



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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Ideological Features of the COVID Counterrevolution

Zionism & Palestinian Refugees * Britain outlaws Hamas
World Situation * Opportunist Left and Great Power Rivalry

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Zionism and the Palestinian Refugees in the Diaspora	p.3
Chinese Bubble, Trade War, Workers' Struggle and the Crisis of the Left	p.9
On Some Ideological Features of the COVID Counterrevolution	p.11
Britain Outlaws Hamas as a "Terrorist Organization"!	p.17
Japan: Stalinist Patriots against "China's Hegemonism"	p.20
"Defending China": Pseudo-Trotskyism in the Period of Great Power Rivalry	p.22

Pictures on the cover: Participant at the mass demonstration against Lockdown and compulsory vaccination in Austria (Vienna, 20.11.2021). The poster reads: "Down with the fascist dictatorship".

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

Zionism and the Palestinian Refugees in the Diaspora

Yossi Schwartz, *the ISL (RCIT in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 3.10.2021

Those who believe the Zionist myths will not change their support for racist Zionism and will continue to claim that those who call Israel an apartheid state are racist anti-Semites. No rational argument nor the facts will change their mind. For a long time, the Zionists' false narrative dominated in the imperialist states. However, with every passing day the isolation of the Zionists is growing in the universities, the trade unions and even in the British labor party in spite of its right-wing bureaucracy. Those who see the brutal nature of Israel need factual information going back to the very origin of the issue of the Palestinian refugees and for them this article is intended, from the belly of the beast.

An essential element in the Zionist ultra-nationalistic myth is that the Jews have been a nation in exile for over 2000 years. Like all ultra-nationalists they argue that their nation has existed for thousands of years and will continue to exist forever. For example, Israel Hanukoglu a Dr. from the Israel Science and Technology Directory shamelessly writes:

"Israel is the very embodiment of Jewish continuity: It is the only nation on earth that inhabits the same land, bears the same name, speaks the same language, and worships the same God that it did 3,000 years ago. You dig the soil and you find pottery from Davidic times, coins from Bar Kokhba, and 2,000-year-old scrolls written in a script remarkably like the one that today advertises ice cream at the corner candy store." ... The people of modern-day Israel share the same language and culture shaped by the Jewish heritage and religion passed through generations starting with the founding father Abraham (ca. 1800 BCE).

Thus, Jews have had a continuous presence in the land of Israel for the past 3,300 years." [1]

What this charlatan forgets to tell us is that most likely the Jews in Palestine during the second temple (516 BCE to c. 70 CE) did not speak Hebrew but Aramaic and for sure the Jews did not speak Hebrew since the Roman destruction of the second temple. They spoke the languages of the people they lived among them. The Jews in Poland spoke Polish. Today the American Jews that make up half of the Jews today speak English (or Yiddish for the ultra-orthodox) and not Hebrew. Hebrew as a spoken language was recreated at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, by the Zionists for their colonial project, thus the claim that the Jews have used Hebrew for more than 2000 years is a simple lie.

The Jews who lived in Palestine spoke Arabic after the Arab conquest of Palestine more than 1300 years ago. Prior to the Zionists, the Jews who lived in Palestine considered themselves Arabs and so they were considered by the Muslims and Christian Arabs of Palestine.

"Arab-Jew was a living reality in Palestine, a local identity of belonging to people and place beyond residence location. This identity survived the collapse of the Ottoman Empire but not the 1948 war. Until then, Arab Palestinians defined their compatriot Jews as natives [Abna al-Balad] and Arab-born Jews [Yahud Awlad Arab]" [2]

It is true that the ancient Israelites were a nation and had a kingdom based on slavery like other nations of that period. However, nations are not an eternal formation. Like everything else they come to exist and end to exist. They

Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: Palestine and Zionism

The History of Oppression of the Palestinian People.

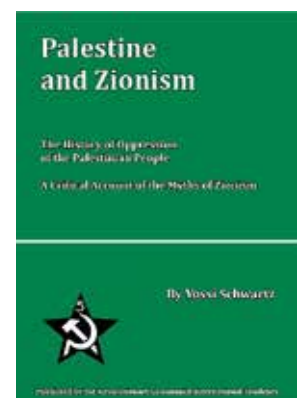
A Critical Account of the Myths of Zionism

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/>



are formed from non-nations like tribes, or as result of a split from another nation. At the same time some other nations stop to exist and disappear. Where are the Israelites who were exiled by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria in 733 BCE today? And their exile was completed by Sargon II with the destruction of the kingdom Of Israel in 722 BCE? The simple answer is that they assimilated into other nations.

The Jews who were exiled by the Roman stopped being a nation and have lived as religious communities. In Europe they continued to exist and practice Judaism because of the unique function they had as pre capitalist financiers and traders. [3] The Jews in the Arab and Muslim countries were very small religious communities as a growing number of Jews converted to Islam. Those who remained Jews did not constitute a nation but non-Muslim Arabs and Jewish religious communities.

After the French revolution the gates for assimilation were opened for the Jews, but this process was interrupted with the rise of the new forms of Anti-Semitism. In the USA the process of assimilation continues.

In the Arab countries the Jews were considered by themselves and by the Muslim and Christian Arabs as Arab Jews. The separation of the Jews in these countries was the work of the colonialists and the Zionists:

"In a time of resurgent populism and white nationalism in the West, Massoud Hayoun's book When We Were Arabs: A Jewish Family's Forgotten History is a daring and rejuvenating book. Massoud Hayoun is a young journalist based in Los Angeles who has worked for Al Jazeera English and Anthony Bourdain's Parts Unknown online while writing a weekly column on foreign affairs for Pacific Standard.

Written in the form of a historical memoir, Hayoun, who identifies himself as a Jewish Arab, traces his family history before and after World War II to illustrate how Jewish Arabs were maliciously separated from their societies and how their identities were used in a game of colonial domination. He argues that Jewish Arabs lived and worked alongside their Muslim and Christian Arab neighbors in relative peace until colonialism, white supremacy and Zionism disrupted Arab society and fractured it into various groups, which, among other things, separated the identity of Arab from Jew Throughout, Hayoun weaves established historical scholarship with his family's personal history to give context to their experiences, especially as their Jewish Arab world begins to fragment. He shows how French and British colonial schools impacted Jewish children by teaching them to identify with the colonizer rather than their immediate communities. He also discusses the Universal Israelite Alliance headquartered in France, whose mission was to "civilize" Jewish Arabs by removing their Arabness. The Israelite Alliance perceived Jewish Arabs as primitive and, horrifyingly to them, indistinguishable from the Muslims. Thus, the Alliance schools sought to Europeanize their students, emphasizing how the Jewish Arab community was beneficial to their colonizing mission. Because Jewish Arabs had "Oriental physiognomies," they naturally possessed a "talent for assimilation," which could be used to colonize their Muslim counterparts across North Africa. The external exploitation of indigenous Jewish Arab communities would continue with Zionism—Hayoun provides an alarming overview of Zionist efforts to sow dissension and encourage Jewish Arab outmigration from Egypt and Iraq to the new state of Israel..." [4]

Exile, Refugees and Diaspora

The exile of a nation or large part of it out of the country they lived in is called a diaspora. For example, the Palestinian refugees who live in different countries live in the diaspora. As a general law people who live in the diaspora within a few generations become part of the local population and no longer live in a diaspora. For example the ancient Israelites exiled by Assyria, British citizens who were banished to North America or Australia, and the Afro-Americans do not live today fully in the diaspora even though the latter are still discriminated against.

From very early times the duty to protect refugees has been recognized. Cities of refuge were an old custom. The Jewish bible mention six such cities: Golan, Ramoth, and Bosor, on the east (left bank) of the Jordan River and Kedesh, Shechem, and Hebron on the western (right) side.

"Then Moses set aside three cities east of the Jordan, 42 to which anyone who had killed a person could flee if they had unintentionally killed a neighbor without malice aforethought. They could flee into one of these cities and save their life. 43 The cities were these: Bezer in the wilderness plateau, for the Reubenites; Ramoth in Gilead, for the Gadites; and Golan in Bashan, for the Manassites". [5]

"So, they set apart Kedesh in Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali, Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron) in the hill country of Judah". [6]

Respect for refugees and asylum seekers and appreciation of those who provide refuge have a particular place in sharia, and Islam pays special attention to the suffering of forced migrants: *"And if anyone of the polytheists asks you for protection, give him protection so that he may hear the Word of God; then escort him to his place of safety. That is because they are people who do not know."* [7]

Throughout the Middle Ages cathedrals, abbeys, monasteries, shrines and local places of worship acted as sanctuaries in which fugitives, victims of war and local conflict, could secure protection. Abolition of 'church' sanctuary in the seventeenth century reflected the weakening of the religious establishment. [8]

In 1681 King Charles II of England offered 'an asylum' to the persecuted Calvinist minority of France. This is probably the first time in which authorities in a modern state provided protection to citizens of another state; and it marked the birth of the refugee as a category of persons later to be recognized in the bourgeois international law. [9]

The difference between refugees and the exiled is that the refugees seek asylum in a foreign country out of fear of political persecution while the exiled are those who were removed by force from their country and became refugees. The Jews who escaped Nazi Germany were refugees from Germany. The Palestinians became refugees after they were exiled.

"Today, of the 13 million Palestinians worldwide, over half are refugees from 1948 or their descendants. The number of those displaced in 1967 and their descendants is around one million. Since 1967, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have been forced into secondary or tertiary displacement, both as a result of Israeli actions in the 1967 occupied lands and as a result of tensions, poverty, discrimination and conflict in countries in the Middle East and North Africa. As of the 1970s, about 700,000 have been forced to flee the Arab world, largely as a

consequence of discrimination and often overt persecution. Today, some two million Palestinian refugees are estimated reside outside UNRWA's area of operation; of these, some 900,000 are elsewhere in the Arab region, some 300,000 each in Europe and the Americas." [10]

Initially, the United States pressured Israel to admit about 400,000 refugees (a figure lowered to 250,000 and then 100,000). Israel's offer to annex Gaza and absorb its 200,000 refugees was retracted. Since then, no state has effectively pressured or challenged Israel on the refugees' right of return. The United Nations (and especially the imperialist member states) adopted the idea that other solutions would have to resolve the Palestinian refugee question... What other solution? That they should somehow simply stop being recognized as refugees.

"Israel argues that all refugees – and it disputes the numbers – should relinquish any aspirations to return to occupied Palestine of 1948, and instead be absorbed by Arab host countries or by a future Palestinian state that they act to prevent its establishment. It disavows moral responsibility by arguing that 800,000 Mizrahi Jews were displaced from Arab countries between 1945 and 1956 (most of whom settled in Israel) and insists Palestinians left willingly." [11]

"On January 14, 2021, outgoing Secretary of State Mike Pompeo tweeted about Palestinian refugees, proclaiming "(less than) 200,000 Arabs displaced in 1948 are still alive and most others are not refugees by any rational criteria." A month earlier, on December 11, a group of 22 Republican members of Congress sent a letter to President Donald Trump requesting that he instruct the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration to declassify a report on the approximate number of Palestinian refugees, with the intention of redefining and disenfranchising millions of Palestinian refugees of their refugee status. The intent behind the request is made evident by the letter, which states, "The issue of the so-called Palestinian 'right of return' of 5.3 million refugees to Israel as part of any 'peace deal' is an unrealistic demand, and we do not believe it accurately reflects the number of actual Palestinian refugees. Just like your courageous action to bring about unprecedented peace between several Gulf States and Israel, it is time to end the fiction of the 'right of return' and bring the conflict one step closer [to] conclusion." Although Trump did not declassify the report before leaving office on January 20, both the letter and Pompeo's tweet highlight ongoing efforts by far-right politicians in the U.S. and Israel to do away with Palestinian refugee rights by essentially defining Palestinian refugees out of existence". [12]

Thus, while they claim that Jews have lived in the diaspora for thousands of years the hypocritical Zionists deny that the Palestinian refugees who were exiled by the Zionists less than 80 years ago do not live in the diaspora.

At the same time the Zionists deny that the American Jews are part of the American nation. According to the Zionists, American Jews belong to the Jewish nation and they live in the American diaspora. This crooked argument is providing weapons to the real Anti-Semites who argue that the Jews are a foreign element in the American nation and a fifth column.

The Zionists' Plans to Remove the Palestinians from their Land

According to conventional Zionist historiography, Herzl, like most Zionists before World War I, believed that Ot-

toman imperial assent was the key to the success of the Zionist colonial enterprise, and that the Palestinians hostility to the Zionists, like malaria, swampy soil and stony fields, would all be cleared away in due course through the appropriate combination of technology and humanitarian zeal.

In reality already in 1895, at the time when he was just sketching out his vision of the future Jewish state, he was planning the expulsion of the Palestinians, as can be proven by his diary, which was not published until after his death. In the diary he wrote: "We must expropriate gently the private property on the estates assigned to us. We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it employment in our own country. The property owners will come over to our side. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly. The property owners may believe that they are cheating us, selling to us at more than [the land is] worth. But nothing will be sold back to them." [13]

It was not Herzl alone who had the idea of stealing the Palestinians' properties and expelling them from their country: "This is not to say that the Zionists were ignorant of the native population. Eliezer Be'eri, among other scholars, has refuted the myth that Herzl saw Palestine as a "land without a nation for a nation without a land." (Be'eri attributes that notorious phrase to Israel Zangwill.) Moreover, there were a few cases of Zionist leaders directly addressing the Arab question, such as Leo Motzkin's address at the Second Zionist Congress of 1898, at which he spoke of a Palestinian population of some 650,000, occupying Palestine's most fertile lands, or Max Nordau's speech at the 1905 Congress, when he proposed a Zionist alliance with the Ottoman Empire against what he saw as a destabilizing Arab nationalism. By and large, however, most Zionists denied the Arab presence or refused to consider it seriously, while a small minority nervously kept track of Jewish-Arab clashes and predicted future, and more serious, confrontations" [14]

"The Revisionist activist Joseph Nedava, who in 1972 published a brief article on "Herzl and the Arab Problem." Departing from mainstream Zionist historiography, Nedava claimed that Herzl was well aware of Palestine's native population and its resistance to a substantial Jewish presence. Thus, Nedava accounts for Herzl's opposition to piecemeal infiltration of settlers, which only stimulates native anger and his insistence upon a charter, issued by the Ottoman sultan or one of the European Great Powers that will usher in unstoppable mass immigration". [15]

"Benny Morris' addition of a chapter on "The Idea of 'Transfer' in Zionist Thinking" in the recently published revised edition of his classic monograph on the origins of the Palestinian refugee problem. In that chapter, Morris refers to Herzl's diary entry and to the published musings on the desirability of transfer by the likes of Motzkin and Zangwill. Unlike Teveth, who presents these expressions as idiosyncratic and without long-lasting importance, Morris claims that a subtle and subterranean discourse of transfer was already forming within the Zionist movement before World War I but that it was kept under wraps lest it poison relations between the fragile Yishuv, on the one hand, and Palestine's native population and Ottoman suzerain, on the other. Morris's inclusion of this material represents a response to the work of Nur Masalha and other anti-Zionist writers who claim that plans to expel Palestinian Arabs were central to Zionist thinking from the movement's inception and were formu-

lated by none other than the father of political Zionism, Theodor Herzl." [16]

The Palestinian revolutionary uprising that began in 1936 forced the British imperialists to form an inquiry commission known as Peel Commission that offered to divide the country and to ethnically cleanse the Palestinians from the part allocated to the Zionist state.

"Under the stress of the World War the British Government made promises to Arabs and Jews in order to obtain their support. On the strength of those promises both parties formed certain expectations. The application to Palestine of the Mandate System in general and of the specific Mandate in particular implies the belief that the obligations thus undertaken towards the Arabs and the Jews respectively would prove in course of time to be mutually compatible owing to the conciliatory effect on the Palestinian Arabs of the material prosperity which Jewish immigration would bring in Palestine as a whole. That belief has not been justified, and there seems to be no hope of its being justified in the future... The problem cannot be solved by giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want. The answer to the question which of them in the end will govern Palestine must be neither. No fair-minded statesman can think it right either that 400,000 Jews, whose entry into Palestine has been facilitated by the British Government and approved by the League of Nations, should be handed over to Arab rule, or that, if the Jews should become a majority, a million Arabs should be handed over to their rule. But while neither race can fairly rule all Palestine, each race might justly rule part of it... If Partition is to be effective in promoting a final settlement it must mean more than drawing a frontier and establishing two States. Sooner or later there should be a transfer of land and, as far as possible, an exchange of population. The Treaties should provide that, if Arab owners of land in the Jewish State or Jewish owners of land in the Arab State should wish to sell their land and any plantations or crops thereon, the Government of the State concerned should be responsible for the purchase of such land, plantations and crops at a price to be fixed, if requires, by the Mandatory Administration. For this purpose, a loan should, if required, be guaranteed for a reasonable amount.

The political aspect of the land problem is still more important. Owing to the fact that there has been no census since 1931 it is impossible to calculate with any precision the distribution of population between the Arab and Jewish areas; but, according to an approximate estimate, in the area allocated to the Jewish State (excluding the urban districts to be retained for a period under Mandatory Administration) there are now about 225,000 Arabs. In the area allocated to the Arab State there are only about 1,250 Jews; but there are about 125,000 Jews as against 85,000 Arabs in Jerusalem and Haifa. The existence of these minorities clearly constitutes the most serious hindrance to the smooth and successful operation of Partition. If the settlement is to be clean and final, the question must be boldly faced and firmly dealt with. It calls for the highest statesmanship on the part of all concerned" [17]

"While the Arabs including the Mufti of Jerusalem Haj Amin Husseini rejected this plan because among other reason the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians, the Zionist leadership except Ben Gurion rejected it because they wanted the whole country. Opposition to the plan, headed by Golda Meir, was expressed at the 20th Zionist Congress, when a group argued the proposed Jewish state was too tiny to absorb the millions of refugees from Europe: better to reject it, they argued, and fight for something better. To Ben-Gurion, however, the Peel Commission offered a

beginning. A Jewish majority in a small state was infinitely better, he felt, than a Jewish minority in a British or Arab one. But this battle, unhappily, was one Ben-Gurion – fighting alongside Chaim Weizmann – lost. Soon too the British, rejected by the Zionists and condemned by the Arabs – for whom any land given to Jews was anathema – resorted to form. Backing away from their own partition plan, they drastically limited immigration. Only 75,000 Jews would be allowed" [18]

To be sure no one of the Zionist leaders objected in 1937 to the ethnic cleansing of 225,000 Palestinians and Ben Gurion accepted the plan as a stage on the road of getting the entire country. We know this because of a letter he wrote to his son Amos. The following is the letter from David Ben-Gurion to his son Amos, written 5 October 1937. Obtained from the Ben-Gurion Archives in Hebrew, and translated into English by the Institute of Palestine Studies, Beirut.

5 October 1937

Dear Amos,

"...Of course, the partition of the country gives me no pleasure. But the country that they [the Royal (Peel) Commission] are partitioning is not in our actual possession; it is in the possession of the Arabs and the English. What is in our actual possession is a small portion, less than what they [the Peel Commission] are proposing for a Jewish state. If I were an Arab I would have been very indignant. But in this proposed partition we will get more than what we already have, though of course much less than we merit and desire. The question is: would we obtain more without partition? If things were to remain as they are [emphasis in original], would this satisfy our feelings? What we really want is not that the land remains whole and unified. What we want is that the whole and unified land be Jewish [emphasis original]. A unified Eretz Israeli would be no source of satisfaction for me—if it were Arab.

From our standpoint, the status quo is deadly poison. We want to change the status quo [emphasis original]. But how can this change come about? How can this land become ours? The decisive question is: Does the establishment of a Jewish state [in only part of Palestine] advance or retard the conversion of this country into a Jewish country? My assumption (which is why I am a fervent proponent of a state, even though it is now linked to partition) is that a Jewish state on only part of the land is not the end but the beginning. When we acquire one thousand or 10,000 dunams, we feel elated. It does not hurt our feelings that by this acquisition we are not in possession of the whole land. This is because this increase in possession is of consequence not only in itself, but because through it we increase our strength, and every increase in strength helps in the possession of the land as a whole. The establishment of a state, even if only on a portion of the land, is the maximal reinforcement of our strength at the present time and a powerful boost to our historical endeavors to liberate the entire country. We shall admit into the state all the Jews we can. We firmly believe that we can admit more than two million Jews. We shall build a multi-faceted Jewish economy— agricultural, industrial, and maritime. We shall organize an advanced defense force—a superior army which I have no doubt will be one of the best armies in the world. At that point I am confident that we would not fail in settling in the remaining parts of the country, through agreement and understanding with our Arab neighbors, or through some other means." [19]

"In 1947 there were 1.3m Arabs in Palestine, being 2/3 of the population of the Mandate. The Jews had 1/3 of the population and 6% of the land (20% of the productive land). According to a 1946 Census, just less than 50% of the population in that area

designated by UN 181 for the Jewish state was Jewish (although by 1948 it was over 55%). In the area designated for the Palestinian state but ultimately captured by Israel and incorporated into its state, the population was 97% Palestinian. By the end of the fighting there were 165,000 Palestinians left within Israel. 119,000 were Muslim, 35,000 Christian, 15,000 Druze. 32,000 were urban/town dwellers, 120,000 villagers, 18,000 nomads. 30,000 were internal refugees," By May, 1949 there were nearly 800,000 refugees camped near Israel's borders." [20]

"Changes in the urban Arab population figures (1947/1949) show the impact on the cities: Jerusalem: 75,000/3,500; Jaffa: 70,000/3,600; Haifa: 71,000/2,900; Lydda-amlah:35,000/2,000; Acre 15,000 /3,500; Tiberias:5,300/0; Safed: 9,500/0." [21]

Menachem Begin was called a fascist and a terrorist by the left-wing Zionists. When he became Prime Minister in 1977, he opened the archives to Israeli researchers, hoping to show that what the Irgun did was not different from what the mainstream Jewish army [Haganah] did. These archives included cabinet minutes, private memoranda from the Jewish Agency and other Zionist organizations, military communications, and Ben-Gurion's extensive diaries. Arabs had always argued that the departure of the Palestinian population (perhaps 90% of those in green line Israel) was not an accident. They had alleged that there was a systematic plan to expel the Palestinians. The Israelis denied the existence of such a plan, and said the Arabs had left voluntarily as part of a military plan to exterminate the Jewish population. Opening the archives produced a new assessment of this period. The research rejected both positions but raised new controversies. One involved a military communiqué (Plan Dalet or Plan D) issued in March 1948. The first to publish his research was Benny Morris in 1988.

Even before the document Plan D was discovered it was known that the Zionists committed at least 30 massacres in order to force the Palestinians to flee from Palestine. The most known one was Deir Yassin (Today Kfar Sha'ul). This village made a non-fighting agreement with the Zionists, but on April 9, 1948 the forces of Irgun and Lehi attacked the village. The Irgun/Lehi forces went through the village with dynamite and grenades and sten guns. They killed in cold blood between 110 and 254 Palestinians.

Meir Pa'el, a young Palmach commando at Deir Yassin wrote a report to the Haganah commander: "It was noon when the battle ended and the shooting stopped. Things had become quiet, but the village had not surrendered. The Etzel [Irgun] and Lehi [Stern] irregulars left the places in which they had been hiding and started carrying out cleaning up operations in the houses. They fired with all the arms they had, and threw explosives into the houses. They also shot everyone they saw in the houses, including women and children—indeed the commanders made no attempt to check the disgraceful acts of slaughter. I myself and a number of inhabitants begged the commanders to give orders to their men to stop shooting, but our efforts were unsuccessful. In the meantime, some twenty-five men had been brought out of the

houses: they were loaded into the freight truck and led in a 'victory parade,' like a Roman triumph, through to Mhaneh Yahuda and Zakron Yosef quarters [of Jerusalem]. At the end of the parade, they were taken to a stone quarry between Gio'at Sha'ul and Deir Yassin and shot in cold blood." [22]

Yigal Alon, writing on May 10, a month after Deir Yassin wrote: "There were before us only five days, before the threat-

ening date, the 15th of May. We saw a need to claim the inner Galilee and to create a Jewish territorial succession in the entire area of the upper Galilee. The long battles had weakened our forces, and before us stood great duties of blocking the routes of the [anticipated] Arab invasion. We therefore looked for means which did not force us into employing force, in order to cause the tens of thousands of sulky Arabs who remained in Galilee to flee, for in case of an Arab invasion these were likely to strike us from the rear. We tried to use a tactic which took advantage of the impression created by the fall of Safed and the [Arab] defeat in the area which was cleaned by Operation Metateh—a tactic which worked miraculously well. I gathered all the Jewish mukhtars [mayors] who have contact with Arabs in different villages, and asked them to whisper in the ears of some Arabs, that a great Jewish reinforcement has arrived in Galilee and that it is going to burn all villages of the Huleh. They should suggest to these Arabs, as their friends, escape while there is time...The flight numbered myriads." [23]

Yitahak Rabin wrote on Lydda and Ramleh: "While the fighting was still in progress, we had to grapple with a troublesome problem, for whose solution we could not draw upon any previous experience: the fate of the civilian population of Lod and Ramle, numbering some 50,000. Not even Ben-Gurion could offer any solution, and during the discussions at operational headquarters, he remained silent, as was his habit in such situations. Clearly, we could not leave Lod's hostile and armed populace in our rear, where it could endanger the supply route to Yiftach (another brigade), which was advancing eastward. We walked outside, Ben-Gurion accompanying us. Allon repeated his question: 'What is to be done with the population?' B.G. waved his hand in a gesture which said, 'Drive them out!' Allon and I held a consultation. I agreed that it was essential to drive the inhabitants out. We took them on foot towards the Beit Horon Road, assuming that the legion would be obliged to look after them, thereby shouldering logistic difficulties which would burden its fighting capacity, making things easier for us. 'Driving out' is a term with a harsh ring. Psychologically, this was one of the most difficult actions we undertook. The population of Lod did not leave willingly. There was no way of avoiding the use of force and warning shots in order to make the inhabitants march the 10 to 15 miles to the point where they met up with the legion. The inhabitants of Ramle watched and learned the lesson. Their leaders agreed to be evacuated voluntarily, on condition that the evacuation was carried out by vehicles. Buses took them to Latrun, and from there, they were evacuated by the legion. Great suffering was inflicted upon the men taking part in the eviction action. Soldiers of the Yiftach Brigade included youth-movement graduates, who had been inculcated with values such as international brotherhood and humanness. The eviction action went beyond the concepts they were used to. There were some fellows who refused to take part in the expulsion action. Prolonged propaganda activities were required after the action, to remove the bitterness of these youth-movement groups, and explain why we were obliged to undertake such a harsh and cruel action" [24]

David Shipler of the NYT wrote: "JERUSALEM, Oct. 22 — A censorship board composed of five Cabinet members prohibited former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin from including in his memoirs a first-person account of the expulsion of 50,000 Palestinian civilians from their homes near Tel Aviv during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war." [25]

Plan D states: "a fixed defensive system to preserve our settlements, vital economic projects, and property, which will enable us to provide government services within the borders of the state

(based on defending the regions of the state on the one hand and on blocking the main access routes from enemy territory to territory of the state, on the other).” Jewish forces were to mount “operations against enemy population centers located inside or near our defensive system in order to prevent them from being used as bases by an active armed force. These operations can be carried out in the following manner: either by destroying villages (by setting fire to them, by blowing them up, and by planting mines in their debris), and especially of those population centers which are difficult to control continuously; or by mounting combing and control operations according to the following guidelines: encirclement of the village, conducting a search inside it. In case of resistance, the armed force must be wiped out and the population expelled outside the borders of the state.” Note: Enemy bases refers to Arab villages or quarters in three categories: 1. those in the security zone (surrounding Jewish settlements or strategic routes) 2. Those on the borders of territory designated to become Arab Palestine 3. Those within the Jewish state.” [26]

Thus, unlike the Zionist colonialist settlers’ myth about a people living in exile more than 2000 years, the Palestinian refugees are a nation in exile with the right of return to their lands. This of course will not happen unless the Palestinians will be part of a victorious Arab revolution led by the working class in alliance with the poor peasants. The Zionist apartheid state from the river to the sea must be crashed and replaced by a socialist free Palestine from the river to the sea. A state that will open widely its gates to the Palestinian refugees and where the Jews who will accept this state will be granted equal civil rights but not the right to form a separate state.

The different reformist and centrists who support the right of self-determination to the Zionist settler colonialists in one form or another are simply charlatans and an obstacle on the road of freedom for the Palestinians and the Arab revolution.

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Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: The Zionist Wars

A History of the Zionist Movement and Imperialist Wars

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Chinese Bubble, Trade War, Workers' Struggle and the Crisis of the Left

Report presented by *Convergencia Socialista (RCIT Section in Argentina)* at the meeting of the *International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*, 23 October 2021

1) The Financial Bubble

The general context for the bursting of the real estate bubble in China is much worse for the world economy than the one occurred in 2008. Fundamentally because now we have a recession process that will make the effect of the bankruptcy of the Chinese real estate giant to a next level. Because, as already we said on previous notes, it is diversified in various production branches and interconnected with companies from several parts of the world, which inevitably will follow out in this collapse.

In this context, Latin America will be much more affected by an eventual fall of the Asian corporations than when Lehman Brothers crisis exploded. Countries such as Chile, Peru and Brazil depend heavily on China as copper -the first two ones- and iron -Brazil, which is the main world supplier of this metal, basic for construction industry, one of the branches that will be heavily affected by the debt crisis of the Asian mega companies.

This Debt Crisis is not a lightning bolt in a clear sky. It is the result of a mechanism used by capitalists to continue their expansion in a constant process of economic decline.

The Great Depression of the capitalist world economy, which began in the fall of 2019, has also affected China. This is not surprising, as China constitutes a key component of global capitalism, as it is the world's leading manufacturing nation (28.7%

share of world production). (1)

There are other aspects that differentiate this bubble from the one that burst in the US, which ended in great economic bailouts. Chinese State is not in position of saving Evergrande. By absorbing the debt of the real estate giant, China would automatically submerge into a greater financial crisis because their public debt (Government and non-financial private sector) today reaches 280% of its GDP. To "solve" this situation, Chinese government's strategy was that other private companies to come up to Evergrande's rescue, by buying shares and absorbing part of the debt. But this move, also failed.

Evergrande Group said last Wednesday that the deal to sell a 50.1% stake in its property services business unit failed, hitting the real estate developer's hopes on avoiding a potentially troublesome default. (2)

This means that today the strongest tendency is the bursting of the bubble, which, as we have pointed out, will drag down hundreds of banks, construction companies and many other related branches.

2) Trade war and military deployment

The capitalist crisis, the depression of the economy and the absence of markets for the immense accumulation of goods that capitalism currently produces, imply the need,

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book called *BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE*. The book's subtitle is: *Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*. The book is in English-language. It contains four chapters on 148 pages and includes 42 pictures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

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

A few months ago, our movement commemorated its 25th anniversary. In the summer of 1989 our predecessor organization, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) was founded as a democratic-centralist international tendency based on an elaborated program. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* continues the revolutionary tradition of the LRCI. Below we give an overview of our history, an evaluation of its achievements as well as mistakes, and a summary of the lessons for the struggles ahead. This book summarizes our theoretical and practical experience of the past

25 years.

In Chapter I we outline a summary of the Bolshevik-Communists' theoretical conception of the role of the revolutionary party and its relation to the working class. In Chapter II we elaborate on the essential characteristics of revolutionary party respective of the pre-party organization. In Chapter III we deal with the history of our movement – the RCIT and its predecessor organization. Finally, in Chapter IV we outline the main lessons of our 25 years of organized struggle for building a Bolshevik party and their meaning for our future work.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/> ■

**Building the
Revolutionary Party
in Theory
and Practice**

*Looking Back and Ahead after
25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

on one hand, to destroy productive forces and, on the other, a new distribution of existing markets.

The Covid counterrevolution was an attempt to destroy productive forces. It also allowed the take-off of one of the production branches, the pharmaceutical industry, which is directly the military-industrial complex. This also accelerated the competition between the great powers for the production and sale of vaccines. That race still continues today with the Green Pass, which in addition with imposing layoffs, stopping migrations and hitting the working class, it also a means protectionism policy to enable certain vaccines and disable others.

The magnitude of the crisis is so great that today it is impossible for capitalists to sustain the relative unity that they had in times of calm. The struggle between imperialist factions even reached the IMF.

The complaints about Kristalina Georgieva -as director of the International Monetary Fund- are just another episode of a crisis that cannot be closed immediately. The IMF chief was accused of manipulating data from an investment report, "Doing business," to benefit China, when she was head of the World Bank, in 2018.

The accusation divided waters within the multinational organization. On one side the countries of the European Community, and on the other, US and Japan. Although the US is the main shareholder of the IMF, France is reinforcing its political weight (as the voice of Europe) in the election of directors.

The US decision to challenge France for IMF leadership could reload tensions between the two nations, after recent disagreements over a defense pact with the UK and Australia, which meant that the last one should waived a billionaire submarine contract with France. (3)

This climbing tensions also has its military phase. Although the impossibility for the imperialists powers to unleash a large-scale war (because the mass movement does not allow it and the working class is not willing to die for the capitalist nations) still prevails, the crisis pushes them in that direction. That is the reason for the pact with the United Kingdom and Australia and also for China's arms

race.

In the current period, the inter-imperialist Cold War between these two Great Powers (USA and China) finds its most explosive expression in the struggle for controlling Taiwan. It seems that the war between the United States and China is inevitable in the coming years, if the international working class cannot overthrow the dominant imperialist world order in time. (4)

3) Green pass and class struggle

The struggle of the Italian port workers against the health pass is a turning point in the Covid counterrevolution, probably the beginning of a new wave of struggles, which will be much more stronger than the previous ones. The struggle of the Trieste workers has, in this context, a clearly political character. It goes, objectively further than the partial claim of jobs, it is a struggle against the main policy of imperialism, that was already defeated in the policy of confinement. Their ultimate alternative to regulate the working class, is the sanitary pass.

The wave of strikes in the US objectively accompanies the process that began in Italy, they hit a government weakened by the defeat in Afghanistan and in the midst of the economic crisis.

As part of the same global process, the South Korean working class called a general strike on Wednesday, against precariousness and for basic rights such as the right to unionize.

We are facing a turn in the world situation, the mass movement is taking center stage again, in a context of deep crisis for capitalism.

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On Some Ideological Features of the COVID Counterrevolution

Comments on an interesting interview with a German liberal historian

An Essay by Almedina Gunić and Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 14 November 2021

A few days ago, SPIEGEL – a German-language weekly journal – published a highly interesting interview with the liberal historian Malte Thießen.¹ In this interview, Thießen discusses the current pandemic, the governments' policy, and their consequences for the society from a historical point of view.

Actually, the interview is not of much interest by what it says. But it is highly interesting by what it reflects. Let us explain. SPIEGEL is the most important and influential liberal journal in the German-language world, and it is also highly respected by the bourgeois mainstream in other Western imperialist countries. Malte Thießen is a German university professor and a renown expert in the history of pandemics. Both SPIEGEL as well as the professor are strong supporters of the official pandemic policy of the ruling class.

In other words, both are completely above suspicion of advocating any fundamental criticism of the official policy concerning the pandemic. They could hardly be more afar from the Marxist analysis of the official pandemic control which the RCIT calls *COVID Counterrevolution*. However, the interview is interesting exactly because it has been published in a highly respected journal of the liberal bourgeoisie and because it authentically reflects the views of proponents of the COVID Counterrevolution. It is for these reasons that the interview can help Marxists to better understand some features of the ideological accompaniment of the COVID Counterrevolution.

As this is not the place to repeat the RCIT's analysis of this historic attack on social and democratic rights in detail, we limit ourselves to summarize its essence in one sentence. We recognize the governments' policy since spring 2020 as driven not by health concerns but rather by political and economic interests in order to expand the repressive power of the ruling class state apparatus as well as to increase the profits of capitalist monopolies.²

“What is the most important difference between Corona and previous pandemics?”

But let us go in medias res. The first interesting aspect of the interview is how the historian explains the draconic Lockdown policy in response to the pandemic. We reproduce the relevant parts of the interview in full:

„SPIEGEL: What is the most important difference between Corona and previous pandemics?”

Thießen: There has been no pandemic before in which the whole society has been paused and where a relatively broad consensus existed for very massive restrictions.

SPIEGEL: Why did we accept Lockdowns, closure of schools, curfews at the beginning more or less without complaint?

Thießen: Because we have a different sensibility for risks, a very different concern for the old and sick compared to, for example, the Hong Kong fever at the end of the 1960s. A press release of the federal health agency [in Germany, Ed.] reassured at that time that there is no reason to worry. The pandemic would seriously affect only old and sick people, diabetics, asthmatics,

pregnant women and so on. Only five decades ago one accepted masses of death as collateral damage. Incredible but true.

SPIEGEL: The economy rated higher in importance than health?

Thießen: It was exactly like this in every pandemic since the ancient world. Corona is the first pandemic where the pendulum between economy and health swings in favor of health. We have accepted economic losses which would have been unthinkable before – also because we could afford such. I am not sure if we would have acted similarly during the height of the banking crisis in 2008. However, we entered the pandemic on a relatively solid economic fundament where the state could afford to pay massive subsidies.”

Of course, this statement is highly questionable. Thießen repeats the classic bourgeois point of view which denies the division of the capitalist society in different classes. For him (as well as the SPIEGEL interviewers), there exists only an all-classes-encompassing “we”.

Likewise, his analysis of the world economy is laughable. No serious economist would have claimed in the past decade that the economy would rest “on a strong basis”. In fact, as the RCIT and other Marxists (as well as various serious bourgeois economists) have demonstrated, the decade following the Great Recession in 2008/09 experienced the lowest growth rates ever – at least since the 1930s. Capitalism as a world system is in deep and irreversible decay.³

Furthermore, Thießen is also wrong (or at least very one-sided) in claiming that “we” have massive economic losses. As we did show in various documents, the period since the beginning of the pandemic has been extremely profitable for the largest capitalist corporations and the billionaires.⁴ In fact, the monopolies in the IT sector, Big Pharma, the military-industrial complex etc. are among the primary pushers of the COVID counterrevolution exactly because it allows them to cash-in extraordinary high profits.

And, finally, it is also highly questionable – to put it mildly – if the current methods of pandemic control are more successful than it was the case with the so-called “Asian flu” and the “Hong Kong flu” in the 1950s and 1960s.

Deep crisis and new technologies

However, since Mr. Thießen is neither a Marxist nor an economist there is not much point in debating his views on these issues. What is far more interesting is that this historian of pandemic does *not* see the difference between the current and past pandemics in that the current health crisis would be qualitatively worse than those which existed in the past. He rather sees the difference in that the current policy response of the ruling class to the COVID-19 pandemic is completely different from all past responses in the history of humanity. Or, to put it in the words of Mr. Thießen who said at another point in this interview: “Social conditions and social values differ from those in previous pandemics.”

This is an important confirmation of the analysis of the RCIT and very few other progressive forces. We have resolutely rejected since the beginning the dominant narrative which has been propagated by nearly all bourgeois governments, parties, media, and other institutions and which asserted that the authoritarian policy would be a natural, logical response to an unprecedented threat to humanity. In contrast to this ideological smoke screen, we Marxists have always emphasized

a) that the current pandemic is not “unprecedented” at all and

b) that *it is the policy response* by the ruling class which is indeed *unprecedented*.

Of course, the difference in the response of the ruling class to the current pandemic, compared with past similar events, can not be explained by different *moral* motives (or “*social values*” as Mr. Thießen puts it). Ruling classes in the past have been not less reactionary or power greedy. No, the main reasons for the altered policy are that *they must and that they can react differently*. This means that the basic difference to the conditions in which past pandemics took place is the *combination* of two factors:

a) The ruling class *must* act differently because of the above-mentioned decay of the capitalist system.

b) And the ruling class *can* act differently because of massive changes in technologies.

The latest developments in information technology, artificial intelligence, biotechnology etc. allow the expansion of the police and surveillance state, comprehensive control of public health, methods of vaccination, etc. to an extent as it never existed before.

The combination of these two developments make it both possible as well as necessary to approach the current in a *much more authoritarian way* (we have called this phenomena *chauvinist state bonapartism*) as well as in a much more *commercialized way* than it has ever been before in the history of humanity.

The bourgeois historian Thießen confirms – of course, in his own way and with very different conclusions – the thesis of the RCIT about the different nature of the current pandemic response compared with past similar events.

Does a ruling class facing deep crisis really put “people before profit”?

Mr. Thießen’s above-quoted statement is also interesting as it reflects the official narrative of the bourgeoisie that its whole pandemic policy would be driven by humanitarian concerns which puts the interests of health before those of the economy. Of course, as already said this is complete nonsense and makes the bosses of the IT-Pharma-Security Complex laugh a lot. However, this ideological myth is a crucial element of the current pandemic policy. It is very important to understand the uncritical support which it has received from the liberal middle class, the intelligentsia (and would-be-intelligentsia), the labor bureaucracy and the opportunist left. It allows them to support a shift towards totalitarianism ... in the name of liberal humanism.

As we have shown in various works about the opportunist left which supports the COVID Counterrevolution, these people parrot the ideology about “the worst pandemic ever”⁵ and naively repeat the idea that the policy of

Lockdowns, enforced vaccinations and Green Pass would represent an approach based on the principles of “people before profit” or “health before economy”.⁶

We can not accuse the bourgeois historian Thießen of lacking the critical method of historical materialism. However, we can ask the self-proclaimed “socialists” – which can be called the *Lockdown Left* – the following: Which realistic explanation can you provide for your proposition that the bourgeoisie would implement in the current period of severe crisis – for the first time in history – a policy based on the principle “health before economy”?! Does it make any sense to imagine that the ruling class refused a “health before economy” policy in the 1950s and 1960s but implements such a policy now – in 2020/21?! Half a century ago, the capitalist world economy experienced unprecedented growth, the profits were high, hardly any unemployment existed in the imperialist countries, an expanding social security and public health service existed, and the ruling class was safe like never before. In contrast, the last decades were characterized by neoliberal attacks, destruction of public health and social security, privatization of each and everything, deep economic crisis, global trade wars, mass protests. etc. And exactly *in such a period* the ruling class should do something which it did never before (as Mr. Thießen recognizes) and should put “health before economy”?!

For every Marxists, in fact for everyone who keeps his or her senses, it is an axiom that the ruling class does not become more “humanitarian” in the period of crisis but rather less! Everyone with some basic understanding of history knows that the ruling class in periods of decay acts more aggressive and reactionary, pushes for wars and for the creation of authoritarian regimes. From a Marxist point of view, it is obvious that the explanation of the Lockdown policy by the liberal and left intellectuals is nothing but bizarre!

The elite wants to live forever

Let us reproduce some more interesting quotes from the interview with Mr. Thießen. The SPIEGEL journalists ask him: “*There seems to exist [now, Ed.] a different approach to general risks of life compared to the 1960s. It is no longer easily accepted that people die if they are ill.*” Mr. Thießen replies: “*Today we can live differently and longer if we have pre-existing diseases. We take optimal medical care and high age as a matter of course.*”

This statement reflects features of the dominant bourgeois ideology in the rich imperialist countries. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels emphasized in the *Communist Manifesto*. “*The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.*”⁷

Today, with the advanced information and biological technologies, it has become possible for the rich elite to substantially extend their lifetime. In the past, the emperors and other representatives of the ruling class had a strong desire to become immortal. This was reflected in their self-declaration as “gods” or “gods-like” (e.g. various Roman emperors, Sapa Inca [the Emperor of the Inca Empire], or Japan’s Tennō until 1945), by their desire to find a mysterious elixir which could allow them to live forever (e.g. China’s first emperor, Qin Shi Huang, and various others after him) or by their desperate search for the *Holy*

Grail in the Middle Age.

Today, the decadent rich – sensing the decay of their class system – are increasingly desperate to find ways to extend their lifetime. They invest huge sums in biotech research, in space programs to look for other places to live, etc.

As we have pointed out in other works, the ruling elite – which is usually in high ages – fears the SARS-CoV-2 virus since high age groups are particularly vulnerable. In order to extend their lifetime, the ruling class is ready to do everything in their power. Extending the lifetime of the old in the imperialist countries is more important for them than the death of hundreds of thousands babies as a result of the lockdown policy ⁸, the pre-mature death of many because they can not access doctors and hospitals as a result of the official pandemic policy, or the massive increase of depression to more than double levels observed pre-crisis (particularly among the youth) which will also reduce their lifetime. ⁹ Add to this the dramatic consequences of the gigantic long-term damage for education, income as well as lifetime and quality caused by the reactionary Lockdown policy!

Hence, we see that the official phrases about “the society” which cares more about health and life than it did in the past are nothing but cynical phrases – phrases which are willingly parroted by the liberal (but not very intelligent) intelligentsia and the opportunist left. No, the COVID policy of the ruling class is about expanding the lifetime of the rich and the upper middle class in the imperialist countries – at the cost of the lower strata of the working class and mass of the oppressed people in the Global South. This policy reflects the desperate attempt of the decadent imperialist civilization to avoid its inevitable fate as a decaying system and to control the class to which belongs the future – the workers and the oppressed people in the world!

Since the interests of the rich and powerful determine the dominant ideology, it is hardly surprising that such an approach to lengthen the lifetime by any means necessary influences the middle class, the labor bureaucracy and the petty-bourgeois left. Consciously or unconsciously, they also hope to massively lengthen their lifetime and to find their own *Holy Grail!* This is why they see no problem in supporting the COVID Counterrevolution. Consequently, they link their fate to the doomed imperialist civilization instead of siding with the vital barbarian peoples storming the gates of Rome.

Humans as “social beings”: Marxism versus bourgeois individualism

For us as Marxists, the decisive issue is not to expand the lifetime by any means necessary. Death should be accepted as natural part of life. It is not in the interest of humanity that wealthy people in the rich countries can expand their lifetime by any means possible – irrespective of the consequences for youth, for the mass of population and for the people in the South. No, from the point of view of socialism and the future interests of humanity, the goal is that *all people* can improve the *quality of their live*. Live must become better, copious, and meaningful ... not necessarily much longer!

This relates also to a more fundamental aspect which is part of the ideological superstructure of the COVID Counterrevolution. Basically, it *promotes the image of human life in a thoroughly bourgeois individualist way*. The primary goal – here we talk only about the level of ideology (and not the material interests of the ruling class) – is to lengthen life of human beings only in a *physical* and *individual* way.

Hence, life is seen primarily in terms of how many years does the heart beat in a human body. Basically, the ideol-

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.

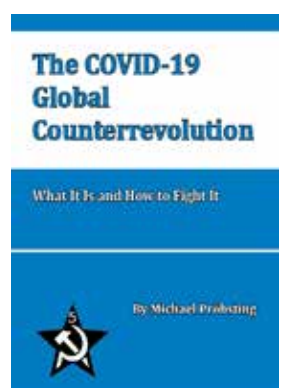
In addition, there is a wave of anti-democratic attacks of a scale which has not been seen in the imperialist countries since 1945. This has triggered a global turn towards Chauvinist State Bonapartism and the creation of a monstrous Leviathan-like state machinery.

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.



ogy of the COVID Counterrevolution measures the value of life by the number of years of physical existence and not by the quality of life, characterized by active participation and interaction with others.

However, for socialists, it is more important if human beings can have a life of high quality, if they can live and act as part of the society, if their life is (relatively) free of deprivations and pain, if they can develop their personality and contribute to the well-being of the collective.

Such an approach is based on the Marxist worldview which see a human not as an isolated individual but as a social being, a *zoon politikon* as Marx wrote (using a category developed by Platon). Humans can only exist, can only speak, can only produce because they are part of a collective of humans, because they interact with other humans. A human being does not exist as an isolated individual (if we leave aside the sad fate of a lonely sailor stranded at the coast of an island).

Marx noted in the *Grundrisse* (the first version of *Capital*): “*Man is a ζῷον πολιτικόν (zoon politikon or social being, Ed.) in the most literal sense: he is not only a social animal, but an animal that can isolate itself only within society. Production by an isolated individual outside society- something rare, which might occur when a civilised person already dynamically in possession of the social forces is accidentally cast into the wilderness-is just as preposterous as the development of language without individuals who live together and speak to one another.*”¹⁰

Marx’ approach is based on one of his earliest works, his famous *Theses on Feuerbach* which he wrote in 1845. In this short but groundbreaking document he characterized the human essence as follows: “*Feuerbach resolves the religious essence into the human essence. But the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations. (...) All social life is essentially practical. All mysteries which lead theory to mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.*”¹¹

In fact, in the course of history of humanity, the essence of humans as “social beings” develops more and more, humans become more and more *social* beings. The reason for this is that the development of the productive forces makes a closer, more intense cooperation of humans necessary. Marx pointed this out in his letter to Pavel Annenkov: “*The simple fact that every succeeding generation finds productive forces acquired by the preceding generation and which serve it as the raw material of further production, engenders a relatedness in the history of man, engenders a history of mankind, which is all the more a history of mankind as man’s productive forces, and hence his social relations, have expanded. From this it can only be concluded that the social history of man is never anything else than the history of his individual development, whether he is conscious of this or not. His material relations form the basis of all his relations. These material relations are but the necessary forms in which his material and individual activity is realised.*”¹²

These fundamentals philosophical insights of Marxism allow us to draw some important conclusions. From the *social* character of humans follows that life is rich if it is *social*, i.e. if it is *part of a collective* (and not an isolated existence). From the *practical* character of humans’ existence follows that life is rich if it is *active*, i.e. if humans interact with others – hence, again, if they are part of a collective (and not isolated individuals).

Hence, the whole logic of the COVID Counterrevolution which aims at restricting social life of the popular masses is thoroughly reactionary. It is regressive in a social and historical sense and tries to roll back the achievements of humanity in terms of closer social and global interactions.

The reactionary character of the social restrictions under the cover of the pandemic is all the more evident if one takes into account the virus is dangerous mostly for those above the age of 65 year as well as for those with pre-existing diseases. A recently published study by the World Bank about COVID-19 deaths reports: “*on average across high-income countries, just 11 percent of deaths were among those under age 65.*”¹³ In OECD countries, extra mortality in 2020 was, in average, only +0.17% among those in the age group of 0-44 years and +2.6% among the age group of 45-64 years (and +7.8% among those above the age of 65 years).¹⁴

A socialist society would put the well-being of the collective as a whole in the first place. In case of a pandemic like the current one, it would offer safety measures for those who wish (e.g. possibilities to isolate themselves if they like while ensuring their supply). It would mobilize resources to expand the public health sector and invest in research to combat such a pandemic (e.g. with drugs, vaccination). However, atomizing a society, isolating large parts of the population, destroying education and social life would be no option!

The bourgeois individualist worldview advocated by the ideologists of the COVID Counterrevolution is the complete opposite. It (wrongly) claims to put the interests of old people first by (supposedly) lengthening their lifetime. Of course, this often means only a physical lengthening of their lifetime which however is not a high-quality lifetime if it takes place under (relative) isolation and without the possibility to actively participate in social life. The ideologists of the COVID Counterrevolution argue that it is legitimate, in order to achieve such a “progress” for old people, to destroy social life for the mass of the population, to massively reduce the quality of life for youth, to massively reduce the education of youth etc.

Such bourgeois individualism views humans, in fact, not as “social beings” but rather as “social-distanced beings”! This ideology is completely contrary to a future-orientated socialist conception of wellbeing of humanity! Hence, Marxists resolutely combat such an ideology.

Unintended consequences?

Involuntarily, the SPIEGEL interviewers and Mr. Thießen himself draw attention to the hypocritical character of the official ideology of the COVID Counterrevolution.

“*SPIEGEL: In your social history of the Corona time [this refers to a book which Mr. Thießen has just published, Ed.] you praise the social solidarity during the pandemic, the protection of the old and the pre-diseased. But if one keeps the issue in perspective, do we not have to say that solidarity existed only in some parts of the society but not with children and youth?*

Thießen: This is true. Youth was primarily feared as super-spreader and as a threat, their needs have been ignored much too long. Also, the needs of women were not taken into account for a long time.

SPIEGEL: Have you, as a historian, been surprised by the social problems which emerged during the pandemic?

Thießen: I was shocked by the degree [of these social problems, Ed.]. I was shocked particularly because it is an ancient wisdom that pandemics have always provoked huge social inequality. The poor and social deprived have not only a higher risk of infection but also suffer more from the restriction measures. It is not easy to afford home schooling. It is evidence of incompetence [of governments, Ed.] that the official policy did not take this into account."

Again, this quote reflects the fact that Mr. Thießen is a bourgeois historian who is incapable to understand the class mechanism at work in the governments' policy. His statement betrays huge naivety as he believes that the capitalist governments simply "do not think" about the consequences of their policy for the poor and the youth. Sure, there are idiots among the representatives of the ruling class – just remember the caricature of a clown living in the White House until January 2021! But it is nonsense to imagine that all bourgeois leaders are idiots. If that would be the case the working class and the oppressed masses would have overthrown them long time ago! No, usually, these people know what they do. They just don't care about the interests of the popular masses as they are representatives of the capitalist class – a class which can only reproduce itself by increasing the exploitation and oppression of the workers and poor!

But, we repeat, the task of this essay is not to wage a polemic against this historian. At this point it is sufficient to state that even a supporter of the official COVID policy has to admit that it had dramatic negative consequences for the lower strata of the working class and the youth.

But which excuses has the Lockdown Left which is incapable to understand the character of the COVID Counterrevolution and to denounce it?! Do they imagine that suddenly the ruling class does not implement their class interests but rather serve the interests of "civilization"?! Does it not make them think twice that the originator of the bonapartist COVID policy with Lockdowns, expansion of the police and surveillance state, Green Pass, etc. is the Stalinist-capitalist dictatorship in China – a regime with a long record of brutal suppression of the popular masses (e.g. the Tiananmen Square massacre in June 1989, the terror against the Muslim Uyghur people today)? Evidently not! In fact, many of them look full of admiration to China's "socialist" rulers which impose the notoriously Zero-COVID policy. No doubt, such "left-wing" people have joined the camp of the capitalist class enemy!

Our task is to create a new revolutionary vanguard which can provide a program for the upcoming mass struggles against the COVID Counterrevolution. Such a political force – a *Revolutionary World Party* – can only be constructed in constant struggle against all opportunist currents among the left which support the reactionary offensive of the ruling class. The RCIT and all authentic revolutionaries dedicate their forces to this task!

Conclusions

Let us summarize our findings of our analysis of this interview with a liberal historian of pandemics.

1) Mr. Thießen views the difference between the current and past pandemics not in that the current health crisis would be qualitatively worse than those which existed in the past. He rather views the difference in that *the current*

policy response of the ruling class to the COVID-19 pandemic is completely different from all past responses in the history of humanity.

2) The difference to past responses to pandemic is characterized by a much more authoritarian approach by the governments or, to put it in the words of the historian, by imposing much more restrictions for the whole population.

3) The main reasons for the changed policy are a) the decay of the capitalist system and b) the changes in technologies, i.e. new possibilities in IT, biotechnology etc.

4) The interview reflects the ideology that the ruling class supposedly would have put the interests of health above those of the economy. This ideology has no basis in reality but is crucial for the support for the COVID Counterrevolution by the middle class and the opportunist left.

5) An important feature of the ideology behind the official pandemic policy is the wish of the ruling class (and those layers which are close to it) to extend their lifetime. In order to achieve this, they impose a policy which worsens the quality of life for the popular masses.

6) A key characteristic of the ideology of the COVID Counterrevolution is bourgeois individualism. It views humans not as social beings which can exist only as part of a collective of humans but rather as "social-distanced beings". It views the value of life by the number of years of physical existence and not by the quality of life, characterized by active participation and interaction with others. It (wrongly) claims to put the interests of old people first by (supposedly) lengthening their lifetime and uses this as justification to attack and reduce lifetime as well as quality of life for the mass of the population.

7) Mr. Thießen also readily admits that the government's policy did "forget" the interests of the youth and the poor layers. While it is, of course, nonsense to imagine that the government did not think about the consequences of its policy, it is interesting to see that even a defender of the official policy is forced to admit these facts.

8) Shamefully, the Lockdown Left shares many of the ideological features of the COVID Counterrevolution. They cling to the decaying imperialist civilization. This helps them to justify their support for such a reactionary policy.

9) Demasking and attacking the ideology fundamental of the COVID Counterrevolution is an important part of the Marxists' struggle to defend the interests of the popular masses. The RCIT and other authentic revolutionaries have resolutely opposed this counterrevolutionary attack of historic proportions from the very beginning and will continue to do so!

Footnotes

1 Historiker zieht Seuchenbilanz »Corona ist für die Geschichtsschreibung ein absoluter Glücksfall«. Ein Interview von Katja Iken und Eva-Maria Schnurr mit Malte Thießen, 03.11.2021, https://www.spiegel.de/geschichte/corona-bilanz-von-historiker-malte-thies-sen-corona-ist-fuer-die-geschichtsschreibung-ein-absoluter-gluecksfall-a-82d34d6a-01a3-43fd-a536-3de1e9d41eae?utm_source=pocket-newtab-global-de-DE. All translations are ours.

2 The RCIT has analysed the COVID-19 counterrevolution extensively since its beginning. Starting from 2 February 2020 we have published about 100 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>. In particular we refer readers to two RCIT Manifestos: COV-

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3 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, Chapter I, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>; by the same author: The Catastrophic Failure of the Theory of "Catastrophism". On the Marxist Theory of Capitalist Breakdown and its Misinterpretation by the Partido Obrero (Argentina) and its "Coordinating Committee for the Refoundation of the Fourth International", RCIT Pamphlet, May 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-catastrophic-failure-of-the-theory-of-catastrophism/>; World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, RCIT Books, Vienna 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>; The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>; World economy – heading to a new upswing? (2009), in: Fifth International, Volume 3, No. 3, Autumn 2009, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-economy-crisis-2009/>; Imperialism, Globalization and the Decline of Capitalism (2008), in: Richard Brenner, Michael Pröbsting, Keith Spencer: The Credit Crunch - A Marxist Analysis, London 2008, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-and-globalization/>; RCIT: Advancing Counterrevolution and Acceleration of Class Contradictions Mark the Opening of a New Political Phase. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries (January 2016), Chapter II and III, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 46, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/>.

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14 See the Excel files for the two graphs on p. 85 in: OECD (2021), Health at a Glance 2021

Britain Outlaws Hamas as a “Terrorist Organization”!

By Yossi Schwartz, ISL the section of the RCIT in Israel/Occupied Palestine, 22.11.2021

“This decision will make it more difficult for Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas to form a Palestinian national unity government, Palestinian sources said on Saturday. In recent weeks, reports have surfaced in a number of Arab and Western media outlets claiming the US administration, Egypt and other parties were working toward persuading the Palestinians to end their differences and form a unity government” [i]

That this decision was taken in collaboration with the Zionist government, the Zionist lobby in Britain, and most likely the US is obvious. Among the pro-Zionist apartheid state is the right-wing leadership of the British “Labor” Party. Sir Keir Starmer, denounced last week what he called the “anti-Zionist anti-Semitism” that he alleged still exists in this party which means another witch hunt of the labor youth. In September at a party conference, pro-Palestinian members of the party were barred.

“Jess Bernard, chair of the party’s youth wing Young Labor, announced on Twitter, “The most concrete information I have been given is that anyone from Palestine Solidarity Campaign will be refused as a speaker, as will Jeremy Corbyn,” the Middle East Monitor reported” [ii]

Starmer was speaking at an annual event held by the Labor Friends of Israel lobby group that has assisting in the removal of pro Palestinians from this party claiming that support for the Palestinians amounts to Anti-Semitism.

He said in that event: *“Anti-Zionist anti-Semitism is the antithesis of the Labor tradition. It denies the Jewish people alone a right to self-determination. It equates Zionism with racism, focuses obsessively on the world’s sole Jewish state, and holds it to standards to which no other country is subjected”* [iii]

How many Zionist states does he want to see and support?

Another anti-Palestinian member of the Zionist Lobby is the British Home Secretary Priti Patel who is considered *even in the Tory party* a Thatcherite. In 2015 she was involved with the British American Tobacco (BAT) where she managed the company’s public image during the scandal around the Myanmar factory that was used as a

source of funds by its military dictatorship and poor payment to factory workers. Later on, she was a public relations expert for the alcoholic beverages company, Diageo, the world’s largest producer of spirits. In 2011, *“Diageo Plc, the British spirits maker, which produces Johnnie Walker scotch and Smirnoff vodka, reported that it will pay more than \$16 million to settle charges from U.S. regulators that it bribed officials in South Korea, India, and Thailand to win sales and tax benefits”*. [iv]

“Israel Foreign Minister Yair Lapid thanked UK Home Secretary Priti Patel after she announced Friday that the British government intends to eliminate the distinction between the group’s political and military wings”. [v]

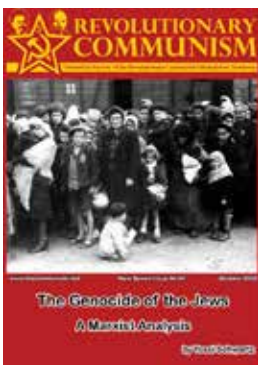
In 2017 she secretly visited Israel: *“the International Development Secretary (as was her title) held undisclosed meetings in Israel without telling the Foreign Office while accompanied by an influential pro-Israeli Conservative campaigner, the BBC has learned”* [vi]

Thus, the scams of the earth are behind the Zionist racist state.

“The British move targeting Hamas may even increase the group’s popularity, depicting it as a victim of an international conspiracy against the Palestinian people in general and the Palestinian “resistance” groups in particular. “When countries such as the US, Israel, and Britain go after Hamas, that boosts Hamas’s standing among Palestinians and many Arabs and Muslims,” said a Ramallah-based Palestinian political analyst.” [vii]

No doubt British imperialism knows a lot about terrorism after all it has a long history of terrorism using it against many nations in Europe (Ireland for example), Africa, Asia, the Russian revolution, and the Arabs. In this article, we cannot list all the terrorist actions of British imperialism and we only list a few major cases of terrorism of this empire.

The first Opium War (1839–42) was fought between China and Britain, and as a result Britain forced China to buy opium. British traders were exporting opium mainly from



Publications of the RCIT

The Genocide of the Jews

A Marxist Analysis

By Yossi Schwartz

Introduction * The Conditions of the Jews on the Eve of World War II * The Pseudo-Scientific Racist Theory of Social Darwinism * Anti-Semitism as a Branch of Social Darwinism * The Nazi Labor-Death Camps * Zionist Ideology as a Branch of Social Darwinism * The Genocide of the Palestinians * Who Are the Guilty Parties for the Genocide of the Jews? * The Uniqueness of the Genocide of the Jews * The Use of the Holocaust * So What Is Unique About the Genocide of the Jews? * Conclusions * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

India to China since the 18th century. The resulting widespread addiction in China was causing serious social and economic disruption. In spring 1839 the Chinese government confiscated and destroyed more than 1,400 tons of the drug – that were warehoused at Canton (Guangzhou). In July 1839 some drunken British sailors murdered a Chinese villager. The British government refused to turn the accused men over to the Chinese courts. British warships destroyed a Chinese blockade of the Pearl River (Zhu Jiang) in Hong Kong. In early 1840 the British sent an expeditionary force to China, attacked and occupied the city in May 1841, and then bombed and captured Nanjing (Nanking) in late August 1841. [viii]

British imperialists love to speak about Britain's fight against slave traders. However: *"Portugal and Britain were the two most 'successful' slave-trading countries accounting for about 70% of all Africans transported to the Americas. Britain was the most dominant between 1640 and 1807 when the British slave trade was abolished. It is estimated that Britain transported 3.1 million Africans (of whom 2.7 million arrived) to the British colonies in the Caribbean, North and South America and other countries"* [ix]

In Amritsar, India's holy city of the Sikh religion, British troops massacre at least 379 unarmed demonstrators meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh, a city park. The Indians were murdered because they protested the British government's forced conscription of Indian soldiers and the heavy war tax imposed against the Indian people. [x]

"The Bengal (Today Bangladesh) famine of 1943 estimated to have killed up to three million people was not caused by drought but instead was a result of a "complete policy failure" of the then-British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, a recent study has said. The study, published in the journal Geophysical Research Letters, provided scientific backing for arguments that Churchill's policies played a significant role in contributing to the 1943 catastrophe" [xi]

After the Russian revolution, British imperialism attacked the young workers' state assisting the white terror of the monarchist counter-revolutionaries. The Bolsheviks turned to the working class in Britain and other imperialist states. The following is a document written by Lenin Trotsky and Chicherin that can be found in the archives.

Appeal of the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government: *"Your entire Capitalist Press is howling like a vicious, unleashed dog, for your governments to intervene in Russian affairs. The hireling newspapers of your exploiters, shouting "Now or Never" have dropped their masks and are openly clamoring for an advance against the workers and peasants of Russia. But even at this moment, they lie unscrupulously [unscrupulously], and shamelessly attempt to deceive you, for whilst they threaten intervention in Russian affairs, they are already conducting military operations against the Russia of the workers and peasants.*

Anglo-French bandits, who have seized the Murman railways, are already executing Soviet railway workers. In the Ural mountains, the Allied governments are using Czecho-Slovak troops, maintained at the expense of the French people and commanded by French officers, to break up the workers' Soviets and shoot their elected representatives.

By order of your Governments, Allied troops are cutting off the bread supplies of the Russian people, in order that the workers and peasants may be compelled to put their necks once more under the yoke of the Paris and London Stock Exchanges. The open

attack which the Franco-British capital is now making on the workers of Russia is only the completion of an eight-month-long underground struggle against the Soviet power.

From the day of the October Revolution, from that moment when the workers and peasants of Russia declared that they would no longer shed either their own blood or that of other peoples, in the interests, either of Russian or foreign Capital, international capital declared war on us. From the day when we threw to the ground our exploiters and appealed to you to follow our example, to join us in putting an end to international slaughter and exploitation, from that moment the capitalists of your countries have sworn that they would demolish Russia, because the workers had dared, as workers had never done in the history of humanity, to overthrow the yoke of capitalism, and to free their necks from the noose of war" [xii]

The defenders of British imperialism are likely to say but this happened long ago, now the UK is a model for democracy and human rights.

Following the last imperialist war on Iraq in 2003 in an article from 2016, we find: *"Nearly 300 British veterans of the Iraq war have been warned they are named by official investigators, amid claims of murder, torture, and abuse The documents have been sent by the Iraq Historic Allegations Team (IHAT), a unit led by Mark Warwick, a former senior police detective, and set up after claims of systemic brutal treatment of Iraqi detainees Now, Leigh Day, the law firm representing hundreds of Iraqis claiming abuse and unlawful detention by British troops, has been referred to the Solicitors Disciplinary Tribunal. 10 Downing Street has entered the fray, saying David Cameron feared that people were being "solicited by lawyers" enticing them into making accusations. Cameron was "deeply concerned" that Iraq war veterans could face threats of prosecution due to "fabricated" or "unjustified" claims of misconduct, it said."* [xiii]

How typical of hypocritical British imperialism.

The Guardian wrote on this topic: *"Britain's empire was established, and maintained for more than two centuries, through bloodshed, violence, brutality, conquest, and war. Not a year went by without large numbers of its inhabitants being obliged to suffer for their involuntary participation in the colonial experience. Slavery, famine, prison, battle, murder, extermination – these were their various fates... Yet the subject peoples of the empire did not go quietly into history's goodnight. Underneath the veneer of the official record exists a rather different story? Year in, year out, there was resistance to conquest, and rebellion against the occupation, often followed by mutiny and revolt – by individuals, groups, armies, and entire peoples. At one time or another, the British seizure of distant lands was hindered, halted and even derailed by the vehemence of local opposition."* [xiv]

Needless to say, whenever the local population rebelled against the Empire those brave fighters were declared terrorists. Those who dare to expose the crimes are punished. In the case of the Zionist colonialist settlers, British imperialism participated in the Zionist's terrorist actions against the Palestinians. In another article dealing with the Mufti of Jerusalem, we referred to the special British terrorist unit the Special Night Squads (SNSs) in Palestine during the Arab Revolt, 1938–39 that was formed by the British army officer the Christian Zionist Wingate. The Zionists themselves have a long history of terrorism against the Palestinians before 1948, during 1948 with the 30-40 massacres and the ethnic cleansing of 700,000-900,000 Palestinians and after the establishment of the Zionist apartheid state against Palestinian citizens of Israel (Kfar Qasem,

Land Day, 2000), and terror against the Palestinians in Jordan and the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza after 1967.

The special relations of British imperialism and the settler colonialist Zionists began even before the Balfour declaration that promised the Zionists to establish a national home in Palestine against the will of the native Palestinians. In 1903, the British offered the Zionists a national home in British East Africa, Kenya of today (Uganda plan) to terrorize the Kenyans opposed to British rule.

The decision of British imperialism to settle Zionist settlers in Palestine was a crime against the native Palestinians. The British imperialists wanted to kill two birds with the same stone. Not to let Jews suffering from persecution in the Russian empire come to Britain and to use the Jews to help Britain to oppress the Palestinians. For this aim, the British and the Zionists used terror against the Palestinians.

No doubt British imperialism will defend Israel in a possible case of a major attack of Israel on Iran. Today we read in Haaretz: "Yossi Cohen, who recently stepped down as head of the Mossad espionage agency and led Israel's covert war against Iran, said in an interview with Haaretz Editor-in-Chief Aluf Benn that Israel "should be able" to act alone against Iran's nuclear program, as it did in the past against the nuclear programs of Syria and Iraq. "I assume it's going to be complicated militarily, but not impossible" for Israel to take such action, he said. US Senator Robert Menendez stated that it was "deeply distressing" in May to see the magnitude of rocket fire launched at Israel from Gaza during the war that Israel fought with Hamas. But he drew optimism from Israel's increasing security coordination with neighboring countries such as Egypt and Jordan. The United States can and should do more to encourage such cooperation between Israel and the Arab countries that have signed peace agreements over the years, he added." [xv]

The fact that such a war will ignite the entire Middle East

and sub-Sahara does not concern the Zionists and their supporters.

Imperialists, hands of Hamas!

Down with the imperialists!

Down with all the Arab reactionaries that collaborate with Israel and other imperialists!

Down with the Zionist settler colonialist state!

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

For a socialist federation of the Middle East!

Endnotes:

[i] <https://www.jpost.com/international/british-move-against-hamas-threatens-unity-palestinians-say-685537>

[ii] <https://www.jpost.com/international/uk-labour-party-apologizes-after-banning-pro-palestinian-group-from-conference-678672>

[iii] <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/uk-labour-leader-denounces-anti-zionist-antisemitism-685157>

[iv] <https://www.forbes.com/sites/nathanielparishflannery/2011/08/05/scandals-at-total-and-diageo-highlight-the-importance-of-effective-risk-management/?sh=5748f05c3203>

[v] <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-41853561>

[vi] <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-cheers-expected-uk-designation-of-hamas-as-terror-group/>

[vii]

<https://www.jpost.com/international/british-move-against-hamas-threatens-unity-palestinians-say-685537>

[viii] <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Opium-Wars>

[ix] <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/britain-and-the-trade.pdf>

[x] <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-amritsar-massacre>

[xi] <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/4/1/churchills-policies-to-blame-for-1943-bengal-famine-study>

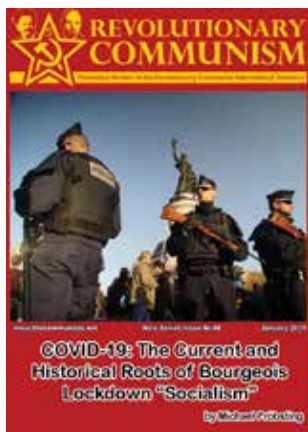
[xii] <https://cdm21047.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/russian/id/1151>

[xiii]

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/oct/19/end-myths-britains-imperial-past>

[xiv] <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/oct/19/end-myths-britains-imperial-past>

[xv] <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/this-sunday-former-mossad-chief-senior-officials-at-haaretz-ucla-conference-1.10399945>



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

Japan: Stalinist Patriots against “China’s Hegemonism”

The Japanese Communist Party and the inter-imperialist Cold War

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 7.10.2021

A short time ago, the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) published a statement about the recent escalation of the Cold War between the U.S. (and its allies) and China.¹ Unsurprisingly, it denounced the militarist character of the new AUKUS alliance² as well as the so-called *Quad* alliance (U.S., Japan, India and Australia).³ It warned that the rising number of military activities of Western forces “will increase tensions with China.”⁴

It is equally unsurprising that the JCP does not say one word about the imperialist nature of the Great Powers involved or about what socialists should do in the struggle against militarism. Such statements are the bog-standard stuff which one can expect from a Stalinist party committed to the meagre diet of impotent pacifism.

However, the final two sentences of the statement are more remarkable as they demonstrate the bourgeois strategy of the Stalinist party. “In order to stop China’s hegemonism, the “involvement” of a framework with participation of China is necessary, not “besiegement” of China. Efforts to have China abide by rules should be made.”

Commitment to the bourgeois order

For those familiar with the program and the history of the JCP, these sentences reveal several things. First, the JCP loves peace. But it loves its (imperialist) motherland even more. This is why it accuses China of “hegemonism”. As we have shown in past documents, the JCP calls for the defense of islands which Japan control, but which are claimed by China (like the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands).⁵ Likewise, it demands the return of other islands which Japan claim but which are controlled by other neighboring states.⁶

At the same time, the JCP staunchly refuses (since 1945) to recognize the imperialist character of Japan. It rather claims that Japan is a “dependent country” as the U.S. “tramples on Japan’s sovereignty and independence”. Hence, the JCP is committed to “recovering Japan’s genuine independence”.⁷ This means nothing but calling for the *strengthening* of Japan’s imperialism so that Nippon’s monopoly bourgeoisie is free from Washington’s restrictions.

The last sentence is particularly remarkable. “Efforts to have China abide by rules should be made.” First, to which “rules” should China be made abide? Obviously, the JCP means the rules of international law. Actually, this is the same slogan which the imperialist governments of the U.S. and Japan are raising as they want to contain China’s influence in the East China as well as the South China Sea. Secondly, how should China be “made abide the rules”? Again, this can mean nothing but appeals to the “international community” – i.e. imperialist Great Powers and the institutions which they dominate (like the United Nations or the International Court of Justice).

In short, this statement reflects once more that the Stalinist JCP is a party committed to the patriotic defense of the imperialist motherland and the imperialist world order. This is why Marxists characterize such parties as *social-imperialist*.

A government party in waiting

Such loyalty to its imperialist motherland is nothing new for the JCP. It has consistently defended such a program since 1945. However, statements such as the one mentioned above, are not only published to make people aware of the party’s policy. They have also an additional purpose.

The JCP is one of the largest Stalinist parties in the world with an official membership of 270,000 and electoral results of 8-11% in the past decade. Japan’s domestic policy is in deep crisis. Japan’s economy is trapped in stagnation since the early 1990’s. It’s ruling class is divided about the role of the state in a radical changing and highly tumultuous global order. The country remains under the domination of the LDP – the ruling conservative party which dominated nearly all governments in Japan since 1945. But this government is neither strong nor stable as the recent resignation of Yoshihide Suga as prime minister after only one year in power demonstrates. There is a realistic possibility that the LDP will suffer splits and electoral defeat in the next period.

Under such conditions, the JCP could become part of a future coalition government. All policy statements of the JCP should be viewed as part of a strategy to make the party an acceptable component of a future government serving the interests of Nippon’s monopoly bourgeoisie.

In a recently published pamphlet, we have characterized such Stalinist parties as “servants of two masters”.⁸ They criticize the traditional domination of global affairs by U.S. imperialism and oppose its Cold War against China. Thereby, they aid the interests of Chinese imperialism.⁹ At the same time, they advocate the interests of its own imperialist “motherland”, i.e. they serve the monopoly bourgeoisie at home.

The RCIT and all consistent Marxists oppose *any* support for imperialist Great Powers. The U.S., China, the EU, Russia, Japan, or smaller imperialist states – *all* these powers are enemies of the international working class and the oppressed peoples!¹⁰ The task of revolutionaries is to oppose all these powers and to work towards defeating them so that humanity can face a socialist future without exploitation and oppression!

Footnotes

¹ The RCIT has published numerous documents about the inter-imperialist rivalry of the Great Powers. Various works on this issue can be found at this sub-page: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>. 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/>. In particular, we refer to 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, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>. Our latest pamphlet on the Cold War between the Great Powers is by the same author: “A Really Good Quarrel”. US-China Alaska Meet-

ing: 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 e.g. RCIT: The Meaning of the AUKUS Pact. The U.S. escalates the inter-imperialist Cold War against China and provokes the EU, 18 September 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/the-meaning-of-the-aukus-pact/>

3 See on this e.g. Chapter III in the RCIT document: World Perspectives 2021-22: Entering a Pre-Revolutionary Global Situation, 22 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2021-22/>

4 JCP: The quad is 'quasi-military alliance', 26 September 2021, <https://www.japan-press.co.jp/modules/news/index.php?id=13770>

5 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: No to chauvinist war-mongering by Japanese and Chinese imperialism! 23.9.2012, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-between-china-and-japan/>

6 For all the relevant quotes and sources see Michael Pröbsting: Dogfight among Social-Imperialists. A telling attack on the Chinese regime by the Japanese Communist Party, 14 February 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/dogfight-among-social-imperialists-japanese-vs-chinese-communist-party/> as well as pp. 276-281 in the above-mentioned book *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*.

7 All quotes are from the official JCP program which has been confirmed by the party latest congress at the beginning of 2020. Program of the Japanese Communist Party, Adopted on January 17, 2004 at the JCP 23rd Congress, Revised on January 18, 2020 at the JCP 28th Congress, <http://www.jcp.or.jp/english/jcpcc/blog/2020/01/program-of-the-jcp.html>;

8 Michael Pröbsting: Servants of Two Masters. Stalinism and the New Cold War between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West, 10

July 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/servants-of-two-masters-stalinism-and-new-cold-war/>

9 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power. See on this e.g. our above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. See also by the same author 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>; How is it possible that some Marxists still Doubt that China has Become Capitalist? (A Critique of the PTS/FT), An analysis of the capitalist character of China's State-Owned Enterprises and its political consequences, 18 September 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/pts-ft-and-chinese-imperialism-2/>; Unable to See the Wood for the Trees (PTS/FT and China). Eclectic empiricism and the failure of the PTS/FT to recognize the imperialist character of China, 13 August 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/pts-ft-and-chinese-imperialism/>; China's Emergence as an Imperialist Power (Article in the US journal 'New Politics'), in: "New Politics", Summer 2014 (Vol:XV-1, Whole #: 57)

10 For our programmatic approach on inter-imperialist conflicts see e.g. RCIT: Theses on Revolutionary Defeatism in Imperialist States, 8 September 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-on-revolutionary-defeatism-in-imperialist-states/>; see also chapters XVI to XX in the above-mentioned book by Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry.

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 of Theory

“Defending China”: Pseudo-Trotskyism in the Period of Great Power Rivalry

The Lambertist POID/IWC is another sad example of social-imperialism

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 12 October 2021

The acceleration of the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers (U.S., China, EU, Russia, Japan) exposes the arch-opportunist nature of various currents which falsely claim adherence to the program of Trotskyism. ¹ Take the “International Workers Committee” – a current around the French POID which stands in the tradition of Pierre Lambert.

In a recently published article, this group comments on the heightened tensions between the U.S. and China after the announcement of the AUKUS pact. ² Trotsky once noted that “theoretical sloppiness always takes cruel vengeance in revolutionary politics.” ³ The Lambertists’ article confirms this insight as it reveals their utter confusion leading them to rally in defense of imperialist China against its American rival.

In a chapter titled “Who needs this march to war?” the article claims: “Faced with the crisis of the system of private ownership of the means of production, the capitalists – starting with those who are the most powerful in the world: those of the United States – need to restore their profit margins. As the market has been saturated for a long time, there is only one way to do so: attacking the workers and all their gains, demolishing any and all obstacles that keep them from plundering. But the Chinese market has largely escaped this plunder, despite decades of bureaucracy policies of ‘opening up to capitalism’. (...) Today, the severe crisis of the capitalist system demands that all obstacles to the imperialist plundering of China be removed.” ⁴

A “deformed workers state” ... only in fool’s paradise of Lambertim

The logic of these sentences is clear. Capitalism is in crisis, so the bosses must increase the exploitation of the workers. This has been not possible until now in China (or at least not to a significant degree) because of “obstacles”. Hence, the capitalists need to wage war against China in order to overcome these “obstacles” and to allow “imperialist plundering”.

This means that the Lambertists (or at least the POID/IWC current as the Lambertist current has suffered several splits) characterize China as a “deformed workers state” which is not dominated by a capitalist class but rather by a bureaucratic caste. Indeed, the article never mentions a “ruling class” in China but only the “Chinese government” or the “Chinese bureaucracy”.

Of course, this is a bizarre caricature of the reality. As the RCIT has demonstrated in numerous works, China has the largest number of billionaires and the largest number of top capitalist corporations in the world. ⁵ How on earth could such a country constitute a “deformed workers state”?! Just look at Evergrande and other nearly bankrupt real estate corporations: these are prime examples of “red billionaires” with close ties with the regime, which have created a corrupt business model similar to housing crisis in the U.S. in the 2000s. ⁶

The Lambertists’ phantasy about the Chinese “workers

state” is also revealed in another paragraph of this article. In a chapter titled “Who can defend China?”, the author states: “When Biden, following Trump and on behalf of Wall Street, focuses all his efforts against China, who is he targeting? He is targeting Chinese workers and their gains from the 1949 revolution, including State ownership of the economy.”

Of course, in the real world, most parts of the economy are in private hands. A recently published study of the World Bank states: “In conclusion, estimations in this note suggest that the share of SOEs in China’s GDP should be 23–28% and their share in employment can be anywhere between 5% and 16% in 2017.” ⁷ In addition, as we demonstrated in two studies about capitalist restoration in China, one has to recognize that its state-owned enterprises are operating on the basis of the capitalist law of value. ⁸

Of course, the Lambertists are not uncritical against the Chinese regime as they oppose the state repression against workers strikes and independent trade unions. But all this is in the context of the foolish strategy of defending the Chinese “deformed workers state” against the imperialist aggression. “So repressing workers’ strikes and independent trade unions, as the bureaucracy does, can only contribute to weakening China in the face of the US offensive.”

Stumbling into the deep hole of bourgeois policy

In summary, the Lambertists characterize China as a “deformed workers state” state which supposedly constitutes a huge obstacle for the capitalists and for “imperialist plundering”. Hence, they are rallying in defense of China against the U.S.

Translated into the language of Marxism, the Lambertists deny the imperialist, and indeed the capitalist, character of China. Based on such denial of reality, they side with one imperialist power against another. In other words, they act as social-imperialists, as servants of an imperialist power. What an example how theoretical confusion results in stumbling into the deep hole of bourgeois policy!

Let us note that Lambertism is not the only example of Pseudo-Trotskyists acting as social-imperialist supporters of China. The Argentinean “Partido Obrero” and their international affiliates or various splinters belonging to the Stalinophile tradition of “Spartacism” share such an approach. ⁹ Others like the “Trotskyist Faction” (around the Argentinean PTS), Pater Taaffe’s CWI or Alan Woods’ IMT also refuse to recognize China’s imperialist class character and shirk from providing a clear answer about their position in the Great Power rivalry. ¹⁰

Trotsky once noted: “The vast practical importance of a correct theoretical orientation is most strikingly manifested in a period of acute social conflict of rapid political shifts, of abrupt changes in the situation.” ¹¹ This is particularly true in the current period of capitalist decay, catastrophes and accelerated inter-imperialist rivalry!

We repeat what we stated in the recently published RCIT-

Manifesto. It is the task of socialists to “take a consistent and intransigent approach against all imperialist powers based on the Bolshevik program of “revolutionary defeatism.” We say: Down with all imperialist Great Powers – whether the US, China, Russia, EU, or Japan! The defeat of the imperialist “fatherland” is the lesser evil! In any political, economic, or military conflict between these Great Powers, the workers’ movement must not give support to any of them. Revolutionaries say in the tradition of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg: *The Main Enemy is at Home! Turn the guns around against the ruling class!*”¹²

Footnotes

1 The RCIT has dealt on numerous occasions with the inter-imperialist rivalry of the Great Powers. See e.g. RCIT: World Perspectives 2021-22: Entering a Pre-Revolutionary Global Situation, 22 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2021-22/>; see also: Russia Fires Warning Shots against UK Warship in the Black Sea. Down with Cold Warmongering! No support for any imperialist Great Power – neither UK, US nor Russia! 24 June 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/russia-fires-warning-shots-against-uk-warship-in-black-sea/>; see also 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, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>; see also the following two pamphlets by the same author: “A Really Good Quarrel”. US-China Alaska Meeting: The Inter-Imperialist Cold War Continues, 23 March 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/us-china-alaska-meeting-shows-continuation-of-inter-imperialist-cold-war/>; *Servants of Two Masters. Stalinism and the New Cold War between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West*, 10 July 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/servants-of-two-masters-stalinism-and-new-cold-war/>; for more works on this issue see these sub-pages: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/> and <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-global-trade-war/>.

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4 Dominique Ferré: *The US offensive against China - why? Independent and Democratic Workers’ Party (France), La Tribune des Travailleurs*, 10 October 2021, <https://coi-iwc.org/2021/10/10/pourquoi-cette-offensive-des-etats-unis-contre-la-chine/>; in English: IWC Newsletter, No. 198,

pp. 1-2, <https://coi-iwc.org/2021/10/10/the-us-offensive-against-china-why/>

5 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power. See on this e.g. the following works of Michael Pröbsting: *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>; *China’s Emergence as an Imperialist Power* (Article in the US journal ‘New Politics’), in: “New Politics”, Summer 2014 (Vol:XV-1, Whole #: 57)

6 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: *The Real Estate Bubble in Capitalist China. Evergrande, Fantasia, and Sinic make global investors tremble and for good reasons*, 6 October 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/the-real-estate-bubble-in-capitalist-china/>

7 Chunlin Zhang: *How Much Do State-Owned Enterprises Contribute to China’s GDP and Employment?* World Bank, 15 July 2019, p. 10, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/32306>

8 See the above-mentioned study by Michael Pröbsting: *China’s transformation into an imperialist power. 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/>

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10 See e.g. the above-mentioned essay by Michael Pröbsting: *How is it possible that some Marxists still Doubt that China has Become Capitalist? (A Critique of the PTS/FT)*; by the same author: *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/>; see also chapter X, XI, XXV, XVII and XVIII in the above-mentioned book “*Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry*”.

11 Leon Trotsky: *Bonapartism and Fascism* (July 1934), in: *Trotsky Writings 1934-35*, p. 35

12 RCIT: *The Fire of Revolution Will Burn Down Catastrophic Capitalism! Manifesto for the Liberation Struggle of the Workers and Oppressed*. Document adopted by the III. Congress of the RCIT, April 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-fire-manifesto-2021/>



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