



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



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July 2021

“America is Back”? Dream on, Mr. Biden!

**Open Letter: Prepare for a New Era of Storm and Stress
Middle East * China * Tiananmen Square Massacre 1989**

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.56, July 2021

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Pictures on the cover: Taliban fighters at a training camp in April 2019

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 is in a Liaison Committee with *Convergencia Socialista* (Argentina)

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

Open Letter: Prepare for a New Era of Storm and Stress!

Palestine, Myanmar, Colombia, Afghanistan, ... -

Popular Uprisings and Wars Open a New Phase of Global Class Struggle

An Open Letter to Socialists from the Liaison Committee of the RCIT and Convergencia Socialista (Argentina), 31 May 2021

Comrades, brothers and sisters,
We are in midst of a turning point of the world situation. The Zionist state has provoked the Third Intifada of the Palestinian people by its merciless policy of brutal aggression and starvation in Al-Quds/Jerusalem, at the Al-Aqsa Mosque, in Gaza and all other parts of historic Palestine. Such new unity of struggle of the oppressed masses has been symbolized in a historic general strike on 18 May which was observed in all parts of the country – from Jerusalem to Jenin, from Hebron to Haifa, and from Ramallah to Lydda. Israel’s attempt to smash the Palestinian resistance in Gaza ended in a gigantic political defeat – for the fourth time since 2008/09. Against this background, a powerful international solidarity movement has emerged - calling for the boycott of Israel, for the expulsion of its ambassadors and for the persecution of Netanyahu’s war crimes. Today, the Zionist state is weaker, internally more divided, and internationally more isolated than ever!

It is evident that the Palestinian Intifada goes hand in hand – and inspires – the ongoing mass struggles in the Middle East. The ongoing liberation struggle in Syria against the tyranny of Assad, lasting already for more than a decade, the mass mobilizations in Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Algeria, and Oman in recent weeks – all these reflects the fact that, contrary to the claims of traitors and weak-minded, the process of the Arab Revolution is still alive and beating! In fact, the Middle East is pregnant with a *united Intifada in Maghreb and Mashreq* – from Al-Quds to Algiers, from Baghdad to Beirut, from Cairo to Casablanca, and from Idlib to Istanbul and Isfahan!

The Palestinian Intifada and the Arab Revolution are not isolated phenomena but part of a global wave of revolutionary struggles. The heroic popular uprising in Burma-Myanmar against the military coup d’état on 1 February is another flare of the revolutionary offensive of the masses. Despite draconic repression by the junta – more than 800 demonstrators have been already killed and thousands arrested – the masses are not only continuing to fight but deepen their level of organization in popular assemblies and armed militias! This popular uprising in the heart of South and East Asia, which is now being transformed into a revolutionary civil war, will strengthen and stimulate other important ongoing class struggles in the region – like the mass mobilizations in Thailand, the “*Dilli Chalo*” uprising of India’s poor peasants, the liberation struggle of the oppressed people in Kashmir or the democratic mass resistance in Hong Kong against the Stalinist-capitalist dictatorship.

Likewise, the popular uprising in Colombia against the corrupt and criminal Duque regime reflects the massive upswing of class struggle in Latin America. Here too the masses have organized themselves in popular assemblies and created self-defense units in order to fight back against the brutal repression forces. The ongoing mass protests in

Chile, the seething tensions in Brazil and Argentina – all these developments reflect that Latin America, which experienced already a series of popular uprisings in several countries in autumn 2019, has become a potential political volcano.

Israel’s defeat in the Fourth Gaza War is of global significance also because it reflects a fundamental shift in world politics: the historic decline of U.S. imperialism – its most important patron and the long-time hegemon of the imperialist world order. This process is also reflected in Washington’s defeat in Afghanistan – resulting in the withdrawal of all U.S. and NATO troops after 20 years of armed rebellion against foreign occupation. We see a similar development in Iraq where the Pentagon is also preparing its retreat faced with increasing popular resistance. Likewise, the U.S. recently had to withdraw its forces from Somalia, having failed to defeat the armed popular resistance in the East African country.

The decline of the U.S. reflects the decay of the system which hegemon it has been for decades – global capitalism. Facing its worst depression since 1929, the capitalist world economy remains trapped in a long-term period of stagnation and collapse.

Such decay goes hand in hand with the deep crisis of the imperialist world order. While the dominance of its long-term hegemon – the U.S. – is unstoppable crumbling, other imperialist Great Powers are rising. This is evident in the growing political, economic and military role of the European Union, China, Russia and Japan. As a result, the rivalry between these Great Powers respectively their proxies are inevitable accelerating – provoking sanctions, global trade wars and military tensions.

It is only logical that the ruling class all over the world – faced with an upsurge of mass struggles amid the decay of its social formation – reacts with an unprecedented counterrevolutionary offensive. They try to consolidate their power by austerity policy and a shift towards chauvinist state bonapartism, i.e. attacking the most fundamental democratic rights, wiping up racism and chauvinism, and strengthening the repressive state apparatus. The ruling class utilizes the COVID-19 pandemic as a pretext in order to promote such a relentless counterrevolutionary offensive. Contrary to their claims, the policy of Lockdown and curfews for the whole population does not serve the purpose of public health but rather the political power interests of the ruling elite and the capitalists’ greed for profit.

Comrades, brothers and sisters!

These are, in a very condensed form, the main axes of contradictions of the current world situation as we see it in the *Liaison Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* and *Convergencia Socialista (Argentina)*. It is evident that *we are at the beginning of a new era of storm and stress!*

We are deeply convinced that socialists can only play a progressive role in these struggles and conflicts if they

find a correct orientation and fight for a program of struggle which is directed against *all factions of the bourgeoisie* and against *all Great Powers*.

However, as a matter of fact, large sectors of the so-called left – while claiming in words adherence to the principles of socialism – have dramatically failed in the last years in the most important tests of class struggle and world politics. Let us give only a few examples.

The Stalinists and various pseudo-Trotskyists (like LIT-CI, Alan Woods' IMT or the Cliffite RS/IST) hailed the military coup of Egypt's General Sisi in July 2013 which established a brutal dictatorship in the service of imperialism.

Likewise, numerous Stalinists and Bolivarians slandered the heroic Syrian Revolution from the beginning as a CIA plot, sided with the Assad tyranny and hailed the military intervention of Russia and Iran. Pseudo-Trotskyists like PTS/FT, Peter Taaffe's CWI, ISA, SWP/IST, etc. dropped their support for the popular uprising soon after its beginning and deserted the ongoing liberation struggle.

In the past years, many left-wing parties have supported (critically or not so critically) so-called "socialist" governments like the regimes of Ortega in Nicaragua, of Maduro in Venezuela or SYRIZA in Greece. In fact, these regimes have nothing to do with socialism but rather represent popular front governments administering the capitalist exploitation. In fact, in various cases they represent (state-) capitalist bonapartist regimes which have brutally suppressed popular protests as the decay of capitalism does not allow them space for any concessions to the masses. Today, with the masses waging many battles against the ruling class, bourgeois "left"-populist parties (e.g. Kirchnerism in Argentina) are on the rise again. Shamefully, large sectors of the "left-wing" parties opportunistically adapt to these popular front formations.

In the arena of world politics, large sectors of the reformist left side with one or the other imperialist Great Powers. The European post-Stalinist parties are loyal servants of "their" imperialist bourgeoisie – weather they are in government (e.g. SYRIZA in Greece, PODEMOS, IU and PCE in Spain, PCF in France) or in parliamentary opposition. Other Stalinist and Bolivarian parties (e.g. in South Africa, Venezuela, Cuba, Brazil) advocate collaboration with Russian and Chinese imperialism. Both the Altamira as well as the anti-Altamira faction of the Argentinean PO stand for a similar approach. Consequently, these parties oppose only the intervention of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East but not that of its Russian and Chinese rivals. In short, these parties serve as social-imperialist supporters of one or the other Great Power. Various pseudo-Trotskyists like PTS/FT, LIT-CI, IMT, CWI etc. don't go that far but, nevertheless, they refuse to designate China and Russia as imperialist. Thereby, they open the road to social-imperialist capitulation.

The *COVID-19 Counterrevolution* since spring 2020 has provoked an even more devastating response of the so-called left. Nearly all of them – either as governmental or opposition parties, large or small – have capitulated to the anti-democratic offensive of the ruling class and support the Lockdown policy. As a result, the left objectively acted as stirrup holders of the ruling class which has massively expanded the police and surveillance state since then.

Comrades, brothers and sisters!

Let this be a warning! Such a treacherous left is *only* useful for one or the other faction of the bourgeoisie, for one or the other imperialist Great Power but it is *useless* for the workers and oppressed. It can't provide the vanguard with an orientation or a program of struggle. Such an opportunist left is only interested in winning a few seats in parliament

Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: Palestine and Zionism

The History of Oppression of the Palestinian People.

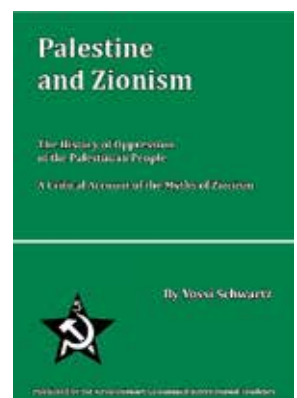
A Critical Account of the Myths of Zionism

In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz provides a critical analysis of numerous Zionist myths about the Jews as well as about the Palestinians. He demonstrates that the Zionist claim that Palestine is the historic homeland of the Jews lacks any serious basis. *Palestine and Zionism* shows that the history of Zionism in the 20th century is a history of colonialism in the service of the Great Powers and directed against the native population – the Arabs. In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz deals with key events – the "Nakba" in 1948, the wars in 1956, 1967 and 1973, more recent events like the Lebanon War, etc. – which were decisive for the expulsion of most Palestinians from their homeland. Yossi Schwartz also shows that the Palestinian people have heroically resisted against the occupation resulting in two Intifadas as well as the successful defense of Gaza against the Israeli aggression in three wars (2008/09, 2012, 2014). The author also analysis the shameful betrayal by the PLO leadership by signing the Oslo Agreement in 1993. In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz defends the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian people and outlines

a socialist perspective. He emphasizes that the only solution is the right of millions of Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and to replace the Zionist entity with one democratic state from the river to the sea – a *Free Red Palestine* with equal civil rights to the Arabs and the Israeli Jews.

The book contains an introduction and 7 chapters (112 pages) and includes 7 Tables and 3 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/palestine-and-zionism/>



or getting some position within the bureaucratic apparatus of trade unions and popular organizations.

No one should have any illusions: the old left is incorrigible poisoned by the policy of opportunism, electoralism, of adapting to sectors of the bourgeoisie and Great Powers, of orientating towards the privileged sectors of the middle class, the labor aristocracy, and the bureaucratic apparatus. This old left is part of the problem, not of the solution!

All sincere socialist organizations and activists need to break decisively with such an impotent policy of defeat and degeneration and turn instead towards the road of intransigent struggle. There is only one way forward and such requires a decisive rupture with everything which is old and rotten!

Comrades, brothers and sisters!

We need something different from the old opportunist left!

We need a new party which *supports the struggles of the workers and oppressed* instead of siding with reactionary dictatorships.

We need a new party which promotes the *creation of Soviet dual power bodies*. Such organs are decisive so that the working class and the popular masses can not only organize their rebellions but also have democratic instruments which – after the overthrow of the capitalist regimes - become institutions of the new workers' states, opening the road to socialism.

We need a new party which advocates the creation of *self-defense pickets and militias*. Such armed organizations of the masses are the only way to fight back against the counter-revolutionary offensive of the ruling class which increasingly turns to repressive or bonapartist regimes (e.g. in Colombia and Myanmar).

We need a new party which fights against *all sectors* of the capitalist class instead of supporting their anti-democratic policy.

We need a new party which fights *against all* imperialist Great Powers instead of supporting one or the other.

We need a new party which *warns the masses of the trap of popular front parties and governments* as such forces serve the ruling class and one or the other imperialist Great Power. Instead, such a new party must strive to break the workers and oppressed away from such popular fronts and to organize them independently for the struggle for socialism.

We need a new party which *assembles the most conscious*

and militant sectors of the vanguard, those who constitute the first line in the class struggle.

We need a new party which does not orientate to the upper strata and the bureaucratic apparatus but rather to the *broad masses* fighting for their interests despite all the daily misery and oppression.

We need a new party which fights for the *program of international socialist revolution* and the establishment of workers and popular governments on all continents.

Such a party must exist both on a national as well as an international level.

Comrades, brothers and sisters!

Such a party does not exist yet. It will not fall from heaven. It must be built. Don't wait for others to do. Let us do it ourselves – together! True this will need some time as one can not build a party in seven days. But it can be done, and we must start working jointly for such goal now!

If you share the fundamental lines of this *Open Letter*, we ask you to join us in the *Liaison Committee of Convergencia Socialista* and *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* in order to advance the struggle of building a Revolutionary World Party!

Comrades, brothers and sisters! Don't hesitate! If you are willing to fight for a socialist world without exploitation and oppression – your place is in our ranks!

* * * * *

We refer readers to numerous joint documents of the *Liaison Committee* of the and *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* and *Convergencia Socialista*. See for example: War and Intifada in Palestine: A Turning Point in the World Situation, 22 May 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/war-and-intifada-in-palestine-a-turning-point-in-the-world-situation/>

See also several joint documents on the Fourth Gaza War which have been compiled on to a special sub-page on the RCIT website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-fourth-gaza-war/> respectively can be found at <https://convergenciadecombate.blogspot.com/>

See also: Myanmar: International Solidarity with the Popular Uprising! 6 May 2021, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/myanmar-international-solidarity-with-popular-uprising/#anker_1



Publications of the RCIT

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

Occupied Palestine: A criminal negligence, willful blindness or another planned crime?

Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), 21.06.2021

While we do not know yet what will be the side effects of the vaccines against Coronavirus and whether it is effective against another round of COVID 19, it is clear that these vaccines have been effective for now. Israel is proof of it. Yet even on this issue Zionist racism against the Palestinians has manifested for many months. Israel transported batches of the Pfizer/BioNTech vaccine deep inside the West Bank, but they have only been distributed to Jewish settlers, and not the roughly 2.7 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and the 2 million Palestinians in Gaza who have to wait for weeks or months.

"Only 100,000 Palestinians from the West Bank who work in Israel in low-paid jobs were immunized by Israel. By May 1st, 2021, only 3.6% of Palestinians had received at least one dose, and less than 1% were fully vaccinated. The PA has received 271,000 doses for use in the West Bank to date, including 100,000 from China and 58,000 from Russia. Most of the remainder were AstraZeneca doses sent through COVAX. Israel also donated 5,000 Moderna doses and 200 Pfizer doses for Palestinian medical workers." (1)

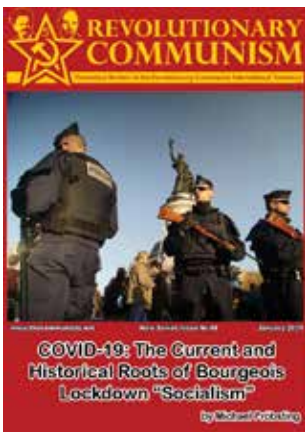
For the moment it seemed that the new government decided that it will provide the Palestinians with the necessary vaccines. Under the terms of a deal with the Palestinian Authority announced on Friday morning, Israel promised to give more than one million Pfizer doses to the PA. In return, Israel would receive later this year the same number of vaccines that were purchased by the PA.

But then it was revealed by Israel that these vaccines are soon to expire within 14 days which means that the vaccines will likely endanger the lives of many thousands of people who will be vaccinated by expired vaccines.

Those who defend the deal argue that based on the Israeli experience these vaccines can be administered to hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. But this false argument is based on willful ignorance. It is impossible to compare the medical infrastructure of Israel with the Palestinians' medical infrastructure.

By the end of 2020, the State of Israel, with a population of 9.3 million, had administered more COVID-19 vaccine doses than all countries aside from China, the US, and the UK. Moreover, Israel had administered almost 11.0 doses per 100 population, while the next highest rates were 3.5 (in Bahrain) and 1.4 (in the United Kingdom). All other countries had administered less than 1 dose per 100 population.

"A great number of factors contributed to this early success, and they can be divided into three major groups. The first one is a, and well-developed infrastructure for implementing prompt responses to large-scale national emergencies. The second one includes: the organizational, IT, and logistical capacities of Israel's community-based health care providers, the availability of a cadre of well-trained, salaried, community-based nurses who are directly employed by those providers, The third one includes: the mobilization of special government funding for vaccine purchase and distribution, and the ability as a rich state to buy a great



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

number of vaccines relative to Israel's population. Within two weeks from December 20, 2020, to the end of December Israel was able to administer 150,000 doses per day." (2)

The situation of the Palestinians under the occupation and the destruction of the health system by Israel is different.

"On June 10 2021 Israel's move to shut down a key healthcare body in the occupied territories will have "catastrophic consequences" for Palestinians in need of medical attention, global rights group Amnesty International warned. Israeli army forces raided the Palestinian Union of Health Workers Committee (UHWC) headquarters in Ramallah on Wednesday, breaking down the door, confiscating computers and memory drives, and issuing a military order forcing the office to close for six months.

The UHC runs hospitals and health clinics for marginalized communities and has repeatedly been targeted by Israeli forces, Amnesty said. Employees have faced harassment and arrest for the health providers' alleged affiliation with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a political party with an armed wing. "Israel's shutdown of its headquarters will have major consequences for the provision of essential health services to thousands of Palestinians, a program for women's health that was at the headquarters has now stopped," Saleh Higazi, Amnesty's deputy director for the Middle East and North Africa, said in a statement.

He said "as the occupying power" Israel had "a clear obligation" under international law to protect the rights of all Palestinians – including their right to healthcare. "So far they have completely failed to fulfill this responsibility throughout the global pandemic, pursuing a discriminatory COVID-19 vaccination policy," Higazi said. "Israeli authorities must immediately rescind the shutdown order and put an end to the harassment of health workers. He said the targeting of UHWC was part of a wider attack by Israel against Palestinian civil society organizations. "Instead of criminalizing organizations providing vital health services, the Israeli authorities should be ending their institutionalized discrimination and systematic oppression of Palestinians," Higazi said.

Amnesty said UHWC has been at the forefront of the COVID-19 response in the occupied Palestinian Territories, raising awareness, offering public health guidance, and providing medical care to COVID-19 patients in its health facilities, as well as to hard-to-reach communities through mobile clinics. More than 310,000 Palestinians have contracted COVID-19 and the virus has killed 3,500 of them. The organization also leads local advocacy efforts to improve the Palestinian health system. Amnesty said this was not the first time that UHWC and its staff have been targeted by Israeli forces. Its Jerusalem office was shut down by Israeli authorities in 2015. Its Ramallah office, which was shut down on Wednesday, was previously raided in October 2019 – when its finance director was arrested. In March two other members of staff were arrested." (3)

Thus, these vaccines under the actual circumstance are an empty gesture. This deal is denounced now by the Palestinians as a "political, health and moral scandal" of Israel and of the PA.

"But learning that the Israeli-supplied vaccines were about to expire, many Palestinians condemned the PA and accused it of "tampering" with the health of the Palestinian people. The vaccine exchange deal with the occupation authorities once again shows the lack of transparency in managing public affairs in general, and in managing the coronavirus pandemic in particular," the Palestinian Coalition for Accountability and Integrity (AMAN) said in a statement. "It is illogical that the first source

of information in an important issue related to the health of Palestinian citizens is the occupation. It is the responsibility of the Palestinian government, represented by the Ministry of Health, to announce the details of the deal before concluding it, to enhance the principle of transparency." (4)

Under this pressure, the PA had to tell Israel that it rejected the deal. The PA Health Ministry had notified Israel that the vaccines must conform to all specifications and conditions of validity and safety. "After medical and technical teams received and inspected the first batch, it was found that the doses did not conform to the technical specifications as previously agreed upon and that their expiry date was close." (5)

The question to ask is whether this is a case of criminal negligence on the part of the new Israeli government or an attempt to harm the health of thousands of Palestinians? In the best case, it is a case of willful blindness and a clumsy exercise in public relations for the benefit of the friends of the Zionist apartheid.

"Health Minister Nitzan Horowitz of the left Zionist party Meretz spoke with Al-Kaila on Friday and said the agreement will lower the COVID-19 numbers in the Palestinian Authority without reducing Israel's stores of vaccines. Coronavirus does not recognize borders or differentiate between nations," Horowitz said. "This important move is in the interest of all sides. I hope and believe this move will promote cooperation between Israel and its Palestinian neighbors in other areas, as well." (6)

Nice but empty phrases, just music for the supporters of the Zionist apartheid!

While it is more likely that it is a case of crude criminal negligence or willful blindness, we should keep in mind that Israel has a poor record when it comes to the human rights of the Palestinians.

"Israel used biological weapons even before it was created on Arab soil in 1948 and ever since. The purpose, according to Ben Gurion, is genocide, and if not complete, the purpose is not to allow the dispossessed Palestinians to return to their homes.

POISONING ACRE WATER SUPPLY: In the wake of Haifa's occupation on 23 April 1948 by the Zionists, under the nose of the British Mandate forces commanded by General Stockwell, a man still historically discredited for this failure, thousands converged on Acre, a nearby city, which was still Arab under the "protection" of the British forces.

Acre was to be the next Zionist target. The Zionists besieged the city from the land side and started showering the population with a hail of mortar bombs day and night. Famous for its historical walls, Acre could stand the siege for a long time. The city water supply comes from a nearby village, Kabri, about 10kms to the north, through an aqueduct. The Zionists injected typhoid in the aqueduct at some intermediate point which passes through Zionist settlements.

The story can now be told, thanks to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) files which have now become available, 50 years after the event. A series of reports, under the reference G59/1/GC, G3/82, sent by ICRC delegate de Meuron from 6 May to about 19 May 1948 describe the conditions of the city population, struck by a sudden typhoid epidemic, and the efforts to combat it." (7)

Can we believe that the Zionists could poison the civil population in cold blood?

In Israel, a very famous poet Abba Kovner planned to poison millions of Germans after WWII as revenge for the Holocaust. He was one of the founders of a secret organization Nakam (revenge), also known as Dam Yisrael

Noter (“the blood of Israel avenges”), with the acronym DIN meaning “judgment”. Two plans were formulated. Plan A was to kill a large number of German citizens by poisoning the water supplies of Hamburg, Frankfurt, Munich, and Nuremberg. Nakam intended to kill 6 million Germans. Plan B was to kill SS prisoners held in Allied POW camps. In pursuit of Plan A, members of the group were infiltrated into the water and sewage plants in several cities. According to the New York Times some Zionists (among them Abba Kovner) planned to poison millions of Germans after WWII.

“Imagine a real-life version of ‘Inglorious Bastards,’ Quentin Tarantino’s quixotic movie about Jewish avengers in World War II — but in this case involving a plot by a band of refugees to kill millions of Germans just after the war by poisoning their water supply. The plot, which targeted five major cities in retribution for the Holocaust, failed. So did the conspirators’ Plan B, which followed in mid-April 1946: to murder 12,000 captured SS officers — members of the very unit that enforced the Nazis’ reign of terror and ran the death camps — by lacing their bread rations with arsenic. The second scheme was not a complete failure, however. Led by 21-year-old Joseph Harmatz, a survivor of the Vilnius ghetto in Lithuania, the plotters sickened more than 2,200 German prisoners, inducing vomiting and other symptoms of cholera. Their weapons were 3,000 loaves of black bread, which had been painted with a mixture of arsenic and glue at a bakery that had been infiltrated by one of the groups. Mr. Harmatz, who died at 91 on Sept. 22 at his home in Tel Aviv, never publicly expressed remorse for his role in either conspiracy. But later on, his son Ronel said on Tuesday, he did acknowledge privately, that he was grateful that the mass water-poisoning plot was abandoned after one of his collaborators was arrested.” (8)

That same Abba Kovner in the 1948 war was an educational officer in the Givati Brigade where he became known for

his “battle pages”, headed “Death to the invaders!”, that called for revenge for the Holocaust and referred to the Egyptian enemy as vipers and dogs. The same Givati Brigades were involved in many major operations to uproot and cleanse the indigenous Palestinians. The mass expulsion, in some cases, was accompanied by massacres and rapes.

But whether this is a case of criminal negligence or a planned massive crime, it is a case of glaring racism of the settler colonialist’s imperialist state. Very similar to the way the European settler colonialists treated the native Americans and the Blacks in North America. No wonder the American ruling class has such a political sympathy for Israel!

Down with Racist Zionism!

Down with the new right-wing government that is no better than the government of Netanyahu!

For a free red Palestine from the river to the sea!

Footnotes

- 1) <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-may-toss-millions-of-vaccines-why-wont-it-give-them-to-the-pa-instead/>
- 2) <https://ijhpr.biomedcentral.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s13584-021-00440-6.pdf>
- 3) <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/10/amnesty-raises-alarm-as-israel-shuts-palestinian-health-provider>
- 4) <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/palestinians-call-for-probe-into-vaccine-scandal-671468>
- 5) <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/vaccine-exchange-deal-between-israel-and-pa-has-been-announced-671413>
- 6) <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/vaccine-exchange-deal-between-israel-and-pa-has-been-announced-671413>
- 7) <https://electronicintifada.net/content/traces-poison/4588>
- 8) <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/30/world/europe/joseph-harmatz-dead.html>

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.

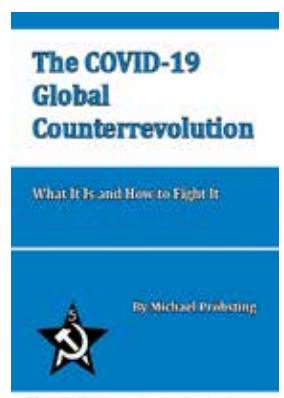
In addition, there is a wave of anti-democratic attacks of a scale which has not been seen in the imperialist countries since 1945. This has triggered a global turn towards Chauvinist State Bonapartism and the creation of a monstrous Leviathan-like state machinery.

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.



On the Recent Blinken Visit to the Middle East

By Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), 27 May 2021

The last Palestinian national elections were held 15 years ago. New elections were supposed to take place on May 22 this year. However, at the end of April the Palestinian general elections were canceled by the Palestinian Authority using the flimsy excuse that Israel does not allow the East Jerusalem Palestinians to vote and therefore the elections would be indefinitely delayed.

The real reason was the internal struggles in Abbas's Fatah movement and its unpopularity, which raised the fear of "President" Mahmoud Abbas of losing to rivals both inside Fatah namely Marwan Barghouti and Mohammed Dahlan and more likely to Hamas. Today after the war in Gaza, Hamas is more popular than ever, and the last thing Mahmoud Abbas would like to see is elections in the West Bank.

What the Palestinians think of "President" Mahmoud Abbas, we saw earlier this week when the Mufti of Jerusalem, a representative of the PA was thrown from Al Aqsa while people called him a traitor. They are not wrong as Abbas is indeed a servant of US imperialism and a collaborator of the Zionist state. The role of his master was exposed when the US, that during the Israeli massacre of the people of Gaza repeatedly blocked UN Security Council joint statements calling for a ceasefire to ensure that Israel will be able to commit its war crimes, also promised Israel military aid in the amount of \$755.

Upon his arrival to Israel, Blinken met Netanyahu who thanked the US for "firmly supporting Israel's right to self-defence". Both Blinken and Netanyahu hailed a US commitment to replenish Israel's Iron Dome air defence system in the wake of the fighting, which comes amid calls by some US legislators address to curtail military aid and arms sales to Israel." (1)

The Democratic party in the US, which is a real imperialist party, no less than the Republican party, sees Mahmoud Abbas as their loyal servant in Palestine. US Secretary of State after his meeting with Netanyahu went to Ramallah to meet with Mahmoud Abbas. To his surprise, Palestinians demonstrated against the US. The demonstration was organized by the National and Islamic Forces, an alliance of various Palestinian factions.

"Chanting "America is the head of the snake," the protesters said they were opposed to "receiving the enemies of the Palestinian people on our land." They also chanted: "Our people want the [rocket-propelled grenade] RPG." Some protesters carried placards reading: "Blinken, you are not welcome!" The protesters also denounced the security coordination between Israel and the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank. "Security coordination is shameful," the Palestinians chanted. "The Oslo Accords are gone." (2)

In his meeting with the chief collaborator, Blinken pledged \$75m in US assistance to Palestinians to rebuild Gaza after the Zionist bombardment of the Gaza Strip that ravaged the blockaded strip. "The United Nations said that more than 77,000 Palestinians have been displaced by airstrikes that reduced hundreds of apartment buildings to rubble and left others temporarily uninhabitable. Six hospitals and 11 health-care clinics were damaged, and nearly half the territory's more than 2 million residents lack reliable access to clean water be-

cause desalination plants have stopped functioning." (3)

U.S. Financial Aid for Zionism

At the same time, the USA's contribution to Israel that was used to destroy Beirut and Gaza is 146 billion dollars. "To date, the United States has provided Israel \$146 billion (current, or non inflation-adjusted, dollars) in bilateral assistance and missile defense funding. At present, almost all U.S. bilateral aid to Israel is in the form of military assistance, although from 1971 to 2007, Israel also received significant economic assistance. In 2016, the U.S. and Israeli governments signed their third 10-year Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on military aid, covering FY2019 to FY2028. Under the terms of the MOU, the United States pledged to provide—subject to congressional appropriation—\$38 billion in military aid (\$33 billion in Foreign Military Financing grants plus \$5 billion in missile defense appropriations) to Israel. This MOU followed a previous \$30 billion 10-year agreement, which ran through FY2018." (4)

In addition, Israel has received very large sums from American Zionist Jewish sources, at least 12 billion dollars as Table 1 in the Appendix shows.

Not only this but in addition: "Since Netanyahu took office in March 2009, the population of Israeli settlements has grown dramatically. According to recently released Israeli government data, from the beginning of 2009 until the beginning of 2014, the settlement population grew 23 percent — more than double the rate of the overall Israeli population, which expanded 9.6 percent. In late December, another 380 new housing units in East Jerusalem settlements were approved." (5)

This growth is partly being funded by millions of dollars from tax-exempt American charities, which help expand and support settlements. "Even though this revenue stream arguably violates Internal Revenue Service rules, neither Congress nor the Obama administration has done anything to stop it." (6)

Thus a 75 million dollars to rebuild Gaza is a drop in the bucket which reflects the declining of the USA as the hegemon.

Blinken hopes that this miserable contribution will weaken Hamas and strengthen the PA while Israel, using American weapons, killed at least 248 Palestinians, including 66 children, and injured nearly 2,000 others.

"Ties between the PA and the US were largely severed after former President Donald Trump moved the US embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 2018 — a move that was widely denounced by Palestinians and international observers. Still Biden and his Secretary of State do not intend to return the embassy to Tel-Aviv but to re-open its Consulate General in Jerusalem, which had overseen relations with the PA before it was absorbed by the relocated US embassy." (7)

Following the meeting with Netanyahu, Blinken stated that the US would work to assure international aid to rebuild Gaza would not benefit Hamas, "We'll work with our partners closely, with all, to ensure that Hamas does not benefit from the reconstruction assistance," Blinken said, without detailing how that would be achieved." Abbas, for his part, said he hoped the future would be "full of diplomatic activities"

with the US to “reach a comprehensive and just and full solution.” (8)

Abbas is not only proving once again that he is a servant of the USA and Israel but that he is not able to see reality. To rely on the USA in the region in this period is to grasp at straws. He was not able even to realize that Blinken, as a typical bourgeois diplomat, speaks from the two sides of his mouth. “Unlike in statements during an earlier news conference with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, which avoided talk of a wider peace process, Blinken said that a “just, durable resolution” between Israel and Palestine “ultimately requires two states”. He added the US continues “to firmly oppose” any actions that threaten more violence, “whether that is settlement activities, whether that is home demolitions, annexation of territory, incitement to violence, compensation for individuals in prison for acts of terrorism”. Reporting from Ramallah, Al Jazeera’s James Bays said the general lack of emphasis on a more comprehensive peace process during the visit indicates that the policy of US President Joe Biden’s administration “is to put a lid on this conflict”. “That, I think, is because they believe right now, the time is not right for peace,” Bays said.” (9)

Bays is wrong in that what the USA wants is an imperialist peace – a *Pax Americana* – where the Palestinians accept their oppression and Israel stands on their backs. This was possible in 1948 but not in the current period. The Palestinian struggle is part of the growing class struggle in many parts of the world.

Two-States “Solution”: A Problem, not a Solution!

Since 1948, 74 years have passed and the two-state “solution” has not materialized. Since 1967, 53 years have passed and the two states “solution” has not materialized. It is enough time to realize that as long as the Zionist state will exist the Palestinians will be oppressed. A growing number of people have realized that the only solution is a Palestine Free from the River to the sea. The only question is how to achieve this solution. The answer is in the theory and strategy of the Permanent revolution. A struggle that begins with democratic demand but wins with a worker and poor fellahin socialist revolution - the final step in the Arab revolution.

These days all the enemies of the Palestinians are calling once again to establish a mini-Palestinian state along-side of the Zionist settler-colonialist imperialist state. In the real world, one has to take a side. Either with the imperialists and Israel as its front line or with the native Palestinians. Self-determination for both is an impossibility. Israel is already an apartheid state and until it will be smashed and replaced by a red democratic Palestine it will only steal more land and kill more Palestinians.

Since Israel is similar to apartheid in South Africa it is important to know what Trotsky said about the solution for South Africa: “The overthrow of the hegemony of British imperialism in South Africa can come about as the result of a military defeat of Great Britain and the disintegration of the Empire. In this case, the South African whites could still for a certain period – hardly a considerable one – retain their domination over the blacks.

Another possibility, which in practice could be connected with the first, is a revolution in Great Britain and her possessions. Three-quarters of the population of South Africa (almost six million of the almost eight million total) is composed of non-

Europeans. A victorious revolution is unthinkable without the awakening of the native masses. In its turn, that will give them what they are so lacking today – confidence in their strength, a heightened personal consciousness, and cultural growth.

Under these conditions the South African Republic will emerge first of all as a “black” republic; this does not exclude, of course, either full equality for the whites, or brotherly relations between the two races – depending mainly on the conduct of the whites. But it is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.” (10)

The Programmatic Cul-de-sac of Centrism

There are of course reformists and centrists who oppose this revolutionary program. They are divided into two groups. Those who say that Marxists support the right of self-determination of all nations. This is simply a lie. Did Marx and Engels support the right of self-determination of the South in the American civil war? No! They were for smashing the confederation.

Did Lenin support the right of self-determination of imperialist nations? No! He advocated support for the oppressed nations: “The aim of socialism is not only to abolish the present division of mankind into small states and all national isolation; not only to bring the nations closer to each other, but also to merge them. And in order to achieve this aim, we must, on the one hand, explain to the masses the reactionary nature of the ideas of Renner and Otto Bauer concerning so-called “cultural national autonomy” and, on the other hand, demand the liberation of the oppressed nations, not only in general, nebulous phrases, not in empty declamations, not by “postponing” the question until socialism is established, but in a clearly and precisely formulated political program which shall particularly take into account the hypocrisy and cowardice of the Socialists in the oppressing nations. Just as mankind can achieve the abolition of classes only by passing through the transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations, i.e., their freedom to secede.” (11)

The other group is composed mainly by those who say they are Marxists but act as reformists and are pointing out the difference between Israel and South Africa. In South Africa, unlike Israel, the native blacks were a very large majority. For this reason, they argue, without gaining the support of the Israeli Jewish workers a socialist revolution is an impossibility. The Jewish workers will not join the struggle of the Palestinian workers without having the right of self-determination.

This argument has two main flows. First of all, if you look through the perspective of the national borders of Israel indeed the Palestinian workers are a minority. But the Palestinians citizens of Israel are part not only of the entire Palestinian nation but of the Arab population of the entire region which makes the Israelis a small minority.

Secondly, like in South Africa, the Israelis including the Israeli Jewish workers are privileged in comparison with the Palestinian workers and people do not give up easily on privileges. Jews, including Jewish workers, will break from Zionism either when Israel will be defeated in a war or with the victory of the Arab revolution.

Thus, the argument of those centrists like the IMT or the

ISA is no more than reflection of their pro-Zionist’s position.

The *Internationalist Socialist League* (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine) stands for a socialist program und emphasis today the following slogans:

- Down with the Zionist Apartheid State!*
- Down with the Zionist War Criminals!*
- Break the Siege on Gaza!*
- For the Return of the Palestinian Refugees!*
- Lands to the poor Fellahin and the Palestinian Refugees!*
- Boycott the Zionist Military Products!*
- Boycott all Sells of Arms to Israel!*
- Expel all Zionists Ambassadors!*
- Force the Arab Local Rulers to End their Relations with the Zionist State!*
- For Red Free Palestine From the River to the Sea!*

Footnotes

- 1) <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/25/netanyahu-vows-very-powerful-response-if-ceasefire-broken>
- 2) <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/palestinians-protest-against-blinkens-visit-to-ramallah-669114>
- 3) <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/05/22/gaza-rebuilding-faq/>
- 4) Congressional Research Service U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel
- 5) <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/29/illegal-tax-deduction-charity-israel-settlements-palestine-irs/>
- 6) Ibid
- 7) <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/25/netanyahu-vows-very-powerful-response-if-ceasefire-broken>
- 8) Ibid
- 9) Ibid
- 10) Leon Trotsky: Letter to South African Revolutionaries (April 1933)
- 11) V. I. Lenin: The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination (1916)
- 12) American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise: Jewish Virtual Library, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/american-jewish-contributions-to-israel>

Table 1: American Jewish Contributions to Israel (12)

Year	(\$ in 1000s)			Year	(\$ in 1000s)		
	Total Raised	Total Allocated to Israel	Percentage Sent to Israel		Total Raised	Total Allocated to Israel	Percentage Sent to Israel
1948	\$200,700	\$146,926	73%	1977	450,760	263,609	58%
1949	161,000	101,954	63%	1978	470,590	266,588	57%
1950	142,200	86,639	61%	1979	474,697	265,077	56%
1951	136,000	79,311	58%	1980	502,773	288,081	57%
1952	121,200	66,902	55%	1981	538,164	304,766	57%
1953	117,200	63,694	54%	1982	558,164	322,698	58%
1954	109,300	56,753	52%	1983	583,270	302,975	52%
1955	110,100	56,101	51%	1984	634,738	322,496	51%
1956	130,500	74,302	57%	1985	656,491	345,500	53%
1957	138,100	80,119	58%	1986	687,959	249,485	36%
1958	123,300	64,606	52%	1987	724,725	361,583	50%
1959	130,700	66,058	51%	1988	738,593	352,797	48%
1960	127,700	64,661	51%	1989	757,620	366,374	48%
1961	126,000	64,785	51%	1990	756,281	357,391	47%
1962	129,400	53,539	41%	1991	738,607	327,458	44%
1963	124,700	59,799	48%	1992	732,850	322,004	44%
1964	126,700	58,890	46%	1993	722,363	317,593	44%
1965	131,300	61,601	47%	1994	726,644	299,368	41%
1966	136,500	64,257	47%	1995	732,960	297,368	41%
1967	301,674	236,515	78%	1996	751,723	305,044	41%
1968	215,677	144,495	67%	1997	760,117	287,608	38%
1969	243,336	163,754	67%	1998	764,700	305,000	38%
1970	275,394	191,940	70%	1999	795,500	300,000	36%
1971	334,213	230,449	69%	2000	826,300	219,800	27%
1972	349,649	228,497	65%	2001	850,300	192,600	23%
1973	362,282	236,440	65%	2002	831,1001	199,000	24%
1974	683,527	488,032	71%	2003	831,300	194,500	23%
1975	465,631	295,416	63%	2004	859,500	199,700	23%
1976	448,759	259,318	58%	Total	\$25,661,531	\$11,982,216	47%

Down with Racist Zionism! Down with Anti-Semitism!

By Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)*, 1 June 2021

In the last few weeks there are many reports of rising of Anti-Semitism. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) says there is a 75% increase in anti-Semitism reports after the Israeli-Palestinian fighting began. The figure jumped from 127 incidents in the two weeks prior to fighting to 222 in the two weeks after the Zionist state's war on Gaza. (1)

According to ADL more than 1 billion people in the world are Anti-Semites, 24% in Europe, 74% in the Middle East and North Africa, 34% in East Europe, 17% in America and 22% in Asia. (2)

Considering the definition of Anti-Semitism used by the ADL – which equates opposition to Israel war crimes with Anti-Semitism – it is obvious that the ADL reports are not only ridiculous and reflect its Islamophobia; they are used not only to shield the Zionist state crimes but are also used by the governments of the imperialist states to further attack democratic rights. It is similar and part of the imperialists and their servants plan to use the corona pandemic to enforce the Bonapartist regimes.

On 16 February 2019, a small group among France's yellow vest protest movement shouted at Alain Finkielkraut, a racist Islamophobic Zionist philosopher: "Go back to Tel Aviv!", "We are France!", and "Zionist!" (3) The shouts against Alain Finkielkraut are a mixture of truths and some Anti-Semite prejudice. He is a right-wing French not an Israeli. However, he deserves condemnation for the filth he spread in the name of philosophy.

On 21 February 2019 the French president, Emmanuel Macron, after announcing that Europe was "facing a resurgence of Antisemitism unseen since WWII", unveiled new measures allegedly to fight it. During the war crimes of the Zionist state, Macron banned pro-Palestinian demonstrations and the police used fired tear gas and water cannons against the thousands of protesters who defied the ban.

At the same time the mayor of Nice, France unveiled Israel's flag at city hall after supporting a ban on pro-Palestinian demonstrations. "Faced with Hamas' terrorism, all our thoughts and our support to Israel," Mayor Christian Estrosi tweeted on Saturday, along with a photo of Israeli and French flags standing on the building's balcony." (4) No doubt that if pro-Israel demonstrations were held in France the police would protect them as it happened in 2014.

Hypocrites

In April 2019, The New York Times' international edition published this caricature by Portuguese cartoonist António Moreira Antunes. It shows Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as a guide dog, wearing a Star of David on his collar and leading a blind U.S. President Donald Trump, who is wearing a skullcap. (5)

"Jonathan Greenblatt, the CEO of the Anti-Defamation League, said the cartoon exhibited "stereotypes that suggest Jewish control. "It wouldn't surprise me if this was published out of Tehran or Damascus, but it does not belong in The New York Times or any credible media outlet," he told CNN. Meanwhile, Israel's ambassador to the United States Ron Dermer said that the paper had "become a cesspool of hostility towards Israel that goes well

beyond any legitimate criticism of a fellow, imperfect democracy," the Daily Mail reported." (6)

"Public Security Minister Gilad Erdan, of then Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud party, slammed what he called "anti-Semitic caricature" published by the New York Times on Thursday and called for those responsible for its publication to be fired. The anti-Semitic caricature published by the New York Times is shocking and reminiscent of Nazi propaganda during the Holocaust," Erdan said." (7)

This is a legitimate political cartoon attacking Netanyahu and Trump, two ultra-reactionary politicians, not an Anti-Semite caricature against the Jews or the Jewish religion. The fact that the Israeli Zionists call every criticism of Israel Nazi propaganda, only rehabilitate the crimes of the Nazis. If criticism of a state committing war crimes is Nazism what is wrong with it?

It is of interest that the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten's caricatures published on September 30, 2005, under the title "The Face of Muhammad, 12 caricatures" the worst of depicted the prophet with a bomb in his turban. Another showed the prophet in heaven, remonstrating suicide bombers with the words, "Stop, stop, we have run out of virgins!"

The same forces that claim that criticism of Israel and the support for the oppressed Palestinians is expression of Anti-Semitism defended the caricatures of Islam, supposedly against terrorism, saying that they defend the right of free expression.

For example, in October 2020 Macron, vowed that his country would not give up cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed. During the war crime Israel committed in the last war on Gaza he said that Israel has the right to defend itself.

What a bunch of hypocrites! In the real-world political caricatures express a political world view. There exist two camps: on one side, reactionaries defending the settler-colonialist and imperialist state of Israel and, on the other side, those who defend the oppressed, oppose the Zionist state, an Apartheid regime from the river to the sea.

Real Antisemitism

This does not mean to deny that real anti-Semitism is on the rise. Anti-Semitic incidents in the United States and in Europe included Synagogues that were vandalized with swastikas in England and with rocks in Germany, and Orthodox men were allegedly harassed in New York City by a group shouting "kill all the Jews".

However, this form of racism is typical not of the Palestinians, the Arabs, the Muslims immigrants and refugees but of the far right. "Right-wing extremists were to blame for a large rise in anti-Semitic crimes in Germany last year, Interior Minister Horst Seehofer said Wednesday following the release of the country's annual crime report. Jewish groups and politicians condemned the increase, which recorded 2,032 reports of anti-Semitic crimes in 2019 – up by 13 percent from 1,799 in 2018. The biggest threat is still the threat from the right," Seehofer said, adding that crimes by right-wing extremists accounted for more than half of all politically motivated crimes. Right-wing

extremists were responsible for more than 90 percent of the anti-Semitic crimes and a similar percentage of anti-Islamic crimes, he added." (8)

The Zionist propaganda is that the rise of Anti-Semitism is related to the support for the Palestinians against Israel. Thus, the implication is that the Arab refugees from Syria and the Palestinians are the Anti-Semites. "Jonathan Greenblatt, CEO of the Anti-Defamation League, said that the number of anti-Semitic incidents in the U.S. was up nearly 65% in the two weeks since the start of the recent hostilities between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, as compared to the same period last year leading up to May 10." (9)

The Zionist propaganda that smears the opposition to Israel war crimes is diverting the Jews from understanding that the real danger to the Jews is the different Nazis and other far right parties and groups. As a matter of fact, the Zionists cannot fight the real Anti-Semites because the Zionists are allies of these scums. As the popular saying goes "show me your friends..." "Christian Zionists are not alone in their support and admiration of Israel. Right-wing and far-right movements and political parties across the world also idolise Israel as they view the Zionist colonial project as a successful model of European domination over the indigenous populations of developing countries." (10)

In 2017 Yair Netanyahu, the son of Benyamin Netanyahu – who is still Israel's Prime Minister but might be replaced by another right-wing block very soon – stated that leftists are more dangerous than neo-Nazis. "Echoing Trump, the PM's son claims 'thugs of Antifa and Black Lives Matter are getting stronger' while Nazis are a thing of the past." (11)

Jews breaking with Zionism

Some Jews do understand that the alliance of Israel with the fascists is dangerous for the Jews. "Top European Rabbi urges Israel to end engagement with far-right parties. Pinchas Goldschmidt tells MKs that cozying up to populist groups, if even they espouse pro-Israel views, endangers local Jewish communities." (12)

It is also true that there is a growing trend of American Jews that distance themselves from Israel and begin to free themselves from the poison of racist Zionism. Arielle Angel, an American Jew, participated in the protest movement during the 2014 war on Gaza. At that time, she reported, she felt alone as she was the only Jew at the protest in the Bay Ridge in Brooklyn. In the protests of May 2021 she felt very differently:

"I don't feel alone any more. Though the years since 2014 have seen the growth of a small but committed Jewish anti-occupation movement, the last week and a half have brought an even larger circle of the community to a place of reckoning. We've seen Jewish politicians, celebrities, rabbinical students and others speak up loudly for Palestine. We've seen a powerful display of solidarity from Jewish Google employees, asking their company to sever ties with the IDF. At Jewish Currents, the leftwing magazine where I am now editor-in-chief, we asked for questions from readers struggling to understand the recent violence. We've been deluged. These questions taken in aggregate paint a striking portrait of a community at a turning point. Though many queries aim to understand specific aspects of the recent round of violence – the circumstances surrounding the expulsions of Palestinians from their homes in Sheikh Jarrah, for instance, or the affiliations of the Jewish revelers dancing ecstatically opposite a fire on the

Temple Mount – many more are simply expressions of confusion, and a newfound willingness to confront it head on." (13)

Zionism became the hegemonic ideology among the American Jews in the 1960's. For more than 60 years the Zionists were able to conflate Jewishness with Zionism which puts Jews everywhere in danger. Jews were politically kidnapped by the Zionists and held as hostages in the Zionist offensive on the Palestinian people.

When this domination was achieved by the Zionists in the USA, it was very easy to paint all pro-Palestinian as anti-Semitic and to mobilize Jewish opinion around the Zionist institutions that claim to defend the Jews. For this reason, it is important for the Palestine solidarity movement to differentiate between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism and to kick out the few truly anti-Semitic provocateurs who infiltrate the pro Palestinians movement. For this reason, it was very important that Palestinian organizers denounced anti-Semite expressions and actions during the last war of Israel against Gaza.

The political conclusion is clear, to fight Anti-Semitism it is necessary to fight against Zionism.

Down with Zionism!

Down with Anti-Semitism!

Self-defense of the Palestinians on Naksa Day!

Democratic Red Palestine free from the river to the sea!

Footnotes

- 1) <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-57286341>
- 2) <https://global100.adl.org/map?ga=2.174542050.1582513810.1622444673-525255374.1622444673>
- 3) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/24/alain-finkelkraut-winds-of-antisemitism-in-europe-gilets-jaune>
- 4) <https://www.newsweek.com/french-mayor-hangs-israel-flag-against-backing-ban-pro-palestinian-rallies-1592056>
- 5) <https://www.timesofisrael.com/ny-times-cartoonist-says-condemnation-comes-from-jewish-propaganda-machine/>
- 6) <https://www.newsweek.com/cartoonist-who-drew-nyt-cartoon-denies-its-anti-semitic-blames-jewish-1412456>
- 7) <https://www.timesofisrael.com/likud-minister-links-new-york-times-to-nazis-over-netanyahu-cartoon>
- 8) <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/far-right-extremists-blamed-surge-anti-semitic-crimes-germany-n1215636>
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- 10) <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/1/2/israel-a-model-for-the-far-right>
- 11) <https://www.timesofisrael.com/netanyahu-junior-says-leftists-more-dangerous-than-neo-nazis/>
- 12) <https://www.timesofisrael.com/top-european-rabbi-urges-israel-to-end-engagement-with-far-right-parties>
- 13) <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/may/22/jewish-americans-israel-palestine-arielle-angel>

“The U.S. is Back”? Dream on, Mr. Biden!

On the political meaning of the recent Great Power summits (G7, NATO, Putin-Biden)

Joint Statement of the Liaison Committee of the RCIT and Convergencia Social-ista (Argentina), 16 June 2021

1. A series of summits of several imperialist Great Powers have taken place in recent days. Between 11 and 16 June there have been meetings of the G7, NATO and finally between Putin and Biden as well as several other bilateral meetings of state leaders. The G7 and NATO summits ended with communiqués issued by the participants. The task of Marxists is to critically examine the meaning of these events looking behind the usual diplomatic rhetoric and to explain the necessary conclusions for the liberation struggle of the workers and oppressed.

2. The G7 summit – bringing together the state leaders of the U.S., Japan, Germany, France, UK, Italy and Canada – ended with various promises. Usually, these are abstract and well-worded but empty commitments. Among these promises were the commitment of G7 leaders to reach net-zero carbon emissions by 2050 as well as to donate 1 billion COVID vaccines to poor countries. However, the relevance of such summits does not lie in the promises and threats issued in wordy statements but rather in what they reflect in terms of foreign policy and relation of forces between the participants.

3. The real political meaning of these summits was that it reflected the attempt of U.S. imperialism to regain the initiative in world politics. New U.S. President Biden is wrapping this strategy in slogans like “America is back” and “Build Back Better for the World” (B3W). The background for this initiative is the dramatic change in world politics which has taken place in the recent decade. The U.S. has been the long-time hegemon of the imperialist world order since World War II. However, since one, two decades it experiences rapidly accelerating decay. In fact, this is true for all G7 powers. The G7’s share of global GDP has fallen from 65% in 2000 to just 45% in 2020. At the same time, new Great Powers like China and Russia have risen. A consequence of such decay is deep division within the ruling class in the Western countries – most importantly the U.S. itself – and a shift towards chauvinist state bonapartism (utilizing the pandemic as an excuse for such).

4. Washington tries to stem such decay by rallying Japan and the European Great Powers against the new imperialist rivals. In his first speech at Congress on 29 April, Biden effectively called for a new Cold War against China and Russia. He claimed that Chinese President Xi Jinping is “deadly earnest on becoming the most significant, consequential nation in the world.” Presenting the Great Power rivalry as a struggle between “democracy” (the old Western imperialists) and “autocrats” (the new Eastern imperialists), Biden made clear that he is determined to defeat Washington’s rivals. “We are in competition with China and other countries to win the 21st century.”

5. However, the U.S. hegemony is not only challenged by China and Russia but also by European powers as well as Japan. This has been reflected in various protectionist measures and sanctions between these states as well as their different positions on crucial issues of world politics. Currently both the European powers as well as

Japan are formally in an alliance with the U.S. (NATO, Quad, various security treaties, etc.). However, they try to keep an independent policy towards China and Russia at the same time. They are determined to do so as China (and Russia) play a crucial role for Europe and Japan concerning trade and investment as well as security interests.

6. The communiqués of the G7 and the NATO summit reflect the degree of coincidence as well as differences between the belligerent U.S. and the other Western powers as the latter rather want to maneuver within the nexus of the Cold War. As an official of the Biden Administration noted, “three years ago, China wasn’t even mentioned in the G7 communiqué. This year, there is a section on China that speaks to the importance of coordinating on and responding to China’s nonmarket economic practices and the need to speak out against human rights abuses, including in Xinjiang and Hong Kong.” Likewise, the NATO statement says that “Russia’s aggressive actions constitute a threat to Euro-Atlantic security.” While China is not called a threat, NATO states that “China’s growing influence and international policies can present challenges that we need to address together as an alliance.” It also promised to “engage China with a view to defending the security interests of the alliance” and said it planned to “increase partnerships with more countries in the Indo-Pacific.”

7. Such diplomatic formulations reflect a compromise. The European Powers and Japan are themselves in rivalry with China and Russia. Hence, they have an interest to side with the U.S. to a certain degree. But, at the same time, they don’t want (and are also not capable given their limited military strength) to engage in a full-blown Cold War with the emerging Eastern powers. Hence, while the joint communiqués criticize Beijing and Moscow, they do so in a less belligerent tone. More importantly, these joint statements do not contain any consequential actions against China and Russia.

8. Western liberals as well as reformist and populist supporters of the emerging Eastern powers like to day-dream about a “multi-polar world order” and a “peaceful co-existence” between the Great Powers. The *Liaison Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) and Convergencia Socialista* denounces such ideas as silly phantasies of opportunist muddleheads who have no clue about the irreversible decay of capitalism and the consequential bitter rivalry both between different groups of the ruling class (within a state) as well as between the capitalist states. Domestic political instability, civil wars, tensions, and wars between states – this is the only possible future as long as decaying capitalism continues to exist. The only way out of capitalist misery and imperialist war-threats is the international socialist revolution led by a new revolutionary world party.

9. As we stated in our recently published “Open Letter”, large sectors of the reformist left side with one or the other imperialist Great Powers. The European post-Stalinist parties are loyal servants of “their” imperialist bourgeoisie – whether they are in government (e.g. SYRIZA in Greece, PODEMOS, IU and PCE in Spain, PCF in France)

or in parliamentary opposition. Other Stalinist and Bolivarian parties (e.g. in South Africa, Venezuela, Cuba, Brazil) advocate collaboration with Russian and Chinese imperialism. Both factions of the Argentinean PO stand for a similar approach. Consequently, these parties oppose only the intervention of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East but not that of its Russian and Chinese rivals. In short, these parties serve as social-imperialist supporters of one or the other Great Power. Various pseudo-Trotskyists like PTS/FT, LIT-CI, IMT, CWI etc. don't go that far but, nevertheless, they refuse to designate China and Russia as imperialist. Thereby, they open the road to social-imperialist capitulation. We repeat that without recognizing the imperialist character of *all* Great Powers, it is impossible to find a correct orientation in world politics!

10. In contrast to such revisionists, the *Liaison Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) and Convergencia Socialista* reaffirms that the only legitimate program of authentic socialists on the issue of inter-imperialist rivalry is "*revolutionary defeatism*". This means that socialists must equally oppose all imperialist Great Powers (U.S., China, EU, Russia, and Japan) and refuse to side with any camp. On the contrary, socialists must fight against all forms of imperialist chauvinism and militarism, against all forms of sanctions, protectionism and imperialist armament. They must educate the work-

ers vanguard to identify "their" imperialist state (as well as all others) as the main enemy. In case of a war between the Great Powers, the task of revolutionaries is – to use the famous slogan of V. I. Lenin to "*transform the Imperialist War into Civil War*".

11. Furthermore, the *Liaison Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) and Convergencia Socialista* emphasizes that it is the duty of socialists in imperialist countries to side with the oppressed people fighting against "their" state (i.e. against "their" ruling class) and that a defeat for "their" bourgeoisie by forces representing oppressed people is a victory also for the working class in the imperialist countries. The struggle of the Afghan and the Iraqi people against the American occupiers, of the Syrian people against the Russian invaders, of the peoples in Africa's Sahel against French forces and of the Muslim Uyghur people against the Chinese colonialists are example for such legitimate liberation struggles which deserve the unconditional support of all socialists.

12. We call all those who are in broad agreement with the analysis and strategies outlined in this statement to contact our *Liaison Committee*. Let us engage in collaboration and discussion in order to advance the formation of a Revolutionary World Party!

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.

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

China: A Revealing Eulogy!

A Japanese Monopoly Capitalist Praises China's Ruling "Communist" Party

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 1 June 2021

People's Daily – the central organ of China's ruling "Communist" Party – published a short but highly interesting statement by a Japanese monopoly capitalist. Takashi Nishimura, president of Asahi Beer (China) Investment, said "Things are very different now in China as compared with many years ago. If it were not for the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the country couldn't have achieved so much. It's really a grand project."¹

Such a statement carries weight. Asahi Beer is one of the big monopolies in Japan. It is listed in the *Nikkei 225* – an index which compiles the largest 225 corporations on the Tokyo Stock Market – as well as the *Forbes Global 2000*. As president of the corporation's China division, Mr. Nishimura certainly knows what he is talking about. This is even more the case since he is making – highly profitable – business in China already for 12 years.

Such a eulogy is highly revealing. We can take it for granted that Mr. Nishimura – as a leading manager of a multinational corporation – is clear of suspicion to entertain any sympathies for communism, i.e. the abolition of class exploitation by socialization of the means of production. Hence, when he praises China's progress, he certainly views this from a capitalist point of view – in other words, the opportunity to make profit.

The Japanese monopoly capitalist is certainly not wrong in this. As we have demonstrated on numerous occasions, China's capitalism rapidly advanced in the past decades, created a powerful bourgeoisie and became an imperialist Great Power.² Today, China provides the largest number of super-rich (1/3 of all billionaires in the world!).³ Likewise, it has the largest number of global leading corporations (the Fortune Global 500 list of 2020 has 124 companies from China and 121 from the U.S.).⁴

The president of Asahi Beer (China) Investment is not an isolated case. Many Chinese and international capitalists appreciate the gigantic opportunities to make profit enabled by the pro-business policy of the "Communist" Party. As we have shown somewhere else, these "commu-

nists" praise themselves that "China has become the world's second largest bond market after the United States".⁵

In short, the international bourgeoisie recognizes the capitalist character of China's economy and so does the CPC leadership itself.

Stalinist, Populist and Pseudo-Trotskyist Muddleheads

There are only few people who fantasize about "socialism" in today's China. On one hand, there are the morons among the right-wing ideologists of the U.S. Republicans. Their motivation is pretty obvious as they need such rhetoric in order to justify their Cold War policy against the Chinese rival.

Then there are various Stalinist and left-populist Bolivarian parties. Their motivation is also not so difficult to understand. The "left-wing" governments of Venezuela, Bolivia, Cuba and others – in fact, these are state-capitalist bonapartist regimes – need trade, foreign investment and financial aid. The same is true for the populist-Kirchnerist government in Argentina. Business with China has also the convenient advantage of filling the bags of many businessmen and politicians in these countries. They live according to the motto: "enrich yourself in the name of socialism".

And those Stalinist bureaucrats who can not make money out of their connections with Beijing – well, at least they have, finally, a new ideological fatherland, three decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Finally, there are the muddleheads in the ranks of pseudo-Trotskyism. As we have shown somewhere else, the Argentinean *Partido Obrero* – both the Altamira as well as the anti-Altamira faction – still claims that China (and Russia) is a kind of "workers state" and that capitalism has not been restored.⁶

The leaders of the PTS (Argentina) and their international comrades-in-arms in the *Fracción Trotskista* are more evasive on this issue. However, they strongly refute the thesis that China has become imperialist. Worse, they even claim

The Rise of Russia as an Imperialist Great Power

- * **Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire**
- * **Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and Russia's Rise as a Great Power**

Two Pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

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that neither China nor Russia has “yet seen the consolidation of a capitalist class”.⁷

What is the purpose of such denial of reality? Surely, these “Trotskyists” have no intention to do business with Beijing. But they might hope to build closer relations with the bureaucratic apparatus of the pro-Chinese bourgeois-populist and reformist parties.

Whatever their motifs are, the objective meaning of such whitewashing of China’s capitalism is clear. We are living in an era of acceleration of imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers (U.S., China, EU, Russia and Japan).⁸ Characterizing China as “socialist”, as a (deformed) “workers state” or as a state with an “unconsolidated capitalist class” means nothing but an ideological gateway to side with China (and Russia) against their Western rivals. In other words: it opens the treacherous road to social-imperialism.

Furthermore, it opens the path to accommodation of these “Trotskyists” parties with the pro-Chinese bourgeois-populist and reformist parties. The meaning of this is obvious: crossing the class-line and supporting a faction of the bourgeoisie.

Those militants who oppose such a road should break with such opportunist and social-imperialist conceptions!

Footnotes

1 People’s Daily: CPC leadership is key to China’s transformation: Japanese businessman, May 31, 2021, <http://en.people.cn/n3/2021/0531/c90000-9855812.html>

2 See on this e.g. our 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/>; by the same author: *Chinese Imperialism and the World Economy. An Essay published in the second edition of The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism* (edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope), Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020, https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6_179-1; China’s transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power (2012), in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>.

3 See e.g. Michael Pröbsting: China is Definitely the Place

where You Want to Be (If You are a Billionaire). Following the Latest Report of the Hurun Global Rich List, 8.3.2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/china-is-definitely-the-place-where-you-want-to-be-if-you-are-a-billionaire/>; by the same author: China’s Billionaire Lawmakers. A telling comparison of extremely wealthy Chinese lawmakers with their peers in the US Congress, 9 March 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/china-s-billionaire-lawmakers/>; China: A Paradise for Billionaires. The latest UBS/PwC Report about the Global Super-Rich Delivers another Crushing Blow to the Stalinist Myth of China’s “Socialism”, 27.10.2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/china-is-a-paradise-for-billionaires/>; China’s “Socialist” Billionaires. Following the Latest Report about the Global Super-Rich, 16.11.2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/china-s-billionaires/>

4 Fortune Global 500, August 2020, <https://fortune.com/global500/>.

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7 See on this Michael Pröbsting: 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/>

8 On the accelerating rivalry between the Great Powers see, in addition to the above-mentioned publications – our documents which are compiled at a special sub-page on the RCIT’s website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>. The RCIT’s documents on the Global Trade War have been collected at another special sub-page: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-global-trade-war/>

The Failure of the PTS/FT to Recognize China’s Capitalism

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The Art to Conceal

Alan Woods' IMT of about the Great Power rivalry between US and China

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

The RCIT has emphasized since a number of years that the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers – the U.S., China, EU, Russia and Japan – is one of the most important issues in the current period. It is impossible to find a correct orientation in world politics without recognizing the imperialist character of these powers and the reactionary nature of their conflicts.¹

Such a Marxist analysis is the precondition to take a revolutionary and internationalist stance in the political, economic, and military conflicts between these imperialist states. This means to equally oppose each of these powers (or their proxies), to advocate their defeat and to fight for the transformation of an imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie.²

It is characteristic for many pseudo-Trotskyist organizations that they utterly fail in elaborating such an analysis and in taking such a revolutionary defeatist position. The "International Marxist Tendency" (IMT), led by Alan Woods, is an example for such an organization which adheres to the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky ... in words but not in deeds. It has, among others, a long history of centrism like its opportunist work within social democratic parties since several decades or its refusal to oppose British imperialism when in waged war against Argentina in 1982.

Like other self-proclaimed socialists it semi-blindly stumbles in the arena of world politics without clear analysis and orientation. A recently published article on the conflict between the U.S. and China on Taiwan reveals this once again.³

The article, nearly 2,500 words long, deals a lot with U.S. imperialism and its reactionary interests. More than 10 times the author talks about "U.S. imperialism". Needless to say, that such a discourse is absolutely correct in itself. Except ... that it does not mention a single time "Chinese imperialism" or "imperialist China"!⁴

Instead, the IMT uses formulations like "the conflict between US imperialism and China", i.e. descriptions which do not present a clear class characterization of the later power. Hence, the whole conflict appears as one between an imperialist Great Power (the U.S.) and another, non-imperialist power (China).

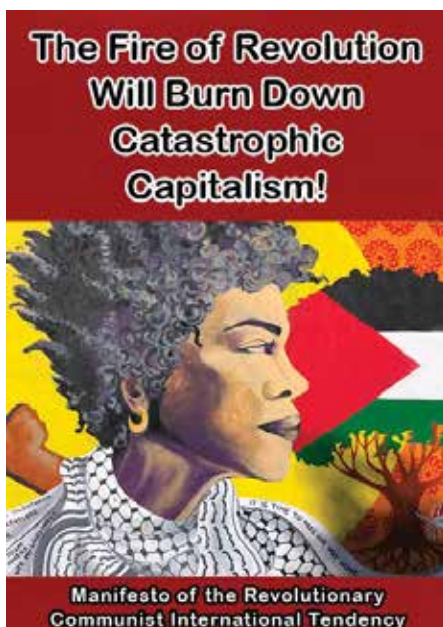
It is evident that such a false analysis can only confuse and disorientate socialists. If one side is imperialist and the other is not imperialist, Marxist usually support the later against the former. The only exception is if a non-imperialist state act as a proxy of another imperialist Great Power.⁵ However, even a political analphabet would not claim that Beijing is a proxy of any other power and the IMT also does not say anything like this.

Such a – wittingly or unwittingly – one-sided analysis has devastating political consequences. The IMT opens the door to a position of defense of China against the U.S. In other words, it paves the way to social-imperialist capitulation by siding – openly or concealed – with Chinese imperialism against its U.S. rival.

As we have pointed out in our book on the Great Power rivalry this is no accident. The IMT has a long history of concealing the imperialist nature of Russia and China. It is only in very rare cases that it admits these fundamental facts without which it is impossible to understand one of the key axes of modern world politics.⁶

Its denunciation of the wish of the Chechen people to separate from imperialist Russia ("Chechen separatism"), is another example of such adaption to (pro-Russian) social-imperialism. Such a policy, we note in passing, corresponds appropriately with their opportunistic orientation to the Great Russian Stalinist KPRF.⁷

Trotsky repeatedly emphasized that Marxists have „to state what is“. Centrists, in contrast, prefer not to „state what is“ but rather to soften their characterizations and criticism in order not to offend their friends in the camp of



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Manifesto for the Liberation Struggle

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

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- * A New Era of Counterrevolutionary Offensive and Revolutionary Upheavals
- * The Capitalist State Monster Attacks Democracy! Defeat Chauvinism and Bonapartism!
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the reformist bureaucracy (which, in turn, are servants of the bourgeoisie).

The IMT is a perfect example for this kind of political animal! They master the art of concealing!

Footnotes

1 On the RCIT's analysis of the Great Power rivalry and China's and Russia's rise as 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/>

2 See on this, in addition to the above mentioned book *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*, 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/>.

3 The Spark: Taiwan: What is behind the imperialist saber-rattling? 03 May 2021, <https://www.marxist.com/taiwan-what-is-behind-the-imperialist-saber-rattling.htm>

4 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/>.

5 Such scenarios exist e.g. in recent years in the case of the Ukraine (a proxy of the U.S. and the EU) against Russia or of India (as a proxy of the U.S.) against China. A similar situation would exist in case of a war between China and Taiwan as the later is a proxy of U.S. imperialism.

For our latest statement on the conflict between Russia and the Ukraine see RCIT: A New War between Russia and Ukraine? Neither Russia-China nor NATO! Down with imperialist Great Powers in East and West! 3 April 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/a-new-war-between-russia-and-ukraine/>;

On the China-India see e.g. RCIT: China-India Border Conflict: Down with Chauvinist Warmongering on Both Sides! Support the national rights of the Kashmiri and the Nepalese people! 28 May 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/china-india-border-conflict-down-with-chauvinist-warmongering-on-both-sides/>;

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On the conflict about Taiwan see e.g. Thesis 21 in *World Perspectives 2019: Heading Towards a Volcanic Political Eruption*, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2019/>.

6 See Chapter "XI. Revisionist Whitewashing: Meaningless Category "Imperialism" (CWI/IMT/IST)" in the above mentioned book *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*.

7 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/>.



Publications of the RCIT

The Inter-Imperialist Cold War between the US and China

By Michael Pröbsting, March 2021

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A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

25 years ago: The Chinese Stalinist's Tiananmen Square Massacre (from our Archive)

Note of the Editor: Below we reprint two resolutions on the Chinese Stalinist's Tiananmen Square Massacre in June 1989. They have been adopted and published by the RCIT's predecessor organization *Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International* in June 1989. They express the Trotskyist position to this crucial event which was a defeated political revolution by China's workers and students.

This massacre, in which the Stalinist bureaucracy killed several thousands of workers and students who were protesting for democratic rights, was a crucial event in the recent history of China. It paved the way for a capitalist restoration process which ended in China's transformation into an emerging imperialist power as we have shown in various writings. (1)

In one of our documents we have explained why the Tiananmen Square Massacre was a key reason for China's much more successful capitalist restoration than Russia's: *"The Russians also tried to become an imperialist power and indeed they did succeed around the turn of the century. However despite the fact that the USSR was much more industrialized than China, possessed much a more developed machinery park, technology and skilled labor forces, despite all these advantages China today is the much more powerful imperialist state. What is the reason for this? (...) The answer can only be found in the form of the capitalist restoration process. Both in China and in Russia capitalism was restored in the early 1990s. Hence in both cases we saw social counter-revolutions. But the forms were very different. In China the Stalinist bureaucracy managed to brutally smash the working class and the youth with the massacre at the Tiananmen Square on 4th of June 1989 where they killed thousands of activists. After succeeding in this they could subjugate the working class, force on it the worst possible labor discipline (remember the draconic hukou- system), and hence squeeze out of it for many years without any interruptions massive volumes of capitalist value."*

Footnote

(1) See 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*, 2013, Chapter 10, <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>; Chapter 10 is an enlarged and updated version of the following document: 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 (2012), <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>; We have also published a summary of these documents in: Michael Pröbsting: Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Summary of the RCIT's Analysis, 28 March 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-china-and-russia/>

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China: Revolution and Repression

China has just passed through a profound political revolutionary crisis. It was a crisis which objectively posed the possibility of the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling bureaucracy. Faced with mass opposition in the cities the bureaucratic regime was paralysed. Industry ground to a halt. The bureaucracy's control of its armed forces was shaken. In that crisis decisive action by the working class could have overthrown the regime. The potential for political revolution could have been turned into the reality of proletarian political revolution itself.

The Beijing massacre will be remembered throughout the international workers' movement as one of the decisive moments of twentieth century history. Like the slaughter of the Communards in 1871, or Bloody Sunday, 1905, this will be remembered not only as a testimony to the barbarity of reaction or even the heroism of those who fight it, but as a lesson which, when learned, will hasten both vengeance and the eradication of the social orders which can produce such monstrous inhumanities.

The political revolutionary crisis in China was yet one more example of the deep crisis that is afflicting Stalinism globally. One by one the ruling bureaucracies are attempting to solve the problems of their stagnating planned economies by embracing elements of the market mechanism and retreating before imperialism. The events in China are a portent of the crisis looming for the ruling bureaucracies throughout the degenerate(d) workers' states. All of the ruling castes are capable of attempting to unleash such bloody repression should workers' struggles threaten their rule.

The crisis has also served to accelerate further the process of disintegration of world Stalinism as a monolithic tendency and the deep polarisations in its ranks. Fearful for their own political stability the ruling bureaucracies of Cuba, the GDR, CSSR and Bulgaria have openly supported the massacre of "counter-revolutionaries". The ruling Hungarian party and the Eurocommunists have condemned it. Others, like the Chilean party, were struck silent by events.

In the USSR, Gorbachev has taken great pains not to condemn the massacre in the name of "non-interference" in the internal affairs of other states. He needs to keep a free hand to use repression at home should his perestroika so require it. He wants to establish a precedent should he decide to follow that path. He is also keen to prevent a deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations which he was attempting to normalise at precisely the time the crisis erupted. However, mindful of his relations with imperialism, he has been careful not to appear to openly endorse the massacre. Within the Soviet bureaucracy as a whole the Chinese events will serve to strengthen the resolve of those who, like their East German, Czech and Cuban counterparts, will take them as evidence that the relaxation of bureaucratic planning and political control will surely lead to the destabilising of the regimes themselves.

China: a degenerate workers' state

Although capitalism was overthrown in China between 1951 and 1953 this was not done by a revolutionary working class which was then able to assert its own control over the economy and establish a system of planning that could mobilise the creativity and energy of the workers. On the contrary, the expropriation—in many cases, by taxation—was carried through by bureaucratic means. This left the state, controlled by the CCP, with ownership of a very backward and distorted economy which was inadequate to the needs both of the population and of the state. Since that time there have been divisions within the ruling bureaucracy over the methods to be used to develop the economy, all that has united them is a commitment to maintaining their own caste rule against all opposition. Throughout the many changes of policy the basic structure of the industrial economy has remained that copied from the Soviet Union during the first Five Year Plan: central planning agencies have laid down quantitative targets to be met by production units and this has been consistently more successful in heavy industry than in light industry.

This form of planning, in the context of a fully satiated economy, was able to achieve a significant increase in production and to re-establish a nationally integrated economy. This enabled China to overcome the systematic poverty and national disintegration which she had suffered under capitalism. Nonetheless, the inadequacies of bureaucratic planning were unable to raise production qualitatively above that needed to raise the population above a minimum standard of living. Average incomes and living standards have changed little since the 1950s.

The planned property relations in China represent a historic gain that must be defended. They represent the abolition of capitalism which is a prerequisite of the transition to socialism and communism. However, in the hands of the bureaucracy these planned property relations are not used to create an ever more classless and egalitarian society. The necessary lifeblood of a planned economy—the democracy of the producers themselves—is systematically repressed. As a result, the planned economies stagnate and inequalities and privilege abound.

The reaction of the ruling bureaucracies, first in Yugoslavia, later in China, and now in the USSR, is to try to solve the problem through closer co-operation with imperialism and, most crucially, through the importation of market mechanisms. But by their nature market mechanisms tend to subvert the centralised political control of the bureaucracy. They create their own disequilibria. For that reason, the Stalinists have, to a greater or lesser extent, tried to marry elements of marketisation with their continued control over production expressed through centralised planning. Objectively this only serves to exacerbate the crisis of their rule. The impact of marketisation serves to hamper centralised planning and control even further. Attempts at centralised planning, in turn, hamper the functioning of the market.

Plan versus market

In China, as elsewhere, this tension is reflected within the bureaucracy itself between those who wish to maintain, or restrengthen, centralised planning and those who wish

to push further down the road of marketisation, a section of whom favour the restoration of capitalism itself. These strategic poles within the bureaucracy cannot be simplistically reduced to representing a division between an authoritarian and a liberalising wing within the bureaucracy. It is true that the advocates of centralised planning and control oppose any significant relaxation of the bureaucracy's politically repressive rule. But so too do the marketeers. That Deng Xiaoping could order the bloody massacre in Beijing while reaffirming his intention to press ahead with market reforms and further openings for foreign capital is proof of this.

Where the so called "liberalisers" in the bureaucracy do call for a relaxation of political control they mean this only to apply to the managerial and technocratic layers of society for whom freedom to discuss the future course of political and economic development is a necessity. None of the bureaucratic factions are genuinely committed to removal of the dictatorial regime over the mass of Chinese workers and peasants.

The present crisis cannot be separated off from the sequence of factional struggles which have centred on this problem of economic growth since the mid-1950s. The "Great Leap Forward", an attempt by Mao to solve the problem voluntaristically, led to a huge drop in output in all sectors. The consequent famine was overcome by allowing a considerable degree of privatised production in agriculture and a return to centralised planning in industry. In an attempt to reverse the social and political consequences of this "capitalist road" the Mao faction resorted to controlled mass mobilisation against their opponents in the mis-named "Proletarian Cultural Revolution". The scale of the factional dispute can be judged by the willingness of the Maoists to allow three years of increasingly independent student and working class activity in a movement which destabilised much of the state administration. Nonetheless, when those mobilisations threatened to go beyond the control of the Mao faction the army was used to restore order. In the aftermath, as the factions fought behind closed doors, the economy stagnated under the increasingly authoritarian rule of the ageing Mao and the "Gang of Four".

Factional divisions

After the death of Mao in 1976, the faction led by Deng Xiaoping fought to regain the leadership. Within the bureaucracy they reassembled many of the leaders who had been attacked during the Cultural Revolution but, at the same time they encouraged the development of the "Democracy Wall" movement which came to a head in 1978-79. With considerable precision, Deng utilised these two forces first to remove Hua Guofeng and then to repress the democracy movement itself.

The very existence of long term factional polarities within the Chinese bureaucracy made it necessary, as well as possible, for Deng to fashion his own distinct form of Bonapartist rule over the bureaucracy. With close links to the Army High Command through the military commission that he chairs, and through the Standing Committee, he has fashioned the means of exercising his own rule over the party and state bureaucracy and for playing its component groups, including regional groupings within it,

against one another when necessary. Control of the armed and security forces—the decisive levers of political repression—has enabled Deng to defeat his rivals and order the massacre on the streets of Beijing.

Roots of the present crisis

In December 1978, the new leadership embarked on its strategy of overcoming the inefficiencies and rigidities of bureaucratic planning by the re-introduction of the market. Privatisation of the communes led, initially, to a sharp increase in production. This success encouraged a similar policy in industry where, although state ownership was retained, individual enterprises were given greater freedom to trade and threatened with closure if they did not become profitable. Foreign capital was introduced extensively into China both by state borrowing and direct investment in the “Special Economic Zones”. In industry, too, increases in production were registered in the first years of this programme.

However, these policies bore within them the seeds of the insoluble contradictions which have led to the present crisis. As well as opening the economy to the market, the bureaucracy has to retain a central sector under its own control. Without that the bureaucracy has no base in society and no means of enforcing its rule. Parts of the bureaucracy are more immediately related to, or dependent upon, this state economic sector and this is the material basis for the main factional divisions. However, a further element is supplied by the position of the army High Command which, for historic reasons, is closely integrated into the political leadership and also strongly regionalised. Deng’s strategy, which involves major concessions to the market but the retention of a powerful state controlled sector, involves distinct regional implications because the coastal provinces are to be more “marketised” than the hinterland. In sum his strategic objective, “Two Systems, One Country” is a utopia. The same state cannot defend both capitalist and post-capitalist property relations.

The demands of the state sector conflict with the priorities of the “marketised sector” in industry, the procurement prices in agriculture are set below those of the market and this encourages corruption. Peasant production of industrial crops replaces food production for the domestic market. Accumulation of capital in the countryside leads to social class differentiation amongst the peasantry and the emergence of a kulak class. Rapid capital investment and incentive bonuses stimulate the highest rate of inflation since the revolution and, at the same time, the “iron rice bowl”, the guarantee of employment to workers which applies to over 96% of the industrial workforce, sets limits to the productivity targets of the market sector. Commitments to overseas trade lead to shortages and bottlenecks in domestic production.

Throughout the Chinese economy, all attempts to carry out the market-strategy lead directly to conflict with the bureaucracy’s political and economic imperatives. This expresses itself in the demands, by those most closely identified with the market both within the bureaucracy and industry, for further relaxation of state and party controls, for the separation of the party from the state and for the introduction of political pluralism, by which is meant openly restorationist parties. As early as 1986, these had

led to a renewal of the “Democracy Movement” amongst professionals and students. The General Secretary of the Party, Hu Yaobang was identified with this movement and, in January 1987, Hu was ousted and replaced by Zhao Ziyang—also a protege of Deng.

The factional struggle, however, did not abate. By the Thirteenth Congress of the CCP, October 1987, the faction in favour of further liberalisation was in the ascendant. It was backed by Deng who insisted that the campaign against the Democracy Movement had to be limited to the political sphere and should not be allowed to affect economic policy. Nonetheless, throughout 1988 the economic problems of the regime multiplied and with them the depth of factional divisions in the highest ranks of the bureaucracy. This culminated in the September 1988 Party Plenum which was so evenly balanced as to be paralysed and unable to ratify the politburo’s proposals for radical price reform.

It was this political vacuum which ensured the re-emergence of the Democracy Movement. This was at first restricted to specialised publications, where coded arguments about the economy fuelled discussion and debate within the managerial strata and the intelligentsia. The death of Hu Yaobang (15 April, 1989) provided the pretext for this underground movement to break into the light of day.

The Democracy Movement in crisis

For decades faction fights within the CCP have been accompanied by bureaucratically controlled mass mobilisations and by attempts to manipulate spontaneous movements. The student demonstrations at the time of Hu’s funeral were called by the Democracy Movement under slogans calculated to avoid charges of political disloyalty and with the hope of pressurising elements of the leading caste.

As the movement grew, sections of the bureaucracy no doubt hoped to try and use it to further their factional ends. However, the strength of the movement and the enthusiastic support of the people of Beijing, meant that there was never any possibility of the movement remaining within limits imposed from above.

Although The People’s Daily condemned the students for conspiracy against the party and the socialist system this did not prevent their central demands—for a free press, against corruption and recognition of unofficial student organisations—from being taken up by students throughout China. By 4 May, the anniversary of the first revolutionary nationalist movement, the movement was able to march tens of thousands of students into Tiananmen Square without opposition from the state. These demonstrations were cheered by thousands of onlookers. In response to this, Zhao Ziyang announced that many of the ideas of the students “coincided with those of the party”. This was interpreted to mean that Zhao, unlike Deng, was willing to tolerate the Democracy Movement. At the same time, after 4 May, the movement subsided. Apart from Beida, most universities were re-opened the following day.

This, however, proved to be a lull in the movement, not an end to it. Having taken stock of what they had achieved, the Beijing students decided to go further and to organise mass demonstrations at the time of the visit of Gorbachev

on 15 May. This resulted in huge demonstrations during Gorbachev's visit. The Chinese bureaucracy was forced to change schedules time and again because of the sheer scale of the mobilisations, which now included large numbers of workers and also protesting journalists who demanded the right to report accurately what was happening. It was in this context that the student hunger strike began and Tiananmen Square became permanently occupied by tens of thousands of students.

In response to this, the Standing Committee of the Politburo met on 18 May to discuss a proposal from Zhao that concessions be made to the students. The proposal was defeated. Zhao signalled his dissent by visiting the students in Tiananmen Square. This act broke the discipline of the bureaucratic caste and led to the downfall of Zhao. Li Peng, the premier declared martial law in Beijing the following morning. Within hours an estimated one million people had occupied central Beijing. When troops tried to enter the centre they were forced back. On the same day, as strikes paralysed the capital, the Autonomous Workers' Organisation was founded in Beijing.

From stalemate to repression

For the next two weeks a stalemate existed between the students in Tiananmen Square and the deeply divided bureaucracy. Increasing fraternisation between troops and protesters led to the removal of the troops from central Beijing. Rumours abounded of splits in both the army and the bureaucracy as strikes spread throughout China. By the weekend of 27-28 May, the student occupation of Tiananmen Square was beginning to subside and it appeared that a possible compromise had been reached between Beijing student leaders and the bureaucracy: the troops would not be used if the students wound down the demonstrations and ended the hunger strike. However, the arrival of provincial students and the increasing involvement of workers in Tiananmen Square revived the movement within a few days. It was this latter development in particular that concentrated the minds of the ruling bureaucracy and determined it to take decisive repressive action.

On 31 May, leaders of the Autonomous Workers' Organisation were arrested in Beijing and workers were publicly threatened and ordered not to support the Tiananmen occupation. Strikes to protest at this took place and several thousand protesters demonstrated outside the Interior Ministry. The following day troops appeared throughout central Beijing. They were unarmed but located at strategic intersections and buildings. On 2 June, thousands of unarmed troops were marched into central Beijing but mass demonstrations prevented their progress and most returned to their garrisons.

Bureaucratic terror

The scale of the opposition to troop mobilisations in Beijing, coupled with the increasingly nationwide nature of the democracy movement, convinced the core of the bureaucracy, the security services and the army under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, the "paramount leader", of the necessity for a ruthless attack on their opponents. On 3 and 4 June this took the form of the Beijing massacre, in which the majority of victims were from the working class

of the city who went to the defence of the students and workers in Tiananmen Square. In the days that followed this was extended across the country as general strikes and barricades expressed the outrage and the solidarity of the workers of China.

Although factional disagreements must have contributed to both the delay in imposing this barbarous repression and provided a material substance for the rumours of actual armed conflict between different army groups, there is no evidence of consciously directed armed actions of this sort. The decision to act nationally, and to utilise inexperienced troops from every section of the regionally-based army, contributed to the barbarism but, ultimately, demonstrated the agreement of the bureaucratic factions to the bloody suppression of the opponents of their dictatorship. Those factions who initially opposed this strategy were rendered powerless by the determination of the Deng faction, to oppose that could only have meant civil war and this would have implied a choice between siding with an insurgent working class or, longer term, with agents of capitalist restoration in, for example, Taiwan. There was no group willing or able to make either of these choices.

The political revolutionary crisis

The mass mobilisations in China had a clear and indisputable political revolutionary potential. This was most sharply expressed by those components of it that gave mass voice to egalitarian, anti-corruption and anti-privilege demands. It represented a mighty struggle against the deeply privileged and secluded bureaucratic leadership and, very noticeably, against their offspring. Note the charges aimed at Li Peng as the adopted son of Zhou Enlai, and at the opulent business career of Deng Xiaoping's son.

Trotsky predicted that the political revolutionary struggle would take the initial form of precisely such a struggle against bureaucratic privilege and also against bureaucratic political oppression. As in all revolutionary crises, the mass mobilisations and the organisations which they created, were far from being politically homogenous or of a nationally uniform character. This was reflected in the political ambiguity of many of the slogans and demands raised by the movement. Nonetheless, the demands for, "democracy" and against corruption expressed, fundamentally, a deep hatred of political oppression and of their own political expropriation on the part of the urban masses. In giving voice to their hatred of the bureaucracy's material privileges they were also voicing their own anger at the extreme hardship of life for the overwhelming majority of the Chinese proletariat.

The political revolutionary potential of the movement was graphically demonstrated by the fact that it mobilised the mighty Chinese working class itself into mass resistance to the bureaucracy through mass strikes and the formation of independent working class organisations. One of the most important features of the entire crisis was the remarkable uniformity of the working class response to the Beijing massacre throughout the major cities of China. In addition, and very importantly, we also saw the formation of joint worker-student organisations of an open, and later after the repression, an underground character.

For these reasons we recognise the politically revolutionary potential of the events themselves. From the point of

view of the future they have given the Chinese working class a taste of its own potential strength and its collective identity after years of repression and profound atomisation at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It has created a river of blood between the Chinese workers and their murderous Stalinist rulers. For that reason it has the potential of playing, for the Chinese working class, the role that the 1905 Revolution in Russia played, despite its eventual defeat, in forging the independent class and political consciousness of the Russian working class.

However, the movement also displayed profound weaknesses and contradictions that precisely prevented the revolutionary potential of the mobilisations being realised and allowed the bureaucracy to ruthlessly reassert its power. These weaknesses were manifested in several different ways.

Firstly, in the initial social composition of the movement itself. As a movement of the students and the intelligentsia it had neither the social nor political weight to mount a challenge to the bureaucracy that could destroy its armed might and fundamentally challenge its political rule. Its non-proletarian character also meant that its initial focus was on an abstract demand for “democracy” and on pacifist tactics supposed to realise that objective.

“Democracy” was posed in a manner that was capable of having several meanings. On the one hand it involved demands to remove the existing inner clique of the bureaucratic leadership and replace it with one that was supposedly more democratic and less corrupt. This allowed sections of the initial student movement to pose their demands in the form of a homage to Hu Yaobang against the existing leadership that had ousted him. And it allowed them later to concretise their demands in terms of support for Zhao against Li Peng. At certain key junctures this opened the road for Zhao to attempt to, or even perhaps to succeed in, mobilising broad sections of the movement behind one particular wing in the bureaucratic faction fight.

The “democracy” that placed its hopes in bureaucratic reformers and expressed illusions in them had equally crippling illusions in the Peoples Liberation Army itself. This was expressed in a naïve and ultimately calamitous belief that the PLA, as the “people’s army”, would never attack the “people”.

Much of this reflected not only the social composition of the original leadership of the movement, (i.e. students) but also the influence of Aquino type notions of “people’s power”. The latter was conceived and articulated in terms of the ousting of the present party leadership through the moral pressure of the display of “people’s power” in Tiananmen Square.

This was to take the form of a passive occupation of the Square, followed by the hunger strike to which the population in general, as the “people”, were asked to give their visible, but still passive, moral support. Only when the movement faced stalemate and the hunger strike failed to achieve its goals and was abandoned, did the leadership of the movement begin to recognise, in a limited way, the potential strength of the working class.

But even then, the working class was still seen only as an auxiliary, although extremely powerful, support to the movement. Despite its massive strength and preparedness to struggle, the leaders of the Chinese Democracy Movement looked to the general strike of the working class as

an adjunct to their protests not as the only force that could effectively destabilise bureaucratic rule prior to its insurrectionary overthrow.

While the “democratic movement” called on the working class to give it support as it became increasingly evident that the ruling bureaucracy was refusing to budge, it remained the case that the dominant trends in that movement remained trapped in pacifist, abstract and ultimately profoundly incoherent notions of democratism. This was symbolised both by their enthusiasm for Gorbachev and the construction of a “Statue of Liberty” in Tiananmen Square.

For some sections of that movement, demands for democracy were also combined with demands for further marketisation and the ultimate restoration of capitalism in China. The very policies of Deng himself in the economic sphere and the pressure of imperialism and Chinese capitalism outside mainland China served to strengthen the pressure on sections of the movement to conceive of the realisation of their democratic demands also in terms of hastening the restoration of capitalism in China.

On the other hand, the foundation of the Autonomous Workers’ Organisations on 21 May, starting in Beijing, was an important step forward for the Chinese working class and represented the awakening of genuine independent class organisation even though its founding statements did not clearly express its own class (social and economic) interests.

The road to power

In truth, therefore, the movement was fundamentally inadequate to the task objectively posed, the overthrow of bureaucratic rule. The armed forces remained fundamentally at the disposal of the ruling bureaucratic regime, within whose top ranks the PLA generals are closely integrated; against that armed might, and the determination of the ruling bureaucracy to hold on to power, the tactics of passive protest, in its variety of forms, was absolutely bound to fail. There was not, and could not have been, any section of the ruling bureaucracy prepared to lead a mass struggle to put an end to bureaucratic oppression and material privileges. Equally, the economic programmes of rival wings within the bureaucracy are neither capable of ending, nor intended to end the material hardship and inequalities suffered by the masses of China.

This is not to say that the victory of the bureaucracy was inevitable or that lessons cannot be learned from this round of struggle that can ensure victory in the next round of struggle.

The key to victory lay in mobilising the working class as an independent force that, far from being subordinate to the democratic movement, was hegemonic in the struggle to overthrow the bureaucracy. The strike wave of the working class could have been, and in future must be, the basis for the forging of workers’ councils (soviets) in all the industrial centres. Such councils would bring together delegates from all major workplaces as well as from the workers’ districts of the cities and would take on the tasks, not only of co-ordinating strikes and demonstrations, but also imposing working class control over production and distribution, transport, broadcasting and publishing, as well as the arming of the working class to defend itself.

Such is the determination of the ruling bureaucracy to hold on to power that it was, and will always be, necessary for the working class to arm itself in organised workers' militias. Those militias must be trained and prepared for direct military confrontation with the Stalinist regime in order to defend their organisations and destroy the ability of the ruling bureaucracy to deploy its armed bodies of men.

However, the working class has other weapons at its disposal to break up the primarily peasant PLA. It has the weapon of physical force to concentrate the minds of the armed forces as to which side they are on. It has the weapon of fraternisation to attempt to actively win the troops to its side. To focus its campaign to win over the rank and file soldiers the working class needs to commit itself to support for the formation of soldiers' councils with the right to take their place alongside the workers in the soviets. Those soldiers' councils will become an active component in breaking the power of the central bureaucracy, in arming the workers and in actively assisting the armed insurrection that alone can put an end to bureaucratic rule.

The successful political revolution in China requires that the working class takes up as its own, and hegemonises, the struggles of key non-proletarian sectors of society and that it gives a proletarian class content to such demands as equality, democracy and political freedom. Against corruption it must demand, and impose, workers' inspection of all public, industrial and financial dealings and appointments. Against inflation it must demand a sliding scale of wages calculated by working class organisations. Against economic dislocation and sabotage it must fight for workers' control.

It must take up in its programme the rights of Chinese youth and all sectors of society to an education system, a press and a media that is freed from the stranglehold of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Equally vital to working class unity and strength is the need to champion all measures which liberate women from inequality and oppression and which socialise domestic toil.

To counteract attempts at "divide and rule" tactics, the working class must champion the granting of genuine equal and democratic rights to national minorities.

Of vital importance in China will be the linking of proletarian struggles with those of the increasingly impoverished poor and middle peasants against the emerging kulak and rural capitalist class, patronised and enriched by the policies of Deng Xiaoping. Because of the historical circumstances in which the CCP was able to seize power, the peasantry has always been its major point of social stability. Indeed, Deng justified taking the risk of attacking Tiananmen Square by declaring that, "the countryside is behind us". To destroy that solid support, the proletariat must advance a land programme that will exploit the differentiation caused by marketisation.

This will, necessarily, vary in detail from region to region but its central component will be demands for state support for the poor farmers, for expropriation of kulak land and mechanical equipment, turned over for use by co-operatives, for public works to employ the rural unemployed and the creation of worker-peasant commissions to oversee prices and deliveries to the cities.

Only in this way can a class alliance be cemented which, after the victory of the political revolution, can make real

the introduction of planning and more advanced techniques without either disadvantaging or antagonising the mass of the rural population.

In order to win the working class to such a programme it is necessary to build a revolutionary party in conditions that, while they will be ripe in terms of the potential for thousands of workers to be persuaded on the basis of experience, will also be extremely hazardous given the scale of brutality the bureaucracy is inflicting on working class militants in particular. However, such is the popular hatred of the regime and such was the mass scale of the movement against it, that the bureaucracy can be challenged by a popularly protected underground revolutionary party. That party must steel the proletarian vanguard ready for the inevitable struggles ahead. Workers must be won to see the need to be organised independently and ready to lead. The best young intellectuals must be won to this argument, to strengthening their links with the workers as their political priority and to the recognition that their programme must be one that is based on the needs and the struggles of the workers.

The alternative, particularly amongst the intelligentsia, is that pro-capitalist ideas will strengthen as the intelligentsia despairs of winning any democratic liberties except in conjunction with imperialism and its agents who are, no doubt, already active in the fertile conditions created by Deng's policies. Against this it is vital that the reformed revolutionary communist party defends planned property relations as the prerequisite of developing China's productive forces in a rounded way sufficient to benefit all the masses and to ensure ever greater equality and put an end to bureaucratic privilege.

The bloody terror with which the bureaucracy reasserted its rule has solved none of the fundamental issues that led to the crisis of its rule. A retreat into autarchy, national isolation and further state control of the economy offers no way out. It will meet with the apathy or resistance of the Chinese workers, as will the attempt to step up production by bureaucratic decree. Even if this were accompanied by a rapprochement with the USSR, involving greater trade, it would still not haul China out of its present stagnation.

On the other hand, if the "open door" policy is reaffirmed and deepened this would lead to further disproportions and dislocations in the economy as has been experienced throughout the 1980s. If the "open door" policy were to eventually allow the "capitalist roaders"—in alliance with the Chinese capitalists abroad—to undermine and overthrow the Bonapartist leaders, then the Chinese masses will learn to their cost that capitalism in China will not lead to prosperity for them.

China, back under the yoke of world imperialism, would not for one moment enjoy the democratic liberties and living standards of the advanced, imperialist, nations. On the contrary she would rapidly be plunged back into the desperate poverty, starvation and national disintegration that she suffered in the 1920s and 1930s. Her present population, a quarter of humanity, could not survive a free market and an open door for the goods of the imperialists.

It is the experience of, for example, the Latin American countries under "liberal economics" that would await her, not that of North America or Western Europe. Similarly, aspirations towards political freedom and "democratic rights" will never be fulfilled by a return to unbridled

capitalism. In China, the masses would find themselves denied virtually all rights as is the case throughout most of the semi-colonial world. The only road to political and social emancipation is the road of overthrowing the bureaucracy, the road of political revolution.

Solidarity work

The immediate task of solidarity work is for the working class movements throughout the world to take whatever action they can in solidarity with the Chinese students and workers. Cancel all trade union visits and exchanges with the Chinese bureaucrats, fight for unions and federations to send aid and assistance to any autonomous workers' and students' organisations still functioning. Organise demonstrations against the continuing repression. In the present period of active repression of workers and students we are for immediate workers' sanctions to turn back Chinese ships and trade. We reject all popular frontist/class collaborationist solidarity actions. We do not participate in any joint action with any bourgeois administration or any bourgeois figures or parties. We fight in the solidarity movements against any illusions that the imperialist governments will aid the students' and workers' struggles in China. Their interests at the moment lie with Deng Xiaoping not the masses. We fight against any anti-communist tendencies which argue for an imperialist blockade of China as a means of restoring capitalism.

For the right of every student from China to have automatic right of abode in the country in which they are studying if they request it. For the right of every citizen of Hong Kong to enter any foreign country if they so wish.

Solidarity with Chinese workers and students!

The immediate task is for the working class movements throughout the world to take whatever action they can in solidarity with the Chinese students and workers. Cancel all trade union visits and exchanges with the Chinese bureaucrats, fight for unions and federations to send aid and assistance to any autonomous workers' and students' organisations still functioning. Organise demonstrations against the continuing repression.

In the present period of active repression of workers and students we are for immediate workers' sanctions to turn back Chinese ships and trade. We reject all popular frontist/class collaborationist solidarity actions. We do not participate in any joint action with any bourgeois administration or any bourgeois figures or parties. We fight in the solidarity movements against any illusions that the imperialist governments will aid the students' and workers' struggles in China. Their interests at the moment lie with Deng Xiaoping not the masses. We fight against any anti-communist tendencies which argue for an imperialist blockade of China as a means of restoring capitalism.

For the right of every student from China to have automatic right of abode in the country in which they are studying if they request it. For the right of every citizen of Hong Kong to enter any foreign country if they so wish.

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Down with Stalinist butchery in Beijing! For political revolution in China!

Issued by the MRCI International Secretariat, 6 June 1989

Words are too weak to express the horror and outrage at events in Beijing on 3 and 4 June. A brutal and pitiless army was let loose on the unarmed students and workers of the capital with the clear and deliberate intention of drowning in blood the movement for democratic reform.

The mighty heroism of the young people of Beijing in the face of this carnage has moved the whole world. Any regime that has to resort to this to sustain its hold on power is condemned by history and doomed to destruction.

Yet events in Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and in Kampuchea (1975) indicate that this monstrous crime is neither unique nor a special Chinese phenomenon. No, it is a crime of Stalinism. It is a product of the deadly inner contradictions of the rule of the bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the working class and peasantry.

Although capitalism was overthrown and imperialism excluded in China by 1953, the Chinese Stalinists then and now act to block the road to socialism and maintain their power and privileges over the masses.

Isolated in a single country—even one so vast as China—socialist construction is impossible. The CCP was never a force for world revolution, that is, for the spreading of the proletarian revolution to other countries. Despite the initial advances which were the product of excluding the imperialist plunderers, crushing the capitalists and setting up a centralised command economy, China has writhed in the contradictions of the bureaucracy's inability to direct that plan due to the fact that the Chinese masses are excluded from participation in the determination of their needs.

In 1978 the bureaucracy elevated Deng Xiaoping to the role of supreme leader on a programme of opening China to world capitalist forces, restoring private ownership in the countryside and using imperialist capital to discipline China's workers through unemployment and rising prices.

Yet the bureaucratic caste and its upper clique still had enormous internal divisions. The long term existence of this caste is bound up with the existence of the planned property relations. Any unreversible process of their disintegration spells doom for this caste.

On the other hand since the bureaucracy's power and privileges cannot allow them to submit themselves to the democracy of the workers and poor peasants, they cannot solve the crisis of their system by utilising the conscious creativity of these classes. Indeed, they had to suppress even public discussion of the existence of economic crisis.

The bureaucracy is polarised between factions who wish to make repeated concessions to capitalism and to allow a certain democratisation and those who see in this the danger that their caste dictatorship will come under a mass challenge as a result.

Deng Xiaoping and his clique have balanced between these factions, favouring repeated and far reaching concessions to capitalism but determined to give the workers no democratic scope to oppose the effects of these concessions. Deng precisely reflects the contradictions of bureaucratic rule.

The student movement of recent years represents an attempt by sections of the “liberalising” bureaucrats to mobilise mass pressure to pursue a Gorbachev style policy of glasnost as a necessary condition for economic liberalisation.

Yet this faction fight in the bureaucracy opened the way for the participation of the masses; students at first and then increasingly the workers. The intransigence of Deng and Li Peng obliged the student leaders to broaden their movement. Initially unwilling to draw in the workers, self-defence made them do so. Yet the main student leaders believed that involving the working class was a last resort and concentrated their attention on pursuing the hunger strike to force changes in the actions of the CCP leadership.

Deng decided in favour of the “conservative”, pro-repression faction and rallied the army commanders of the rural hinterland of China. Having restored unfettered private ownership to China’s peasants and allowed for the growth of a rich peasant class, Deng sought to use the indifference and even hostility of the countryside to crush the workers and intelligentsia.

The first phase of the movement has been ended by the bloody carnage of Tienanmen Square. Now Canton students are reported as saying there is a need for a General Strike. This is the right instinct. Peaceful pressure on the bureaucracy, submission to its “liberal” faction is a disastrous policy. Only the working class can paralyse the repression with an all-China General Strike. Only this working class action can lay the basis for winning over the poor peasants in the countryside and the workers and poor peasants in army uniform.

The students and the workers who have formed autonomous trade unions however must go beyond calls for democracy in the abstract. In reality this means to identify with bourgeois, capitalist democracy which will mean unemployment, poverty and renewed imperialist exploitation for China’s millions.

A new political force—a revolutionary party—must arise

which openly stands for the maintenance of the nationalised industry of China and its subjection to the control and planning of the toilers not the dictates of the bureaucracy. Such a party must stand for workers democracy in China.

In the struggle to smash the murderers of the people, in the fight to co-ordinate a powerful strike movement, to win over the troops and reach out to the peasantry, strike committees and councils must be formed. These bodies can be the organs of democracy and political power for the workers.

This strategy for victory means total and unreserved identification with the interests of the working class and a total break with the pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist forces in China and beyond it. Dangers exist in the students’ fight for an abstract form of democracy which can lead to a reactionary bloc with pro-capitalist forces. But the use of the Red Flag, their singing of the Internationale and their turn to the working class are all evidence that the movement is not, as the Stalinist slanderers claim, a movement for restoring capitalism in China.

• *Down with the murderers, the parasitic bureaucracy! For proletarian political revolution in China!*

• *For the revolutionary re-unification of all China including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao under workers’ democracy!*

• *Down with the hypocrisy of the imperialist bourgeoisie who will only take action when they have identified where their own interests lie!*

• *Down with the cant of the British government who dare to speak of democracy even as they maintain their garrison in undemocratic Hong Kong. Chinese workers and students abroad: do not appeal to Thatcher and Bush but to the working class for international class solidarity!*

• *Workers throughout the world must take action to boycott or embargo Chinese trade and transport whilst the slaughter and the strike wave continues!*

• *Force the imperialist governments to recognise the right of students to have political refugee status! No enforced repatriations!*

China: Restoration of Capitalism and 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)

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