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COVID Policy: They Declare Victory ... and Retreat!

How PLO Became a Tool for Oppression of the Palestinians

The Significance of the Putin-Xi Meeting

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Pictures on the cover: A member of the Peruvian Army enforces curfew 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic in Peru (Source: Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/COVID-19_lockdowns#/media/File:Peruvian_army_K9_-_2020_coronavirus_pandemic_in_Peru.jpg)

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

How the PLO Became a Tool in the Oppression of the Palestinians

By Yossi Schwartz, ISL - the RCIT section in Israel/Occupied Palestine, 04.01.2022

The Zionist war minister Benny Gantz met with Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas at his home in Rosh Ha-Ayin on Tuesday night. It was the second meeting between the two. "Gantz emphasized the parties shared interest in deepening security coordination, maintaining regional stability, and preventing terror and violence" [i]

According to the Zionist army, there has been an increase in Palestinian resistance activity in the West Bank during 2021, but also a decrease in Israeli deaths from attacks, with two this year. In 2020 there were three Israeli deaths from attacks in the West Bank, five in 2019 and 14 in 2018. In the past year, the Zionist army arrested 2,899 Palestinians for questioning and confiscated about \$3.5 million that they say was intended for terrorism. [ii]

In the last year, there have been three times more Palestinian resistance acts than in 2018. In 2018 there were 1,881 defying acts of throwing stones on the Zionist army and settlers, this year 5,532. In 2018 2,921 defying acts included stone-throwing, Molotov cocktail throwing, shooting, and use of knives. In 2021 6,633 defying acts. On average 18 defying acts every day. Thus, the report of the Zionist army is unreliable because every repressing organization (army, police, Shabak) has a separate account of only its repressive actions. [iii]

No doubt if it was not for the collaboration of the Zionists and the PA that represses the resistance and provides Israel information on the resistance, the number of defying acts would be much higher.

An example of this collaboration was reported in Jerusalem Post this week: "Palestinian Authority security forces have foiled two attempts by Palestinians to set fire to Joseph's Tomb in Nablus, a PA security official confirmed on Tuesday. The PA has taken flak from many Palestinian activists for thwarting the arson attacks and serving as guards for Jewish settlers Critics of the PA said what happened in Nablus over the past few days proves that security coordination between the Palestinian security forces and the IDF is continuing despite growing tensions in the West Bank". [iv]

"The torching attempts of "Joseph Tomb" are presented by the Zionists and their friends as acts of vandalism. While the Zionist claim that the place is the burial ground of Joseph a figure in the bible stories, the Palestinians view it as the location of a local medieval sheik Yusef Al-Dwaik. The present structure, a small rectangular room with a cenotaph, dates from 1868, and is devoid of any trace of ancient building materials, while Joseph according to the legend lived in Egypt between 2000 and 1600 BCE. The historical period is known as the "Middle Kingdom" that lasts from 2000 to 1786 BCE. Thus it cannot be the burial ground of Joseph even if someone believes that Joseph was a historical figure. When it comes to the account of Joseph, the difficulties are predictable. Indeed, the biblical account contains numerous details that align with historical realities of Middle and New Kingdom Egypt, but there is nothing definitive in the historical or archeological record that verifies Joseph or his exploits in Egypt. Yet the Joseph narrative is also somewhat unique. The genre of this narrative—with its carefully crafted sequence, plot shifts, characterization, and other features—has encouraged many scholars to categorize it as a short novel, rather than as history writing." [v]

After the Zionist state captured the West Bank in 1967, Muslims were prohibited from worship at the shrine, and

Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: Palestine and Zionism

The History of Oppression of the Palestinian People. A Critical Account of the Myths of Zionism

In *Palestine and Zionism* Yossi Schwartz provides a critical analysis of numerous Zionist myths about the Jews as well as about the Palestinians. He demonstrates that the Zionist claim that Palestine is the historic homeland of the Jews lacks any serious basis. *Palestine and Zionism* shows that the history of Zionism in the 20th century is a history of colonialism in the service of the Great Powers and directed against the native population – the Arabs. In Palestine and Zionism Yossi Schwartz deals with key events – the "Nakba" in 1948, the wars in 1956, 1967 and 1973, more recent events like the Lebanon War, etc. – which were decisive for the expulsion of most Palestinians from their homeland.

Yossi Schwartz also shows that the Palestinian people have heroically resisted against the occupation resulting in two Intifadas as well as the successful defense of Gaza against the Israeli aggression in three wars (2008/09, 2012, 2014). The author also analysis the shameful betrayal by the PLO leadership by signing the Oslo Agreement in 1993.

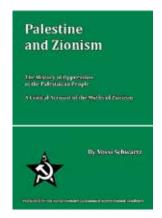
In Palestine and Zionism Yossi Schwartz defends the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian people and outlines

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

raeli Jews.

The book contains an introduction and 7 chapters (112 pages) and includes 7 Tables and 3 Maps. The author of the book is Yossi Schwartz, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency and its section in Israel / Occupied Palestine..

You can find the contents and download the book for free at https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/palestine-and-zionism/



as though it fell under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) after the signing of the Oslo Accords, it remained under the Zionist guard with Muslims prohibited from praying there.

On the history of the PLO

To understand how the Fatah has become an enemy of the Palestinians it is necessary to deal with the history of the PLO (Palestine Liberation organization).

In 1964 Sixteen years after the creation of Israel and the mass expulsion of the Palestinians, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded.

In 1964 Gamal Abdul Nasser, the Egyptian president convened the first Arab summit that dealt with the question of Palestine. It formed the PLO and nominated Ahmad al-Shuqairy, a Palestinian diplomat; to head the PLO. He was a lawyer who fled Palestine following the aborted Palestine Arab Revolt (1936–39and returned to Palestine only in the 1940s when he held several positions in the Palestinian civil administration. He fled the fighting of the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 and eventually took a position with the Arab League. He later became a delegate for both Syria and Saudi Arabia at the United Nations. [vi]

On 2 March 1951, Shuqairi was appointed assistant secretary-general of the Arab League, under Abd al-Rahman Azzam and his successor, Abd al-Khaliq Hassuna, but he remained a member of the Syrian delegation during the UN sessions. He was appointed minister of state for UN affairs in the government of Saudi Arabia and its permanent envoy to the UN. After the defeat of the regular Arab armies in June 1967, guerrilla activity became the foremost action for the Palestinian people. However, a struggle erupted between the guerrilla groups and Shuqairi, who had been facing difficulties in his dealings with several Arab regimes. In December 1967, he resigned as chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO in the wake of serious differences between him and some members of that committee, and he left for Cairo. [vii.

Overall Shuqairi was a servant of the Arab league rather than a real leader of the Palestinian people. He was nominated as the head of the PLO to isolate Haj Amin as the leader of the Palestinian people. He was forced to resign on December 24, 1967, and was harshly criticized for his management of the Organization and, since January 1965, was blamed for the increased influence of the fidayeen (Guerilla organizations), especially by Fatah of Arafat, because the Arab local rulers lost control over the fidayeen. The military defeat of the Arab armies in 1967 strengthened the fidayeen position. For this reason, the Arab rulers accused Shuqairi of contributing to their defeat with his extreme declarations against Israel before the war, which led according to this charge to the world favoring Israel. In the real world, Shuqayri served as a scapegoat for the Arab defeat in the war. The imperialist states would support Israel no matter what Shuqayri said. He became famous for supposedly calling on the Arabs "to throw the Jews into the sea".

Randolph S. Churchill and Winston S. Churchill wrote that Shuqayri's statement regarding the destruction of those Jews remaining after the war made no mention of throwing them into the sea: "He said that it was 'possible and even most likely' that his Palestinian Liberation Army would fire the first shot. If the Arabs took Israel, he said, the surviving

Jews would be helped to return to their native countries. 'But in my estimation, none of them will survive.'" [viii]

In an interview on French radio (September 28, 1967) that was picked up by Radio PLO the same day, it was reported: 'As for the declaration that the Arabs would cast the Jews into the sea, attributed by western news agencies to Shuqayri, the latter replied: 'I stated exactly the opposite. I was in Amman two days before the Israeli aggression and was asked at a press conference if we would throw the Jews into the sea if the Arabs won the war. I immediately answered this question and said that we have no desire to throw the Jews into the sea nor do we want to annihilate the Jews. But Jewish sources twisted these statements around, and as you know Zionism is expert at lying and distorting things Shuqayri then added, "We see that Israel is throwing the Palestinians into the desert, and this is no less dangerous than throwing the Jews into the sea. Where then is the public uproar? '[ix]

The establishment of the PLO

Fatah was founded in the late 1950s by Yasser Arafat whose goal was for the Palestinians themselves to liberate themselves. On January 1, 1965, Fatah launched its armed struggle against Israel. Their March 1968 stand against a superior Israeli force in the battle of Karama in Jordan made Fatah popular in the eyes of the Palestinians. Yet their military effort never exceeded a certain level in terms of scale and impact. Unlike the Stalinists in Vietnam, the PLO was unable to form a people army and has remained a small guerrilla force. Various factors explain the reasons for it. In the 1950s most Palestinians were refugees living in different countries. While the Arab states paid lip service to the Palestinians' cause the last thing the Arab local rulers wanted was an independent strong Palestinian movement. Stalinist Russia that provided the Zionists weapons in 1948 kept close relations with Israel in the 1950s while Israel received support from other imperialist states. In Egypt, the 1952 uprising that lacked revolutionary leadership ended with the free officer's coup that at the beginning was pro-American. Jordan had close relations with Israel. In Iran, the CIA initiated a coup that brought back the Shah. Thus the Palestinians themselves were not strong enough to win the struggle against Israel and the Palestinians could not rely on the Arab states to win a war against Israel. The Palestinians heroic struggle against Israel brings to mind the Indians struggle in North America against the European colonialist settlers rather than the struggle in Algeria, Vietnam, or Afghanistan.

Later on, Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza in 1967 proving that the Arab states could not win a war against Israel. The only realistic road for the liberation of Palestine was for the Palestinians to participate in the Arab revolution of the workers, the poor peasants and the oppressed minorities against the Arab local ruling classes, but this was beyond the PLO's vision. Furthermore, the Arab revolution began in 2010-2011and by then the PLO was already a servant of Israel. In the 1960s the Palestinian guerrilla movement remained a modest force in terms of combat strength and military effectiveness. Even in their heyday in 1968-70, the guerrillas had numbered fewer than 10,000 and their attacks against Israel were not effective. Yet the guerrilla warfare gained the Palestinians recognition as an oppressed nation.

The PLO in Jordan

Following the 1967 war with Israel, Jordan lost the West Bank of the Jordan River. Thousands of Palestinians fled into Jordan, swelling the refugee population to two million. The PLO gained popularity among the refugees. From their new base, the PLO launched military operations against Israel and Israel killed and injured Jordanians. King Hussein was an ally of Israel and a servant of the USA and Israel and the USA wanted him to crash the Palestinian guerrilla movement.

Jordan became a sort of dual power country with the Monarchy on one hand and the PLO on the other. In September 1970 the Jordanian army launched a full-scale attack on the Palestinian guerrillas in towns all over Jordan following weeks of sporadic fighting between the two sides. Syria, Iraq, and Israel quickly became involved, and Syrian troops invaded Jordan. The US 6th Fleet moved into the Mediterranean, the Russian Stalinists pressured Syria to pull out from Jordan and the PLO guerrillas were gradually driven out of the suburbs of Amman. The PLO agreed to a ceasefire on 25 September. Under the terms of the agreement signed two days later in Cairo, the guerrillas were to withdraw from Jordanian towns and cities and recognize the king's authority. Fighting continued into 1971 when King Hussein drove out the Palestinians from their remaining bases and expelled them from Jordan. The beaten PLO relocated to Lebanon.

The PLO in Lebanon

From 1970 until the Zionist invasion of Lebanon in 1982 it served as a military and political center. Lebanon offered the Palestinian movement, constrained by the interests of the Arab local ruling classes, some degree the freedom to build its institutions.

"George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine asked in November 1987: "The Palestinian movement] must answer the following questions: What do we want from Lebanon? Why do we insist on maintaining a Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon? How do we perceive our relations with the [Lebanese National Movement? If the Palestinian revolution fails to provide a clear answer to these questions, the Palestinian presence in Lebanon will not grow the way we hope. . . . During its presence in Lebanon throughout the seventies and until 1982, the Palestinian revolution made mistakes. A bold reexamination process is in order. These mistakes must be identified, acknowledged, and rectified." [x]

The PLO presence in Lebanon aggravated the internal contradictions of the Lebanese sectarian society created by Ottoman and French imperialism. Its weakness gave the Zionist state the possibility to launch massive punitive raids against it designed to destabilize both the Palestinian and Lebanon itself. For Israel to maintain its superiority and thus to gain the support of other imperialist states it is necessary to weaken the other states in the region. In 1969 the popular support of the Arab masses and the pressures by Egypt and Syria, allowed the Palestinian movement to resist the attempts of the Lebanese army to crush it. However, in the Cairo Agreement of 3 November 1969, the PLO recognized Lebanon's sovereignty and security and undertook to coordinate its activities from Lebanon with the Lebanese army for an autonomous institution

in the refugee camps. Thus, the PLO blocked its road to the Arab revolt against the Arab ruling classes. It was unable to learn any lesson from its experience from Jordan. In 1973 the Lebanese army once again tried and failed to crush the PLO.

In 1974 Arafat came to the UN to offer his peace plan, having earlier in the year gained an Arab Summit consensus that the PLO was the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He told the United Nations General Assembly that his Organization's goal remained one democratic state where Jew and Moslem live in justice equality and fraternity. In such a state, he said, all Jews "now living in Palestine" could become citizens without discrimination. Needless to say, the Zionists rejected this offer.

In 1975 a civil war erupted in Lebanon and the PLO allied itself with the parties of the Lebanese National Movement (LNM) a coalition of secular petit-bourgeois Arab nationalist leftists and Sunni Muslims that wanted to form a democratic bourgeois state. The PLO was able to defend the Palestinian refugee status. In January 1976 the rightwing Maronite Christians and their militias the Lebanese Forces (LF) attacked refugee camps in Beirut. The PLO and its allies launched a counter offense that led to a cease-fire. After it broke down and the fighting continued Syria that presumably supported the Palestinian cause intervened on the side of the LF setting the stage for the massacre of thousands of Palestinian civilians in the Tall al-Za'tar.

The Myth of Syria as an Anti-Imperialist Regime

By the beginning of 1976 tension was growing between Al-Assad and the PLO. Syria's growing influence in Lebanon led Al-Assad to try and restrict the influence of the PLO in Lebanon. In early February, however, "the Palestinian leadership"- particularly the leaders of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine- expressed open criticism of the reforms and the growing Syrian presence in Lebanon more generally. As dissident factions within the PLO joined the more radical wing of the LNM in resisting the spread of Syrian influence in Lebanese internal affairs, the Assad regime broke with Arafat and deployed units of al-Sa'iqah into the area between Zahlah and Shturah, providing support to beleaguered Christian forces. President Assad then warned Arafat to stop cooperating with Kamal Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party, a warning "the Palestinian leadership" heeded, but the rupture between the Palestinians and Damascus proved irreparable and by the spring of 1976 "exchanges occurred between PLA and Sa'iqah units on the one hand and Rejectionist and PLO guerillas on the other" [xi]

In March 1976, Assad sent a message to the United States asking them not to interfere if he were to send troops into Lebanon to help the LF.

What caused Assad the father to intervene in Lebanon on the Side of the LF?

According to LtCol Theodore J. Stout, "Hafiz Assad's had five strategic goals in Lebanon, including (1) Prevention of a radical regime led by the National Movement from gaining power in Lebanon; (2) Securing the Syrian western flank from Israeli invasion; (3) Controlling the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO); (4) Gaining legitimacy as the leader of pan-Arabism following the death of Nasser, and; (5) Enhancing the prospect of a "Greater Syria"

This common thesis may explain why Assad sent his army to Lebanon in the civil war but hardly explain why on the side of the LF? The LF in power would form a right-wing radical regime. Their victory would not bring a greater Syria. His intervention on the side of the LF was denounced by most Arabs. His intervention on the side of the LF an ally of the Zionist state was blessed by Israel. Contrary to the Stalinists who have claimed that Syria is an anti-imperialist regime in the late 1960s Hafez al-Assad ended the land reforms as Patrick Seale wrote: "Assad knew he needed allies in the urban middle class, so, breaking with his political past, he tried to win over the shopkeepers, businessmen, and artisans of the towns as well as the many citizens who had fled Syria since 1963, mainly Sunnis from the former leading families". [xii]

Assad turned to Egypt's Anwar Sadat for an ally. Sadat's goal was to force Israel to bargain for peace with terms suitable to Egypt's ruling class interests. On the eve of the civil war, Sadat was moving towards the Sinai II agreement and eventual reconciliation with Israel.

Following Al-Assad's intervention, Israel did nothing. Hilde Henriksen Waage wrote: "This uncharacteristic prudence from Israel, when faced with Syrian forces entering Lebanon, has been attributed by many analysts to a 'red line agreement' which asserted a de facto partitioning of Lebanon into Israeli and Syrian spheres of influence, negotiated in secret by the powerful US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger. Drawing upon American and Israeli archival sources, this article argues that the 'red line agreement' was no agreement at all but rather a short-lived Syrian–Israeli marriage of convenience within which the Americans acted as mediators. The Syrians and Israelis danced 'a careful minuet' in southern Lebanon, constantly probing each other's strategic thresholds while seeking US assurances that neither would attack the other" [xiii]

Thus, even by this account the Assad intervention was in agreement with Israel and the US mediation. It seems as Assad wanted to inflict pain on the PLO that was too independent for him and at the same time, it was a message to the American imperialism that Assad is ready to serve the USA rather than Russian Stalinism.

In the war between Iran and Iraq, the bourgeois Pan-Arabic regime Syria took the side of Iran. "As previously noted, in 1982 Syria closed its boundary with Iraq and shut down the Iraqi pipelines that crossed its territory. Iran, in return, provided Syria with free and concessionary-priced oil and became one of its largest export markets. Saddam Hussein never forgave his Ba'thist archrival for supporting non-Arab Iran in the war. Indeed, the Assad regime paid a high price for its stance, which left it with virtually no friends in the Arab world and made a mockery of its claims to be the guardian of Arab nationalist ideals. Domestically, the regime's legitimacy was further called into question. Despite the unpopularity of Syria's support for Iran during the war and the almost complete lack of ideological congruence between the two regimes, the alliance proved to be one of the more durable ones the region has seen" [xiv]

In the first Gulf against Iraq Syria participated on the side of the USA. So much for Arab bourgeois' nationalism. "Syria strongly opposed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, scolding Saddam Hussein for providing the West with an opportunity to intervene in the region and diverting attention away from the dispute with Israel. But the invasion also provided the Syrian regime with a serendipitous opportunity to maneuver its way back to center stage, bloody its archrival, strengthen

its relationship with Egypt, earn the gratitude of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf sheikhdoms, demonstrate its importance within the region to the West, and win the favor of the United States... In backing the coalition that sought to drive Iraq from Kuwait, the Asad regime gambled that its Ba'thist archrival would be defeated and perhaps destroyed. Given the intensity and intractability of the quarrel between the two governments, Syria's position during the Gulf crisis was predictable" [xv]

But let us return to the PLO in Lebanon Sadat's visit to Israel. On Nov. 19, 1977, was followed by the Camp David Accords in September 1978, which led to the signing of the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty in Washington in March 1979. In October 1978, Sadat and Begin were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This "peace treaty" was a prelude to the Zionist state invasion of Lebanon. When one hears of the Nobel prize for peace, one should prepare himself for a war or a military dictatorship.

The idea of constituting a Palestinian state limited to the West Bank and Gaza, a "mini-state" next to the state of Israel, namely a two-state solution, was proposed by Russian Stalinists. This became a subject of heated debate within the organization. Serious dissensions developed within the PLO. Arafat's authority was challenged within the ranks of the PLO by the more militant groups.

Israel's Invasion of Lebanon

On June 6, 1982, 40,000 Israeli troops, with hundreds of tanks and armored personnel carriers, rolled across the 33-mile border with southern Lebanon. Israeli seaborne troops landed on the Lebanese coast at Sidon and near the mouth of the Zahrani River, while the Israeli air force continued the intense bombing of Palestinian camps in the south and around Beirut begun two days earlier.

The guerrilla forces fought bravery "organized in small units, stood their ground and fought against overwhelming odds. The steadfastness of the guerrillas moved one Israeli military correspondent to write that their motivation "must stir within us uneasy feelings." "The PLO fighters whom we had treated as rejects," he continued, "showed in this war tenacity and intelligence which should not be underestimated. Israeli soldiers, who have shown contempt for the Fedayeen for years, have tasted this bitter truth most painfully." [xvi]

However, they did not receive any support from the local rulers of the Arab states. "From June 9-11, the Joint Forces put up a major defense of Beirut and virtually halted the Israeli advance. On June 11, US mediator Philip Habib arranged a ceasefire between Israeli and Syrian forces. The Israeli air force used the war as an occasion to wipe out Syrian anti aircraft missile emplacements in the Bekaa and destroyed more than 60 Syrian jet fighters in just two days. The Israelis did not otherwise challenge Syrian control of the valley, but the vulnerability of Damascus to an Israeli attack was all too apparent. The Syrians, in turn, did not commit themselves to block the advance on Beirut. The ceasefire formalized this understanding" [xvii]

"The Israeli military machine overwhelmed the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters in the south with its incomparable superiority in numbers and weapons. In its massive, preemptive character, this assault resembled the June war of 1967. The important difference was that this time the IDF, now the fourth most powerful military force in the world, was able to concentrate on this single front. "Behind the victory in Lebanon," asserted former Israeli military intelligence chief Shlomo Gazit, "there is the

peace treaty with Egypt." According to the Financial Times, Israel's invading force by late June included nine armored divisions, equivalent to at least 90,000 troops; 1,300 tanks and an equal number of APCs; 12,000 troop and supply trucks; 3,500 ambulances; 300 buses. In addition, there were hundreds of 107 and 155-millimeter cannons, rocket-firing warships, and the most advanced warplanes in the world."

The PLO was forced to leave Lebanon and move to Tunisia. The LF the allies of Israel massacred 2000 Palestinian refugees in Sabra and Shatila while the Zionist army used flares to help the butchers find the helpless victims. The following is a personal account.

"On September 16, 1982, following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the right-wing Christian Phalange militia stormed the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in West Beirut and began a massacre which ended in the deaths of hundreds, maybe thousands, of mostly Palestinian civilians. I was 19 years old at the time. By chance and by luck I managed to survive. My mother and five younger sisters and brothers; and my uncle, his wife, and eight kids did not...Israel's invasion began on June 6, 1982. After much destruction, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which had defended the camps since its inception, agreed to leave Lebanon in August. They were given American assurances that civilians left behind would be protected. The president-elect of Lebanon, and the leader of the Phalange, was assassinated on September 14th. The Israeli army proceeded to invade and occupy West Beirut. Israeli troops surrounded the camps to prevent the refugees from leaving and allowed entry of the Phalange, a known enemy of the Palestinians. The Israelis fired flares throughout the night to light up the killing field – thus allowing the militiamen to see their way through the narrow alleys of the camps. The massacre went on for two days. As the bloodbath concluded, Israel supplied the bulldozers to dig mass graves. In 1983, Israel's investigative Kahan Commission found that Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Defense Minister, bore "personal responsibility" for the slaughter" [xviii]

Who was Ariel Sharon?

In 1948, he was a platoon commander in the Alexandroni Brigade. This brigade was involved in the massacres of the Palestinian village Tantura. In 2004, Israeli historian Benny Morris and wrote that, war crimes were committed by the Zionist forces and that the Palestinians of the village were forcibly expelled. Morris relied among other things underlined the fact that in interviews conducted by himself and by the whistle-blower Amil Gilat, all refugees confirmed that a massacre had taken place, while all IDF veterans denied it. Regarding the on as a diary by an Alexandroni soldier, Tulik Makovsky, in which he wrote on the massacre. Sharon became famous in the 1950s because he was an instrumental figure in the creation of Unit 101 and the reprisal operations against civilians in Jordan For example in Kibia: "The massacre in Kibia was a retaliation operation carried out on October 14, 1953, by a detachment of the Israeli army under the command of Ariel Sharon. The village of Kabila was located near the Green Line in the territory occupied during the Arab-Israeli War of 1947-1949 and unilaterally annexed by Transjordan. The operation followed a terrorist attack in the Israeli village of Yehud, in which a woman and two young children were killed and other family members were injured.

During the operation, 69 villagers were killed, including women and children. Most of them died during bombings by Israeli

soldiers of houses in which civilians were located. Initially, the Israeli government tried to blame the raid on a group of armed Israeli settlers who allegedly acted without the knowledge of the Israeli government. The UN did not accept Israel's arguments" [xix]

"The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR) has filed a complaint with attorney general Maher Abdel Wahid against Sharon, his Defense Minister Binyamin Ben Eliezer, and six other Israelis, the officials said. The EOHR complaint wants Egypt to investigate and try them for their roles in "war crimes, including killing, torture and exterminating Egyptian prisoners and civilians," during the 1956 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars" [xx]

Thus, when Sharon led the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 it could be expected that he would murder directly or indirectly many Palestinians.

In any case, the beaten PLO was forced to move to Tunisia. But even there Israel attacked in October 1985 and assassinated Abu Jihad in April 1988. The Russian Stalinists were in a position to support them militarily. However, by 1988 Gorbachev was in power Stalinist Russia sought renewed relations with Israel and urged Arafat to do the same. Yasser Arafat had been moving in this direction, as indicated by his attempted rapprochement with Jordan, a close ally of Israel.

While in Tunisia the Palestinian people revolted against the Zionist repression in the first Intifada. In 1988 the PLO instead of providing leadership accepted American conditions for opening a U.S-Palestinian dialogue: the rejection of armed struggle recognition of Israel's right to exist, and acceptance of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 which called upon Arab states to accept Israel's right "to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries". The Palestine National Council in November 1988, passed a political resolution accepting UNSC Resolution 242 and condemning any resort to armed struggle. This was followed by a speech from Yasser Arafat to the United Nations General Assembly and a subsequent press conference in Geneva explicitly recognizing Israel's right to exist in peace and security.

The revolutionary uprising sent a shock wave in the entire region. For six years from 1987 -1993, the Palestinian masses struggled against the Zionist oppression. The Arab local ruling class was afraid of an Arab revolution and so were the British and the American imperialists. The fear of the Arab revolution is what stood behind the Oslo agreement:

"Since it erupted in December 1987, the Palestinian intifada (uprising) has had major political repercussions throughout the Arab world. It has evoked broad public sympathy and has also brought censorship and suppression of unofficial expressions of popular solidarity in several Arab countries. President Mubarak also sought to ameliorate any remaining tensions between Egyptian civil society (and the Arab world) on one hand and relations with Israel and the US on the other by staking out the role of regional mediator. When this failed, however, the semi-official media did not shy from direct attacks on the Palestinian movement, including a partial resurrection of some of the negative Sadatera stereotypes of the Palestinians as a whole... Syrian domestic reporting has focused on those elements of the conflict that bolster Syrian legitimacy, highlighting both Israeli actions against Palestinians in the occupied territories and the pro - Syrian positions of those Palestinian groups affiliated with the PNSF.

Several official solidarity rallies have been organized. Little effort has been spared in establishing an identification between the uprising and Syrian policy. At the same time, any dissatisfaction with government policy that may exist continues to be preempted by tight authoritarian controls, with President Hafiz al-Asad invoking the continuing conflict with Israel to justify the need for "regulating freedoms...In Jordan, These contradictions grew rapidly after December 1987, as the repercussions of conflict in the occupied territories and the anti- Hashemite orientation of the intifada spilled eastwards across the river" [xxi]

At the beginning of the 1990s Stalinist Russia collapsed and the PLO capitulated to the USA at that time the super imperialist power in what is known as Oslo accords. This was a clear betrayal of the struggle of the Palestinian people. This betrayal might surprise some middle-class radicals but even left-wing liberals like Edward Said understood that the PLO capitulated to the Zionists. Said wrote in October 1993:

"Now that some of the euphorias have lifted, it is possible to reexamine the Israeli-PLO agreement with the required common sense. What emerges from such scrutiny is a deal that is more flawed and, for most of the Palestinian people, more unfavorably weighted than many had first supposed. The fashion-show vulgarities of the White House ceremony, the degrading spectacle of Yasser Arafat thanking everyone for the suspension of most of his people's rights, and the fatuous solemnity of Bill Clinton's performance, like a 20th-century Roman emperor shepherding two vassal kings through rituals of reconciliation and obeisance: all these only temporarily obscure the truly astonishing proportions of the Palestinian capitulation.

So first of all let us call the agreement by its real name: an instrument of Palestinian surrender, a Palestinian Versailles. What makes it worse is that for at least the past fifteen years the PLO could have negotiated a better arrangement than this modified Allon Plan, one not requiring so many unilateral concessions to Israel. For reasons best known to the leadership, it refused all previous overtures. To take one example of which I have personal knowledge: in the late Seventies, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance asked me to persuade Arafat to accept Resolution 242 with a reservation (accepted by the US) to be added by the PLO which would insist on the national rights of the Palestinian people as well as Palestinian self-determination. Vance said that the US would immediately recognize the PLO and inaugurate negotiations between it and Israel. Arafat categorically turned the offer down, as he did similar offers. Then the Gulf War occurred, and because of the disastrous positions it took then, the PLO lost even more ground. The gains of the intifada were squandered, and today advocates of the new document say: 'We had no alternative.' The correct way of phrasing that is: 'We had no alternative because we either lost or threw away a lot of others, leaving us only this one. To advance towards Palestinian self-determination – which has a meaning only if freedom, sovereignly, and equality, rather than perpetual subservience to *Israel, are its goal – we need an honest acknowledgment of where* we are, now that the interim agreement is about to be negotiated. What is particularly mystifying is how so many Palestinian leaders and their intellectuals can persist in speaking of the agreement as a 'victory'. Nabil Shaath has called it one of 'complete parity' between Israelis and Palestinians. The fact is that Israel has conceded nothing, as former Secretary of State James Baker said in a TV interview, except, blandly, the existence of 'the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Or as the Israeli 'dove' Amos Oz reportedly put it in the course of a

BBC interview, 'this is the second biggest victory in the history of Zionism" [xxii]

Unlike Fatah the left-wing of the PLO, the PFPL and the DFLP, while supporting a peace process with Israel, opposed the Oslo Accords because of the absence of any promise or even mention of Palestinian statehood. They realized that Israel offered only autonomy, thereby freeing itself of the economic burden of the Palestinian population while gaining overall control and keeping all the Jewish settlements with West Bank and Gaza. The Islamist groups rejected the peace process altogether and vehemently opposed the Oslo Accords.

While the Oslo agreement was a sell-out, Arafat did not go down to the level of Abu Mazen. Israel had a deep mistrust of Arafat. It attempted to eliminate him long before he died possibly by poisoning him. Israel wanted Arafat to use his power to provide security for the settlements and settlers. The Oslo agreement ended the PLO as a fighting body and transformed it into an authority policing the Palestinians under occupation subject to direct Israeli control, if not employed by it.

On September 28, 2001, the Second Intifada erupted after Ariel Sharon visited the Al-Aqsa compound with over 1000 Israeli soldiers. Sharon's strategy included the isolation and replacement of Arafat, which would end even the idea of a Palestinian's Bantustan. Sharon wanted a new Palestinian prime minister who will protect the settlers and block any popular uprising. For this Arafat had to be eliminated and replaced and his replacement was Abu Mazen

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) is a left-wing party that was co-founded in 1967 by George Habash, Nayef Hawatmeh, and Ahmad Jibril, as a pro-Stalinist block and Arab nationalist groups. It grew out of the now-defunct Arab National Movement (ANM) – which was established in Beirut in 1948 It is the second-largest faction, and the main opposition force to Fatah, within the PLO. It has been in decline since the 1980s following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the growing influence of non-PLO groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad. It is not in the PA government and has been critical of its security coordination with Israel. It does not support the" two-state solution" and is for the liberation of all of historical Palestine.

Thus, the history of the PLO has been a history of courageous struggle, heroism, defeats, and betrayal by the Fatah and the PA. Thus, the petit-bourgeois nature of the guerilla movement established by Arafat and his friends has prevented this movement from understanding that the only road for the liberation of the Palestinians is the strategy of Leon's Trotsky's Permanent Revolution a revolution that start with revolutionary democratic demands like one democratic state but to win it must be led by the working class and the poor peasants with a working-class revolutionary leadership. All other roads lead to defeat and capitulation. The Palestinian revolution must be part of the Arab working class and poor peasant's revolution against all the local Arab rulers. There is no other way to defeat the Zionist apartheid state backed by other imperialist states

Trotsky in 1932 wrote on the petit bourgeois' guerrilla warfare in China that can be useful if subordinated to the working-class revolutionary struggle. This is relevant to

the next round of the Arab revolution and the PA that during the previous Arab revolution blocked the participation of the Palestinians in the Arab revolution:

"Our irreconcilable attitude toward the vulgar democratic Stalinist position on the peasant movement has, of course, nothing in common with a careless or passive attitude toward the peasant movement itself. The manifesto of the International Left Opposition that was issued two years ago and that evaluated the peasant movement in the southern provinces of China declared: "The Chinese revolution, betrayed, defeated, exhausted, shows that it is still alive. Let us hope that the time when it will again lift its proletarian head is not far off." Further on it says: "The vast flood of peasant revolts can unquestionably provide the impulse for the revival of political struggle in the industrial centers. We firmly count on it... Nobody can foretell now whether the hearths of the peasant revolt can keep a fire burning through the whole long period which the proletarian vanguard will need to gather its strength, bring the working class into the fight, and co-ordinate its struggle for power with the general offensive of the peasants against their most immediate enemies... Isn't it self-evident that in the event of their coming together the workers and the peasants must unanimously unite under the Communist banner? Unfortunately, the question is not at all so simple. Let me refer to the experience of Russia. During the years of the civil war, the peasantry in various parts of the country created its guerrilla detachments, which sometimes grew into full-fledged armies. Some of these detachments considered themselves Bolshevik and were often led by workers. Others remained non-party and most often were led by former non-commissioned officers from among the peasantry. There was also an "anarchist" army under the command of Makhno. So long as the guerrilla armies operated in the rear of the White Guards, they served the cause of the revolution. Some of them were distinguished by exceptional heroism and fortitude. But within the cities, these armies often came into conflict with the workers and with the local party organizations. Conflicts also arose during encounters of the partisans with the regular Red Army, and in some instances, they took an extremely painful and sharp character. The grim experience of the civil war demonstrated to us the necessity of disarming peasant detachments immediately after the Red Army occupied provinces that had been cleared of the White Guards. In these cases, the best, the most class-conscious, and disciplined elements were absorbed into the ranks of the Red Army. But a considerable portion of the partisans strived to maintain an independent existence and often came into direct armed conflict with the Soviet power. Such was the case with the anarchist army of Makhno, entirely kulak in spirit. But that was not the sole instance; many peasant detachments, which fought splendidly enough against the restoration of the landlords, became transformed after victory into instruments of counter-revolution. Regardless of their origin in each isolated instance—whether caused by the conscious provocation of the White Guards, or by tactlessness of the Communists, or by an unfavorable combination of circumstances—the conflicts between armed peasants and workers were rooted in the same social soil: the difference between the class position and training of the workers and the peasants. The worker approaches questions from the socialist standpoint; the peasant's viewpoint is petty-bourgeois. The worker strives to socialize the property that is taken away from the exploiters; the peasant seeks to divide it up. The worker desires to put palaces and parks to common use; the peasant, insofar as he cannot divide them, inclines to burning the palaces and cutting down the parks. The worker strives

to solve problems on a national scale and following a plan; the peasant, on the other hand, approaches all problems on a local scale and takes a hostile attitude to centralized planning, etc. It is understood that a peasant also is capable of raising himself to the socialist viewpoint. Under a proletarian regime, more and more masses of peasants become re-educated in the socialist spirit. But this requires time, years, even decades. It should be borne in mind that in the initial stages of the revolution, contradictions between proletarian socialism and peasant individualism often take on an extremely acute character." [xxiii]

Down with the Zionist Apartheid state!

For the Arab revolution!

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

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COVID Counterrevolution: They Declare Victory...and Retreat Have We Won already?

Britain, Denmark, Spain, Italy and many more loose at least some of their Bonapartist restrictions

Article by Medina Gunić, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 05.02.2022

The COVID pandemic hit Europe in March 2020 and nearly all capitalist governments did impose restrictions up to full lockdowns. These coordinated attacks against democratic rights under the pretext of fighting a threat for public health by a new virus were unprecedented in the recent history. Since then, however, it seemed that these attacks varied in both their severity and their timing. Such tendency of differentiation intensifies now as it seems that a new phase in the COVID Counterrevolution begins. First, Britain declared the full lift of all restrictions including the mandatory face masks. Even the vaccine policy for the health staff was taken aback. One could argue that the reason for this was and is the deep political crisis in which Boris Johnson and his government stumbled into when photos and videos were published from clandestine parties during lockdowns. 1 However, Denmark, Island, Spain, Italy, France and even Israel followed suit in taking back of restrictions in various forms. Our comrades from the Convergencia Socialista, the RCIT section in Argentina, have stated very early that the developments in Britain hint to a change of strategy in other countries as well. 2 (We highly recommend readers also to take a look on the analysis of the comrades about the victory of the protest movement against the COVID Counterrevolution in Bolivia.) ³

Governments in other countries are discussing vividly about a change in their strategy as well. Even the World Health Organization has declared that it might be the case that Europe has entered a ceasefire in the pandemic and might even transform into victory against COVID, as WHO's Europe Director Hans Kluge said: "I believe that it is possible to respond to new variants that will inevitably emerge without re-installing the kind of disruptive measures we needed before." ⁴ Obviously, this is the picture that the named capitalist governments want to create. For Britain the motif seems obvious but in case of the others, further explanation is needed.

Those naïve fellows who always believed in the explanation of the governments might do this now as well. Omicron is not as dangerous as all other variants have been. Trust science again! However, science is not sure about this prognosis. "I think it's pretty clear Omicron causes less severe disease than the Delta variant, but that's not saying much," University of Western Australia epidemiologist and biostatistician Zoë Hyde writes in an email to The Scientist. "We know that Delta was more than twice as severe as the original strain, and if Imperial College is right to say that Omicron is about 40-45% less likely to put people in hospital [than Delta was], we're back to 2020 but with a more contagious strain." 5

Interestingly enough, the WHO itself is divided as the European governments are when it comes to the strategy. "My greatest fear at the moment is that countries have a lemming syndrome now," Mike Ryan, head of the WHO's health

emergencies program, said at a media briefing. While some countries may indeed have leeway to adapt measures, "others may choose that because there's political pressure," he added. ⁶

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) has rejected the COVID Counterrevolution from the very beginning. Until today, we have published more than 125 articles (some in various languages) as well as pamphlets and books on this historical event. ⁷

For true Marxists, it must be clear that *again* political and not medical reasons are behind the recent decisions of loosening restrictions. Furthermore, the contradictions within the bourgeoisie and, consequently, the zigzags of capitalist governments in choosing of their strategy in the COVID counterrevolution have increased. It is therefore highly important to be clear that while the recent events have indicated a certain withdrawal of Bonapartist measures in several countries, it is (yet) not the main strategy globally. It became very clear during the past two years that contradictions are a main characteristic of the historic developments and this continues to be the case in the current phase.

As Marxists we understand our theoretical and analytical work, like the one presented in the article at hand, not as a purpose in itself but rather as part of the class struggle against the COVID Counterrevolution. Our analysis is informed by our practical experience and its should serve as an instrument for practical intervention in mass movements. The purpose of this article is therefore first and foremost to provide explanation to those activists who participate in the protests and who understand the importance of the struggle against the COVID counterrevolution.

The encouraging recent developments give us the possibility to breath and strengthen ourselves. Whatever will happen in the future, the fact that some bourgeois governments took back the Bonapartist measures is not only a victory in this moment. It opens a historical phase in the process of COVID counterrevolution in which the Bonapartist state monster shows some weakness and hesitation. It shows the activists in the popular protest movements that with militant struggle on the streets, victory is possible.

For those of the lockdown left who supported the Bonapartist attacks, big confusion will start now and the possibility for both further degeneration as well as internal conflicts up to splits is increasing for them. After all, history is a severe judge.

Real reasons for the change of course

First, the very widespread testing facilities have enabled to detect infections more precisely. Omicron has caused a situation in which more people have been under quarantine than ever before. Ruling classes were alarmed that not only parts of economy will collapse ⁸ but that even crucial infrastructure (i.e. energy supply, medical facilities,

food production and distribution, etc.) might crush under a sudden lack of workforce. 9 Discussions about letting people work with Corona if they are fully vaccinated and free of symptoms have reflected this. Such an approach however contradicts the whole concept of protecting others from getting Corona if people with a proven infection are forced to work. Furthermore, capitalists have reasons to fear that infected workers without symptoms respectively with very mild symptoms will not come to work but rather declare a more severe case irrespective of the truth. The quarantine policy has an additional impact on parents and caretakers in general as they themselves might be able to work but still have to stay home to care for quarantined children. Unsurprisingly, Israel is one of the countries who reacted to this by taking back of strict quarantine rules for children exposed to COVID. 10

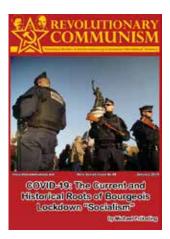
Second, the last weeks showed a decisive acceleration of rivalry between the Western and the Eastern imperialists. The RCIT has published an analysis of the recent meeting of Xi and Putin which explains the political meaning of this event. We highly recommend it to readers as this development reflects the accelerated rivalry between the Eastern and Western imperialists. ¹¹

China has orchestrated an impressive stunt with what it seems to be fully successful Olympic games. Unsurprisingly, imperialist China – after imposing very hard restrictions and severe lockdowns again and again – uses the success of the Olympic games to prove its superiority. Even in a full-blown pandemic of a dangerously and deadly virus (according to nearly all capitalist parties and media) this Eastern superpower manages to organize such a huge event. No other country would have been able to do this, and every government is fully aware of this fact. The Editorial Board of the New York Post put it in the following telling headline: "A propaganda gift to China: The shame of these Olympics". ¹²

Furthermore, the recently accelerated conflict between Ukraine (backed by the U.S. and the EU) and Russia has pushed the Western imperialists to mobilize the public opinion globally against imperialist Russia.

Bret Stephens, former editor in chief of the Jerusalem Post commented in The New York Times in a very telling Opinion piece: "At some point in the last 30 years, the concept of the "free world" fell out of favor. (...) The ultimate way to consolidate dictatorship is to discredit democracy, to make it seem divided, tired and corrupt. (...) The most effective method is a blunt power play that exposes the gap between the West's high-flown rhetoric about democracy, human rights and international law, and its unheroic calculations about commercial advantage, military spending, energy dependence and strategic risks (...) The longer-term response is to restore the concept of the free world. What's meant by that term? It isn't just a list of states that happen to be liberal democracies, some bound together by treaty alliances like NATO or regional trading blocs like the European Union. The free world is the larger idea that the world's democracies are bound by shared and foundational commitments to human freedom and dignity; that those commitments transcend politics and national boundaries; and that no free people can be indifferent to the fate of any other free people, because the enemy of any one democracy is ultimately the enemy to all the others." 13

However, it is very difficult to criticize both China and Russia for being such bonapartist regimes if there are impressively huge and militant protest movements against the Covid policy in so many western imperialist countries. When we look at the protests in Germany as an example, the following descriptions are telling: ""What unites them is frustration — not only with COVID-19 policies but also with democracy, with political institutions. In anthroposophist circles, anti-modern attitudes are also playing a role, " sociologist Johannes Kiess from the University of Siegen in Germany told DW. (...) According to a University of Basel study the roots of



Publications of the RCIT

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

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

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2021

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

the protests in southwest Germany are in the left-wing alternative movement, whereas in east Germany, the demonstrators often are members of the right-wing Alternative for Germany (AfD)." ¹⁴

But, as the same source correctly states, this is also the case for other European countries: "Basically, it's always about much much more than Corona," explained Kiess. In France, he said, the demonstrations were only superficially linked to the pandemic measures. "It was actually always about Macron and his style of politics." In the Netherlands, too, protests were linked to criticism of the government's social policies. "You cannot underestimate how much fuel there is that can easily be ignited." In Saxony, the main issues were disenchantment with politics and democracy. "There's zero trust in politicians there."

Which brings us to the last and most important factor for the change in the strategy of the COVID Counterrevolution in various Western imperialist countries: The lack of organized support for these undemocratic measures and the huge mass mobilizations against those attacks.

The probably most organized form of protest happened in Denmark with a quite militant and very progressive movement called "Men in Black". 16 Led by a few public figures of whom the rapper Ali Sufi might be the most prominent one, the movement has not only organized several large demonstrations based on the mobilization of popular masses (including pro-Palestinian migrants). Ali Sufi described the character of the movement by comparing it to the development of social democracy in the 1870s, ¹⁷ himself probably being most prominent in the protests for providing the first paragraph of the anthem "Mette Ciao" (the rest is written by the rapper Daniel Rozenberg, 18 utilizing the melody and structure of the anti-fascist song Bella Ciao and directing it against prime minister Mette Frederiksen). They have also been under severe attack for several very militant riots against the police. While public figures of the movement have distanced themselves from such violent incidents, these events showed the repression apparatus the potential of explosions in class struggle if the bonapartist measures would continue. Italy has witnessed important strikes of dock workers and other workers against the enforcement of the Green Pass. France has seen its biggest mobilizations since the Gilets Jaunes (Yellow Vests). Many other countries (including Germany and Austria) can be named here as well.

Overall, it is the combination of all these mentioned factors which has provoked the recent shift in the Bonapartist Covid Strategy by one part of the bourgeois governments in Europe and beyond.

Is it over?

For true Marxists, the lifting of the measures is a breather in the struggle against the Bonapartist monster. But it would be naïve to believe that the war would be over already. While some parts of the bourgeoisie have come into big trouble as the restrictions have hit their industry hard, other parts – especially monopoly capital – have made big steps forward, gaining profits and preparing the world to be dominated by them. Also, the capitalist governments may have lost some popularity and the one or the other politicians up to whole governments might fall in consequence soon.

On the long run, however, they have managed to collect massive amounts of data which can and will feed *Artificial Intelligence* used for surveillance. ¹⁹ Face recognition soft-

ware in the Western imperialist world will be more able to compete with the far more developed software used by the regime in China. ²⁰ An example for this is the launching of a face recognition software for bodycams used by Israeli soldiers. The software can recognize the identity of individuals in larger crowds, even if faces were covered or camouflaged and it can compare it with collected pictures of the last *decades*! ²¹

Facial recognition software able to even work well with covered faces has unsurprisingly developed during the COVID Counterrevolution. "The COVID-19 pandemic has prompted the expansion and accelerated development of various touchless technologies, with facial recognition being one among them. We spoke with CEO Rob Watts, of cutting-edge facial recognition software company Corsight, about facial recognition tech's expanding role within the travel space, and how it stands to benefit both consumers and industry stakeholders amid COV-ID-19, and beyond.(...) Corsight's autonomous AI is essentially military-grade software and represents a vast evolution over the type of facial recognition tech we're used to using. "We can identify someone with 90-degree head turn. We can identify someone with a camera at 70-degree rake, we can identify someone with a face mask—not just with a face mask, but with a ski mask...with hat, glasses, all of that," Watts said. And, astonishingly, "We can identify someone who is now age 50 from a photograph of them at age 17.′"²²

Apps which have been forced on people as a method to track corona cases have and will be used by the repression apparatus. A famous recent example for this is the scandals around the Corona tracking App *Luca* in Germany which has been used by the German police to track down police suspects. ²³

Furthermore, the strategic goal of both the technological industry as well as the state capitalist itself to enforce the digitalization of the workforce has made incredibly huge steps forward during the pandemic. One has to be clear that the Western imperialist with its specific history of neoliberalism would never have been able to push digitalization that far in such a short time if not through the use of a catastrophic scenario, a big threat to the public. "While it's true many companies operated successfully before COVID-19, the outbreak caused even more organizations to quickly accelerate digital adoption and implement best practices that until now were "nice to haves." Simply put, COVID-19 ended the digital deferral period, serving as the lighter fuel for digital transformation. Those that were not ready were forced to condense more than five years of digital adoption into a six month period, said Tom Puthiyamadam, New York City-based PwC's global digital leader."24 While Big Pharma has really made big profit during the pandemic, the ultimate winner of this might be the technological sector.

Finally, the mobilization during the pandemic by the state apparatus is to a certain degree comparable with the mobilization for a war. While it happened on a lower level than an actual war mobilization, even the same vocabulary was used in the first stages of the COVID Counterrevolution as the bourgeoisie explicitly declared war against the virus. "The world is "at war" against COVID-19, the UN chief says, calling for the application of wartime logic to the inequitable access to the weapons needed to fight the pandemic. Addressing the opening of the World Health Organization's annual assembly of member states on Monday, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres decried the "tsunami of suffering" sparked by the coro-

navirus crisis. (...) "We need the logic and urgency of a war economy, to boost the capacity of our weapons," he said."²⁵

In this simulation of a war mobilization, the military was used officially to support the public in this health crisis. In reality, not only the resources of the military were used in civil life. A public which was not used to see military on the street, in public buildings including hospitals and even schools – at least not since the end of the second world war – was trained to accept this as "new normal". A public which was not used to get orders of house arrests and curfews was forced into lockdowns. A public not used to be enforced to limit or even fully stop social contact was pushed to do so as measures of social distancing were imposed. The fact that the bourgeoisie has managed to implement all of this at least for a certain time might be their biggest victory. They have broken the ice for future counterrevolutionary mobilizations. ²⁶

For now, and with each and every lift of a restriction, it seems that we – the sectors of the popular masses who opposed those bonapartist attacks – have won. And honestly, all of us have deserved to see this as a victory. However, true Marxists in the mass movements must be aware that this is only a short break, a quick breather in the struggle against the Bonapartist monster.

We will see, if the anti-democratic attacks will be launched again under the pretext of a new and more severe wave of COVID. Maybe, the next time the Bonapartist state will raise its ugly head under the pretext of fighting against the Climate Crisis (which was caused by capitalists themselves). Maybe they will try it more openly when warmongering accelerates between the imperialist states respectively their proxies. Maybe it will be something new, something we truly could not have seen coming. Our victory, as glorious as it feels and as much as we should enjoy it in this moment, can and must give us the strengths we will need to fight future attacks to come. The Bonapartist monster is awakened and it will take much more from us to truly defeat it.

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The Dangerously Irrational Mass Vaccination Campaign for Children

By Medina Gunić, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 19 January 2022

The Mass Vaccination Policy has entered a stage in which not only vaccinations for people older than 16 years are recommended by the official medical institutions of bourgeois states but for all children, even starting at the age of three or younger. The RCIT has rejected the political strategy of Bonapartism during CO-VID-19 in numerous statements and articles, dismantling the true political character of this alleged health campaign. We have rejected forced vaccinations and demanded that all people irrespective of their approach to COVID vaccinations shall have the same access to their workplace, school, restaurants, and any other areas of public life.

The pharma industry made obviously massive profit with the COVID-19 vaccinations and technological gadgets like the green pass helped the Bonapartist state apparatus to collect data, enabling a massive increase of surveillance.

The RCIT is a political organization and not a medical institute of any kind. We have to rely on the medical data that the bourgeois system provides, not on any scientific tests of our own. All people should have the freedom do decide by themselves (without being discriminated for their decision) if they want to receive a vaccination against Corona or not. However, based on the statistic material (facts and figures) and with the massive (or even compulsory) vaccination campaign for children, the following conclusion seems rational to us: we consider it as irresponsible to give people under 18 years the COVID vaccinations.

Flu has killed far more children in the past than Corona did

While we can expect to draw similar statistics for many other countries, we base our conclusions here on the data from the United States (developed imperialist countries offer in general detailed publicly accessible health data): First, the COVID death toll in the age group of 18 years and younger since the beginning of the pandemic in the U.S. is 841 (according to CDC between 4th January 2020 until 8th January 2022) 1. Compared to this death toll, the estimated death number of children aged 18 and younger for the flu season 2017-2018 (normally October to February, i.e. less than half a year) is more than 600 (based on the CDC archive) ². In the flu season 2020-2021 one child was reported to have died by the flu. 3 Unfortunately, the reported cases of flu deaths were always far away from real numbers (which are actual higher) as no virus infection was covered by testing in a similar way as it is done with Corona.

Except for the season 2020-2021, where the testing for CO-VID has enabled to test very accurately the death numbers for the flu as well. Nevertheless, we can conclude safely based on hard facts that a shift happened. Over a time of *two years* of the COVID-19 pandemic, 33% less children have died per year due to Corona than in a single flu season, i.e. in 6 months the years before. Suddenly the number drops dramatically from approximately 600 dead children in a flu season to *one*. Instead COVID death tolls for children are presented, creating the impression that

Corona is a dangerous threat to small children although it killed far less children than the flu did in the recent past... and at the same time flu deaths are at a historical low. One is safe to estimate that children who died of flu in the past were those with severe illnesses respectively with poor health treatment – both factors are also valid for COVID. Nevertheless, the death toll due to the combination of Corona AND flu per year seems to be smaller than it was for flu alone in the past. How is this even possible if Corona is such a danger to children? Allegedly the opposite seems to be the case: Corona is by far less deadly for children than the flu was. It seems to replace the flu in a way that even benefits children as the death tolls are smaller.

In other words: COVID-19 is far away of being a deadly disease for youth under the age of 18 years, at least compared to the flu and other virus respectively bacterial infections. It is crazy to apply the same logic for seniors *and* for children when it comes to illnesses in general and to COVID in specific.

Better immunity via infection

Second, based on several studies it is reasonable to conclude that the number of anti-bodies is higher if people had a COVID infection compared to the vaccination. Higher number of anti-bodies translates to better safety against another COVID infection, probably with a more severe mutation. This means that especially people with a very low risk of death by COVID, i.e. people under the age of 18 years are more safe on the long run after the infection than after the vaccination. A recent study (published on 25th August) from Israel confirmed that based on a large study group of 673,676 (!) participants, vaccinated people without a former infection by COVID have a 13.06-fold increased risk for a breakthrough infection than those who recovered from a real infection but were not vaccinated. In simple language: It is far more likely to catch COVID after vaccination than after infection.4

Furthermore, if the worst consequences (i.e. death) are a minimal risk for children – why should we prevent them from catching Corona and building a strong immunity against this new virus? The virus is here to stay, maybe for decades on. As sooner the bodies of the youngest generations learn to deal with this health threat, the better those bodies might react to mutations in future. Even if not, vaccinations can still be applied later in life. There is no medical reason to enforce them at this young age.

Interestingly enough, the immune response (building anti-bodies) *after vaccination* is far more effective if the person has undergone an infection in the past. There is even a term for this increased immunity: hybrid immunity. In a study published on the 20 September 2021, those with a history of infection and a vaccination have even been immune towards super aggressive virus mutations of CO-VID which have been created in the lab. ⁵ At this point we have to state clearly: authentic anti-capitalists should become very nervous that chimeras with the purpose to

challenge immunity were created by the Rockefeller University in New York.

On a small sidenote: Those delusional supporters of bourgeois science who argue that one should trust the scientists and doctors fully, shall be reminded by the still ongoing lawsuit against the very same university because of the more than 100 reported child abuse cases (sexual abuse and pornography) – and nearly 1,000 alleged cases - by its former pediatric endocrinologist Dr. Reginald Archibald. ⁶ (Blind trust suddenly sounds very cynical, doesn't it?)

The myth of the herd immunity by vaccination

Third, supporters of mass vaccination who claim it is important to create herd immunity must be reminded that the vaccination does not spare the vaccinated to still transport and therefore spread the virus. Vaccinating people under 18 years and not letting them build immunity by infection is a counteraction to herd immunity as it is proven to be less effective. Vaccinated but infected people are also not spared from getting ill with the typical symptoms like fever, chills, pain in the limbs, etc. It is said by medical professionals that the vaccination only decreases the chance of being admitted to an ICU. With this argument in mind, one should not forget that admission to ICU is often enough influenced by class and race because doctors are biased (more on this later). While a severe medical condition might be diagnosed, it is often treated outside an ICU capacity.

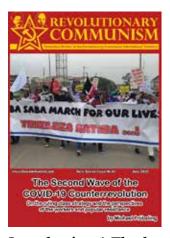
In these times doctors assume a more severe health threat for the unvaccinated and might be biased to admit them to ICU rather then they would with a vaccinated patient. Also, still today little to no effort was made to enlarge ICU wards to counteract potential overload.

Finally, it became obvious that Corona is a virus which mutates easy and fast. A strategy of vaccinations to create herd immunity can only pan out if the whole world population is vaccinated at one and the same time, and then probably again and again. If mass vaccinations are implied only in specific countries, it increases the risk that new mutations break through vaccination immunity and that those who are vaccinated serve as an incubator for more severe mutations which might kill far more people and potentially far more younger people. Another strategy can be to isolate each nation completely from the other (like both Australia and New Zealand have tried). However, this would mean that no person in the world shall be allowed to travel outside the country for the next years if not decades. This would be only possible with a very developed Bonapartist regime all around the world. This is definitely not a perspective that Marxists (or any real democratic person) should go for!

Side effects of the vaccination for children

The side effects of vaccination in the age group younger than 16 years may be far more severe than for older people as the immune reaction of children is different. It may take far more time than bourgeois politicians allow to calibrate the right dose for every age group of the youth. Age difference of five years is nearly nothing for people over 40 but very significant for everybody under 18 years, especially in medicine. It is ridiculous to put youth under a higher risk of heart muscle failure (and similar complications) to enforce a vaccination that gives them less immunity without a higher safety than the infection itself.

While the death toll during two years of corona for children under 18 years is at 1.14 per 100.000, the chance to



Publications of the RCIT

The Second Wave of the COVID-19 Counterrevolution

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

By Michael Pröbsting, July 2020

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

develop a myocarditis after the *first* dose vaccine for males between 16 and 29 years (there is no data for children yet) is between 6.93 to 14.46 cases per 100.000. ⁷ Myocarditis would occur in the general population only 2.13 times per 100.000 if unvaccinated. These figures themselves are from Western imperialist countries. ⁸

Those who argue in favor of vaccinating children say that myocarditis is easily treatable today. However, this is only the case if it is diagnosed early enough and treated correctly. Both is often enough a luxury for people in semi-colonial countries and for the poorer strata in the imperialist countries. Especially as myocarditis often develops without symptoms respectively without clear symptomatology.

Also, very young children might not be able to recognize and successfully communicate the potential symptoms of their myocarditis. Furthermore, why should we put young people at risk with a vaccination if the danger of corona is so low for them to begin with?

Even if children might have a more aggressive immune reaction in case of an infection with the virus, this immune reaction is based on a natural setting. The body of the child gets into contact with the Corona virus and the virus spreads causing the immune system to react immediately. The immune system of the child might detect the virus before it multiplies and spreads. It might detect it when it multiplies or in a very early stage of spreading, and then it reacts. In every case, chances are good that the virus doesn't get as far as it would in an elder body and that the reaction of the child's body in fighting the virus is more aggressive and, in the end, more effective.

This is due to the natural development of the immune system that learns via contact with viruses leading up to 12 infections per year until the child reaches school age. ⁹ A vaccination on the other hand gives an artificially calibrated amount of substance to the body in order to provoke a reaction. The wrong dose can create a lot of harm as it enters the body very suddenly and not via its natural filter systems (nasal mucosa respectively buccal mucosa) as it normally would.

Supporting the so-called mucociliary clearance however is easy, safe and effective. How to do it? Nasal spray with Carragelose as well as gargling for a minute with warm (not hot) green tea, pomegranate juice or chokeberry juice has proven to reduce the viral strength by 80-97%. Using of mouth wash helped even with 100% reduction of SARS-CoV-2 entering the body via the buccal mucosa. ¹⁰

While nasal spray and mouth wash do not stop the virus to get into contact with your body, it massively reduces the virus load that might enter your body respectively stops it at the door. This offers your body the opportunity to react to a relatively small (if any) number of SARS-CoV-2 viruses and to deal with them by itself.

As long as your body is not immune suppressed (something you most likely would know already) chances are high that you can easily deal with the viral contact. Using of nasal spray, gargling every few hours and washing hands regularly can easily be organized during childcare respectively school time. Implementing these measures before and after meeting with friends, can also be done by children and young adults. Before children reach an age where they can gargle, caretakers can use those methods as well (like anybody else could).

This will not stop the spread of the virus, it will not stop

infection, but it slows it massively and offers the chance to build immunity via very small virus loads entering the body and with those milder forms of infection. In medicine there is the term of contraindicated – something that is not recommended as it may hold more risk than benefit. Especially if there are better alternatives. Comparing risks of new vaccines which are developed under time pressure and in a probably not exactly calibrated smaller dose for children with the already known side-effects and the threat by COVID makes the later to be the lesser evil for people under 18 years on the long run.

The main consequence that comes out from vaccinating the youth is a higher share of profit for Big Pharma and a potential disaster when it comes to side effects for the people who embody the future of humanity. On the other hand, easy hygiene measures and supporting the mucociliary clearance is safe and effective. It reduces the risk of severe infections but might not spare the youth from getting infected anyways, but as we know from the vaccines – neither do they.

But what about Long COVID and Multi-System Inflammatory Syndrome?

Supporters of a mass vaccination policy for children argue that long term side effects of a Corona infection like Long COVID or the Multi-System Inflammatory Syndrome (MIS-C) might put children at a higher risk for severe complications and death on the long term, even if they have no complications during Corona itself. While it is true that both phenomena might occur after the virus infection with Corona it is also true that one cannot determine if Corona was the cause or another virus.

MIS-C is well known as Kawasaki Syndrome since 1974 as it occurs sometimes in children after infections. They develop a rash, may vomit, or have diarrhea, cracked lips and red eyes as well as other very visible symptoms. Contrary to a myocarditis, MIS-C becomes visible for caretakers even if children cannot vocalize their symptoms.

Long COVID on the other hand seems to be a new phenomenon although it is neither clear if children are prone to develop it nor how severe this illness might be. First medical studies have found out that from 65% of patients with Long COVID symptoms, the Epstein Barr virus (the virus causing mono) was reactivated. Same happened with only 10% of the former COVID patients with no symptoms of Long COVID. ¹¹ As some people might know from their own experience with mononucleosis, extreme fatigue, fever, headache and body pain, sore throat and other symptoms might occur with this infection. 90 to 95% of the people get into contact with the virus during their adolescence where it stays and can be reactivated. ¹² Mono is well known and treatable as well as the Kawasaki Syndrome

Moreso, in the case of mono as an underlying cause for Long COVID it is very unlikely for children to develop it as usually they do not catch the Epstein Barr virus at a very young age but rather as teenagers. In the case of MIS-C it might be a reaction after a Corona infection but also after every other viral infection that children might get. It is very difficult if not impossible to truly pin MIS-C to Corona as it existed for many decades before the corona pandemic started.

The real reasons for hospitalization in ICU

Finally, the argument to keep the hospitalization from young people low to spare the space for the elder is idiotic. First, based on various studies the socio-economic status (short SES or to say it in Marxist terms class *and* race) is the main factor deciding who will receive ICU care – not so much the age (although one has to add that the average age of patients in the ICU is increasing since many years, i.e. more and more older people are in ICU care, not the younger ones).

The upper-20% income level group accounted for one third (!) of the patients at the ICUs in Korea. ¹³

If Black people are transferred to an ICU, they are kept waiting much longer than white people in the United States, i.e. 77 minutes (!) longer in average.¹⁴

Again, the argument to "trust science and doctors" is quite ridiculous for the working class (especially its poorer strata) and the oppressed. One study from 2017 summed the results of dozens of papers the following way: "Compared with other patients, physicians are less likely to perceive low SES patients as intelligent, independent, responsible, or rational and believe that they are less likely to comply with medical advice and return for follow-up visits. These physician perceptions have been shown to impact physicians' clinical decisions. Physicians delay diagnostic testing, prescribe more generic medications, and avoid referral to specialty care for their patients of low SES versus other patients. Some physicians believe that tailoring care options to a patient's socioeconomic circumstances can improve patient compliance and thereby improve health outcomes. However, other studies have shown that physicians believe that the financial and coverage restrictions faced by low SES patients limit access to care and results in worse health outcomes for these patients. There are also some physicians who do not care for patients of lower SES with publicly financed insurance due to low reimbursement rates.".15

The quality of medical care is based on class background, race and gender, on the location (imperialist wealthy country or poorer semi-colonial country) and, in consequence, it discriminates against the youngest population group in the word. In addition, doctors are biased against poorer people.

As a matter of fact, the Bonapartist COVID rule resulted in the *additional* death of more than 260,000 babies (mainly in the semi-colonial countries) while the people 65 years and older in the imperialist states were spared the death by any means – what a disgusting elitist, pro-imperialist policy!

Only in a perverted, downward spiral of capitalist decay and imperialist arrogancy, enforced mass vaccinations make sense. For true Marxists, however, especially forcing the youth to get the COVID shot is nothing else but the outcry of a degenerated system ready to be smashed. It will be the revolutionary youth (especially from the semi-colonial countries) who will fulfill this historic task!

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The Significance of the Putin-Xi Meeting

Russia and China close ranks against their imperialist rivals

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 5.2.2022

he meeting between the heads of state of China and Russia has been an extraordinary event. This is the case not only because of the persons involved but also because of developments in world politics. The current escalation of tensions between the U.S. and Russia is the most dramatic acceleration of Great Powers rivalry for a long time. Both Washington as well as Moscow have issued a series of threats of war and sanctions. ¹

The outcome of the Putin-Xi meeting shows that the collaboration between Russia and China is deepening – both on political as well as on economic level. Furthermore, these two imperialist powers share a joint approach to build a new world order. Their broad range of agreements has been reflected in the adoption of a comprehensive and substantial 5,300 words long joint statement. ² Let us explain our assessment of the Putin-Xi meeting in some detail.

Intensifying economic cooperation and trade

First, Beijing and Moscow agreed to deepen their economic and technological cooperation. All in all, a package of 16 intergovernmental, interdepartmental and commercial documents was approved. Among the most important ones are a cooperation deal between the Russian state corporation Roscosmos and the Chinese Satellite Navigation System Commission in the sphere of mutual complementarity of the GLONASS and Beidou global satellite navigation systems.

Furthermore, four commercial contracts were signed during the visit. Rosneft and Huawei sealed a deal on cooperation. Rosneft and China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) signed an agreement on the deliveries of 100 million tons of oil via Kazakhstan over a decade and approved a memorandum of understanding to cooperate in the low-carbon development sphere. ³

In addition, Russia's energy giant Gazprom signed a 30-year agreement with CNPC to supply natural gas to China via the Far Eastern route. "As soon as the project reaches its full capacity, the amount of Russian pipeline gas supplies to China is going to grow by 10 billion cubic meters, totaling 48 billion cubic meters per year (including deliveries via the Power of Siberia gas trunkline)," according to a statement on Gazprom's official website. ⁴

China's trade volume with Russia topped \$140 billion for the first time in 2021 as China held onto its position as Russia's top trading partner for the 12th year in a row. China's exports to Russia jumped 33.8% year-on-year to \$67.57 billion last year, while its imports from Russia, a bulk of which was oil and gas, rose 37.5% to \$79.32 billion. ⁵

Such deals have not only an economic meaning. As is well known, Europe's energy supply depends to a large degree on Russia. Moscow supplies around 40% of EU gas consumption. This dependence has deepened even more with the installation of the pipeline North Stream 2. Washington pressurizes the EU to reduce its dependence on Russia. Expanding its energy exports to China allows Moscow

to become less vulnerable to such threats by Western imperialists.

Furthermore, both China and Russia view such economic cooperation also as part of a geopolitical convergence. Beijing's foreign minister Wang Yi noted on the day before the Putin-Xi meeting "that advancing the Belt and Road Initiative to connect with the Eurasian Economic Union is an important consensus reached by two state leaders, and the two countries have achieved strong initial results and that China is willing to strengthen connectivity with Russia, and actively push forward cooperation across the upstream, midstream and downstream industrial chain cooperation in the energy sector." ⁶

China backs Russia against NATO

However, the relevance of the Putin-Xi meeting is not limited to economic agreements. The political and geostrategic agreements are at least as important, if not more. In a situation of dramatic escalation of tensions between the U.S. and Russia, both camps try to rally their forces. Washington works hard to get their European allies behind its demands. And Moscow tries the same. In addition to its traditional allies – like the member states of its alliance CSTO – Russia tries to get public backing by China. The Joint Statement of the two states reflect that Moscow has accomplished that goal.

"The sides oppose further enlargement of NATO and call on the North Atlantic Alliance to abandon its ideologized cold war approaches, to respect the sovereignty, security and interests of other countries, the diversity of their civilizational, cultural and historical backgrounds, and to exercise a fair and objective attitude towards the peaceful development of other States. (...) The Chinese side is sympathetic to and supports the proposals put forward by the Russian Federation to create long-term legally binding security guarantees in Europe."

Already a few days ago, Wang Yi told his American counterpart, Secretary of State Antony Blinken, that Moscow's security concerns need to be taken seriously and addressed, a statement that marked a notable policy shift for Beijing.

Unsurprisingly, experts close to the Kremlin have been keen to point out such convergence. Yuri Ushakov, Putin's foreign affairs adviser, emphasized that China backs Russia in the current standoff over Ukraine. "Beijing supports Russia's demands for security guarantees and shares a view that security of one state can't be ensured by breaching other country's security."

And Vasily Kashin, a China expert with the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, noted: "Previously, China avoided such expressions of support for the Russian policies in Eastern Europe. Now we see more unity." ⁷

It is not only Eastern experts which emphasize the importance of Beijing's support for Russia in its conflict with NATO. The *Washington Post* – a leading voice of America's ruling class – also refers rightly to China backing of Russia in the current conflict with NATO as "perhaps the most notable part of the statement." ⁸

And Kevin Rudd, president of the Asia Society and former Australian prime minister, called Beijing's backing of Moscow over NATO expansion "highly significant. It puts at risk China's wider relationship with the Europeans. But Xi believes he is now powerful enough and has sufficient economic leverage with Europe to get away with it. It also signifies that China now sees itself as a global, not just a regional, security actor." ⁹

And Moscow supports Beijing on Taiwan and AUKUS

However, it is equally remarkable that Moscow is now officially backing China's position in East and South-East Asia. "The sides stand against the formation of closed bloc structures and opposing camps in the Asia-Pacific region and remain highly vigilant about the negative impact of the United States' Indo-Pacific strategy on peace and stability in the region. Russia and China have made consistent efforts to build an equitable, open and inclusive security system in the Asia-Pacific Region that is not directed against third countries and that promotes peace, stability and prosperity."

The Joint Statement notes that Russia supports Beijing's position that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China. ¹⁰ "The Russian side reaffirms its support for the One-China principle, confirms that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China, and opposes any forms of independence of Taiwan."

Likewise, both powers state their opposition to AUKUS, the imperialist pact among the US, the UK and Australia. ¹¹ "The sides are seriously concerned about the trilateral security partnership between Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom (AUKUS), which provides for deeper cooperation between its members in areas involving strategic stability, in particular their decision to initiate cooperation in the field of nuclear-powered submarines. Russia and China believe that such actions are contrary to the objectives of security and sustainable development of the Asia-Pacific region, increase the danger of

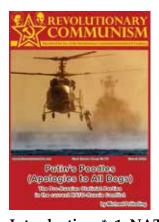
an arms race in the region, and pose serious risks of nuclear proliferation. The sides strongly condemn such moves and call on AUKUS participants to fulfil their nuclear and missile non-proliferation commitments in good faith and to work together to safeguard peace, stability, and development in the region."

A converging view on the world order

The rapprochement on the Ukraine and Taiwan are not isolated issues but part of a more general convergence of the global outlook of Moscow and Beijing. The Joint Statement expresses such agreements on several issues. Most importantly is the shared interest to challenge the long-time hegemony of U.S. imperialism and to establish a new world order characterized by "genuine multipolarity" and to "advance multipolarity and promote the democratization of international relations."

"The Russian side notes the significance of the concept of constructing a "community of common destiny for mankind" proposed by the Chinese side to ensure greater solidarity of the international community and consolidation of efforts in responding to common challenges. The Chinese side notes the significance of the efforts taken by the Russian side to establish a just multipolar system of international relations. (...) The sides call for the establishment of a new kind of relationships between world powers on the basis of mutual respect, peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation. They reaffirm that the new inter-State relations between Russia and China are superior to political and military alliances of the Cold War era. Friendship between the two States has no limits, there are no "forbidden" areas of cooperation, strengthening of bilateral strategic cooperation is neither aimed against third countries nor affected by the changing international environment and circumstantial changes in third countries."

Both Putin as well as Xi are quoted in the press by making similar statements which emphasize the deep conver-



PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

Putin's Poodles (Apologies to All Dogs)

The pro-Russian Stalinist parties and their arguments in the current NATO-Russia Conflict

by Michael Pröbsting, February 2022

Introduction * 1. NATO is the sole aggressor! Really? * Is it relevant for Marxists who is the aggressor? * What is causing the escalation of tensions between Great Powers: the party of warmongers or the imperialist system? * Can socialists defend "legitimate spheres of influence" of Great Powers? * Putin and Great Russian Chauvinism claim that the Ukraine is not an independent nation * Stalinism versus Bolshevism: The Ukraine and the right of national self-determination * From Kazakhstan to Syria: Stalinism is siding with the counterrevolution * Is Russian imperialism a "force of social progress"? Discussion of a remarkable Stalinist document * Stalinism and social-imperialism: concluding remarks * Footnotes

gence of the two imperialist powers. "China and Russia are committed to "deepening back-to-back strategic cooperation," Xi was quoted as telling Putin. "This is a strategic decision that has far-reaching influence on China, Russia and the world," Xi said, according to the official Xinhua News Agency. Faced with a "complex and evolving international situation," the two sides "strongly support each other" in confronting what Xi called "regional security threats" and "international strategic stability," without directly naming the U.S. (...) Putin praised "unprecedented" close relations with China, in his opening remarks to Xi carried by Russian television. Relations "are developing in a progressive way with a spirit of friendship and strategic partnership," Putin said. "They have indeed become unprecedented." 12 "We are working together to bring to life true multilateralism," Xi told Putin, according to the Kremlin translation of their remarks. "Defending the real spirit of democracy serves as a reliable foundation for uniting the world in overcoming crises and defending equality." And Putin said "Foreign policy coordination between Russia and China is based on close and coinciding approaches to solving global and regional issues" 13

Counterrevolutionary hatred against popular uprisings

Furthermore, both Beijing and Moscow share hatred for popular uprisings against dictatorship – something which they slur as so-called "colour revolutions" which are supposedly directed by the CIA. "Russia and China stand against attempts by external forces to undermine security and stability in their common adjacent regions, intend to counter interference by outside forces in the internal affairs of sovereign countries under any pretext, oppose colour revolutions, and will increase cooperation in the aforementioned areas.

Such a "colour revolution" took place only a few weeks ago when the workers and poor in Kazakhstan rose up against the authoritarian capitalist regime of Tokayev. It was only the intervention of 3,000 troops of the Russian-led CSTO alliance which allowed the regime to brutal suppress the uprising, killing several hundreds and throwing about 8,000 people into prison. ¹⁴

Equally, the two imperialist powers agree to fights against "terrorism". "The sides condemn terrorism in all its manifestations, promote the idea of creating a single global anti-terrorism front, with the United Nations playing a central role, advocate stronger political coordination and constructive engagement in multilateral counterterrorism efforts. The sides oppose politicization of the issues of combating terrorism and their use as instruments of policy of double standards, condemn the practice of interference in the internal affairs of other States for geopolitical purposes through the use of terrorist and extremist groups as well as under the guise of combating international terrorism and extremism."

Again, one needs to take into account what imperialists mean by "terrorism". It is well known that the US and its European allies have denounced the Islamist resistance fighters in Afghanistan and Iraq as "terrorist" in order to delegitimize national liberation struggles taking place under the leadership of petty-bourgeois Islamist forces. ¹⁵

Their Eastern rivals are no different. They also smear resistance movements of oppressed peoples as "terrorist". Just look at the Muslim Uyghurs in China's Xinyang (or East Turkestan as the Uyghurs call it), ¹⁶ Syria, ¹⁷ or Chechnya. ¹⁸

In summary, the alliance of Russian and Chinese impe-

rialism is based on shared interests in opposing Western imperialism as well as resistance struggles of oppressed peoples.

Chinese and Russian analysts point out the significance of the meeting

A number of bourgeois analysts in China and Russia have also pointed out that a joint global outlook of the two powers is emerging. Li Xin, director of the Institute of European and Asian Studies at Shanghai's University of Political Science and Law, said: "The U.S. and the Western countries, on the one hand, are exerting pressure against Russia over the issue of Ukraine, and on the other hand, are exerting pressure against China over the issue of Taiwan Such acts of extreme pressure by the West will only force China and Russia to further strengthen cooperation."

Yuri Ushakov, Putin's foreign affairs adviser, said that the recent meeting would mark a new stage in the Russia-China partnership that he described as a "key factor contributing to a sustainable global development and helping counter destructive activities by certain countries." He is also quoted as saying that "Moscow and Beijing have close or identical stands on most international issues. He particularly emphasized that China backs Russia in the current standoff over Ukraine." ¹⁹ And the Global Times – the mouthpiece of the Stalinist-capitalist regime in Beijing – pointed out "the unprecedented strategic partnership between Russia and China, which is not only in the interests of the two countries but also the stability of the world." ²⁰

A confirmation of the Marxists analysis

Let us finally summarize the main conclusions which Marxists, in our opinion, should draw from the Putin-Xi meeting. As is well known, Marxists are debating for long if China (and Russia) can be characterized as imperialist powers or not. ²¹ We in the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) have argued for more than a decade that both Russia ²² as well as China have become imperialist powers. ²³

As a result, we characterize the tensions between the Great Powers – the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan – as features of *inter-imperialist rivalry*. ²⁴ Consequently, Marxists must not support either side but oppose both camps. Each and every conflict between these Great Powers should be utilized to weaken the regimes and to advance the class struggle. ²⁵ At the same time, the RCIT advocates support for the liberation struggles of peoples oppressed by Great Powers – both in East as well as in West.

The Putin-Xi summit reflects the fact that China and Russia are leading powers – together with the Western imperialist states. China has the largest economy – together with the U.S. And Russia has the world's largest military after the U.S. Both powers have global interests and the ability to advance their goals.

The meeting and the resulting Joint Statement reflect their Great Powers status. Beijing and Moscow obviously view themselves as Great Powers which openly declare their global goals. The U.S. and the European Union don't like the rise of the Eastern powers. But no bourgeois politician or analyst would deny that Russia and China have become "global players" which the West could afford to ignore.

Unfortunately, there are many self-proclaimed socialists which deny the imperialist character of China and Russia. Many Stalinists, semi-Stalinists and Bolivarians claim that these powers would represent something "progressive" or "anti-imperialist". Such forces claim to be "socialists" but, in reality, they rather are *social-imperialist servants of Chinese and Russian imperialism*.

Other comrades oppose the Russian and Chinese regime and their reactionary foreign policy. However, they do not have the heart to characterize these powers as *imperialist*. Consequently, they leave – consciously or unconsciously – open the door for supporting these powers in a future conflict with the U.S. or Western Europe. Such a position would be in complete contrast to the principles of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialism.

We hope that joint discussions and collaboration with such socialists will help them to overcome such weaknesses and to allow the joint struggle against all imperialist powers!

Footnotes

- 1 We refer readers to a special page on our website where all RCIT documents on the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/.
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- Quoted in the above-mentioned article by Ken Moritsugu: Russia, China push back against US in pre-Olympics summit. See also e.g. Chen Qingqing and Fan Anqi: China, Russia are 'stabilizers for challenging world', Xi-Putin meeting to address critical issues, may ink new deals: experts, Global Times, 3 February 2022, https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202202/1251361.shtml

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- 14 See the compilation of RCIT documents on the popular uprising in Kazakhstan on a special page on our website: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/compilation-of-articles-on-the-popular-uprising-in-kazakhstan/
- See the compilation of RCIT documents on the imperialist defeat in Afghanistan on a special sub-page on our webiste: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/collection-of-articles-on-us-defeat-in-afghanistan/. In particular we refer to two pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting: Afghanistan: Understanding (and Misunderstanding) the Taliban. Class Contradictions, Women's Oppression and Anti-Imperialist Resistance, 10 September 2021, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/afghanistan-and-the-left-closet-social-imperialism/.
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- See e.g. the exchange between Esteban-Mercatante a leading theoretician of the Argentinean PTS/FT - and Michael Pröbsting. 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-consequencias-para-a-politica-revolucionaria). The RCIT has republished this exchange on its website in English as well as in Spanish and Portuguese language. (See https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/debate-on-capitalismin-china/)
- 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 Marx-

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25 See on this e.g. RCIT: Theses on Revolutionary Defeatism in Imperialist States, 8 September 2018, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-on-revolutionary-defeatism-in-imperialist-states/

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.

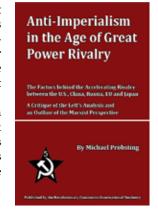
In Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry Michael Pröbsting critically discusses the analysis of modern imperialism by a number of left-wing parties (left social democrats, Stalinists, Trotskyists and others). He demon-

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

The author elaborates the approach of leading Marxist figures like Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg to the prob-

lems 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.



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 lead 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 lead 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!