lockdown policy, joined the “*Zero COVID*” campaign which calls for China-style radical curfews and publicly calls “*cops to enforce laws*” against those who do not follow the government’s decrees. Organizationally, they faced further splits and decay.²

As the LFI rapidly shifted to the camp of opportunism and social-bonapartism, it has been the left to the RCIT to continue our proud revolutionary tradition which began with the formation of the predecessor organization of the LRCI in the mid-1970s.

However, while we are proud of our history and tradition, we have always emphasized that the RCIT does not make agreement on our historical analysis and positions a precondition for joint work. In fact, the vast majority of

our members today either come from other traditions or are young comrades new in revolutionary politics.

A Child of the Historic Revolutionary Period Which Began in 2008

To a certain degree, the RCIT is a child of the new historic period which opened with the Great Recession in 2008/09.³ At that time, it was soon clear to us that the deep crisis of the capitalist world economy had profound and long-term consequences. At the end of 2008 we put forward a corresponding resolution to an international leadership meeting of our predecessor organization, which outlined the main characteristics of the new historic revolutionary period. We argued for responding to this historic turn with a more activist orientation with a major focus not on the university and better-suited layers but rather the mass elements of the working class, the oppressed and the semi-colonial world.⁴

Our approach was based on Trotsky’s remark in which he characterized “*Marxism [as] a method of historical analysis, of political orientation*”⁵ Hence, we were not satisfied with superficial descriptions and eclectic semi-conclusions – a favorite method of centrists in general and our opponents in this debate in particular – but insisted on a clear and consistent analysis and strategic orientation. While we lost the vote at that meeting, the following internal debates until our expulsion were strongly influenced by the differences in the assessment of the new historic period and the practical consequences following from it.

Picking up Hegel’s brilliant thoughts on dialectic, Trotsky noted in his *History of the Russian Revolution* that “*all historic accidents open the sluice-gates of necessity*”.⁶ In analogy, we can say that the timing of our expulsion from our predecessor organization – in the midst of the beginning *Arab Revolution* in spring 2011 – was accidental but it was an accident which expressed a necessity. The *Arab Revolution* – the greatest single class struggle event since the 1968-76 phase – had just begun.⁷ This crucial process fully confirmed our characterization of the new historic period as a revolutionary one. In such a period of sharp class struggles, fundamental differences in program, strategy and practical orientation are impossible to reconcile within a joint organization and, hence, the split was an unavoidable result of our different outlooks.

Our understanding of the profound character of the developments in the new historic period accelerated also our desire to advance our analysis of major theoretical challenges. These efforts resulted in the publication of a number of books and substantial pamphlets. In these works we dealt, in particular, with our theoretical analysis of imperialism and the changes which took place in recent decades (e.g. the shift of capitalist value production from the Western imperialism heart lands to the semi-colonial countries and China, the changes in the composition of the working class⁸, migration⁹, the rise of China and Russia and the acceleration of inter-imperialist rivalry, the complex issues

of the rise of regional powers and the so-called theory of “sub-imperialism”¹⁰, etc.); issues like the capitalist restoration in Cuba¹¹, the application of the united front tactic in a period where new left-populist formations are growing¹²; the crisis of Zionism and the program of Anti-Zionism¹³; the state question in the period of COVID-19 Counter-revolution; as well as other issues.

Major Turns in World Politics as Historic Tests for Socialists

In our view any revolutionary organization is tested in major political events of historic significance. Naturally, such a benchmark must also be applied to ourselves. Looking back to the past decade we can proudly state that we have succeeded in elaborating a correct analysis of such events as well as a corresponding revolutionary programmatic response. And we did this in time – not years after such events took place!

As this is only a brief review of the first decade of our work as the RCIT, we limit ourselves to a few references to the most important political developments in this period. Readers interested in more details can study our respective documents to which we refer in the corresponding footnotes.

First, our analysis of the decline of capitalism allowed us to recognize the inherent necessity of the acceleration of all contradictions between the classes. Hence, we were able to foresee the dynamic resulting in both a reactionary offensive of the ruling class (anti-democratic attacks, coup d'états, Lockdown policy, rise of racism and Islamophobia, etc.) as well as a massive rise of class struggles (most importantly the Arab Revolution and the Global Wave of Popular Uprisings in autumn 2019¹⁴). Similarly, we were able to predict the massive acceleration of the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers – most importantly the U.S. and China.¹⁵ Our method allowed us to integrate all these development in the Marxist analysis of the current historic period of decay of capitalism which inevitable provokes sharp turns, explosions, revolutionary as well as counterrevolutionary situations, etc.

Trotsky once remarked: „*The vast practical importance of a correct theoretical orientation is most strikingly manifested in a period of acute social conflict of rapid political shifts, of abrupt changes in the situation. In such periods, political conceptions and generalizations are rapidly used up and require either a complete replacement (which is easier) or their concretization, precision or partial rectification (which is harder). It is in just such periods that all sorts of transitional, intermediate situations and combinations arise, as a matter of necessity, which upset the customary patterns and doubly require a sustained theoretical attention. In a word, if in the pacific and “organic” period (before the war) one could still live on the revenue from a few readymade abstractions, in our time each new event forcefully brings home the most important law of the dialectic: The truth is always concrete.*”¹⁶

These words have proven to be particularly relevant in the current historic period which is so full of tumultuous political events and explosions. Our method enabled us to elaborate a revolutionary line on all the major world political events in the past decade. In contrast to the reformists and centrists who shamefully praised the Syrian tyranny of Assad (Stalinists of all sorts, etc.)¹⁷, sided with the

military coup of General Sisi in Egypt (e.g. Stalinists, Alan Woods’s IMT, the Morenoite LIT)¹⁸, or took a neutral position of abstentionism, the RCIT has supported the ongoing popular struggles of the Arab Revolution until today. In contrast to the deserters, we did not stop our support for the liberation struggles against capitalist dictatorships and imperialist intervention when the dramatic rise of Islamophobia in the world public opinion made this increasingly unpopular.

In contrast to those forces which hail China as a “socialist” or “progressive” state or those which claim it would be a kind of “semi-colony” or “oppressed” country, the RCIT has analyzed extensively the capitalist and imperialist nature of China¹⁹ and Russia²⁰. We explained that the accelerating rivalry between the Great Powers (U.S., China, EU, Russia, and Japan) has an inter-imperialist character in which socialists must not side with any camp. In contrast, we emphasized, socialists must defend the program of revolutionary defeatism pointedly summarized in the famous slogans of Karl Liebknecht and V.I.Lenin: “*The Main Enemy is at Home*” and “*Transform the Imperialist War into Civil War*”.²¹

The latest major test for all socialist organizations has been the *COVID-19 Counterrevolution*. In nearly all countries around the globe, the ruling class exploits a pandemic as a cover for anti-democratic attacks and the formation resp. expansion of a chauvinist-bonapartist state. The RCIT understood from the very beginning that this pandemic was real but certainly not such a global catastrophe which could justify in any way repeated and comprehensive curfews for whole people. Already in our very first article – called “*The chauvinist campaign behind the “Wuhan Coronavirus” hysteria and the revolutionary answer*” and published on 2 February 2020 – Almedina Gunić warned about the attempts of the ruling class to exploit this pandemic for chauvinist campaigns and for expanding the police and surveillance state.²² Three days later, on 5 February 2020, we elaborated this analysis further and emphasized the *political nature* of the COVID-19 policy of the ruling class:²³ We warned that given the dramatic character of the crisis – the capitalist world economy had entered a phase of depression in autumn 2019 while, at the same time, a global wave of popular uprisings shattered the bourgeois order – the ruling class would exploit the pandemic as a cover for its counterrevolutionary offensive. Since then, we have published on this issue more than 80 pamphlets, essays, articles, and statements as well as a book of which a number have been translated into other languages.²⁴

As we have demonstrated in our works, most of the so-called “left” – social democrats, Stalinists, Bolivarians, Trotsko-Revisionists – have not the foggiest notion about the counterrevolutionary nature of the capitalist state policy which is going on under the cover of the pandemic. Worse, many of them continue to criminally support the Lockdown policy which objectively means support nothing but an expansion of the police and surveillance state.²⁵ And the most reactionary forces amongst the Lockdown Left – like the advocates of the notorious *ZeroCOVID* campaign – even criticize the capitalist governments for not imposing more, harder and longer Lockdowns.²⁶

The RCIT has repeatedly characterized the *COVID-19 Counterrevolution* as a global, massive and shocking event of similar proportions like World War I. And, similar to

1914, nearly all organizations of the official workers movement capitulated to the pressure of the ruling class and became direct or indirect servants of the imperialist state. Rarely ever has the crisis of revolutionary leadership been so stark and visible!

Our Achievements and Challenges

In summary, we consider it as the biggest achievements of our work in the past decade that we were able to elaborate a revolutionary line with analysis and programmatic response to all major world political events. This allowed us to maintain the *revolutionary continuity* – the program and methods of authentic Marxism – which our former comrades, joining the camp of opportunist centrism, had given up. Trotsky pointed out that the strength of the methods of a Marxist organization lies in this, that its program and prognoses are capable of withstanding the test of great events.²⁷ How many “socialist” organizations can say this about themselves?!

We always emphasized that the ability to find a correct orientation in the tumultuous events of the global class struggle is a precondition for any organization which wants to act as a revolutionary force. Naturally, revolutionary organizations have also several other major obligations – in terms of theory, propaganda, agitation, and practical work. But *without* such a correct orientation, it is impossible to advance in the process of building a revolutionary world party! As Trotsky once remarked: „*The art of revolutionary leadership is primarily the art of correct political orientation.*“²⁸

On the basis of such a correct line we have been able to publish a number of books as well as many pamphlets in which we elaborated in detail our theoretical analysis on various crucial question of the current period. Our 10th book, by the way, will be published in the next days – it deals with the history of “*The Zionist Wars*” and has been written by our comrade Yossi Schwartz.

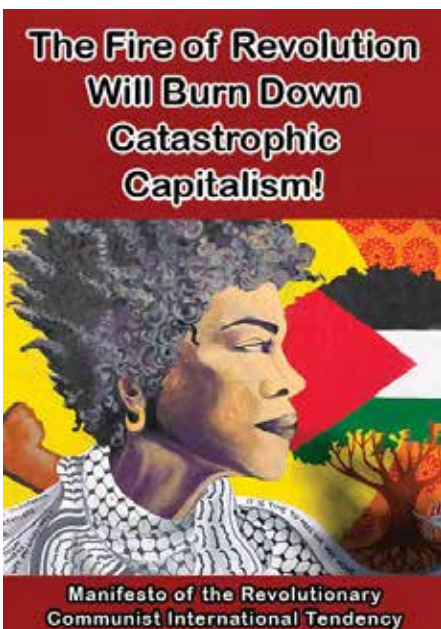
In addition, we publish on our website articles on a daily basis and produce every month an international journal as well as a theoretical review – both in English-language. Furthermore, the truly international character of the RCIT

is demonstrated by the fact that we have published our material on our website in 25 languages among which the most important ones are – after English – Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, French, German and Korean.

However, we do not limit ourselves to theoretical work and regular propaganda. Our sections are engaged in regular practical activities and join workers and popular struggles. Comrades in Mexico, Brazil, South Korea, Sri Lanka, and Britain have a long-time record of trade union work. We have been also engaged many times in various popular struggles, helping to organize the oppressed (Nigeria, Kenya, Mexico, Pakistan, Kashmir, and Sri Lanka). In other countries we systematically work among migrant communities and have a record of organizing youth protests (Austria), build local initiatives in solidarity with refugees (Germany) or side with the struggle of the oppressed people under the most difficult conditions (Israel / Occupied Palestine).

Such a combination of theoretical work, regular propaganda and agitation as well as practical participation in the class struggle has enabled us to build an international organization with sections and activists in more than a dozen countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. This is not a small achievement for an organization which started as a very small group of five comrades in a single country. However, though our systematic work we could create a layer of international cadres who is able to collectively analyze the major events of the class struggle and to translate such an analysis into concrete conclusions for practical work. This achievement is the result of our consistent internationalist method.

The RCIT has been founded on the fundament of Trotsky’s principle that any revolutionary organization must be built from the very beginning as an international organization.²⁹ Many other socialist organizations have failed to understand this Marxist principle and focus on national policy and building a national organization. They wrongly believe that they need to build first a national and only later, at some point, an international organization. In practice such an approach inevitable results in national-centeredness – both in political as well as in organizational terms. But, as Trotsky once rightly noted, “*Marxist policies*



New Program of the RCIT

Manifesto for the Liberation Struggle

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

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A5 Format

'in one country' are as impossible as the construction of a socialist society 'in one country'." ³⁰

We in the RCIT never understood the defense of revolutionary Marxism in a conservative sense, i.e. limiting oneself to defend the correct things which were said in the past. Marxism is a living method, it can not exist as a bible with a list of commandments, but only as a guide to action which has to be applied to the class struggle today. Therefore we in the RCIT judge other forces not so much by what they did say in the past (without, of course, ignoring such issues) but by their positions to the main issues of the current world situation and class struggle. On this basis, we have repeatedly reached out to other forces and tried to advance collaboration and, if possible, fusion. In some cases we had success, in others not. But we think that such an approach is important in order to advance the process of fusion of authentic revolutionaries.

We are in no way complacent about our work. While we are proud about what we have achieved in these ten years, we are aware that much more work lies ahead of us. Our forces have substantially increased since the beginning, but we are still small. Related to this, while our sections have roots in the working class and among the oppressed, we are far away from leading the vanguard. Much more work has to be done and will be done. But we have created a good basis to advance in creating the most important instrument of the working class in its struggle for liberation – a *World Party of Socialist Revolution!* We call all activists fighting for a socialist future to join us!

Footnotes

1 On the history of the RCIT and our predecessor organization see our book by Michael Pröbsting: *Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism*, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/>. In this essay we will refer to a number of documents of the RCIT. Many of them have been translated and published in other languages and are online on our website.

2 The RCIT has dealt with the centrist degeneration of the L5I in various documents. See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: *Lockdown Left says: "Cops Need to Enforce Laws"*. The ex-revolutionary L5I as another example for shameful social-bonapartism in the era of the COVID-19 counterrevolution, 24 July 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/lockdown-left-l5i-says-cops-need-to-enforce-laws/>; by the same author: *COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the "ZeroCOVID" campaign*. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and "Trotskyists" call for a "total and indefinite lockdown", 22 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-zero-socialism-in-the-zero-covid-campaign/>; *The Pseudo-Trotskyist L5I Congratulates the British Police for Their Service*. Another capitulation to the imperialist pressure in the aftermath of the Manchester terror attack, 25 May 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/l5i-and-police/>; *The Market Marxists*. Two remarkable documents from the ex-Trotskyist L5I, 25 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/l5i-opportunism/>; *The Guardians of Swedish Imperialist Democracy*. Another remarkable document from the ex-Trotskyist L5I, 09 May 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/l5i-opportunism-2/>; *Marxism, the European Union and Brexit*. The L5I and the European Union: A Right Turn away from Marxism. The recent change in the L5I's position towards the support for EU membership represents a shift away from its own tradition, of the Marxist method, and of the facts; August 2016, in: *Revolutionary Communist* No. 55, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/>

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5 Leon Trotsky: The New Course (1923), in: The Challenge of the Left Opposition (1923-25), Pathfinder Press, New York 1975, p. 96

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9 Michael Pröbsting: Thesen zu Rassismus, Migration, der Lage der MigrantInnen, 2011, <https://www.thecommunists.net/publications/werk-7/>; See also Michael Pröbsting: Migration and Super-exploitation: Marxist Theory and the Role of Migration in the present Period of Capitalist Decay, in: Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory (Volume 43, Issue 3-4, 2015), pp. 329-346, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03017605.2015.1099846>; RCIT: Marxism, Migration and Revolutionary Integration, <https://www.thecommunists.net/oppressed/revolutionary-integration/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South, chapter 8.iv) and 14ii), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>

10 See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Semi-Colonial Intermediate Powers and the Theory of Sub-Imperialism. A contribution to an ongoing debate amongst Marxists and a proposal to tackle a the-

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.



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12 Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today. The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement in Semi-Colonial and Imperialist Countries in the present Period, RCIT Books, Vienna 2016, Chapter III, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/book-united-front/>

13 Yossi Schwartz: Palestine and Zionism. The History of Oppression of the Palestinian People. A Critical Account of the Myths of Zionism, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/palestine-and-zionism/>, see also by the same author Racism, Anti-Semitism and Zionism. On the oppression of North American Indians, Afro-Americans, Muslims and Jews in history and present, February 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/racism-anti-semitism-and-zionism/>; Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism, 16 November 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-semitism-and-anti-zionism/>; On Anti-Semitism and Zionist Racism, 22.12.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/on-anti-semitism-and-zionist-racism/>

14 For an overview and a characterization of these events

see, in addition the relevant statements on the individual countries, Michael Pröbsting: Are We Nearing a New "68 Moment"? A massive upsurge of global class struggle in the midst of a dramatic shift in the world situation 22 October 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/are-we-nearing-a-new-68-moment/>

15 On the RCIT's analysis of the Great Power rivalry and China's and Russia's rise as emerging imperialist powers see the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>. In particular we refer to 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, January 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>. See also our numerous documents on the Global Trade War which have been collected at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-global-trade-war/>. See also the latest pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: "A Really Good Quarrel". US-China Alaska Meeting: The Inter-Imperialist Cold War Continues, 23 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/us-china-alaska-meeting-shows-continuation-of-inter-imperialist-cold-war/>

16 Leon Trotsky: Bonapartism and Fascism (1934), Trotsky Writings 1934-35, p. 51

17 The RCIT has published numerous documents on the Syrian Revolution which are compiled on a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>.

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Publications of the RCIT

The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution

On the ruling class strategy in the current conjuncture, its inner contradictions and the perspectives of the workers and popular resistance

By Michael Pröbsting, July 2020

Introduction * The localized version of Lockdown policy is spreading * New information concerning severity (or not so severity) of the pandemic * Telling figures for Europe, Sweden and Ischgl * The worst pandemic in Africa? Really? * Capitalism and care homes as deadly traps for old people * The real nature of the ruling class bonapartist offensive under the cover of COVID-19 * Why is the ruling class opting for a local lockdown strategy? * Excuse: A crisis characteristic for the present period of capitalist decay * The nature and inner contradictions of the local lockdown strategy * Preparing for a new counter-revolutionary offensive * The Lockdown Left: a never ending embarrassment * The shameful example of the PSTU/LIT-CI * The imperialist aristocratism of the Lockdown Left * Building a Revolutionary World Party * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

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19 For our analysis of capitalist restoration in China we refer to Michael Pröbsting: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4/>; see also by the same author: 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/>; for our analysis of China as an imperialist power see, in addition to the above-mentioned book "*Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*", e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Chinese Imperialism and the World Economy, an essay in the second edition of *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope. It has been published by Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, in 2020, https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6_179-1; https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91206-6_179-1; see also by the same author the above-mentioned pamphlet: The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences; The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/>.

20 On the RCIT's analysis of Russia's rise as emerging imperialist powers see, in addition to the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>, the following works: Michael Pröbsting: Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power. On the Understanding and Misunderstanding of Today's Inter-Imperialist Rivalry in

the Light of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>; Michael Pröbsting: Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics, 18 March 2014, Special Issue of Revolutionary Communism No. 21 (March 2014), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>.

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23 RCIT: 2019 Corona Virus: Oppose the Global Wave of Chauvinist Hysteria! Workers and oppressed: Do not trust the ruling class and its media! 5.2.2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/2019-corona-virus-oppose-the-global-wave-of-chauvinist-hysteria/>

24 The RCIT has analysed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February we have published more than 80 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>. In particular we refer readers to the RCIT Manifesto: COVID-19: A Cover for a Major Global Counterrevolutionary Offensive. We are at a turning point in the world situation as the ruling classes provoke a war-like atmosphere in order to legitimize the build-up of chauvinist state-bonapartist regimes, 21 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-a-cover-for-a-major-global-counterrevolutionary-offensive/>. In addition, we draw attention to our book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to

Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: The Zionist Wars

A History of the Zionist Movement and Imperialist Wars

In *The Zionist Wars* Yossi Schwartz gives an overview about the process of Zionist colonialization of Palestine as well as the resistance of the indigenous Arab population. He deals in detail with the popular struggles of the Palestinians against their expulsion by the Zionists. *The Zionist Wars* elaborates in detail the character of Israel's military campaigns in 1948 and the following decades which resulted in the expulsion of large parts of the Palestinian population. These wars were also crucial to implement the imperialist subjugation of the Arab countries.

However, as Yossi Schwartz elaborates, the Zionist state has passed its peak already some time ago which has been demonstrated by its failed military campaigns in Lebanon as well as in Gaza.

In *The Zionist Wars* the author also discusses in much detail the program of the communist movement on the Palestinian question. He shows the adaptation and finally capitulation of Stalinism to the Zionist project – culminating in massive arms shipments for the Israeli forces during the War of 1948.

In this book Yossi Schwartz elaborates the analyses and conclusions of Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International for the libera-

tion of Palestine. He also discusses the strength and weakness of his successors in dealing with the Zionist state and the Arab liberation struggle against it.

In *The Zionist Wars* Yossi Schwartz defends the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and outlines a socialist perspective.

The book contains an introduction and 20 chapters (136 pages) and includes 2 Tables and 4 Maps. The author of the book is Yossi Schwartz, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency and its section in Israel / Occupied Palestine..

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



Fight It. A Marxist analysis and strategy for the revolutionary struggle, RCIT Books, April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-covid-19-global-counterrevolution/>. See also our very first article on this issue by Almedina Gunić: Coronavirus: "I am not a Virus"... but WE will be the Cure! The chauvinist campaign behind the "Wuhan Coronavirus" hysteria and the revolutionary answer, 2 February 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/wuhan-virus/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution. On the ruling class strategy in the current conjuncture, its inner contradictions and the perspectives of the workers and popular resistance, 20 July 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/the-second-wave-of-the-covid-19-counterrevolution/>; by the same author: The Police and Surveillance State in the Post-Lockdown Phase. A global review of the ruling class's plans of expanding the bonapartist state machinery amidst the COVID-19 crisis, 21 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/police-and-surveillance-state-in-post-lockdown-phase/>; COVID-19: The Great Barrington Declaration is indeed Great! Numerous medical scientists protest against the reactionary lockdown policy, 11 October 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-the-great-barrington-declaration-is-indeed-great/>.

25 For our critique of the Lockdown Left see e.g. chapter V of our above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: The COVID-19 Global Counterrevolution: What It Is and How to Fight It; see also by the same author the last chapters in the above mentioned essay: The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution; COVID-19 and the Lockdown Left: The Example of PODEMOS and Stalinism in Spain, 24 March 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-lockdown-left-podemos-and-stalinism-in-spain/>; Social-Bonapartism in Argentina. The Partido Obrero (Tendencia) of Jorge Altamira supports the State of Emergency, 29 April 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/social-bonapartism-in-argentina/>; When Ultra-Leftism marries Social-Bonapartism and Gives Birth to "Post-Marxist" Obscurantism. A reply to the CWG/ILTT, 5 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-when-ultra-leftism-marries-social-bonapartism/>; Brazil: Social-Bonapartism of the Lockdown Left in Practice. How the leaderships of the trade unions, PT, PCdoB, the pseudo-Trotskyist PSTU and PSOL sabotage the struggle against the Bolsonaro government, 10 June 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-social-bonapartism-of-the-lockdown-left-in-practice/>; Lockdown Left says: "Cops Need to Enforce Laws". The ex-revolutionary L5I as another example for shameful social-bonapartism in the era of the COVID-19 counterrevolution, 24 July 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/lockdown-left-l5i-says-cops-need-to-enforce-laws/>; COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the "ZeroCOVID" campaign. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and "Trotskyists" call for a "total and indefinite lockdown", 22 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-zero-socialism-in-the-zero-covid-campaign/>; COVID-19: The Current and Historical Roots of Bourgeois Lock-

down "Socialism". Police State and Universal Basic Income are key elements of the new version of reformist "War Socialism" of 1914, 19 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/covid-19-the-current-and-historical-roots-of-bourgeois-lockdown-socialism/>

26 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the "ZeroCOVID" campaign. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and "Trotskyists" call for a "total and indefinite lockdown", 22 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-zero-socialism-in-the-zero-covid-campaign/>

27 "The power of the Fourth International lies in this, that its program is capable of withstanding the test of great events." (Fourth International: Imperialist War And The Proletarian World Revolution, Adopted by the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, May 19-26, 1940; in: Documents of the Fourth International, The Formative Years (1933-40), Pathfinder Press, New York 1973, p. 323, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/fi/1938-1949/emergconf/fi-emerg02.htm>)

28 Leon Trotsky: The "Third Period" of the Comintern's Errors (1930), in: Trotsky Writings 1930, p. 50

29 We have elaborated more on this in chapter II of our above-mentioned book "Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice". See also e.g. Trotsky's statement: "From its very first steps the Opposition must therefore act as an international faction – as did the Communists in the days of the publication of the Communist Manifesto, or in the Zimmerwald Left at the beginning of the war. In all these cases the groups were for the most part small numerically or it was a matter of isolated individuals; but they nevertheless acted as an international organization. In the epoch of imperialism such a position is a hundred times more imperative than in the days of Marx. Those who believe that the International Left will someday take shape as a simple sum of national groups, and that therefore the international unification can be postponed indefinitely until the national groups "grow strong," attribute only a secondary importance to the international factor and by this very reason take the path of national opportunism. It is undeniable that each country has greatest peculiarities of its own; but in our epoch these peculiarities can be assayed and exploited in a revolutionary way only from an internationalist point of view. On the other hand, only an international organization can be the bearer of an international ideology. Can anyone seriously believe that isolated Oppositional national groups, divided among themselves and left to their own resources, are capable of finding the correct road by themselves? No, this is a certain path to national degeneration, sectarianism, and ruin. The tasks facing the International Opposition are enormously difficult. Only by being indissolubly tied together, only by working out answers jointly to all current problems, only by creating their international platform, only by mutually verifying each one of their steps, that is, only by uniting in a single international body, will the national groups of the Opposition be able to carry out their historic task." (Leon Trotsky: An Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund (1930); in: Writings 1930, pp. 91-92)

30 Leon Trotsky: Unifying the Left Opposition (1930); in: Writings 1930, p. 99

Comunismo Revolucionario

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What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

