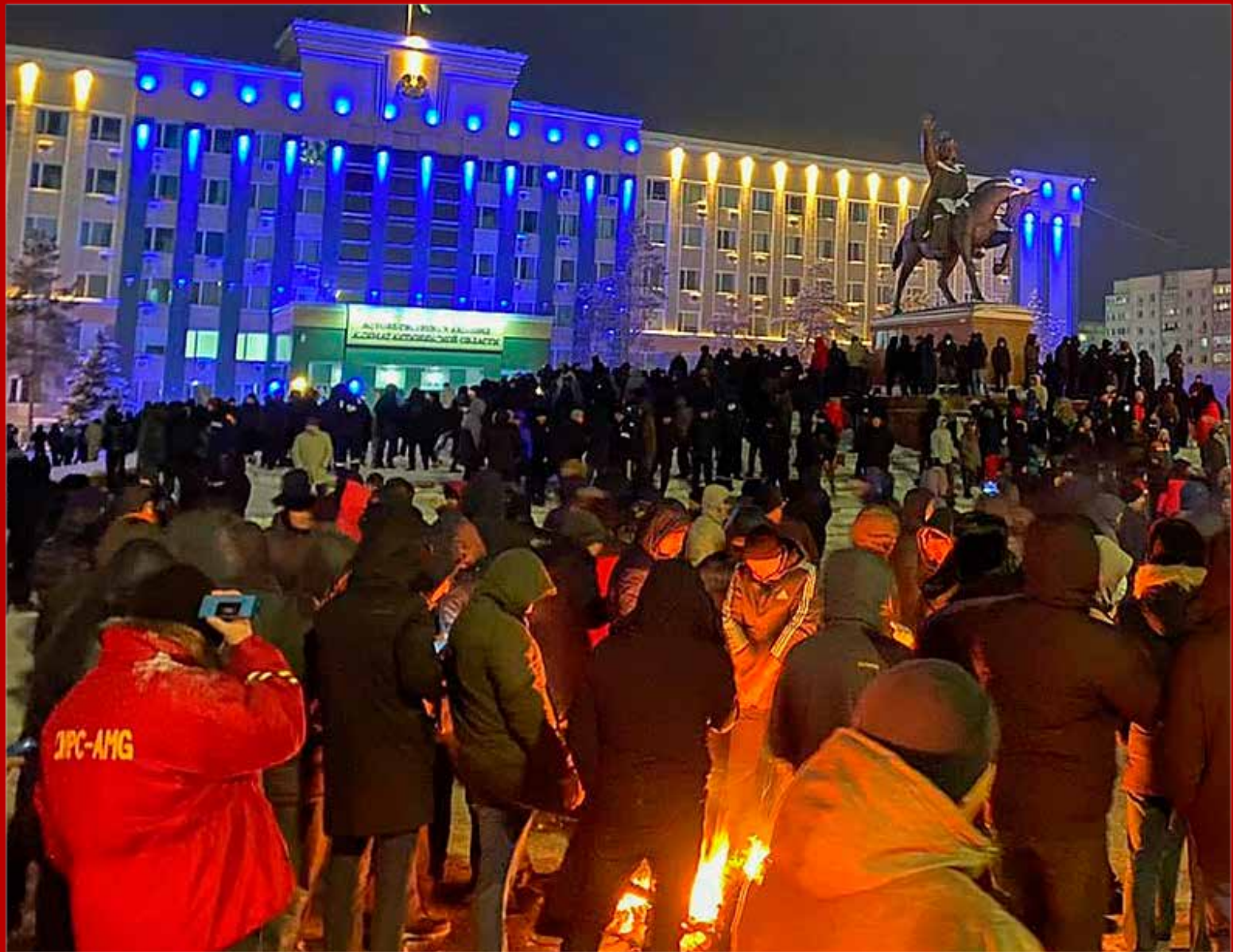




REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



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February 2022

Kazakhstan: Revolution and Counterrevolution

Zionism and Lessons from History * China & COVID

Is China an Imperialist Power? Debate among Marxists

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.69, February 2022

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Pictures on the cover: Road closure in Lyushunkou District (Dalian, Liaoning) during a Lockdown in China (Source: Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/COVID-19_lockdown_in_China#/media/File:Anti-COVID_Slogans_in_Lushunkou_District,_Dalian_City_02.jpg)

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

Unless we destroy the imperialist states, the human race will die

By Yossi Schwartz, ISL the RCIT section in Israel/Occupied Palestine, 27.12.2021

In 1975 United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379 determined that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination. Needless to say Israel and the USA opposed this resolution. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the United States ambassador to the United Nations said that the United Nations is about to make anti-Semitism international law. In Israel, they changed the name of a street from the UN (for its support of the 1948 resolution) to Zionism.

In 2001 hundreds of rights groups gathering in South Africa accused Israel of apartheid. However, the main Human rights groups like the HRW opposed this accusation. At that time Human Rights Watch representative, Reed Brody, said that it was wrong to equate Zionism with racism. The Zionists cheered!

Since then, HRW has changed its mind and argues that Israel is an apartheid state.

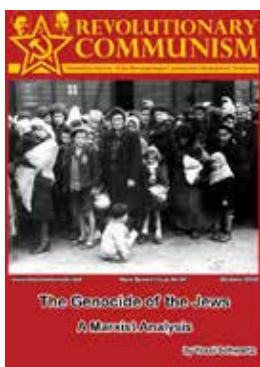
It is useful to know on what legal ground as the Zionist legal expert deny this accusation: *"The crime of apartheid under the Apartheid Convention and Rome Statute consists of three primary elements: an intent to maintain a system of domination by one racial group over another; systematic oppression by one racial group over another; and one or more inhumane acts, as defined, carried out on a widespread or systematic basis according to those policies. Among the inhumane acts identified in either the Convention or the Rome Statute are "forcible transfer," "expropriation of landed property," "creation of separate reserves and ghettos," and denial of the "the right to leave and to return to their country, [and] the right to a nationality." Two primary groups live today in Israel and the OPT: Jewish Israelis and Palestinians. One primary sovereign, the Israeli government, rules over them. A stated aim of the Israeli government is to ensure that Jewish Israelis maintain domination across Israel and the OPT. The Knesset in 2018 passed a law with constitutional status affirming Israel as the "nation-state of the Jewish people," declaring that within that territory, the right to self-determination "is unique to the Jewish people," and establish-*

ing "Jewish settlement" as a national value. To sustain Jewish Israeli control, Israeli authorities have adopted policies aimed at mitigating what they have openly described as a demographic "threat" that Palestinians pose. Those policies include limiting the population and political power of Palestinians, granting the right to vote only to Palestinians who live within the borders of Israel as they existed from 1948 to June 1967, and limiting the ability of Palestinians to move to Israel from the OPT and from anywhere else to Israel or the OPT. Other steps are taken to ensure Jewish domination, including a state policy of "separation" of Palestinians between the West Bank and Gaza, which prevents the movement of people and goods within the OPT, and "Judaization" of areas with significant Palestinian populations, including Jerusalem as well as the Galilee and the Negev in Israel. This policy, which aims to maximize Jewish Israeli control over land, concentrates the majority of Palestinians who live outside Israel's major, predominantly Jewish cities into dense, under-served enclaves and restricts their access to land and housing while nurturing the growth of nearby Jewish communities" [i]

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance was founded in 1998 by the Swedish Prime Minister Persson as a Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research. There was nothing wrong in principle to research and educate young people about the Jewish holocaust, but it was wrong to research and educate young people only about the Jewish holocaust when other people for example Africans and Native Americans suffered from worse genocides and when Israel committed 30-40 massacres to drive out the Palestinian people in 1947-8.

In 2016 the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) meeting in Bucharest, adopted the document known as the IHRA saying that it may be considered anti-



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

Semitic to describe Israel as a “racist endeavor”. Since then, the role of the IHRA has been to conflate criticism of Israel with Anti-Semitism. To silence and suppress the evidence exposing the Israeli state’s atrocities against Palestinians, As I write this article the Zionist soldiers have received new instruction that has revised its open-fire policies for the West Bank, permitting them to shoot Palestinians who had thrown rocks or firebombs at cars of the army or the settlers even when the Palestinians no longer present an immediate threat as they try to escape. In simple words to murder Palestinians who resist the Zionist oppression in cold blood...

This order is part of the counter revolutionary attacks

We live in a historical period characterized by the counter-revolutionary attacks of the capitalist ruling classes on our democratic and other social rights and at the same time by the growing resistance of the masses. Due to this resistance among other things the crimes of the ruling classes against the enslaved black people, the natives of North America, the colonized people in many countries have been further exposed. Statutes of the persons who were in charge of these crimes have been removed and demands for reforms like real restitutions have been called for. In this context, the political sympathy with the Palestinians is growing among the masses and the nature of Israel as an apartheid state is understood by many. Links are forged by the struggles of the American blacks, Native Americans, women, those who struggle against the counter-revolutionary offense under the empty slogans of fighting the Corona while fighting us, and the struggle of the Palestinians against the Zionist apartheid state. At the same time, the capitalist ruling class is using the IHRA and the counter-revolutionary measures they alleged are necessary to fight the corona to defend Israel and persecute those who oppose the Zionist crime. This May during the pro-Palestinian large demonstration in London according to the organizers: *officers had sought to engage with people who had gathered to demonstrate and encourage them to disperse to help protect themselves and others during this public health crisis. Where this approach did not work and officers were met with hostility, they took enforcement action.* [ii]

One of the reflections of the growing isolation of the Zionist state is the fact that even the Israeli Human rights organization Btselem has called Israel an apartheid state beginning in January this year.

“Israel’s regime of apartheid and occupation is inextricably bound up in human rights violations. B’Tselem strives to end this regime, as that is the only way forward to a future in which human rights, democracy, liberty, and equality are ensured to all people, both Palestinian and Israeli, living between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.” [iii]

Belarus and the Holocaust

There is no doubt that the genocide of the Jews in WWII was one of the worse crimes in history. In 1933, approximately 9.5 million Jews lived in Europe, comprising 1.7% of the total European population. This number represented more than 60 percent of the world’s Jewish population at that time, estimated at 15.3 million. Accepting the standard estimation of the Jews who were killed one way or

another by the Nazis and their helpers close to 40% of the Jews were killed. It was a holocaust.

However, this holocaust does not give the Zionists the moral or the legal right to expel the native Palestinians from their country as Israel did in 1947-8 or to persecute the millions of Palestinians it occupied in 1967.

The Jewish holocaust was not the only holocaust in history as the Zionist claim. In Belarus a few days ago Lilia Ananich, submitted a draft law titled “*On the Genocide of the Belarusian People*,” a bill the Zionists and their supporters see as damaging to the memory of the Jewish Holocaust, if not outright denial of it. Can you imagine they say, the Jews were included among the Belarusian people, just like the Turkmen, Gypsies, Russians and other Soviet citizens who lived on Belarusian territory and were murdered by the Nazis?

Historian Timothy Snyder writes, “*Belarus was both the epicenter of European mass killing and the base of operations of anti-Nazi partisans who contributed to the victory of the Allies.*” According to Snyder, one in five citizens of Belarus was killed in the war. The percentage of Jews was even higher: According to Timothy Snyder, “*the Germans murdered 800,000 Jews (roughly 90% of the Jewish population) in hundreds of killing sites just outside towns. After just two years of German occupation, the once-thriving Jewish communities in Belarus were there no longer. The non-Jewish population was subjected to Nazi terror, too. Hundreds of thousands were deported to Germany as slave laborers, thousands of villages and towns were burned or destroyed, and millions were starved to death as the Germans plundered the entire region. Timothy Snyder estimates that “half of the population of Soviet Belarus was either killed or forcibly displaced during World War II: nothing of the kind can be said of any other European country.”* [iv]

“Thus, there is nothing wrong with a law that refers to the Genocide of the Belarusian People and includes the Jews among them. It would be better if the law would mention that among the victims were 800,000 Jews 90% of the Jewish population of Belarus. That 83% of the victims were gypsies and so on. According to the Soviet census of 1939, 3,362 Roma lived in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). Christian Gerlach estimates that the Germans murdered no fewer than 3,000 Roma in occupied Belarus. It is possible, however, that the actual number of victims was even higher.” [v]

This of course would not change the Zionist attack on the law because it is essential for the Zionists to claim that only the Jews have suffered from a holocaust. Claiming that only the Jews suffered from a holocaust is not only good business it also useful politically to justify the crimes against the Palestinians.

One of the problems with the Zionists is that by insisting that only Jews have suffered from a holocaust they deny that other people have suffered from holocausts. They are professional holocausts deniers of other people.

The genocide of the Native Americans by settler colonialists

This week in the news we can find information about the genocide of the Native Americans in California by the settler colonialists the brothers of the Zionist settler colonialists.

The Native Americans of what is today the state of California, like many indigenous people around the world, expe-

rienced a sharp population decline following contact with the European Colonialist settlers from different countries. Researchers have estimated the Indian population of California before the arrival of the Spanish missions in 1769 as high as 700,000 (later American ethnographers estimated that the Indian population in the latter part of the 19th century was only over 300,000). The Indian population declined to about 100,000 in 1849, during the Gold Rush to about 30,000 in 1870, and 15,000 to 25,000 during the decade 1890-1900. According to the anthropologist Henry F. Dobyns approximately 18 million Native Americans lived in North America before the arrival of the settler colonialists [vi]. In 1800, only about 600,000 Indigenous people remained in the United States [vii].

The main cause of the decline of the indigenous population in California, as in the rest of the United States, is generally considered to have been the disease that the Europeans infected them with. Needless to say, the Native Americans did not get any medical care. However, many other Native Americans were killed by an organized genocide.

"In 1848, California became the property of the United States as one of the spoils of the Mexican-American War. Then, in 1850, it became a state. For the state and federal government, it was imperative both to make room for new settlers and to lay claim to gold on traditional tribal lands. And settlers themselves—motivated by bigotry and fear of Native peoples—were intent on removing the approximately 150,000 Native Americans who remained" [viii]

"... They were assisted by the government, which considered the so-called "Indian Problem" to be one of the biggest threats to its sovereignty. The legal basis for enslaving California's native people was effectively enshrined into law at the first session of the state legislature, where officials gave white settlers the right to take custody of Native American children. The law also gave white people the right to arrest Native people for minor offenses like loitering or possessing alcohol and made it possible for whites to put Native Americans convicted of crimes to work to pay off the fines they incurred. The law was widely abused and ultimately led to the enslavement of tens of thousands of Native Americans in the name of their "protection." [ix]

Peter Hardeman Burnett, the state's first governor stated: *"That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct must be expected,"* he told legislators in the second state of the state address in 1851. *"While we cannot anticipate this result but with painful regret, the inevitable destiny of the race is beyond the power or wisdom of man to avert."* [x]

He was very active in the genocide of the Indians. The state of California, with the help of the U.S. Army, stored a massive arsenal. These weapons were then given to local militias, who were paid for killing native people. State militia's raided tribal outposts, shooting and sometimes scalping Native Americans. Soon, local settlers began to do the killing themselves. Local governments put bounties on Native American heads and paid settlers for stealing the horses of the people they murdered." [xi]

The historians Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn in their work from 1990 wrote that the part played by genocide in the destruction and crippling of so many societies spread over a vast area and colonized by settlers of many different nationalities and social systems is complex and still poorly understood. The opinion of many experts is that genocide was one of five major factors that undermined

Indian civilizations; the others were disease, warfare, geographic removals and relocations, and the destruction of traditional ways of life. [xii]

Thus, the Zionist historians who claim that the Jewish holocaust was unique mystify the real reasons for the holocausts. In the site of the Jewish agency we find: *"The Nazis (Hitler and his cabal of true-believers) were fervently convinced that they were locked in a cosmic battle with the forces of Jewish evil for control over the whole world. They were convinced that Jews were the source of all of the evil in the world and that evil would exist as long as the Jew remained in the world. They knew that their struggle (Mein Kampf) was the battle to the death against the multi-faced Jewish enemy. Only one side could emerge victoriously; the other would be eliminated And only the Jew was seen in these terms; only the Jew was the total embodiment of evil; only the Jew was without any place in the world of the future, and only the Jew was to be totally murdered to the very last one. The final solution (die enclosing) applied to Jews and to Jews alone and it meant the death of every Jew. This is the uniqueness of the Jew within the Holocaust."* [xiii]

Really? And what about Peter Hardenman Burnett, California first governor who stated: *"That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct must be expected."*

In modern times holocausts are rooted in the capitalist mode of production and genocides will continue until we destroy the imperialist system and replace it with socialism. The growing inter conflict between Western imperialism plus Japan on one hand and Russian and Chinese imperialism on the other is a real threat to the existence of the human race and unless we will destroy the imperialist states and replace them with socialism the holocausts of the past will be seen as a children's game.

Down with the imperialist states!

For humanity to live, imperialism must die!

Endnotes:

[i] <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/27/threshold-crossed/israeli-authorities-and-crimes-apartheid-and-persecution>

[ii] <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/15/thousands-join-london-march-in-solidarity-with-palestine>

[iii] <https://www.btselem.org/>

[iv] <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/resistance-during-holocaust/holocaust-belarus>

[v] <https://www.romarchive.eu/en/voices-of-the-victims/belarus-belarus/>

[vi] Henry F. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemisphere Estimate~" Current Anthropology 7:415

[vii] Russell Thornton, American Indian Holocaust, and Survival: A Population History since 1492, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987)

[viii] <https://www.history.com/news/californias-little-known-genocide>

[ix] Ibid

[x] Ibid

[xi] Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies (New Haven, 1990) P 176.

[xii] <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/20/indigenous-group-seek-justice-for-california-gold-rush-massacre>

[xiii] <https://archive.jewishagency.org/meanings/content/24039>

End of imperialist unity around Covid-19?

By Damian Quevedo and Juan Giglio, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 22 January 2022

The abandonment, by Boris Johnson, of the policy that characterized the entire world bourgeoisie for two years, reflects a major break in the difficult and fragile unity that the capitalists had created around the counterrevolutionary offensive, using the Covid, the restrictions and business of Big Pharma.

This “swerve”, by the British Prime Minister, may have more than one cause. On the one hand, the need to get out of the political crisis that his government is going through and, in particular, himself, as a result of the public commotion that the news of his participation in a clandestine party in full confinement will continue. The government crisis, which encompasses the whole of British institutions, is one of the greatest that the regime has experienced.

The number of deputies weary of Johnson has grown in recent hours, but the question was how to organize his overthrow, and what the precise moment should be. ASAP? After the control session in the House of Commons... when Sue Gray, the senior official who investigates banned parties, finally publishes her report?

The popular anguish over what happened in Downing Street, in the light of the mass mailing of protest letters from voters to their MPs, suggests that Johnson no longer has a reasonable political way out. Whoever was the ideologue of Brexit, who ended up leaving the Government through the back door, has started his particular vendetta against Johnson and ensures that he has material to demonstrate that the prime minister has lied to Parliament about his knowledge of the parties during the pandemic. [one]

Although it is likely that this is one of the causes that moved Johnson to abandon the main guiding line that his government had agreed with the rest of the capitalists, that fact is not enough to cause such a rupture. It is possible and logical to think that there are other causes, since, although the case of England is the most important, it is not the only country that is abandoning these tactics, as is the case, among others, in the Czech Republic, Spain and the Netherlands. too.

It is that this type of policy is always unpopular, provoking all kinds of protest actions, which tend to be maintained and spread. Let the government of Bolivia say so, which after proposing the imposition of the “sanitary

pass”, had to “go back in flip flops”, due to the tremendous mobilization that was launched, especially generated within the bases of the party of government, the MOST!

This is also witnessed by the regime of Martinique and Granada - French colonies - which suffered an unprecedented general strike that pushed back the policy contrary to the freedoms of the Gallic Prime Minister Macron, who is, in short, the highest authority in that region! Something similar happened in Kazakhstan, since one of the demands of the workers in struggle, who rebelled against the dictatorship, was to end the “sanitary”

The stock markets, which have a special “sensitivity” to this type of phenomenon, warned about it. It is no coincidence that the shares of the pharmaceutical companies Biontech and Pfizer have fallen on Wall Street, a symptom of the exhaustion of what seemed to be a great “goose that lays the golden eggs”! Johnson’s turnaround may also respond to this movement of the markets, which try to rearrange themselves so as not to lose.

Meanwhile, the provocations between the United States and Russia are taking place around the Ukraine, pushing, in fact, a direct confrontation between the two powers. Military movements express that, for the imperialist powers, the dilemma of which fractions of capital are imposed at critical junctures like this, cannot be resolved in any other way than by force, that is, through war.

For the socialists, any capitalist “reset” maneuver must be fought, since it inevitably pushes towards environmental destruction and the deepening of the misery of the majority. Those of us who claim the socialist perspective must, in this sense, denounce both the war actions and the false health policies, which from our current we call “Covid Counterrevolution”.

The most progressive policy for the current circumstances is to wave, with more force than ever, the banners of the defeat of Capitalism and the need to replace it with the government of the working class and the people, which intends to build Socialism, based on its democratic decision-making bodies. For that, the consistent revolutionaries and revolutionaries must set up the Revolutionary General Staff, at the national and international level.

[1] El País, España 01/17/2022

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China's Demographic Development and the Zero COVID Policy

The latest official reports about China's birth and death rates destroy the reactionary conception of the Lockdown Left

An Article with 4 Tables by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, 18 January 2022

The RCIT and other socialists have repeatedly pointed to the illusionary as well as reactionary nature of the so-called Zero COVID policy. This strategy claims that the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic could be fought by a draconic Lockdown policy of long quarantines for the whole population "until the virus is eliminated". China has been a favorite model of the advocates of this policy among which, shamefully, are many self-proclaimed "socialist" forces.

Our tendency has denounced the Zero COVID policy from the very beginning. It is one of the most reactionary strategies put forward by the ruling class since it launched a dystopian counterrevolutionary offensive in early 2020. Since that time, capitalist governments all over the world imposed a draconic regime of lockdowns and state of emergencies, later to be added by mass or even compulsory vaccination.¹

The RCIT characterizes this policy as *COVID Counterrevolution* which is driven not by health concerns but rather by political and economic interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. In fact, the ruling class utilizes the pandemic as a pretext for drastically expanding the powers of army and police, abolishing fundamental democratic rights, and creating gigantic business opportunities for Big Pharma, Big Tech and the military-industrial complex. We refer interested readers to the extensive literature of our tendency which has published more than 125 documents on this issue – including a book and a number of pamphlets.²

China: The pioneer country of the COVID Counterrevolution

As already mentioned, advocates of the Zero COVID policy often refer to China as a model to demonstrate the superiority of this approach. We have always denounced the COVID policy of the Stalinist-capitalist regime in Beijing because it has deployed extremely totalitarian methods. In addition to extreme and long lockdowns for the whole population in large cities or whole regions, the regime also utilized the pandemic as a pretext to build-up a gigantic surveillance apparatus. All people are obligated to use Corona apps on their smart phones without which they can not enter public transport, shops, administrative buildings, etc. We have drawn attention to his development from very early on and characterized China as "the most successful regime in making "Big Brother" omnipresent".³ Meanwhile this is a widely acknowledged fact.⁴

At this point, we do not want to repeat our political critique of the Zero COVID policy. We rather will focus on its consequences for public health in China. For this purpose, we use the latest official data from the country's statistical agencies. As we have explained in the past, official figures of COVID deaths are not a very useful method to calculate the consequences of the pandemic policy. This is because, first, different countries use different methods to count COVID death; second, in many cases one and the

same country has changed its method of calculation several times. And, third, such a method does not take into account the direct or indirect consequences of the pandemic policy for public health. For these reasons, we consider the calculation of the total number of deaths respectively of the demographic development as a whole as a superior method of analysis.

Increasing death rate and a collapse of the birth rate

On 17 January, China's National Bureau of Statistics released its latest report on the demographic development in that country. According to these figures, "China's population growth rate sank to another record low in 2021 ... the lowest natural growth rate since 1960."⁵ This development is the result both of a dramatic decline of birth rate as well as a massive rise of death rate. Let us show this in more detail.

China's mortality rate (in deaths per 1,000 inhabitants) oscillated between 7.04 and 7.09 in the years 2016-2020. However, last year this figure jumped to 7.18 – hardly a "natural" development. (See Table 1)

We see an even worse development when it come to China's birth rate. Between the years 2015 and 2019, this figure oscillated between 1.04 and 1.35 in. However, in 2020 the birth rate slumped to 0.852. And according to the latest report of the National Bureau of Statistics, China's birth rate experienced another dramatic decline in 2021. While 14.65 million babies were born in 2019 and some 12 million in 2020, this figure was only 10.62 in 2021. (See Table 2).

Hence, if we take the birth rate of 2019 – the year before the pandemic – as a starting point, we see that this rate had declined by 18.2% in 2020 and by 27.8% in 2021. This is a gigantic drop by any standards!

Hubei: the center of the pandemic and the draconic Lockdown policy

The figures become even more telling if we look at the province of Hubei which has a population of nearly 58 million people. This province – with Wuhan as its capital – has been particularly dramatically affected by the draconic Lockdown policy of the Stalinist-capitalist regime. In Table 3 we can see that the death rate declined by -8.3% in 2019-2020. At the same time, the birth rate nosedived in that year by 27.1%! (See Table 4)

Other provinces, which were also affected by the draconic Lockdown policy saw similar dramatic developments. The *South China Morning Post* reports: "Authorities in Anhui province, one of China's major sources of migrant workers, declared that the local fertility rate had "fallen off a cliff", and they were expecting a year-on-year drop of 17.8 per cent in 2021 in an official document from September. Henan, the country's third-most-populous province, showed an 18.8 per cent decline in the number of newborns during the first nine months of last year, according to the official statistics pertaining to disease screenings among newborns."¹⁰

Henan already experienced a dramatic decline of its birth rate in 2020 when *“its number of newborns fell to 920,000 in 2020 – a 23.3 per cent decline from 2019 – as the provincial birth rate dropped to 9.24 births per 1,000 people.”*¹¹

A society facing a bleak future

Unsurprisingly, Chinese authorities and experts are highly worried about this development. Zhang Zhiwei, chief economist at Pinpoint Asset Management, commented: *“The most shocking part of the data release today is that the natural growth of the population has dropped to 0.34 per thousand, the first time below 1.0 since data become available. (...) The demographic challenge is well known, but the speed of population ageing is clearly faster than expected.”*¹²

Of course, the authorities try to downplay the dramatic character of this development. However, even they can not hide the fact that it is related to the consequences of the pandemic resp. the official policy. *“Ning Jizhe, head of the NBS, said at Monday’s press conference that the decline of newborns was mainly caused by the continued decrease in the number of women of childbearing age, as 2021 saw about 5 million fewer women of childbearing age (between 15 and 49) than in the previous year. Other factors included delaying marriage and births due to the intentions of couples and the pandemic, Ning said.”*¹³

It is true, of course, that China has a negative long-term demographic development with an aging population and low birth rates. However, as we demonstrated above, such long-term development can not explain that dramatic drop of babies born in 2020 and 2021.

There can be no doubt that such a decline is the result of the social and public health conditions caused by the draconic Lockdown policy as well as by the massive increase in social control and surveillance by the Stalinist-capitalist regime. Such conditions create a depressive environment and provoke a pessimistic outlook. Under such conditions, young adults are less and less motivated to build a family. This is also reflected in the massive decline of the number of weddings. According to official figures, 5.8 million couples married in the first nine months of 2021, 17.5% less than those in the same period of 2019.¹⁴

In summary, we see that the Zero COVID policy has extremely negative consequences for China’s society. Mortality is increasing despite all the pandemic measures. Even if one would say that less old people did die than without such measures, one can not deny that the number of babies born has extremely declined. In other words, China is a society which is increasingly depressed and pessimistic in its outlook for the future. This is the result of the conditions created by the draconic Lockdown and surveillance policy. Who wants to live in a society where people are regularly put under curfew and surveilled day-by-day where they move, what they do and whom they meet?!

It is an outrageous scandal that a number of self-proclaimed socialist organizations praise China as a model for combatting the pandemic. However, as we see such a policy could not halt an increase of the death rate but, at the same time, has devastating long-term effects for the future as it results in a dramatic decline of the birth rate. We repeat: the policy of Lockdowns, of “Health Pass” and of compulsory vaccination is a thoroughly reactionary and anti-human.

Footnotes

1 For our critique of the ZeroCOVID campaign see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: COVID-19: Zero Socialism in the “ZeroCOVID” campaign. Following the model of China and Australia, some British Stalinists and “Trotskyists” call for a “total and indefinite lockdown”, 22 December 2020, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/covid-19-zero-socialism-in-the-zero-covid-campaign/>; “ZeroCOVID” Left Calls for the Authoritarian State – A Practical Example. A revealing article shows that the Lockdown Left calls for the expansion of the police and surveillance state, 8 April 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/zercovid-left-calls-for-the-authoritarian-state-a-practical-example/>

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Table 1. Mortality Rate in China from 2015 to 2021 ⁶

in deaths per 1,000 inhabitants

2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
7.07	7.04	7.06	7.08	7.09	7.07	7.18

Table 2. Birth Rate in China from 2015 to 2020 ⁷

2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
1.199	1.357	1.264	1.086	1.041	0.852	0.752

Table 3. Death Rate in Hubei from 2016 to 2020 ⁸

2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
0.697	0.701	0.700	0.708	0.767
Increase 2019-2020: +8.3%				

Table 4. Birth Rate in Hubei from 2016 to 2020 ⁹

2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
1.204	1.260	1.154	1.135	0.828
Decrease 2019-2020: -27.1%				

China's Character and Consequences for Revolutionary Politics

A Debate on Capitalism in China between Esteban Mercatante and Michael Pröbsting

The class character of China and its role in global politics is one of the crucial issues in the current period. Recently, there has been an exchange on this issue between Esteban Mercatante and Michael Pröbsting.

Esteban Mercatante is an economist and a member of the Editorial Board of *"Ideas de Izquierda"*. This is the theoretical publication of the *Socialist Workers Party (PTS)* in Argentina – the leading force within the Trotskyist alliance FITu which got 1,5 million votes and 4 deputies at the recent parliamentary elections. Michael Pröbsting is the International Secretary of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)*. Both comrades have written several books as well as essays on China.

The exchange between the two partly took initially place on the Marxmail list (it can be read [here](#)), and later in the form of a direct dialogue. The PTS translated and republished this direct exchange on its website in the section *"Ideas de Izquierda"*. It can be read here: <https://www.laizquierdadiario.com/El-caracter-de-China-y-sus-consecuencias-para-la-politica-revolucionaria>. Meanwhile the text has also been translated and published in Portuguese language on the website of the Brazilian comrades of the PTS (<http://www.esquerdadiario.com.br/O-carater-da-China-e-suas-consecuencias-para-a-politica-revolucionaria>).

We also republish this exchange in [English](#) as well as in [Spanish](#) and [Portuguese](#) language. (See below)

You can read several contributions of Esteban Mercatante on China in Spanish (<https://www.laizquierdadiario.com/Esteban-Mercatante>) as well as in English (see e.g. <https://www.leftvoice.org/china-and-imperialism-elements-of-the-debate/> and <https://www.leftvoice.org/a-tour-of-views-on-chinas-relationship-to-imperialism/>). His latest book is *"El imperialismo en tiempos de desorden mundial."* (<https://www.laizquierdadiario.com/El-imperialismo-en-tiempos-de-desorden-mundial>)

Michael Pröbsting has published a book on *"Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry"* which can be read in English (<https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>) as well as in several other languages, including Spanish (<https://www.thecommunists.net/home/espa%C3%B1ol/libro-anti-imperialismo-en-la-era-de-la-rivalidad-de-las-grandes-potencias>). Other pamphlets on this issue can be read here: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

Letter from Michael Pröbsting

Esteban,

In your last contribution on the list, you did write: *"The second issue is if China is, or is about to become, the leading imperialist power. I believe that this cannot be accomplished without a great confrontation and defeat of US."* I fully agree and we did say so in our works on this issue.

But the point is that what is the class character of China

today, i.e. before such a decisive confrontation? I mean if we agree that China has become capitalist some time ago (in contrast to let us say the USSR before 1991), how could it possibly challenge the U.S. domination *without* being already an imperialist power?

Would it not be an absurd analysis to believe that there exist established imperialist powers (like Germany, France, UK, Japan) which are not strong enough to challenge the U.S. but that those power which actually challenge the U.S. hegemony (and which are clearly capitalist), that these powers are not imperialist? That seems to me an illogical position from a Marx point of view.

So, I think we should state clearly that China has already become an imperialist power but that it is not the dominant power. In fact, the current historic period is characterized by the situation that there is not a single power which dominates the world order. The U.S. is still the strongest but no longer the absolute hegemon and it is declining.

Concerning the issues of consequences for revolutionary tactics. There seems to me a certain inner contradiction in your argument. First, you write: *"On the question of a confrontation between China and US o UE imperialism, I do not think that my conceptualization should lead to side with China."* But then you say: *"I wouldn't say in advance that the right position to take is defeatism on both sides. My opinion is that it will depend on the nature of the conflagration."* So, it seems to me that indeed your analysis opens the road to siding with China.

But let us discuss this more concretely. Under which conditions could one possibly side with China? I mean the conflict between the U.S. and China is not an unknown territory. There could be a conflict around Taiwan when Beijing tries to conquer it and Washington rally to its "defense". There could be conflict starting from a confrontation in the South China Sea when Beijing clashes with one of its neighbors (i.e. Vietnam, the Philippines) and, again, the U.S. side with the latter. There could be conflict with Japan. There could be a clash with India. And there could be a direct confrontation starting from an "incident" between the naval forces of both sides in the South China Sea or in the Pacific. Maybe I forgot one other scenario, but these are, in my opinion, the realistic possible scenario of confrontation.

So, the question is in which of these possible scenarios should, in your opinion, socialists take the side of China? In my opinion in none.

You might say why is this such an important issue? Well, because as a revolutionary organization we are obliged to give the vanguard an orientation, to prepare it for the coming confrontations and wars. Once, a war starts, it is much more difficult to prepare the vanguard. There will be panic – "this might result in World War III"; there will be the fog of war – both sides will present their version of events which led to war. Who is right? You can not find this out in such a situation of bombing, shooting and media frenzy.

No, comrade, if we- as Trotskyists – do not educate the vanguard *already now* about the character of the confronta-

tion between the Great Powers, we will have a situation of utter confusion in the minds of the vanguard once the shooting starts.

Furthermore, it is crucial to give the vanguard an orientation already today when there are all the political, diplomatic, trade, etc. conflicts going on between the Great Powers.

In short, we must provide clarity in analysis and program and not an approach of "we will see".

I leave it with this, and I would be glad to hear your response on my thoughts.

* * * * *

Letter from Esteban Mercatante

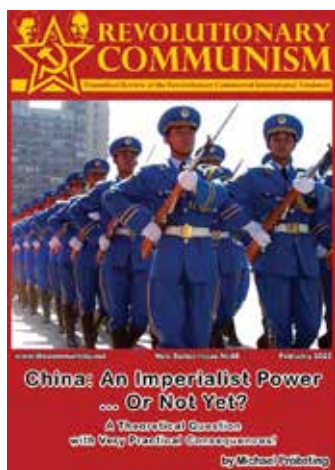
Michael,

the issues you raise are important. I think we can agree on the complexities involved in accounting for China, which make black and white definitions of little use. I think the wide divergences between authors and currents within the broad spectrum of Marxist authors is largely a result of this complexity. We in the FT have been studying and exchanging on the question for quite some time, as you may see in the articles we have been publishing in our international network of La Izquierda Diario, not only of my authorship.

To begin with, I would like to re-emphasize the importance of theorizing transitional forms. You pointed out the question of the leap from quantity to quality, but part of that process is the development of a whole series of transitions until that qualitative change takes place. The notion of imperialism under construction applied to China seeks to account for a transition, pointing to a direction (towards consolidating itself as imperialism) but without considering it inevitable that it will advance towards it.

You point out, "Would it not be an absurd analysis to believe that there exist established imperialist powers (like

Germany, France, UK, Japan) which are not strong enough to challenge the U.S. but that those power which actually challenge the U.S. hegemony (and which are clearly capitalist), that these powers are not imperialist?". In my articles I also point out the fact that, excluding the U.S., China already shows a higher level than the rest of the powers, taking as a whole a series of dimensions (if we were to take them separately, China would be ahead in some, and behind in others). However, and this does not seem minor to me, China's superiority is accompanied by a situation in which the balance between the set of dimensions configures a less "coherent" socioeconomic formation. What do I mean by this? I mean that today we still have many "Chinas" within China; a southeast where the most advanced of the world's industry and technology is located, where the companies that compete head to head with US, German or Japanese firms to dominate some of the cutting-edge technologies are formed; while in the rest of the country the situation is much more unequal. This has very serious effects: to make a historical parallel, while Great Britain as the main imperialist power was confronted for world domination by other powers that were comfortably surpassing it in productivity, such as the USA and Germany, today the USA is challenged by a country whose aggregate productivity is one third that of the USA. Although today neither Germany, nor Japan, nor any other country has China's capabilities to challenge the US, neither do they exhibit such a vulnerability. Let us add the fact, which in one point is "symbolic" but also of no lesser importance, that we are talking about a state that intends to dispute world domination while at the same time maintaining claims of sovereignty over Taiwan against the support of U.S. imperialism received by the pro-independence government of Taipei. You raise, with some reason, that any Chinese advance on Taiwan could be part of a conflict between powers. But the fact that for China this is a sine qua non condition for achieving national integrity is yet another sign of the contradictory nature of its status.



Publications of the RCIT

China: An Imperialist Power ... Or Not Yet?

*Continuing the Debate with Esteban Mercatante and the PTS/FT
on China's class character and consequences for the revolutionary strategy*

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2022

Introduction * I. The importance of the dialectical method * II. A summary of our characterization of China as an imperialist Great Power * III. On China's unevenness and vulnerability * IV. The Taiwan question in its historical and geostrategic context * V. Is China a Great Power without imperialist features? * VI. Can China's development as an imperialist power be aborted? * VII. China, imperialist wars, and revolutionary tactics * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

On the other hand, and this is not a minor issue, after World War II many of the imperialist powers on both warring sides reconstructed their status as powers as part of a system of alliances that led them to recognize a subordinate position with respect to the United States. Today China, which since the Nixon voyage maintained for decades a privileged relationship with the US, finds itself outside of that alliance system, and at odds with it, beyond China's place in global governance institutions such as the IMF or the World Bank, where it cooperates with the interests of global capital.

I emphasize the category of imperialism in the making to point out that, as other scholars of China observe, China is at an early stage of its imperialist deployment. Let us agree that China so far did not show itself as an occupying force outside its territory (although within its territory it responds harshly to any claims of oppressed nationalities), and that the consolidation of its ascendancy over other nations, especially beyond its borders, is supported by economic means such as investments through the BRI, bilateral credits, etc. It has no network of military bases abroad, and most of its military force is devoted to border conflicts. Back, it is true that for many imperialist powers some of these things don't happen either; but through NATO even the weaker EU military powers actively intervene in dependent and semi-colonial countries much more than China does. I believe that we are still observing the transformation of the Chinese state into an imperialist one -crossed by numerous internal contradictions that could abort this transformation, as I point out in the articles- and that it would not be correct to take it as a con-

summated process. In the debates of the early twentieth century, the characterization of the powers as imperialist left no room for doubt about the warlike and rapacious character that these states were openly deploying and whose capacities to deploy were not "under construction" but fully deployed.

That said, I see this as a highly fluid and rapidly changing situation. Fifteen or twenty years ago dependent features prevailed in a China in which capitalist restoration was also just consolidating. Ten years ago, or even less, I was inclined to consider it a dependent formation with some imperialist features, and today we are discussing how much it has consolidated as imperialism or imperialism under construction.

Regarding the war scenarios, although the possible conflicts could be the ones you point out, I believe that the type of war in question requires considering more elements such as the type of alliances that are formed. I agree in warning against the chauvinist tendencies and the preparations of the ruling classes, both in China and the U.S., to present any clash as a "defense", to present any clash as a "defense of the nation against external aggression", in the first case, or a "defense of democracy" in the second, as they showed weeks ago with the clownish conference for democracy in which Taipei was one of the great guests of the US. But, along with this warning, and aware that a conflagration is likely to occur in which the correct position is to pronounce the defeat of both sides, I believe that this ultimately cannot be determined a priori, but by a "concrete analysis of the concrete situation".

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 Secretariat

Russia's Military Intervention in Kazakhstan: An Imperialist Power Takes Action

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 7 January 2022

The popular uprising in Kazakhstan against the capitalist authoritarian regime – in power since 1991 – is a key event of the current world situation. The RCIT and all progressive forces support the workers and popular masses fighting for democracy and social justice!¹

This uprising has shocked Russia's Putin regime. It quickly decided to send 3,000 troops as it considers this mass struggle as a direct threat. These troops are decisive for the capitalist authoritarian regime of Kassym-Jomart Tokayev to keep in power.

On 5th January, the Kazakh masses had effectively taken over Almaty, the country's largest city, including its airport. In response, the regime sent its most vicious crack forces – it is said that they have included Russian special forces² – in order to re-conquer the city. As a result, dozens of protestors have been killed.

There is no doubt that Russia is determined to smash the uprising as soon as possible. As one of the world's imperialist Great Powers, Russia acts as the *Gendarme of Eurasia*. What are the concrete reasons for Moscow's determination to liquidate the Kazakh Revolution?

Kazakhstan as a quintessential bridge between Europe and Asia

First, Kazakhstan is not only a neighboring country but also the politically and economically most important state in Central Asia. It is key to the Russia-dominated *Eurasian Economic Union*. As an observer noted, "without Kazakhstan's economy, there is no Eurasian Economic Union".³

Furthermore, Russian monopolies have important foreign investments in Kazakhstan. Officially, Russian monopolies are the fourth-largest investor in this country.

However, its real share is certainly substantially higher given the fact that Netherlands – a major destination of Russian offshore investment – is suspiciously by far the largest foreign investor (29.1% in 2017).⁴

In addition, Kazakhstan is home of the *Baikonur Cosmodrome* – the strategically crucial spaceport, which is leased to Moscow and where all crewed Russian spaceflights are launched to this day.

Finally, Moscow fears that the uprising could not only overthrow its allied regime in Nur-Sultan but also threaten the political stability in other Central Asian countries as well as in Russia itself. The Kremlin is aware that – according to a decent Levada Center poll, President Putin's electoral rating – the number of Russians ready to vote for his re-election – is at 32%, a record low.⁵ If the workers and poor in Russia see how an authoritarian regime in a neighboring country can be toppled by a popular uprising, they might turn so similar methods soon!

Andrei Kortunov, head of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), a Kremlin-linked think tank, points out that for all these reasons, "Russia had any choice but to intervene." Pointing to a 2020 revolution in Kazakhstan's Central Asian neighbor Kyrgyzstan, and last year's Taliban takeover in Afghanistan, he explains: "Given how violent the unrest was and how unstable the region is, this seems like it was the only option."⁶

China supports Russia's military intervention

China, another imperialist Great Power, has also large investments in Kazakhstan. Furthermore, the country plays a key role both for China's energy import (e.g. the so-called *China-Central Asia Gas Pipeline*) as well as for Bei-

Table 1. World Nuclear Forces, 2020¹³

Country	Deployed Warheads	Other Warheads	Total Inventory
USA	1,800	3,750	5,550
Russia	1,625	4,630	6,255
UK	120	105	225
France	280	10	290
China	–	350	350

Table 2. The World's 10 Top Exporters of Weapons, 2016-20¹⁴

Rank	Exporter	Global Share (%)
1	U.S.	37%
2	Russia	20%
3	France	8.2%
4	Germany	5.5%
5	China	5.2%

jing's global project – the so-called *Belt & Road Initiative*.⁷

In addition, China is keen to see the pacification of the mass protests in the neighboring country as there are strong ethnic bonds between the Kazakh people and China's Xinjiang region. This is a border province with a Uyghur-majority population – a Muslim people which has been brutally suppressed by Beijing since decades.⁸ Hence, Beijing is worried that the mass unrest could instigate the Muslim Uyghur people. According to the *Global Times* – the English-language mouthpiece of the Stalinist-capitalist regime – “given the short distance between Almaty and China's Xinjiang region, China will increase its border controls.”⁹

Furthermore, China – the main rival of U.S. imperialism – has been allied with Russia since a number of years. Both Moscow as well as Beijing fear that the overthrow of its allied regime in Kazakhstan could result in the decline of their influence in Central Asia – something which the U.S. and the European Union might try to exploit.

It is therefore only logical that supporters of Putin and Xi claim that the Kazakh uprising is the result of “foreign conspirators” in the service of Washington. Pepe Escobar, a notorious journalist and harbinger of Russian and Chinese imperialism, is already talking about “Kazakhstan's color revolution” and “Maidan in Almaty”.¹⁰ Likewise, Su Chang, a research fellow at the Institute of Russian, Eastern European and Central Asian Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, is quoted in the *Global Times*: “Who would benefit most from the riots? Probably the US and the West. Kazakhstan shares borders with both China and Russia, and the Biden administration's strategic purpose is to contain China and Russia. When Kazakhstan falls into chaos, the stability of the whole region would be affected.”¹¹

Of course, in a world characterized by an accelerating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers (U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan), every power tries to exploit the problems of their rivals. Hence, Western media expressed their sympathy for the mass protests in Hong Kong while “*Russia Today*” gives much space to the *Yellow West*s in France and the Anti-COVID protests in Western Europe.

However, it is utter nonsense to claim that all these mass movements have been provoked or even led by “foreign agents”. No, all these mass struggles had and have their origins in the class contradictions in their respective countries and the determination of the masses to improve their living conditions.

For all these reasons, it is hardly surprising that the Stalinist-capitalist regime in Beijing supports Russia's military intervention in Kazakhstan.

Russia as an imperialist Great Power

The RCIT has demonstrated in several studies that Russia is an imperialist Great Power.¹² Its economy can not rival with that of the U.S. or China. Still, it is the world's eleventh-largest by nominal GDP, and the sixth-largest by PPP. At the same time, it has the largest number of nuclear warheads – together with the U.S. – and is the world's second-largest arms exporter. (See Appendix)

As a result, Russia plays a crucial role in world politics as one of the five veto powers in the United Nations. While Russia plays less a global role – compared to the U.S. or China – it wields important influence in the Middle East

(including in Syria, where its Air Force supports the Assad tyranny against a popular uprising, as well as in Libya where it backs General Haftar), in North, East and Central Africa (e.g. it is an important supporter of the military regime in Sudan), in Europe as well as in Asia (e.g. it is a key backer of the military regime in Burma-Myanmar).

In summary, Moscow's military intervention in Kazakhstan is a practical example that Russia is an imperialist power which acts as the *Gendarme of Eurasia*. It is the foremost duty of socialists – in Russia as well as internationally – to oppose this reactionary intervention!

The RCIT emphasizes once more its unconditional solidarity with the popular uprising of the workers and poor in Kazakhstan. We support the struggle of the Kazakh people against Russian imperialism and call for the expulsion of the invaders! A successful revolution will establish a workers and popular government based on councils and militias which will make the country free of domination by any imperialist power!

Footnotes

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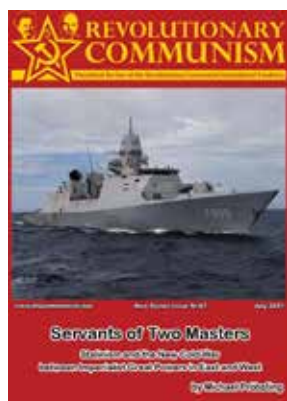
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

Servants of Two Masters

Stalinism and the New Cold War

between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West

by Michael Pröbsting

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

Introduction * The New Inter-Imperialist Cold War * A View on the Military Strength of the Great Powers * The Main Point of both Statements: Siding with Chinese and Russian Imperialism * Stalinist Fantasies Shredded in the Light of Reality: The Rise of Chinese Imperialism * The KKE's "criticism" and its fraternal bonds with the Chinese CP * Beside the Servants of Assad the Butcher - Who Signed the KKE-initiated Joint Statement? * The Xi Fan Club: Signatories of the CPUSA-initiated Joint Statement * The Concept of Multilateralism and Peaceful Coexistence: A Reactionary Illusion * "Socialism in One Country": The Historical Roots of the Stalinist Concept of "Peaceful Coexistence" * Serving Two Masters: The Eastern Imperialists as well as Sectors of the Domestic Bourgeoisie * A Note on the tight-lipped "Trotskyists" (CWI, IMT, ISA) * Conclusions * Footnotes

Uprising in Kazakhstan: Putin's Patriotic "Communists"

The Stalinist KPRF of Gennady Zyuganov supports the bloody crackdown of the protests and the imperialist intervention of Russian troops

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8 January 2022

The heroic uprising of the workers and youth in Kazakhstan against the capitalist authoritarian regime as well as Russia's military intervention in order to smash it are crucial events of the global class struggle. They are therefore also an important test for self-proclaimed socialist parties. This is particularly true for such forces in Russia, Kazakhstan, and other Central Asian countries.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and its comrades in Russia supported the Kazakh Revolution from the very beginning and advocated a program for socialist revolution. Likewise, we have strongly denounced Russia's military intervention as a reactionary invasion which serves the interests of both the Tokayev dictatorship as well as Russian imperialism. At this point, we will not repeat our analysis of these events and programmatic response and refer readers to our relevant documents.¹

We strongly appreciate that not only our comrades but also several other socialist organizations in Russia and Central Asian countries support the popular uprising in the neighboring country and resolutely oppose Putin's decision to deploy thousands of troops. This is all the more remarkable given the repressive conditions of the bonapartist regimes under which socialists in these countries are forced to operate.

However, the same can not be said about the so-called "Communist Party of the Russian Federation" – the KPRF led by Gennady Zyuganov. This Stalinist party is the largest opposition force in the Duma – Russia's parliament. As the RCIT has shown in various documents, the KPRF has a long record of playing the role as a "loyal opposition" which is in regular contact with the Kremlin. It is also a staunch supporter of Russia's imperialist foreign policy. The current revolutionary crisis in Kazakhstan completely confirms our assessment of the KPRF.²

Voices from the KPRF's parallel universe: "Terrorist centers undermine Kazakhstan's state sovereignty"

At the beginning of the popular uprising in Kazakhstan, the KPRF recognized that the protests were legitimate since the country is ruled for three decades by an oligarchic capitalist regime which has suppressed most oppositional parties (including the local Communist Party with which the KPRF is affiliated). Dmitry Novikov, the Deputy Chairman of KPRF's Central Committee, compared the mass protests to the *Yellow Vests* movement in France.³

However, as a Stalinist party, it always feels uncomfortable with such mass movements where people organize themselves independently instead of acting as subservient foot soldiers of a bureaucratic apparatus. Such organic antipathy to such mass protests has transformed into outright hatred once the Kremlin had decided to smash the uprising by any means necessary. Zyuganov's KPRF immediately supported the decision to send 3,000 troops to suppress the uprising.

Furthermore, it is now propagating the counterrevolutionary narrative that the uprising would be part of a "Western conspiracy" aimed at encircling "the Russian motherland". In fact, these Stalinists have adopted the language of ultra-reactionary hatemongering with which Kazakhstan's dictator Tokayev is threatening his people.

This becomes evident from a statement adopted at a meeting of the so-called *Union of Communist Parties – Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (SKP-KPSS) which took place in Moscow on 7 January.⁴ The SKP-KPSS is an alliance of Stalinist parties from the countries of the former Soviet Union. Its chairman is Gennady Zyuganov which reflects the dominant position of the Russian KPRF. Another important component of this alliance is the *Communist Party of Belarus* – another Stalinist force which stands out for loyal support of the capitalist authoritarian regime. This party has supported dictator Alexander Lukashenko at every single presidential election in the past two decades!

The SKP-KPSS statement contains the spirit of Tokayev notorious speech on 7 January when he ordered his troops to shoot and kill protestors without warning. According to these Stalinists, Western "special services" try to "completely 'clean up' the Eurasian space". Currently, these forces are "undermining the state sovereignty of (...) Kazakhstan. Terrorist centers have been operating there for a long time, generously funded from abroad. It is they who play a key role in inciting pogrom sentiments, destabilizing the control system, and committing atrocious reprisals against law enforcement officials and military personnel."

Zyuganov repeated the same idea in a message on his Telegram channel two days before where he claimed that the Kazakh uprising is part of the West's "hybrid war on Russia", adding: "The collective West will do everything to destabilize the situation along the Russian borders."⁵

Consequently, since the popular uprising is an "imperialist conspiracy" of "terrorist centers", the Stalinists have the duty to defend "law and order". "We support those political forces of the Republic that, defending social justice, are now resolutely fighting against the looting and lawlessness that reigned in these January days."

In other words, the SKP-KPSS with the KPRF at its head sides with the killer troops of the Tokayev dictatorship who have slaughtered dozens of demonstrators, injured hundreds and arrested at least 4,266 people (according to the Interior Affairs Ministry) in the last two days!⁶ This is a powerful example of the thoroughly counterrevolutionary character of such "Communist" Parties which are – contrary to their name – bourgeois servants of the oligarchic ruling class!

Stalinists hail the Russian invasion in Kazakhstan

It is therefore only logical that the KPRF unconditionally supports Putin's decision to send several thousand Russian troops in order to liquidate the popular uprising. "The deputy from the Communist Party of the Russian Federation,

Renat Suleimanov, explained that such a deployment of the Russian peacekeeping contingent is fully justified, since in the event of destabilization of the situation in this country, the Russian Federation would be in serious danger. 'Kazakhstan and Russia have the longest border. In the post-Soviet space, it was one of the few states where attempts to carry out 'color revolutions' did not take place. So, an attempt to destabilize the situation in Kazakhstan will be no less painful for us than the situation in Ukraine', - noted the deputy, his words are quoted by the press service of the Communist Party." ⁷

Such support for Russia's military intervention against the popular uprising in Kazakhstan – which the KPRF itself had to recognize as legitimate initially! – reveals the thoroughly reactionary character of this Stalinist party. Of course, they have sympathy for workers demanding higher wages. But their utmost loyalty belongs to the imperialist fatherland and its master – President Putin. If he commands "jump", they jump. No questions asked.

However, we do not intend to suggest that Putin's patriotic "communists" are just subservient agents of the Kremlin – even if they often appear as such. True, they are strongly integrated into the capitalist state apparatus with thousands of positions in the federal, provincial, and local parliaments as well as in numerous state institutions. But in addition to these material motives – let us use such a diplomatic word – there exist also ideological reasons.

As we have pointed out somewhere else, the KPRF's Stalinist mindset makes it a fervent supporter of Great Russian chauvinism. This is why they deny the right of national self-determination for Russia's minorities. This is why they supported Russia's military intervention in Chechnya from 1999 onwards as well as in the Ukraine in 2014. They deny the imperialist character of Russia and are proud patriots and enthusiastic "defenders of the motherland".

The above-mentioned statement of the SKP–KPSS makes this unmistakably clear. Under the motto "*Soviet peoples, unite!*" (for them, the Soviet Union still exists!), the Stalinists call for the strengthening and expansion of the *Eurasian Economic Union*. The statement advocates "*to bring integration within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Union to a qualitatively new level.*"

As we have explained in more detail in other works, the *Eurasian Economic Union* (EAEU) is a key institution with which Russian imperialism consolidates its political and economic grip over a number of countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. ⁸ Essentially this is the Eastern equivalent to the imperialist European Union. Hence, the KPRF's support for the imperialist EAEU is the equivalent to the advocacy of the deepening of the integration of the imperialist EU by the German LINKE and several Western European "Communist" Parties. ⁹

We see, by their whole ideology, program, and practice, the KPRF is a thoroughly *social-imperialist* party, a loyal servant of the Great Russian fatherland. No doubt, Putin can be glad to have such patriotic "communists"!

Authentic communists have nothing to do with Putin's poodles who camouflage as "communists"! They must fight against such traitors which bring only shame on the notion of "communism". Those who are communists in words and deeds, side with the Kazakh Revolution and call for its victory against the Tokayev tyranny. Those who do not make mockery of Lenin's ideas stand for the right of

self-determination for all national minorities in Russia, including the right to form an independent state (like e.g. the Chechen people!)! ¹⁰ Likewise, they support the resistance of the Kazakh people – as well as of the Syrian, Libyan and now also Malian people – against Russian occupation troops. A communist is an anti-imperialist – and a Russian communist is an opponent of Russian imperialism!

The RCIT and its comrades in Russia look forward to collaborating with all socialists who share such a platform!

Footnotes

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Kazakh Uprising and Stalinism: Marital Row or Serious Divisions?

The revolutionary events in Kazakhstan and Russia's military intervention provoke deep divisions between various Communist Parties

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 12.01.2022

The RCIT has pointed out repeatedly that the popular uprising in Kazakhstan and Russia's military intervention are crucial events in the current world situation. These are developments which obligate all socialists and anti-imperialists to take an unambiguous stance of supporting the uprising and opposing the deployment of Putin's killer troops.¹

Such great events are also an important test for self-proclaimed socialist forces. More than this, the developments in the camp of Stalinist parties demonstrate that such events can also shatter long-standing dogmas and cause deep divisions.

As we did show in another article, a number of Stalinist party affiliated with the "Communist Party of the Russian Federation" (KPRF) led by Gennady Zyuganov have taken an openly counterrevolutionary position. While they initially showed some sympathy for the workers protests, they soon denounced the uprising as a provocation of Western "special services" and "terrorist centers" with the goal to wage a "hybrid war on Russia" and to "destabilize the Eurasian space". Consequently, this alliance of Stalinist parties stated its support for "those now resolutely fighting against the looting and lawlessness" – i.e. the regime's security forces – and welcomed the "deployment of the Russian peacekeeping contingent as fully justified".²

In a more recent statement, Zyuganov repeated such reactionary rant. He fantasizes about the "fifth column" of the West, about leaders of the uprising with "combat experience of jihadists in Syria and Iraq", etc. Unsurprisingly, he restates his party full support for Russia's military intervention. "According to the KPRF, the introduction of the CSTO peacekeepers is an imposed, but adequate and timely measure, designed to extinguish the flames of the next "color coup". The Communist Party of Russia strongly condemns the actions of international reaction and criminals. We consider completely unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of Kazakhstan and attempts to destabilize Central Asia, which carries a direct threat to our country. (...) We are confident that the CSTO peace mission will help stabilize the situation in the Central Asian region."³

It is, of course, utterly bizarre – to say the least – to read the KPRF's denunciation of "unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of Kazakhstan" and, one sentence later, its support for Putin's decision to send Russian troops!

Cuba's ruling "Communist" Party is no better. "The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Bruno Rodríguez, tweeted emphasizing that these events were instigated from abroad to subvert the internal order and destabilize the constitutional government of the country, which has remained friendly with the passage of time. The Russian Foreign Ministry also stated that it views the recent events in Kazakhstan as an externally conceived attempt to violently undermine the security and integrity of the Asian nation."⁴

Can you hear Putin's poodles barking? Clearly, these statements only demonstrate that such Stalinist parties have joined the camp of reactionary totalitarianism and

imperialist colonialism. They are on the other side of the barricade!

Confusion but also a shift to the left among other Stalinist parties

Other Stalinist parties – like the *Communist Party of Britain* – partly adapt the Islamophobic narrative of Tokayev-Putin-Zyuganov who explain the uprising with the intervention of "Islamist and jihadist movements and forces connected to Turkey's regional expansionist project."⁵ At the same time, the British Stalinists are cautious to take a clear position for or against the protests, for or against Russia's military intervention – claiming that the picture is too "murky" for the English observers. Well, if this is the case, it is hardly the fault of Kazakhstan's workers and youth but rather because London's dreadful fog has affected their minds!

However, it is worth noting that a number of other Stalinist parties take a different – and in effect much more progressive – position on the events in Kazakhstan. Here are a few examples.

The *Communist Party of Belgium (PCB-CPB)* states clearly: "We support the popular movement in its demands." While they don't mention Russia and its military intervention by name, they indicate opposition to this aggression when they say that they are "against any attempt by imperialist forces to deploy their pawns in the inter-imperialist contradictions. We warn of the danger of war which cannot be ruled out."⁶

The *Communist Party of the Workers of Spain (PCTE)* takes a similar position. "The Communist Party of Workers of Spain expresses its support and solidarity with the workers' and popular mobilizations that are taking place in Kazakhstan and condemns the murders, arrests, and attacks of all kinds that the police and military forces of the Kazakh Government are carrying out against protesters." They too oppose Russia's military intervention – in a bit more explicit way than their Belgian comrades. "We also denounce the intervention of foreign powers in the country, aimed both at repressing the protests and at trying to take advantage of them to aggravate the inter-imperialist confrontation."⁷

The *Communist Party of Sweden (SKP)* has published a statement which fully backs the uprising and calls for "All support to the militant workers of Kazakhstan!". Not only this, the SKP also explicitly – more than the two sister parties mentioned above – opposes Russia's military intervention: "Simultaneously we can see foreign involvement in Kazakhstan increase. Russia promises troops, the United States sees its chance to expand its sphere of interest and Turkey has major interests in preserving the current government. We reject any foreign interference in the country - the situation must be resolved by the working people of Kazakhstan and no one else."⁸

Finally, the statement of the Austrian sister party – the *Party of Labour (PdA)* – is particularly worth mentioning. These comrades also state: "The Party of Labour of Austria declares its solidarity with the Kazakh people and the working

class and their illegalised organisations and parties. The class struggle against the political-economic system, the national oligarchy and their imperialist allies finds our internationalist and solidary support.”

However, the PdA goes further than the other mentioned parties. “In this, the imperialist powers, including Russia, the US, China and European states, collaborated and continue to collaborate with the Kazakh regime around Nursultan Nazarbayev and his “successors” and henchmen for economic and geostrategic interests.” Consequently, the demand: “No military and/or political intervention by the imperialist powers, neither the US or the EU, nor Russia or China.”⁹

For the author of these lines, this is an amazing declaration. A few years ago, I debated at the platform of a public meeting with one of the leaders of this party about the class character of China.¹⁰ While I defended the position of the RCIT that China had become an imperialist Great Power, the PdA representative argued that China is an example of a successful socialist development and that its leading party is an authentic Communist Party.¹¹ It seems that the PdA has completely changed its position and views China and Russia now as imperialist powers.¹²

It is important to draw the consequences!

It should not go unnoticed to point to the remarkable fact that – under the pressure of events – even some Stalinist parties manage to recognize the imperialist character of China and Russia while some self-proclaimed Trotskyist organizations still find it difficult to utter the I word!¹³

Obviously, we strongly welcome the position of these Stalinist parties in solidarity with the popular uprising in Kazakhstan and against Russia’s military intervention. The question now is if these comrades are prepared to draw the consequences, i.e. if they are willing to move from a correct empirical position (concerning Kazakhstan) to a consistent and theoretically based position in the field of

world politics.

As the RCIT has shown in its works, the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers – the U.S., China, EU, Russia, and Japan – is one of the most important issues of the current historic period. It is inevitable that sooner or later, these tensions will result in military clashes between the Great Powers and, ultimately, in a new world war. The only factor which can prevent such a scenario is a successful socialist revolution of the international working class.¹⁴

Until now, most Stalinist parties have refused to take an internationalist and consistently anti-imperialist stance on this issue, i.e. opposing all imperialist Great Powers – those in the West as well as those in the East. Instead of advocating the program of *revolutionary defeatism* against all Great Powers, they opposed only the Western power or even called explicitly for supporting China and Russia.¹⁵

The next period will show if these obvious divisions between the Stalinist parties are merely a marital row or if they reflect a serious rethinking and shifting to the left of several of these forces. Revolutionaries could only rejoice the latter development! The RCIT welcomes any serious discussion with such comrades as well as joint internationalist work against all imperialist Great Powers!

Footnotes

1 The RCIT has published several documents on the popular uprising in Kazakhstan. They are all compiled at a special page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/asia/compilation-of-articles-on-the-popular-uprising-in-kazakhstan/>.

2 For the sources of all quotes as well as our analysis of the KPRF’s position see: Michael Pröbsting: The Popular Uprising in Kazakhstan and Putin’s Patriotic “Communists”. The Stalinist KPRF of Gennady Zyuganov supports the bloody crack-down of the protests and the imperialist intervention of Russian troops, 8 January 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/asia/kazakhstan-and-putin-s-patriotic-communists/>



Publications of the RCIT

The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism

A Study of Russia’s Monopolies, Capital Export and Super-Exploitation in the Light of Marxist Theory

By Michael Pröbsting, August 2021

Introduction * Another Denial of Russia’s Imperialist Character * The Methodological Failure of our Critics * Russia’s Economy: Dominated by Domestic, not Foreign, Monopolies * Capital Export and the Problem of “Round-Tripping” Foreign Direct Investments * “Phantom FDI”: No Russian Peculiarity but a Global Phenomenon * Russia’s Leading Multinational Corporations and their Foreign Investments * Imperialist Super-Exploitation via Capital Export * Imperialist Super-Exploitation via Migration * Conclusions * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

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11 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power. See on this e.g. the book by Michael Pröbsting: *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective*, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/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/reference-workentry/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/>. See many more RCIT documents at a special sub-page on the RCIT's website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

12 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in Russia and its rise to an imperialist power. See on this e.g. several pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting: *The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism. A Study of Russia's Monopolies, Capital Export and Super-Exploitation in the Light of Marxist Theory*, 10 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-peculiar-features-of-russian-imperialism/>; Rus-

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13 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: *The I Word. On the LIS/MST statement about the popular uprising in Kazakhstan and its silence about Russian imperialism*, 10 January 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/lis-mst-kazakhstan-uprising-russian-imperialism/>

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15 We have dealt with the position of Stalinism on the inter-imperialist Great Power rivalry on several occasions. Our latest pamphlet is by 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/>

The I Word

On the LIS/MST statement about the popular uprising in Kazakhstan and its silence about Russian imperialism

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 10.01.2022

Unfortunately, there are many self-proclaimed Marxist organizations who use the category “imperialism” dozens of times when they publish an article about the foreign policy of the U.S. But when it comes to other Great Powers – let us say Russia – they might denounce its foreign policy. But in such cases the category of imperialism is a ... taboo word.

The *International Socialist League* (ISL or LIS by its Spanish-language acronym) is an example for such double standards. The LIS is an international Trotskyist organization whose largest section is the MST in Argentina (which is part of the FITu alliance). However, it has also groups in various other countries including the Ukraine and Belarus.

The LIS/MST recently published a statement about the popular uprising in Kazakhstan. ¹ It expresses the organizations support for the popular uprising against the capitalist dictatorship of Tokayev and calls for international solidarity. This is of course correct and reflects the basic position of all socialists and democrats. ² Only the most reactionary forces – like various Stalinists and friends of Putin & Xi – denounce this heroic mass struggle as a “*color revolution directed by the CIA*”. ³

The meaning of Russia’s military intervention in Kazakhstan

Fortunately, the LIS/MST has nothing to do with such Putin’s poodles. Nevertheless, its statement is astonishing – not so much by what it says but rather by what it does not say. As it is of common knowledge, Russia – and other states of its CSTO alliance – has send 3,000 troops to Kazakhstan in order to save the dictatorship and to help drowning the uprising in blood. According to an official report by the Kazakhstan authorities, published on 9 January, 164 people have been killed until now. ⁴ No doubt, the real figures are much higher!

As we did explain somewhere else, Putin is determined to smash the uprising so that it does not provoke similar events in other Central Asian countries or in Russia itself. Furthermore, the military intervention allows Moscow to strengthen its domination of Kazakhstan – a political and economically crucial country since it is home of considerable oil, gas, uranium and other raw materials. In addition, it is an important transit country for a key project of Chinese imperialism – the so-called *Belt & Road Initiative*. ⁵

In other words, Russia’s military intervention in Kazakhstan is not only an important factor for the popular uprising, but it is also of regional as well as global relevance. It demonstrates the imperialist nature of the Russian Empire. This is not the first time – just remember Chechnya 1999, Georgia 2008, Ukraine 2014 or Syria 2015.

A major issue in Central Asia as well as in world politics

While the LIS/MST briefly mentions Russia’s intervention and expresses its opposition against such, they do not have the heart to characterize Russia resp. its foreign policy as imperialist.

This is highly remarkable! Just think about the U.S. sending troops in a country of Latin America (e.g. Grenada) or the Middle East (e.g. Syria). Or France sending troops to Mali. In such cases, organizations like the LIS/MST would pull no punches in denouncing such actions as imperialist. And rightly so!

But when it comes to Russia or China, the world looks entirely different. Yes, such foreign policy might be bad. But you will not find the I word – “imperialist” in any of their statements!

One could think that this is a simple oversight in this statement on Kazakhstan. However, this is simply not true. There is method in such failure. Looking to the LIS/MST documents of the two congresses it held since 2019, one gets the same picture. Neither their documents on the world situation nor those on Europe characterize Russia as imperialist. As a matter of fact, Russia is hardly mentioned at all if it is not simply forgotten. ⁶ Obviously, it difficult to see the Kremlin from the towers of Buenos Aires!

This is a major failure on a key issue of world politics! We are living in a world which is not dominated by a single imperialist power (like the U.S.) or by a united imperialist camp (the myth of Kautskyanism). No, global politics is characterized by the existence of *several* imperialist Great Powers (U.S., China, EU, Russia and Japan) which are increasingly engaged in rivalry. Without recognizing the imperialist nature of these different powers, it is impossible to find a correct orientation in world politics! ⁷

As the RCIT elaborated in a number of studies, Russia is one of these Great Powers. True, its strength is unevenly developed. While it is the world’s eleventh-largest (by nominal GDP) resp. the sixth-largest (by PPP), it is one of the leading powers in military and political terms. It has the largest number of nuclear warheads – together with the U.S. – and is the world’s second-largest arms exporter. Furthermore, Russia plays a crucial role in world politics as one of the five veto powers in the United Nations and wields important influence in the Middle East, in North, East and Central Africa, in Europe as well as in Asia. ⁸

In summary, Moscow’s military intervention in Kazakhstan is a practical example that Russia is an imperialist power which acts as the *Gendarme of Eurasia*. Ignoring this fact, refusing to name the beast by its name – imperialism – is wrong and can only result in confusion among the ranks of socialists! It would be great if the comrades of LIS/MST could overcome such weakness!

Footnotes

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2 The RCIT has published several documents on the popular uprising in Kazakhstan. They are all compiled at a special page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/compilation-of-articles-on-the-popular-uprising-in-kazakhstan/>.

3 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: The Popular Uprising in Kazakhstan and Putin's Patriotic "Communists". The Stalinist KPRF of Gennady Zyuganov supports the bloody crackdown of the protests and the imperialist intervention of Russian troops, 8 January 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/kazakhstan-and-putin-s-patriotic-communists/>

4 Jim Heintz: Kazakhstan says 164 killed in last week's protests, 9.1.2022, <https://apnews.com/article/europe-russia-kazakhstan-almaty-e8041ebce995d41050e6919ea0cdca64>

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Books of the RCIT

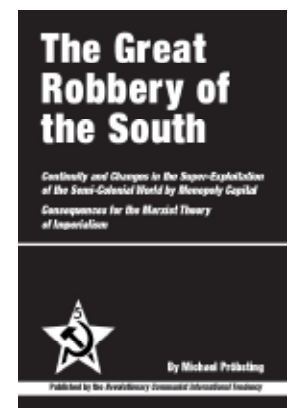
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book called *THE GREAT ROBBERY OF THE SOUTH*. The book's subtitle is: *Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism*. The book is in English-language. It has 15 chapters, 448 pages and includes 139 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who is the International Secretary of the RCIT.

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and the huge majority of mankind living in the semi-colonial world forms one of the most important elements of the imperialist world system we are living in. The Great Robbery of the South shows that the past decades have been a complete confirmation of the validity of Lenin's theory of imperialism and its programmatic conclusions. *The Great Robbery of the South* demonstrates the important changes in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Using comprehensive material (including 139 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that never before

has such a big share of the world capitalist value been produced in the South. Never before have the imperialist monopolies been so dependent on the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world. Never before has migrant labor from the semi-colonial world played such a significant role for the capitalist value production in the imperialist countries. Never before has the huge majority of the world working class lived in the South – outside of the old imperialist metropolises.

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting argues that a correct understanding of the nature of imperialism as well as of the program of permanent revolution which includes the tactics of consistent anti-imperialism is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future. Order your copy NOW! \$20 / £13 / €15 plus p+p (21\$ for US and international, £9 for UK, €10 for Europe)



What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!

