



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



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August 2018

## Global Trade War - Prelude to World War III?

Joint Statement plus Essays by Yossi Schwartz and Michael Pröbsting

PLUS: Israel as a Colonial Entity // Capitalist Restoration in North Korea

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## English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.9, August 2018

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*The picture on the cover shows a U.S. gasoline station, closed during the oil embargo in 1973*

*Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic\\_sanctions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_sanctions)*

*Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Zambia, Kenya, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria. Furthermore, the RCIT has fraternal relations with the Alkebulan School of Black Studies (Kenya), the Pacesetters Movement (Nigeria), the Pan-African Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria), Courant des Jeunes Penseurs Congolais (Democratic Republic of Congo), the Marxist Group 'Class Politics' (Russia) and Sınıf Savaşı (Turkey).*

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# Global Trade War: No to Great Power Jingoism in West & East! Neither Imperialist Globalization nor Imperialist Protectionism! For International Solidarity and Joint Struggle of the Working Class and Oppressed People!

*Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), Marxist Group 'Class Politics' (Russia),  
Alkebulan School of Black Studies (Kenya), Pan-Afrikan Consciousness Renaissance (Nigeria),  
Courant des Jeunes Penseurs Congolais (Democratic Republic of Congo), and Sınıf Savaşı (Turkey), 4 July 2018*

1. A global trade war is looming between all Great Powers in West and East – the U.S., China, the European Union, Japan, Russia and other imperialist powers. Economic sanctions between Great Powers started already in 2014 when the U.S. and the EU imposed sanctions against Russia and vice versa. Currently, the Trump Administration is about to impose much more far-reaching sanctions against its rivals with the latter implementing retaliatory action. Obviously, an escalation of the global trade war would have devastating consequences for the world economy and the living conditions of the working people.

2. The background for this massive deterioration is the accelerating rivalry between the Great Powers. Hence, the economic sanctions are an expression of an inter-imperialist rivalry which will also lead sooner or later to military tensions and conflicts. The intensification of Great Power chauvinism is inevitable under these conditions. Such jingoism is aimed at poisoning the consciousness of the working people by instigating nationalist hatred against each other.

3. The Great Powers also use economic sanctions in order to impose their political and economic dictates on smaller countries of the Global South. North Korea, Iran, Zimbabwe, Venezuela, various South-East Asian countries, etc. have become victims of such sanctions or the threat of it. Likewise do Great Powers discriminate oppressed people from poorer countries by restricting their right to travel or to ask for asylum (e.g. Trump "Muslim Ban", the EU's racist Frontex regime in the Mediterranean Sea and on the Balkans, Russia's discrimination against people from the Caucasus and Central Asia, etc.).

4. In view of a looming global trade war, socialists call the workers and popular organizations around the world to act decisively on the basis of the principles of international working class solidarity. Such principles are valid in times of peace and war, in case of economic sanctions as well as in case of military aggression.

*\* No to a global trade war! Oppose Great Power jingoism in West and East! Against militarist saber-rattling! In imperialist states, socialists say: "The Main Enemy is at Home!" In case of sanctions or a trade war between the U.S., China, European Union, Russia, Canada, Japan, or other powers, socialists in all countries involved must oppose such sanctions.*

*\* Down with imperialist sanctions against semi-colonial countries like North Korea, Iran, Zimbabwe, Venezuela and others! Defend these countries against all forms of imperialist aggression! But no political support for the anti-working class regimes in these states!*

*\* Down with the imperialist border regime! Open the borders for refugees! Defend Muslim migrants against Islamophobic racism!*

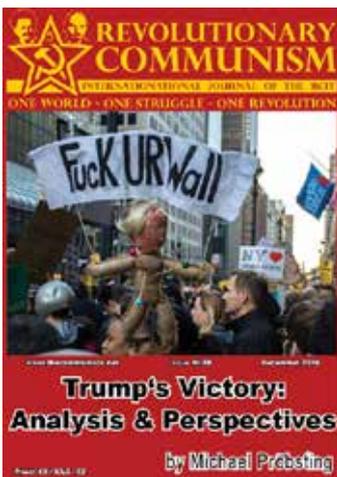
*\* Neither imperialist globalization nor imperialist protectionism! Against all Great Powers and capitalist corporations in West and East! For international solidarity and joint cross-border struggle in defense of the interests of workers and oppressed!*

## The undersigned organizations

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (Zambia, Kenya, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria), [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net)  
Marxist Group 'Class Politics' (Russia), <https://mgkp.github.io/>  
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Sınıf Savaşı (Turkey), <http://sinif-savasi.blogspot.com>  
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Coordinadora Nacional Estudiantil (Mexico)



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

# The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump's Victory

*By Michael Pröbsting, November 2016*

Introduction \* I. The Election Outcome \* II. Where is the Trump Administration Heading? \* III. Global Consequences: The Beginning of a New Era \* IV. Lessons and Perspectives for the Struggle \* V. Summary Theses \* Footnotes

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 40 pages, A4 Format*

## The Global Trade War has Begun

### What is its Meaning and what should be the Response of Socialists?

by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 13 July 2018

The Global Trade War has begun. After months of negotiations without result, a cycle of punitive tariffs and retaliatory tariffs between the U.S. and China – the world's two biggest imperialist Great Powers – has started on 6 July.

On that day, the Trump Administration imposed 25% tariffs on \$34bn of Chinese imports (e.g. boats, aircraft engines and nuclear reactors). Hours later, Beijing responded with matching tariffs on the same amount of US exports (e.g. soybeans, tobacco and cars) to China.

Furthermore, according to reports, China's Dongming Petrochemical Group has suspended crude oil purchases from the United States and has now turned to Iran as one of its sources of crude. This is part of Beijing's plan to slap tariffs on U.S. crude oil imports and replace them with West African and Middle Eastern crude, including crude from Iran. (1)

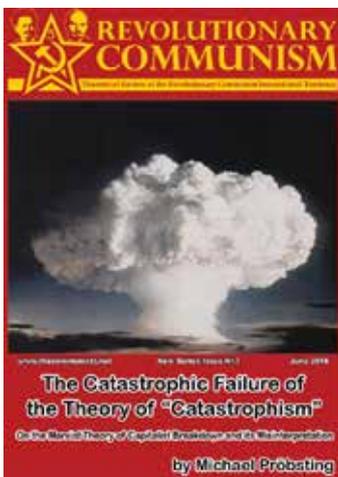
Infuriated by China's refusal to back down, Washington is now escalating the trade war. On 10 July, the Trump Administration proposed tariffs on another US\$200 billion of Chinese imports. It issued a list of thousands of Chinese imports which the administration wants to hit with the new tariffs, including hundreds of food products as well as tobacco, chemicals, coal, steel and aluminium. It also includes consumer goods ranging from car tires, furniture, wood products, handbags and suitcases, to dog and cat

food, baseball gloves, carpets, doors, bicycles, skis, golf bags, toilet paper and beauty products. Hence, the new list targets many more consumer goods than those covered under the tariffs imposed on 6 July. The list is subject to a two-month public comment period before taking effect. (2)

On the next day, Beijing vowed to retaliate and warned the US of "damaging the world economic order". Li Cheng-gang, the assistant minister of commerce, said: "The outburst of large-scale mutual levying of tariffs between China and the United States will inevitably destroy Sino-US trade." (3)

In the recent past, we have pointed out repeatedly the likelihood of such a conflict and its dangerous consequences. (4) It is the unavoidable result of the acceleration of the rivalry between the Great Powers which is a key characteristic of the present historic period. Hence, half a year ago, we wrote: "Given the aggressive protectionism advocated by the Trump Administration there is a realistic possibility that a trade war could start in 2018 between the U.S. and China which would trigger another recession." (5)

If one side does not back down in the next weeks, such a scenario will take place. While temporary compromises are not excluded, the fundamental dynamic of accelerating antagonism between the Great Powers is irreversible. The Global Trade War, of which we have warned, has now begun.



### NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

## The Catastrophic Failure of the Theory of "Catastrophism"

By Michael Pröbsting, May 2018

*On the Marxist Theory of Capitalist Breakdown and its Misinterpretation*

*by the Partido Obrero (Argentina) and its*

*"Coordinating Committee for the Refoundation of the Fourth International"*

Introduction \* A Note on the PO's term "Catastrophism" \* What did the Marxist Classics Say? A Brief Overview \* Empirical Evidence for the Long-Term Decline of Capitalism \* What will come after Capitalism? \* Epoch and Periods \* The Current Historical Period which Opened in 2008/09 \* Empirical Evidence for the Decay of Capitalism in the Present Historic Period \* The Dialectical and the Mechanistic Interpretation of Cycles on Capitalism \* Permanent Collapse? No, there is Collapse and Collapse \* Consequences of "Catastrophism" (I): Confusion on Capitalist Restoration \* Consequences of "Catastrophism" (II): Confusion on China and Russia as Capitalist Powers \* Excuse: The Theory of "Long Waves" and Dialectical Materialism \* From Economic Crisis to Revolutionary Situation? \* Can the Crisis of Leadership be Solved without an International Democratic-Centralist Organization? \* Conclusions \* Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 32 pages, A4 Format

### Nervousness at the Stock Markets

As a result, nervousness is spreading throughout the capitalist classes all over the world. After the White House's announcement on 10 July, South Korea's KOSPI lost 1% and Japan's Nikkei fell 1.2%. The US-American Dow Jones mini futures fell as much as 1% while S&P500 e-mini futures, the world's most liquid futures, were down 0.8%. In China, Shanghai's main index fell 1.78% to close at 2,777.20 points, while Hong Kong's Hang Seng tumbled 1.29%. Likewise in Europe, where the British FTSE 100 finished the day 100 points lower at 7,591, down 1.3%, while the DAX slipped 1.5% in Germany.

Important sectors of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie are deeply worried about the prospects of an all-out global trade war. The Republican chair of the Senate finance committee, Orrin Hatch, criticized Trump's threat by saying it *"appears reckless and is not a targeted approach"*. A spokeswoman of the US chamber of commerce also criticised the administration's move: *"Tariffs are taxes, plain and simple. Imposing taxes on another \$200bn worth of products will raise the costs of everyday goods for American families, farmers, ranchers, workers, and job creators. It will also result in retaliatory tariffs, further hurting American workers."* The Retail Industry Leaders Association, a lobby group representing the largest US retailers, said: *"The president has broken his promise to bring maximum pain on China, minimum pain on consumers."* (6)

Such nervousness among the capitalists around the world is fully justified. We are experiencing the final phase of the current business cycle, the first cycle within the period of the Great Depression which began in 2008. (7)

The Global Trade War, in combination with the warmongering of US imperialism against Iran, could trigger an early economic collapse. While Washington's attempts to exclude Iran – the third biggest global oil producer – from the world market will inevitable result in a massive rise of oil prices, the increase of tariffs will increase prices both for industrial as well as for consumer commodities.

While Trump claims that his sanctions will hurt China (which is true), he seems to be unaware that they will also dramatically affect American consumers. As wages are stagnant, households are increasingly using their credit cards to pay for consumption. As a result, consumer debt service as a percentage of disposable income has risen back to the levels we last saw just before the 2008 crash. At the same time, personal saving was barely 3.4% of household's personal income in 2017. (8) Never before did the US economy experience such a low level since 1945 – except in the years before the Great Recession in 2008/09! (9)

### **China warns the U.S. that it *"has ignited the largest trade war in economic history"***

From the point of view of US imperialism, the logic of Trump's aggressive trade policy is perfectly clear. As we have shown in our analyses of the world situation, the world's biggest Great Power faces a historic decline since years. Irrespective of its internal fragility and bizarre performance (like Nero, Trump is the perfect intellectual and moral personification of the decay of a hegemonial power), the White House attempts to stop or even reverse this decline by a policy of aggressive jingoism and protection-

ism.

The Chinese regime of Xi Jinping, representing an ascending imperialist Great Power and the most power rival of the the U.S., is fully aware of the dramatic meaning of the current cycle of punitive tariffs and retaliatory tariffs. Beijing's Ministry of Commerce stated on 6 July that *"the United States has ignited the largest trade war in economic history."* (10) A few days later, Chinese Vice Minister of Commerce Wang Shouwen, who is currently representing China during the country's policy review at the World Trade Organisation, denounced the US as a *"trade bully"* and noted: *"The United States started the war."* (11)

Aware of its class interests as a leading imperialist Great Power, Beijing understands that the Global Trade War is a result of the struggle for world hegemony. In a commentary in the regime's English-language mouth piece, Beijing pin's down the current events in the broader context: *"[T]he fact is, for the past more than one decade the United States has identified China as a strategic competitor in its national security strategy report. (...) Actually, the ongoing Sino-US trade disputes reflect the attempts of the US as an established power to contain the rise of China as an emerging power. The US' China containment policy has changed over the past decades, and the tariff war shows it has entered a new stage with economic competition being the focus. The rising trade disputes between the world's two largest economies raises a serious question: Will they lead to a full-blown confrontation between the US and China, or do they suggest the two sides have entered a new "Cold War"? (...) [I]f the tariff war is confined to the current level, the two countries and their peoples could still bear the impact. But if Trump launches an all-out trade war, the US economy and society may not be able to withstand the impact of countermeasures from China and other economies. According to the US' economic cycle, its economic boom period is nearing its end and contraction is likely to begin around 2020 even in the absence of a massive trade war with China. So could the trade war advance the US' economic decline and to what extent?"* (12)

So, while most Stalinist and centrist organizations refuse to recognize the imperialist class character of China, Beijing's ruling class is fully aware of the nature of current events as a struggle for world hegemony. Not only this, it also approaches such a conflict with full self-confidence.

### **Opening of a new World Political Phase?**

Only a fool can ignore the explosive dynamic of the present developments. If the two imperialist powers do not reach a compromise in the next two months, a dramatic global trade war will begin. Combined with the consequences of Washington's declared goal to exclude Iran from the world oil market by autumn, the outbreak of another Great Recession, with all its devastating social and political consequences, is inevitable under such conditions.

Add to all of this that the Trump Administration has also imposed tariffs on other imperialist powers like the European Union, Russia, Japan, South Korea, etc.

It is obvious that such an escalation of the Global Trade War would represent a new stage in the process of acceleration of the inter-imperialist rivalry. It could not be retained to economic tensions only but would inevitable spill over to massive political conflicts.

In other words, such a development would be the open-

ing fanfares of a new world political phase, characterized by an escalation of rivalry between the Great Powers and a wave of imperialist chauvinism and jingoism.

Make no mistake: *the Global Trade War is the prelude to World War III*. Of course, unlike in the opera, this prelude is not followed immediately by the main act. A new war between the Great Powers is not likely to take place in the near future. This is a longer process of acceleration of contradictions, of political crises, proxy wars, of diplomatic clashes and military tensions. Likely, the ruling class must first strike severe blows against their working class at home before it can start a world war. But in a historic sense, there should be no doubt: the Global Trade War is the first sign of the coming World War III.

### Is an Escalation Inevitable?

Of course, it is not inevitable that a full-blown Global Trade War will take place in the next few months. As mentioned above, both U.S. as well as Chinese capitalists fear such a development and its consequences for the world economy.

Furthermore, the U.S. Republicans face the important mid-term election in November. If American consumers experience a dramatic increase of prices before the election and see the Trump Administration as culprit, it could have even more devastating consequences for the Republican Party's electoral prospects than it most likely will have anyway. A loss of its majority both in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives would be extremely likely in such a scenario. Hence, important sectors of the Republican Party pressurize the Trump Administration not to escalate the trade war.

For all these reasons, one can not exclude that Washington and Beijing might find a temporary compromise and delay an all-out global trade war for some time.

However, given the fact that warmongering in the Middle East and economic protectionism are essential aspects of Trump's political project, it is very unlikely that such a compromise could last very long. Despite all the inner contradictions and obstacles, there can be no doubt that militarism and protectionism are the key answers of U.S. imperialism against its decline as the hegemonial global power. This would also be the case if the U.S. would have a less mentally deranged and more perceptive President.

For all these reasons, a full-blown Global Trade War is inevitable sooner or later.

### The Global Trade War is an Inevitable Result of the Nature of the Present Historic Period

Such an escalation of the tensions between the Great Powers is not surprising at all for Marxists. Quite the opposite, the RCIT has always insisted in its programmatic documents that the historic period which opened in 2008 is characterized by an acceleration of the rivalry between the imperialist powers – first and foremost the U.S., China, Russia, the European Union and Japan. (13)

The RCIT has summarized the character of this period in one of its world perspective document: (14)

*"To summarize, capitalism is in the throes of a historic period of decline which threatens not only the world economy but also the living standard of the popular masses, and even puts the*

*survival of humanity in danger. The current period is characterized by what Trotsky described as a "declining curve of capitalist development". It is the decay of the productive forces which constitutes the fundamental, the most important factor, for the acceleration of the contradictions between the classes which is so characteristic of the historic period since 2008. It is because of the declining dynamic of capital accumulation and the growth of profits that the bourgeoisie is forced, lest it face ruin, to relentlessly attack the working class. For the very same reason the imperialist bourgeoisie is forced to relentlessly strangle the semi-colonial countries of the South and to wage more and more military interventions and occupations. And it is for the very same reason that the rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers is accelerating, since they have to struggle against one other to gain a larger share of the relatively decreasing production of global capitalist value. Finally, if the imperialist Great Powers are not smashed by revolutionary international working class, their rivalry will lead to World War III. The working class can only end this continuous chain of misery, wars and catastrophes via a world socialist revolution. Rosa Luxemburg's statement that humanity is faced with the alternative "Socialism or Barbarism" is more relevant than ever. Under the conditions of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, the concretization of Luxemburg's statement means: "Socialism or Widespread Death through Climate Destruction and World War III!" (15)*

Naturally, as we have emphasized many times, it is impossible to understand the character of the present tensions between the Great Powers without the class character of the parties involved. Or more specifically, the precondition for a correct understanding is that socialists recognize the imperialist nature not only of the old imperialist powers – the U.S., Western Europe and Japan – but also of the emerging imperialist power China and Russia. (16)

In fact, only such an understanding enables Marxists to take a consistent revolutionary and anti-imperialist stance in such conflicts, i.e. a position of consistently opposing all imperialist powers and of intransigently fighting against their chauvinism and militarism. In our *"Six Points for a Platform of Revolutionary Unity Today"* we have summarized the position which, in our opinion, is the only legitimate for Marxists:

*"It is only possible to understand the driving dynamic of the present period of capitalist crisis and to take a correct position if one recognizes the imperialist character not only of the US, EU and Japan but also of the new emerging powers, Russia and China. Only on such a basis is it possible to arrive at the only correct, anti-imperialist program on this issue – proletarian internationalism and revolutionary defeatism, i.e., the perspective of consistent struggle of the working class independent of and against all imperialist powers. This means that revolutionaries refuse to lend support to any Great Power in inter-imperialist conflicts under the slogan "The main enemy is at home!" (17)*

Consequently, revolutionaries must oppose the Global Trade War and deploy a set of anti-imperialist tactics. Let us repeat the conclusions which we drew in our recently published joint statement with a number of other revolutionary organizations:

*"In view of a looming global trade war, socialists call the workers and popular organizations around the world to act decisively on the basis of the principles of international working class solidarity. Such principles are valid in times of peace and war, in*

case of economic sanctions as well as in case of military aggression.

\* No to a global trade war! Oppose Great Power jingoism in West and East! Against militarist saber-rattling! In imperialist states, socialists say: "The Main Enemy is at Home!" In case of sanctions or a trade war between the U.S., China, European Union, Russia, Canada, Japan, or other powers, socialists in all countries involved must oppose such sanctions.

\* Down with imperialist sanctions against semi-colonial countries like North Korea, Iran, Zimbabwe, Venezuela and others! Defend these countries against all forms of imperialist aggression! But no political support for the anti-working class regimes in these states!

\* Down with the imperialist border regime! Open the borders for refugees! Defend Muslim migrants against Islamophobic racism!

\* Neither imperialist globalization nor imperialist protectionism! Against all Great Powers and capitalist corporations in West and East! For international solidarity and joint cross-border struggle in defense of the interests of workers and oppressed!" (18)

### The Left in Confusion

It is amazing that most organizations which consider themselves as Marxists have published until now very little or nothing at all about the Global Trade War. And those, who have published an article on this issue, limit themselves to an empirical recognition of the tensions between the U.S. and China. But, in opposite to the RCIT, hardly anyone of these organizations understands the historic importance of the Global Trade War – both as an event with massive consequences for the world economy

as well as for the acceleration of the Great Power rivalry.

However, there is a reason for this. Most socialist organizations categorically reject to characterize China as an imperialist Great Power. (19) The only possible consequence from this would be to side with supposed non-imperialist China against U.S. imperialism. Understandably, many of these organizations – if we leave aside the Stalinists and semi-Stalinists – don't feel very comfortable with such a consequence. As a result, they prefer to ignore the issue of the Global Trade War or, if they deal with the issue, to refrain from any thorough analysis which would contain a clear class characterization of the powers involved as well as unambiguous conclusions for tactics.

Such confusion on a crucial issue of world politics disables these organizations to deploy a consistent program of revolutionary defeatism and anti-imperialism. However, without such a program they are unable to act as a revolutionary force in the present historic period.

In fact, various centrist muddleheads have attacked the RCIT for our characterization of the conflict between the Western powers and China and Russia as inter-imperialist rivalry. For example, the misnamed "World Socialist Website" denounced our stance as a "right-wing, bourgeois and pro-imperialist orientation" as they violently reject our characterization of China and Russia as imperialist. (20) However, this is only a hysterical cover for their opportunist adaption to Putin and Xi regimes.

We repeat our conclusion in a recently published article: "Whatever these socialists conclude, the looming global trade war demands a concrete and practical program: either the program of anti-imperialist defeatism or the program of social-imperialism. There is no third option." (21)

## Books of the RCIT

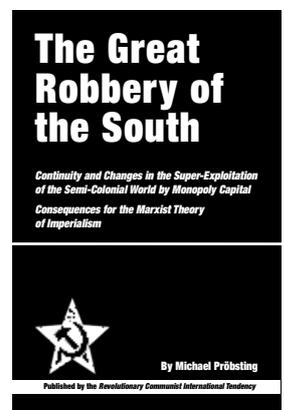
### Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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

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

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

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



### Conclusion

We say, without exaggeration, that any negligence of taking a Marxist position on the Global Trade War and of drawing the necessary programmatic conclusion is nothing but criminal!

Let's be clear: the Global Trade War is not a purely economic conflict between two or more powers. It is inextricably linked with political and military tensions. It is inevitable connected with political and ideological mobilizations of chauvinism. As we stated above, it is, in the historic sense, the prelude to World War III. Understanding the nature of the Global Trade War and the resulting tactics of revolutionary defeatism and anti-imperialism is of utmost political importance for socialists in the present period!

It should be clear to all Marxists that the economic, political, and military struggles – between the classes as well as between Great Powers – are inextricably linked with each other. The conflicts between the imperialist states – be in on the economic, political, or military field – require *one and the same* program of revolutionary defeatism and anti-imperialism. They require one and the same struggle for international socialist revolution!

In an article published in 1911, Rosa Luxemburg pointed out appropriately the interrelation of the economic, political, and military conflicts between the Great Powers.

*„From this same standpoint the tasks of the Social Democrats with regard to the declarations of the kind made by the British Government can only be to show up the idea of a partial limitation of armaments, in all its impracticability, as a half-measure, and to endeavour to make it clear to the people that militarism is closely linked up with colonial politics, with tariff politics, and with international politics, and that therefore the present Nations, if they really seriously and honestly wish to call a halt on competitive armaments, would have to begin by disarming in the commercial political field, give up colonial predatory campaigns and the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world – in a word, in their foreign as well as in their domestic politics would have to do the exact contrary of everything which the nature of the present politics of a capitalist class state demands. And thus would be clearly explained what constitutes the kernel of the Social Democratic conception, that militarism in both its forms – as war and as armed peace – is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, which can only*

*be overcome with the destruction of capitalism, and that hence whoever honestly desires world peace and liberation from the tremendous burden of armaments must also desire Socialism. Only in this way can real Social Democratic enlightenment and recruiting be carried on in connection with the armaments debate.“* (22)

Karl Radek, a leading collaborator of Lenin since 1914 and later of leading figure in Trotsky's Left Opposition against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the 1920s, also emphasized in a study about imperialism that failure to recognize the imperialist character of a tariff conflict will result in failure to struggle against imperialism as such.

*“Whoever does not regard imperialism in its connection with the cartelisation of industry and the protective tariff-policy, i.e., as a necessary result of the last phase of capitalist development, will easily succumb to the temptation of underestimating imperialist antagonisms.“* (23)

Let us conclude by emphasizing that the Global Trade War illustrates once more the dramatic crisis of leadership in the workers movement. Most so-called Marxist organizations fail to understand what is going on and what is necessary to do. Lenin's famous dictum – *“without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement“* – is truer than ever. (24) Indeed, the latest events in world politics underline once more that a correct theory is the precondition for a correct orientation and a correct tactic.

It is of utmost importance that all revolutionaries, who agree on the analysis of the fundamental features of the current historic period and the resulting tasks for the class struggle, must come together and fuse their forces! Hence, we invite all socialist organizations and activists to start discussion and collaboration with the RCIT in order to meet the challenges of the current world events and to draw the necessary organizational and practical consequences for concrete actions.

#### Footnotes

(1) Irina Slav: Chinese Refiner Stops U.S. Oil Imports, Turns To Iranian Crude, July 09, 2018, <https://oilprice.com/Energy/Crude-Oil/Chinese-Refiner-Stops-US-Oil-Imports-Turns-To-Iranian-Crude.html>

(2) Tony Munroe, Eric Beech: China says will hit back after U.S. proposes fresh tariffs on \$200 billion in goods, Reuters, July 11, 2018 / <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china/china-says-will-hit-back-after-u-s-proposes-fresh-tariffs-on-200-billion>

# China's transformation into an imperialist power

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

**By Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)**

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## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018 - A World Pregnant With Wars And Popular Uprisings

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – WORLD PERSPECTIVES 2018: A WORLD PREGNANT WITH WARS AND POPULAR UPRISINGS. The book's subtitle is: Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries.

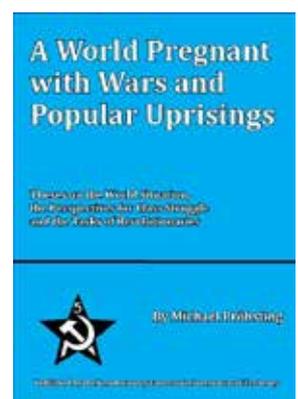
This book is a major contribution of our organization to keep the Marxists' analysis of the world situation and its accelerating contradictions updated. As we emphasize in the document, we consider it as crucial for revolutionaries to understand the nature and the inner dynamics of the current historic period. Without such an understanding it is impossible for socialists, indeed for all liberation fighters, to possess the necessary political compass on which they can base their program, strategy and tactics.

Since several years does the RCIT publish annual studies on the world situation in which it analysis its most important developments and changes. This book updates the Marxist analysis of the state of the world economy, of the relations between the Great Powers, of the struggle between the classes and the tactics of revolutionaries. We also deal in depth with new issues respectively extend our theoretical analysis on several questions. In particular we have deepened in this book,

among others, our understanding of the nature respectively the transitional character of the present world political phase, of the nature of different types of wars and the tactical conclusions arriving from this, of the complex nature of the conflicts in the Middle East, of the capitalist restoration in North Korea and, finally, we have elaborated a new proposal for an international platform for the unification of revolutionary forces in the present phase.

The book contains a preface, introduction and seven eight chapters plus an appendix (118 pages) and includes 23 figures , 9 tables and 2 maps. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>



(12) Mei Xinyu: Normal growth can help fight tariff war, China Daily, 2018-07-11 <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201807/11/WS-5b4536a0a3103349141e1f97.html>

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(14) For a detailed analysis of the different political phases in the current historic period, we refer readers to the various World Perspective documents which the RCIT has published since 2013. (See the links above)

(15) RCIT: World Perspectives 2016: Advancing Counterrevolution and Acceleration of Class Contradictions Mark the Opening of a New Political Phase, see link above

(16) On the RCIT's analysis of China and Russia as emerging imperialist powers see the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>. Concerning China, we refer readers in particular to Michael Pröbsting: The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences. What are the background and the nature of the tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region? What should be the tactical conclusions for Socialists and Activists of the Liberation Movements? 18 August 2017, Revolutionary Communism No. 71, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-india-rivalry/>; Michael Pröbsting: The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/>; Michael Pröbsting: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>.

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(18) Joint Statement: Global Trade War: No to Great Power Jingoism in West and East! See link above

(19) For our criticism of various socialist organizations, see e.g. the RCIT pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“. The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia – A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism, 21 April 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syria-great-power-rivalry-and-the-failure-of-the-left/>. Furthermore we have elaborated our criticism of various organizations on this issue in the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

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## NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

# Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2018

*The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation  
of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia –  
A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism*

**Introduction \* The liberation struggle of the Syrian people against Assad retains its just character \* Against all imperialist aggressors! \* Old and new Great Powers \* The Ex-Stalinist turned social democrats: "God save the United Nations" \* The Stalinists (and some caricatures in Trotskyist camouflage): social-imperialist servants of Assad and Putin \* The Morenoite LIT, UIT and FLTI: the heart on the right place but not their brains \* CWI and FT: failure to understand the imperialist nature of China and Russia \* CWI / SWP(UK) / FT: refusing to support the Syrian Revolution \* Conclusion \* Footnotes**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

## Capitalist Trade and the Looming 3rd World War

By Yossi Schwartz, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 15 July 2018

Thirty years ago Fukuyama announced the end of history in the form of American capitalism. At that time he could point out to some facts in support of his claim. The Berlin Wall was about to fall and the Soviet Union was collapsing. For the prophets of profit everything seemed to suggest that only liberal capitalist democracy would allow people to thrive in an increasingly globalized world, and that only the steady advance of laissez-faire economics would guarantee a future of free, democratic states, untroubled by want and oppression, living in peace and contentment.

Only the extremely naïve bought into this fantasy, only to wake up during the 2008 crisis. By now most of the workers and oppressed in the world know that capitalism means misery, exploitation, corruption, bonapartist regimes, environmental catastrophes and devastating local wars.

### Do we exaggerate?

On Friday, June 16, the U.S. announced a 25 percent tariff on up to \$50 billion of Chinese products, prompting Chinese President Xi Jinping's administration to respond with a 25 percent tariff on \$34 billion of U.S. goods.

Later on Monday, June 18, President Donald Trump threatened additional tariffs at a rate of 10 percent on \$200 billion worth of Chinese goods. In response, China's Commerce Ministry has promised counter measures if Washington goes ahead.

The United States and its historical allies are on the brink of a full-scale trade war after European and Canadian governments reacted to Donald Trump's decision to impose tariffs on steel and aluminum producers. EU companies would face a 25% duty on steel and a 10% duty on aluminum.

In a statement of the RCIT we wrote:

*"The Global Trade War has begun. After months of negotiations without result, a cycle of punitive tariffs and retaliatory tariffs between the U.S. and China – the world's two biggest imperialist Great Powers – has started on 6 July... From the point of view of US imperialism, the logic of Trump's aggressive trade policy is perfectly clear. As we have shown in our analyses of the world situation, the world's biggest Great Power faces a historic decline since years. Irrespective of its internal fragility and bizarre performance (like Nero, Trump is the perfect intellectual and moral personification of the decay of a hegemonial power), the White House attempts to stop or even reverse this decline by*

*a policy of aggressive jingoism and protectionism."* (1)

This is not only our assessment:

*"The United States is turning against China because of a trade deficit, which was at a record high of £198 billion last year, amid fears of World War 3 breaking out between the global superpowers, a trade expert has warned [...] The former president of the National Foreign Trade Council, William Reinsch, told CNBC: "The prevailing view in Washington now is that, this year, he is determined to bite somebody and China is the most likely target."* (2)

### Why this trade war?

Why this trade war? Trump claims that other countries are unfair to the U.S and that they use the US as a piggyback ride. However, the real reason is the declining of US economy.

The import-export balance of the US with China, as can be seen in Table 1, clearly demonstrate this.

In Table 2 we can see the figures for 2017. (3)

What causes this negative balance for US economy? After all, until some years ago the US was the only superpower and China was a source of cheap labor for the U.S capitalist class.

There is a historical law of capital that causes the US economy to lose to China. This law is called the *Tendency of the Rate of Profits to Fall*.

Marx explained in Capital Volume III the law of the falling rate of profit. "Organic composition of capital" is the ratio of the value of the materials and fixed costs (constant capital) embodied in the production of a commodity to the value of the labor-power (variable capital) used in making the commodity. The higher is the organic composition of capital the rate of profit is lower. When the investment in C is greater than in V, the rate of profit is falling. This is the reason imperialist countries are seeking sources of cheap labor before even considering introducing more advanced machinery.

### Trade Wars as a Prelude to Military Wars

Trade wars may lead to military wars. As the Clausewitz's most famous dictum states about war: it is the continuation of politics by other means. Lenin added that politics is the most concentrated expression of economics.

Thus, the trade war is not only a form of a conflict in general, but may lead to an actual war between the US and

**Table 1 (3)**

Month	Exports	Imports	Balance
January 2018	9,835.3	45,788.0	-35,952.8
February 2018	9,806.1	39,067.6	-29,261.5
March 2018	12,382.1	38,256.7	-25,874.6
April 2018	10,268.0	38,230.0	-27,962.0
TOTAL 2018	42,291.5	161,342.4	-119,050.9

other countries like Russia, China, etc. We do not speak only about local and regional wars that take place all the time, but about a world war among the imperialists.

To grasp the meaning of the growing contradictions among the imperialist states, it is necessary to understand the essence of the historical epoch we live in. Already Marx explained that the epoch of social revolution begins when the productive forces of society are in conflict with the existing relations of production. When this happens, the relations of production are transformed from forms of development of the productive forces into their fetters.

We live in an epoch of world economy, but the imperialist nation state is an obstacle to the needs of the world economy. Every imperialist state tries to control the world economy which in turn leads to world wars.

It is not an accident that the US turns now to trade wars. It reflects the fact that the US is a declining imperialist entity and at the same time very strong militarily, while the new Eastern imperialist entities are getting stronger. Trump would like to see the US back as the only superpower, but his policies only serve to further isolate the US and increase the inter-imperialist conflicts.

For the US to regain its position as the sole economic superpower, it has to reduce the salaries of the American workers to the level of those born in China or India. This, the capitalists cannot achieve without tools only provided by fascism. However, the fascist groups in the US are still struggling in gaining mass support.

Some people will argue that since there are no more colonies, a new world war is impossible. In their mind imperialism is the direct military control of the poor countries and they see the imperialist states as if they were a monolith. They may not know it, but this was the theory of Kautsky which stood in complete contradiction to Lenin and Trotsky's thought.

Seeing imperialism as existing only in form of direct control of colonies is a liberal definition. Lenin explained already in "capitalism the highest stage of capitalism" that imperialism is monopoly financial capitalism. The struggle

over markets, raw material and cheap labor in our period is done by financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF and it is not restricted to the super-exploitation of semi-colonies. It is also the competition among the imperialists themselves. It can easily be seen in the EU where Germany, the stronger imperialist state, is making profits by cutting the profits of weaker imperialist states like the UK.

This is what creates the debate between those who want to stay in the EU and those who want to leave. In reality, both roads lead to misery for the working class and the poor.

### The Marxist Classics

Seeing all the imperialists as one block is a reformist illusion. Karl Kautsky argued in 1914 that there is a way out of wars among the imperialist powers. The way is for the ruling classes of the imperialist states to form a joint cartel rather than protectionist measures which lead to war.

*"What Marx said of capitalism can also be applied to imperialism: monopoly creates competition and competition monopoly. The frantic competition of giant firms, giant banks and multimillionaires obliged the great financial groups, who were absorbing the small ones, to think up the notion of the cartel. In the same way, the result of the World War between the great imperialist powers may be a federation of the strongest, who renounce their arms race. Hence, from the purely economic standpoint it is not impossible that capitalism may still live through another phase, the translation of cartellization into foreign policy: a phase of ultra-imperialism, which of course we must struggle against as energetically as we do against imperialism, but whose perils lie in another direction, not in that of the arms race and the threat to world peace."* (4)

Similarly, Trotsky wrote in 1914 in "War and the International":

*"The forces of production which capitalism has evolved have outgrown the limits of nation and state. The national state, the present political form, is too narrow for the exploitation of these*

**Table 2**

Month	Exports	Imports	Balance
January 2017	9,961.1	41,343.1	-31,382.0
February 2017	9,735.8	32,804.3	-23,068.5
March 2017	9,719.2	34,186.9	-24,467.8
April 2017	9,805.7	37,465.6	-27,660.0
May 2017	9,862.2	41,783.1	-31,920.9
June 2017	9,717.4	42,289.2	-32,571.7
July 2017	9,979.1	43,589.2	-33,610.1
August 2017	10,828.3	45,817.8	-34,989.4
September 2017	10,911.7	45,429.7	-34,518.0
October 2017	12,963.4	48,167.7	-35,204.2
November 2017	12,765.0	48,127.8	-35,362.8
December 2017	13,644.8	44,465.7	-30,820.9
TOTAL 2017	129,893.6	505,470.0	-375,576.4

*productive forces. The natural tendency of our economic system, therefore, is to seek to break through the state boundaries. The whole globe, the land and the sea, the surface as well as the interior has become one economic workshop, the different parts of which are inseparably connected with each other. This work was accomplished by capitalism. But in accomplishing it the capitalist states were led to struggle for the subjection of the world-embracing economic system to the profit interests of the bourgeoisie of each country. What the politics of imperialism has demonstrated more than anything else is that the old national state that was created in the revolutions and the wars of 1789-1815, 1848-1859, 1864-1866, and 1870 has outlived itself, and is now an intolerable hindrance to economic development. The present war is at bottom a revolt of the forces of production against the political form of nation and state. It means the collapse of the national state as an independent economic unit.” (5)*

If there were illusions that WWI was the last devastating war, along came WWII and proved that world wars are part of the capitalist world system. Since 2008 the decline of world capitalism has continued, but in different countries in a different pace.

**Only Socialist Revolution Can Stop WWII!**

However, a third world war is not an inevitability. The fact that the US is a decaying economic empire, while China is a rising imperialist power, makes such a war a possibility. We live in a historical period characterized by wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. The trade wars may lead to world war unless the imperialist system will be overthrown and be replaced by a world socialist federation.

For a socialist revolution a world revolutionary party is necessary. We saw a terrible defeat in the Arab countries of what is known as the “Arab spring”, due to the lack of Leninist type leadership. The Stalinist parties have backed the military coup in Egypt and Assad’s regime in Syria. The “Revolutionary Socialist” affiliated with the British

SWP, vacillated between Morsi, the liberal bourgeoisie and Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, instead of fighting for a working class revolution. Other right-wing centrist organizations, like the IMT and the CWI, refused to defend the Syrian revolution claiming that the revolution was kidnapped by Islamists - a reflection of their Islamophobia.

The uprisings of the working class and the oppressed are inevitable. However, if we will not succeed in building a new revolutionary working class International, these uprisings we be defeated and the road to WWII will be opened.

Today, as we in the RCIT have shown time and again, there are, almost, no more direct colonies but semi-colonies, super-exploited by the imperialists. The increasing economic power of imperialist China that super-exploits Africa, for example, is an obstacle to the exploitation of Africa by the US imperialists.

The U.S. economy grew at a 2.2% annual rate in the first three months of the 2018. (6) According to the Marxist economist Michael Roberts:

*“The updated data do confirm is my guess last year that 2016 would show a fall in the US rate of profit – and by all the measures mentioned. Moreover, of course, Marx’s law of profitability over the long term is again confirmed. There has been a secular decline in US profitability, down by 28% since 1946 and 15-20% since 1965; and by 6-10% since the peak of 2006. So the recovery of the US economy since 2009 at the end of the Great Recession has not restored profitability to its previous level.” (7)*

At the same time, by 2016, China has been the world’s second largest economy, with a GDP of over \$10 trillion. However, the struggles of the Chinese working class have caused the rate of profit to fall. Nevertheless, it is much higher than in the US.

China’s staggering growth - an average of 10 per cent between 2002 and 2012, according to World Bank, paved the way for the emergence of China as an engine of capitalist global growth. (See Figure 1)

**Figure 1. China Annual Growth Rate**



SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA

### Stumbling into WWII?

Some may argue that since the capitalist imperialist class is aware of the devastating power of destruction of nuclear weapons, none of them would dare cause a third world war that will revert humanity to the stone age in the best of cases. However, WWI wasn't caused by this or that intention of any of the ruling classes or politicians. It started because of an uncontrollable urge of the imperialist states to re-divide the colonies once no more white spots (unconquered colonies) remained on the map.

For the superficial minds WWI broke out because of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, by an 18-year-old student named Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo, Bosnia. Princip was motivated by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austria-Hungary retaliated by declaring war on Serbia, as country after country took sides either with the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and their allies) or the Allies (France, Britain, Russia and toward the end of the war, the United States).

Thus, it is not a question of the intentions of the ruling classes, but the very nature of the epoch that applies pressure toward world war 3.

Some would point out that between WWII and today more than 50 years have passed, which proves that it is possible for the ruling classes to avoid world wars. What they ignore is the fact that after WWII the imperialists were busy rebuilding their devastated economies and super-powers like the US and Europe enjoyed a high level of rate of exploitation through cheap post-war labor. The collapse of Stalinist Russia had also bought some extra time for the western imperialists.

In the 1980s China was still a weak economy and a source for super-exploitation for western capital. Today, the US and Europe's economies, with every economic boom-bust cycle, are still unable to restore their previous rate of growth. Increasing the organic composition of capital (newer machines) reduces the number of employed workers and results in a rising rate of exploitation. Profits can be made only by exploiting flesh and blood workers. Bourgeois economists tend to confuse the source of profit and the realization of profit in the market.

### The Working Class and World War

The history of WWI and WWII shows that to start a world war it is necessary for the imperialists and their servants to first destroy the struggles of the working class by different means - including the promotion of bourgeois workers' parties, popular fronts and even fascism.

Popular fronts are coalition governments that include bourgeois workers' parties. They appear in a time that the crisis of the capitalist system is severe, the working class is fighting, organized and getting ready to assume power through revolution. The main role of popular fronts is to foster high hopes only to later have them smashed, creating a major demoralizing psychological effect. Once the workers are demoralized, the popular front had served its purpose, and so the ruling class disposes of it through a military coup or fascism.

Mussolini came to power in 1922, after a long period of intense class struggle with the Italian working class oc-

cupying factories in September 1920. The Socialist Party was growing very fast. In southern Italy a strong peasant mass movement was developing. A socialist revolution was more than possible. Yet the Socialist Party's leadership perspective was of a bourgeois democratic revolution, very similar to the Mensheviks in Russia. Unlike in Russia, there was no Bolshevik party to lead the workers to power. The Communist party was formed only in January 1921 as a split from that Socialist Party.

The revolutionary uprising was followed by defeat. Looking for a radical solution, the middle class of the cities and the countryside turned to the fascists. The Fascists served the needs of the bourgeoisie to smash the organizations of the working class, and to atomize the workers. As fascism was a mass plebeian movement, it was able to do the job the capitalists couldn't. The offices of the trade unions, the Communist and the Socialist party, the co-operative movement, the newspapers of the left, were all destroyed. The working class movement was atomized. It took the Italian working class twenty years before it recovered from that defeat.

In France the popular front of Leon Bloom came to power in 1936 with the help of the recently Stalinized Communist party, and as expected, it ended with the Nazi-oriented Vichy regime.

In Spain the Popular front that forced the workers to give back the occupied factories, forced the peasants to return the occupied lands and dismantled the workers' militias, and as expected, it ended with the victory of the Fascist Franco.

Without such a series of demoralizing defeats, WWII would never have existed.

Today, the international working class has not yet been defeated. The outcome of the growing crises of the world economy will lead either to socialist revolutions or defeats that will open the road to a third world war.

What is missing above all is a revolutionary working class International. The road to building such an International is similar to the way that the Third International was built, a Zimmerwald type Conference. What we need is a strong working class tendency that agrees on the major issues. For example: the nature of Russian and Chinese imperialism, rejection of the popular fronts, the use of the Leninist United Front tactic, standing with all oppressed nations without giving political support to their existing leadership, defending democratic rights, and most importantly the need for a world socialist revolution.

#### Footnotes

(1) Michael Pröbsting: The Global Trade War has Begun. What is its Meaning and what should be the Response of Socialists? 13 July 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-global-trade-war-has-begun/>

(2) <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/907239/China-kim-jong-un-trump-xi-trade-war-world-war-3-trade-deficit>

(3) <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5700.html>

(4) <https://www.marxists.org/archive/kautsky/1914/09/ultra-imp.htm>

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## Israel as a Colonial Entity

By Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)*, 26.06.2018

By June 18, 132 unarmed Palestinians have been murdered in cold blood and 13,000 injured by the Israeli army in Gaza, since March 30, according to AFP. This type of pathological murderous behavior isn't out of character for regimes which represent a colonialist social strata. Examples are too numerous to count, however, two especially vicious ones come to mind - the Sharpeville Massacre committed by the South African Apartheid regime resulting in 69 Africans dead and 186 wounded, most of whom shot in the back, and the 1919 Amritsar Massacre carried out by the British army in India killing 379 Indians.

### Bizarre Israeli Propaganda

Such criminal acts of violence show clear signs of a broad political strategy in action. After all, Israel's use of lethal force is being carried out with no imminent threat to life. Nonetheless, according to Israeli propaganda: *"Israel has acted in self defense protecting their border against terrorist", " Hamas is using the civilian population as a human shield."*

In reality, Palestinians are being murdered because they march toward the fence surrounding Gaza, the largest Ghetto in the world, demanding their right to return to their lands and homes stolen by Israel. To claim as Israel does, that the fence is the international border amounts to the claim that Gaza is a state. Was the Warsaw Ghetto a state? Were the so called independent states (The Bantu states) during the apartheid regime, states or reservations? Are the Native American reserves states?

Yet with noble hearts which defy all reason, these refugees clearly express their willingness to live alongside Israeli colonists, in spite of past and present Zionist crimes against the Palestinians as a nation and humanity as a whole. This, however, is the last thing the Zionists, across the political spectrum, will agree to after this long history of forced removal of the Palestinians from their lands, aimed at maintaining an ever-expanding Zionist State with a Jewish majority.

The extent of the lies Israel is willing to tell the international community, as well as itself, seems to know no limits. To justify the killing of the 21-year-old paramedic Razan al-

Najjar (as well as others) by an IDF sniper, on June 1, while trying to save the lives of injured people, the Israeli army released an edited video of her discarding a smoke/gas canister into an empty field (and in a unedited version - away from people lying on the ground)[1], with a caption along the lines of *"is this the angel in white you are talking about"?*

The Israeli video - named *"Hamas' use of human shields must stop"* shows part of an interview Najjar gave to Lebanese al Mayeen TV, in which she said she was acting as a *"human shield"*. *"Razan al-Najjar is not the angel of mercy that Hamas propaganda attempts to portray,"* the IDF's Arabic language spokesperson Avichay Edraee wrote on Twitter. *"Her admission that she is a 'human shield' for the inciting rioters proves how Hamas uses the entire Gaza population as ammunition for its aims and for Iran's aims. Do medical personnel around the world throw bombs and participate in disturbances and call themselves human shields?"* [2]

In the full clip, however, the young woman goes on to say, she was present at the protests to *"save the wounded at the front lines"*. She does not mention Hamas at all.

According to Israeli propaganda: *"The Palestinians left their homes in 1947-48 for a variety of reasons. Thousands of wealthy Arabs left in anticipation of a war, thousands more responded to Arab leaders' calls to get out of the way of the advancing armies, a handful were expelled, but most simply fled to avoid being caught in the crossfire of a battle. Had the Arabs accepted the 1947 UN resolution, not a single Palestinian would have become a refugee and an independent Arab state would now exist beside Israel."* [3]

Back here on earth, where reality takes place, Palestinian refugees are the indigenous people of Palestine, the majority of whom were dispossessed, were forced to run away; following 34 massacres according to the *Zionist* historian Benny Morris, or were expelled when the state of Israel was created in 1948. This dispossession and expulsion has continued during the 1967 war which resulted in the occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

There are three main groups of Palestinian refugees: those who were displaced in 1948, internally displaced Palestinians who remained within the areas that became



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

### The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

the state of Israel, and Palestinian refugees displaced in 1967 from the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Following these crimes, Israel has denied the Palestinian refugees their right to return to their towns, villages and homes. It used live bullets already in the 1950s and killed any refugee that tried to return.

Israel has sought since 1947-48 to create a state with a Jewish majority in all of Palestine, a region that already had an Arab indigenous population, with a history stretching back more than 1300 years.

From the very beginning of the Zionist movement, its motto has been: "*A land without a people for a people without a land.*" It was a Zionist myth that Palestine was waiting to be populated by the Jews expelled by the Romans 2000 years ago.

The Zionist movement shares many similarities with the white settlers who killed and stole the lands from the native nations, as well as the Boers who killed and stole the lands from the Africa's native nations.

### Bloody Tradition of Zionist Colonialism

While the *behavior* of Zionist governments bears striking resemblance to the one of other colonial governments across the political spectrum, their ideology, ethos and mythology is almost identical to those colonialist political factions which used social-darwinist, racist and pseudo-scientific notions to justify any and all atrocities they have or were about to commit. It should be noted that the rival colonialist faction, which appropriated ideas regarding the "march of progress" and the "white man's burden", can also find some of its echoes in today's Zionist propaganda, presenting Israel as a civilized, progressive,

technological powerhouse for all nations to revel in and enjoy.

Zionists believe without a shred of a doubt that they are blood-related to the ancient Jews who resided in the "Land of Israel", and that this blood-relation somehow should be transformed into a political right to rule over this land. Italian fascists claimed that the Italian nation is blood-related to the ancient Romans and that this blood-relation somehow should be transformed into a political right to rule over the lands once ruled by the Roman Empire. The same goes for German Nazis, who claimed to be direct descendants of the "1st Reich", i.e. the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the South African Boers who claimed blood-relation to the biblical Children of Israel, settling in the Promised Land, fleeing Pharaoh's army (the British one, that is).

In the war of 1948, Israeli forces killed an estimated 13,000 Palestinians and forcibly evicted 737,166 Palestinians from their homes and land. 531 Palestinian villages were entirely depopulated and destroyed. The weapons for this campaign of ethnic cleansing was provided by the Soviet Stalinists who falsely claimed to be Marxist. Authentic Marxists, on the other hand, support only the right of oppressed people for self determination, not for settler colonialists.

The UN November 1947 partition plan was an imperialist plan in favor of the Zionist colonialist settlers. It was clear to any thinking person that this plan would lead to the Palestinian ethnic cleansing. According to this plan the 650,000 Zionist colonists would get 55% of Palestine while they held only around 5% of the lands while the 1.2 million Palestinians would get only 45%. Not only this but almost 50% of the population allocated to the Zionist state was

# Books of the RCIT

## Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

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

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

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

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

25 years.

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

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

### Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

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



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

Arab. In order to create a Jewish majority race-state the Zionists would have had to remove most Palestinians.

The UNSCOP (responsible for the decision) acknowledged the problem, and it expected, using its language, that the proportion of Arabs would decline because of Jewish immigration and also through "population movements" resulting from citizenship changes.

Thus, the UN resolution was a proven recipe for the mass expulsion of the Palestinians. This was a known fact to the UNSCOP as the previous plan to divide the country into two states - The Peel Plan from 1937 - called for the removal of 250,000 Arabs from the Jewish state.

It was Lenin who labeled the UN's predecessor organization, the League of Nations, "the den of thieves", since, already from its inception he knew something that some Palestinian leaders chose to ignore over the years, desperately appealing to its moral conscience for salvation. The UN has never tried to force Israel to allow the refugees to return in spite of the famous 194 resolution that called for it.

The UN resolution 194 from 11 December 1948 which provided 9n Article 11 states:

*"Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."*

### The Hypocrisy of the United Nations

According to the imperialist International Law, the use of force outside of active armed conflict is governed by international human rights standards, set out in the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials. These standards, which apply to the Gaza demonstrations, prohibit shooting live ammunition except to prevent "the imminent threat of death or serious injury" or "the perpetration of a particularly serious crime involving grave threat to life," and "only when less extreme means are insufficient to achieve these objectives." [4]

UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has warned that the "most serious escalation" of violence in the Gaza Strip places the besieged enclave on the "brink of war", urging Israel and Hamas to recommit to the 2014 ceasefire. The UN chief said in a report obtained by news agencies that he is "shocked" by Israel's use of live fire since border protests began in Gaza on March 30. Guterres said that the Israeli army has "a responsibility to exercise maximum restraint", except as a last resort.

The report was sent to the council last week in advance of a meeting on Tuesday over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. "The killing of children, as well as of clearly identified journalists and medical staffers by security forces during a demonstration are particularly unacceptable," Guterres said. He also said that the solution is the two state solution. [5]

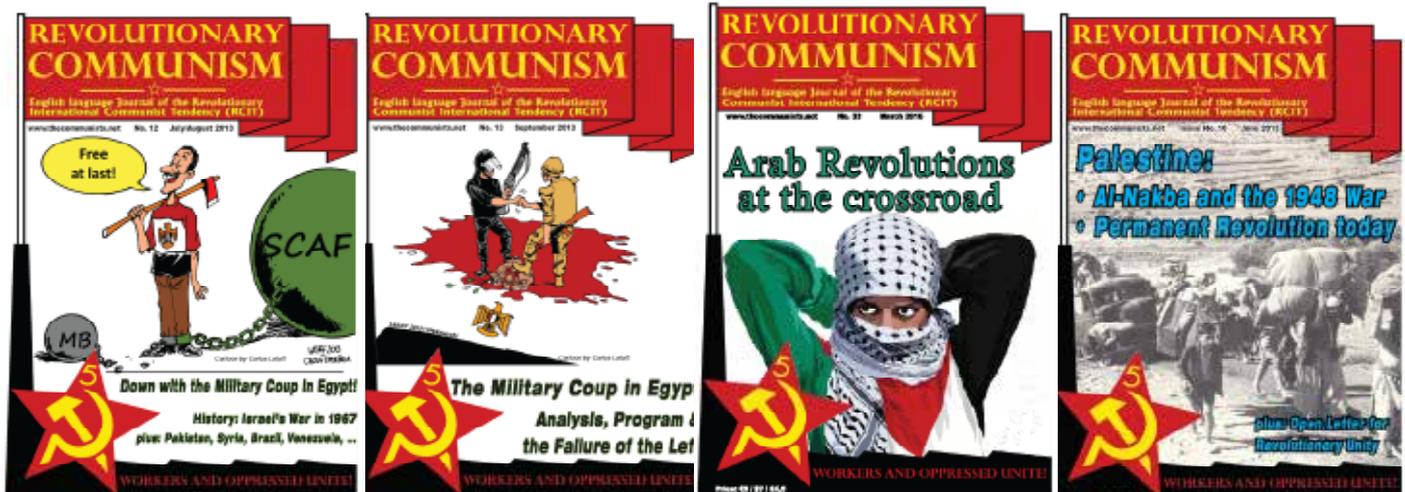
This is nothing short of sheer hypocrisy, Israel is the only one who is doing the killing. No Israeli soldier or civilian was killed by Hamas since March 30. The people of Gaza were unarmed. To put Hamas and Israel on the same plain is to serve Israel. If the UN was not a den of thieves, the Israeli leaders, as well as other imperialist war criminals, would have faced criminal court justice a long time ago. However, the only leaders who have been brought to trial in the International Court of Justice have been leaders of semi colonies (a.k.a. 3rd world countries).

The Zionist are well aware of the fact that they can kill as many Palestinians as they want. This cruel human experimentation of a strategy aims at finding out how much pounding can an oppressed nation take before it gives up its right of self determination and accept its fate as indefinitely subordinate to a self-proclaimed superior race-state. In exchange, the Palestinians, as non-citizen residents, would be "fortunate" to enjoy a meager rise in living conditions and economic growth of nominal proportions.

It is only a question of time until Israel annexes the West Bank. Since US President Donald Trump came to office, Israel has approved construction of more than 14,000 settlement units. [6]

The last bump in this road, the Israeli judicial authority, is being slowly but surely smoothed out of existence. The new composition of the Supreme Court of Israel already

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT ON THE ARAB REVOLUTION



has proven to be a tool, rather than an obstacle of the Israeli government's criminality. Last month, it approved the killing of the unarmed Palestinians stating that the protesters constituted a real danger to Israeli soldiers and citizens. It also said that Hamas, which controls Gaza, labeled a terrorist organization by Israel, intentionally mixed its members with civilians.

The panel of the Central District Court in Lod on Tuesday ruled against the admissibility of confessions made by the Jewish suspects in the 2015 Duma terror attack that murdered three members of the Dawabsha family. Eighteen-month-old Ali Dawabsha was burnt to death when the family home in the West Bank was firebombed in July 2015. His parents later died of their injuries. His brother Ahmed, now six, was the sole survivor from the immediate family, but was left with severe burns.

The aforementioned confessions were rejected on the grounds of them being pounded out of the suspect using (prepare for immediate irony) torture, court-approved for use against participants in the Palestinian resistance: *"These measures severely violated the defendants' fundamental right to maintain the integrity of body and soul. In addition, the dignity of the accused was damaged,"* the court ruled.

At the same time the judges legitimized the use of the same methods against Palestinians, saying: *"It should be emphasized that this is not a sweeping determination on the products of 'necessary investigations' (where enhanced interrogation is authorized). This decision is relevant to our case only."* [7]

### Socialist Perspective

The Palestinian Authority's initial role that betrayed the Fatah charter (that rejected the legality of the Israeli state) and has served Israel against the Palestinian people in what is called the Oslo agreement, now faces the consequences of crisis and despair. Fearing that Israel is ready to dispose of it, it now tries to prove to Israel that it still needs the PA. On June 15, the Palestinian Authority launched a vicious crackdown on peaceful demonstrators, including

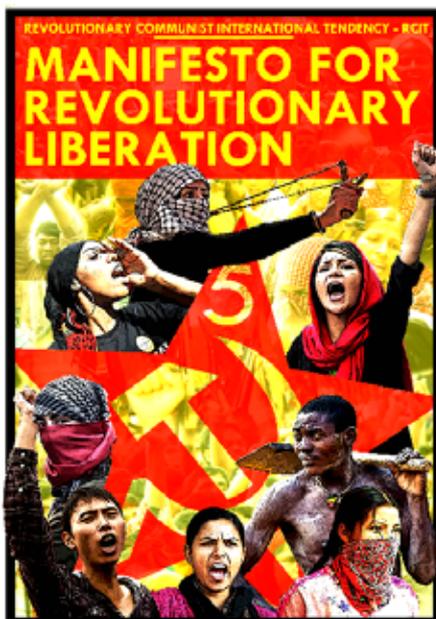
the arbitrary detention and torture of an Amnesty International staff member. The demonstrators demanded that the Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, ease punitive economic measures on Gaza.

Proponents of human rights, peace, social justice and democracy are beginning to wake up from the pipe dream that the "Two State Solution" is and always has been. They are increasingly looking for alternatives that would embody the aforementioned values. In the context of present reality the struggle for territorial partition is soon to be abandoned in favor of a mass popular struggle for the democratic rights (equality, national liberation, right of return, etc.) of the native Palestinian-Arab population. Such a movement must take steps to remove any and all obstacles to the full inclusion and fair representation of all oppressed, dispossessed and excluded minorities, including social-justice oriented Israeli-Jews who will break from Zionism (and will not have the right to form their own state).

However, such Israelis are expected to be very few. Israelis will break from Zionism only on two conditions - one, is a major military defeat for Israel, the second, a socialist revolution in Arab or other countries. The ISL participates in such a movement centered around the idea of the One Democratic State solution. As Marxist revolutionaries, members of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT), we see it as our duty to convey the notion that the only road leading to such a state is to make sure that this movement is led by working class and Fellahin revolutionaries, and connect this movement to the struggle of the working and oppressed classes around the world.

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## PROGRAM OF THE RCIT

# Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

*Adopted at the 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016*

**Introduction \* I. Decaying Capitalism \* II. Today's Worldwide Historic Revolutionary Period \* III. The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class \* IV. A Program for Socialist Revolution to Halt Humanity's Collapse into Barbarism \* V. The Crisis of Leadership and the Construction of a Revolutionary World Party \* VI. Work in Mass Organizations and the United Front Tactic \* VII. The Semi-Colonial South \* VIII. The Emerging Imperialist Great Powers of the East: China and Russia \* IX. The Old Imperialist Great Powers: The EU, North America and Japan \* X. Conclusion**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format*

# Has Capitalist Restoration in North Korea Crossed the Rubicon?

## Reply to a Polemic of Władza Rad (Poland)

By Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 15 July 2018

**A**rtur Kowalski, a comrade from the Polish group *Władza Rad*, has written a critique of the RCIT's analysis of the process of capitalist restoration in North Korea. (1) This polemic refers to several documents on this issue which the RCIT has published in the past few months. (2) Two of them have been translated in Polish language and published by the comrades. (3)

While we do not agree with the authors' criticism, we appreciate his polemic as a serious contribution to this debate. Hence we will to reply to his arguments in this article.

### A Summary of "Władza Rad's" Critique of the RCIT's Analysis

Let us first summarize the main arguments of comrade Kowalski. (4) Basically, the comrade argues that while a process of capitalist restoration is indeed going on in North Korea, this process has not already resulted in the abolition of the deformed workers state. The comrade writes:

*"The incurably ill one is called a dying person, but he is considered dead only after death. (...) The fact that there exists increasing income stratification in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, that market mechanisms are introduced, the share of private trade and services increases, licenses for foreign industrial capital are granted, does not automatically mean that capitalism will be restored within a few years. The historical process is the result of social struggles: class struggles and factional struggles within the class or dominant layer, and internationally also between classes in different countries. Sometimes the economic and political situation on the international scale has a decisive influence on events in a single country. All these processes permeate and interact with each other. The global trade war, possible economic and social crisis in the People's Republic of China and / or South Korea, may interrupt the current plans of the DPRK regime. Socio-economic development is not a linear process. It is a dialectical process, the result of a constant struggle between conflicting class interests."*

Therefore, the comrade emphasizes that the current process of capitalist restoration is reversible. *"In our opinion, the mistake that accompanies RCIT lies in the fact that they do not take seriously the possibility of bureaucratic reversing reforms."*

Comrade Kowalski sees strong similarities of the economic process in North Korea with the limited market reforms which took place in some Eastern European in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

*"In the 1980s, the bureaucrats' response to the stagnation of the crisis of the economy in Poland and Hungary was the increasingly far-reaching market reforms, all the while claiming that this is just a new NEP (New Economic Policy) and that Lenin was not afraid of going back to the market economy, when it was necessary. Did the bureaucracy consciously seek to restore capitalism at that time? In our opinion, this has not been the case. It rather acted spontaneously seeking a way to improve the economic situation, to prevent further social revolts and to strengthen its privileged position."*

*"After 1956, the Post-Stalin regimes in Eastern Europe did not oppress the emerging bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they were connected with it and the members of the nomenclature benefited from it. In Poland after 1956, compulsory collectivization was abandoned. Most of the cooperatives disintegrated and family farms became the basis of agriculture. The farmer was the owner of the land, and his descendants had the right of inheritance. He could also sell the land, although the state had the right of pre-emption, so the market for trading the land was strictly controlled. (...) There was a private production sector (...). There were small private shops, cafes and restaurants, small private hotels and guest houses. There were private houses and apartments and the possibility of selling them at market prices. (...) At the end of the 1970s, larger, private production companies were allowed - theoretically with foreign capital, in practice belonging to Polish citizens. (...) In practice, they parasitized on a planned economy. In the mid-1980s, as part of the "marketization" of the economy, so-called nomenclature companies emerged, mostly service companies. They were purely parasitic creations, entering as an intermediary between cooperating state enterprises."*

*"If we assume that the DPRK is now capitalist, then the Eastern Bloc has also become capitalistic in the 1960s-70s."*

Furthermore, the comrade rejects the RCIT's characterization of the "Donju" as an emerging capitalist class as wrong. He considers them rather as a middle class.

*"We have considerable doubts as to whether "Donju" (...) are a social class, and especially a class of capitalists in the Marxist understanding of this term. The decisive Marxist criterion of class affiliation - in every socio-economic formation - is the attitude to the means of production. (...) Who are the Korean*

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*“Donju”? (...) In Marxist sociology, focusing on the ownership of the means of production, the middle class is defined by the owners of an individual work workshop, family businesses and representatives of liberal professions.”*

### Is the Process in North Korea Today Similar to Poland in the 1960s and 1970s?

Comrade Kowalski puts forward an interesting argument. He compares the capitalist restoration process in North Korea with the market reforms in Poland and Hungary in the 1960s and 1970s. He rightly states that these Eastern European countries remained degenerated workers states at that time despite these reforms. Hence, on his opinion, it would be wrong to state that the process of capitalist restoration in North Korea has already crossed the Rubicon.

However, we think that the comrades' comparison is not accurate for several reasons. First, it is true that, for historical reasons, land in Poland was in private ownership of small peasants throughout the whole period of Stalinism. According to studies, the private share of farmland ownership remained stable at 77.3% (1955), 85.0% (1965), 79.0% (1975) and 76.3% (1989). (5)

However, while this represented a “historical compromise” of the Stalinist bureaucracy with the Polish rural petty bourgeoisie, private property of means of production was mostly limited to agriculture. In 1980, only 3.5% of the Polish workers were employed in the non-agricultural private sector. This number rose in the last years before capitalist restoration triumphed. But by December 1989, there were still only 10.1% of the workers employed in the non-agricultural private sector. As a result, 66.7% of all labor force was concentrated in the so-called socialized sector by time of collapse of Stalinist rule 30 years ago. (6)

Hence we see that while the Stalinist bureaucracy accepted the existence of a rural petty-bourgeoisie there was hardly any petty-bourgeoisie or even bourgeoisie in the main sectors of the economy. Only in the last years before capitalist restoration did such a class arise but it remained pretty small until the collapse of the degenerated workers state.

Compare this with North Korea today: as we have demonstrated in our documents, the process of capitalist restoration is much more advanced. While private ownership is spreading in agriculture, (7) this process is by far not restricted to this sector. As a result, a much higher share of labor is employed in North Korea's private market sector (about 40%) than this was the case in Poland.

In fact, it took several years of a full-blown capitalist rule in Poland that the share of labor employed in the private sector surpassed the current level in North Korea (46% of total employment in 1993). (8)

We think that these figures demonstrate that the process of capitalist restoration is far more advanced in North Korea today than it was the case in Poland at any time before 1989. Furthermore, the fact that the Polish bureaucracy did not allow any meaningful private sector outside of agriculture is an undisputable proof that they never intended at that time to restore capitalism. As we have shown, the situation is very different in North Korea where the regime actively supports the expansion of the capitalist market and is also involved in it.

### A Different International Situation

There is also another important factor which comrade Kowalski does not take into account: the international situation has changed dramatically in the past decades. In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, a strong Stalinist bloc with two major powers at the centre (USSR and China) existed. They could give the Polish (or any other) bureaucracy sufficient material and political support to retain the Stalinist project of a non-capitalist economy.

This is very different to the world situation today. The USSR has collapsed and both Russia as well as China have become capitalist Great Powers. In other words, there exist no longer any degenerated workers states. Quite the opposite, capitalist Russia and China are North Korea's neighbors and most important allies. These Great Powers are pressurizing the regime in Pyongyang to advance the market reforms. Under such conditions, it is only logical that the North Korean bureaucracy turned towards capitalist restoration instead of defending the planned property relations (as they would be the only non-capitalist country on earth)!

### Two Different Roads of Capitalist Restoration

Comrade Kowalski argues that we underestimate the possibility of a reversal of the process of capitalist restoration. No, we don't exclude such a possibility. But, in opposite to the comrade, we do not believe that such an anti-capitalist turn could be implemented by the Stalinist-Capitalist bureaucracy which is thoroughly interlinked with the *Donju* capitalist class.

If such a turn would take place, it would be the result of an uprising of the working class, i.e. a social revolution against the Stalinist-Capitalist ruling class. Indeed, such a proletarian uprising is the goal for which revolutionaries in North Korea have to fight for today!

Finally, a word on comrade Kowalski's critique of our definition of the *Donju* as a capitalist class. Certainly, the North Korean entrepreneurs are not already big capitalists comparable with other countries which have a much longer history of capitalism. But this is hardly surprising as the process of capital accumulation has begun only a few years ago.

We think comrade Kowalski should not look so much to the Polish experience in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in order to find an explanation of the capitalist restoration process in North Korea. It would be far more appropriate to look to the restoration process which took place in China, Vietnam and Cuba. The experience in these countries is much more similar to North Korea than Eastern Europe. Capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe and in the USSR was accompanied with a *collapse* of the political superstructure of Stalinism. In China as well as in Vietnam, Laos and Cuba, capitalist restoration proceeded differently. Here this process was accompanied with a *continuation* of the political superstructure of Stalinism and its transformation into a Stalinist-Capitalist regime. (9) In short, historically there have been two different roads of capitalist restoration. Unfortunately, the Władza Rad comrade largely ignores this experience

### A Question of Methodology

This brings us to the last point. It seems to us that the comrades of *Władza Rad* are not clear about the criterion when they define a state as already capitalist or as still being a deformed workers state. When, in their opinion, has the Rubicon been crossed?

Is it the case if the Stalinist political superstructure collapses? Obviously that would be wrong because in this case they would have to characterize one of the biggest imperialist powers, China, as a non-capitalist, deformed workers state.

Is it the case if 50% of the economy is in private hands? That would be wrong too. As we have explained in our documents this has not been the method of Marxists. Russia became a workers state when the proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party, conquered political power and destroyed the capitalist state machinery in October 1917. The economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie was a process which started later.

In our book on the capitalist restoration in Cuba, as well as in other works, we have discussed in detail the complex nature of the process of social transformation from a workers state towards capitalism. We summarized the RCIT's analysis: "*When can we state that such a capitalist restoration has taken place? The answer is: when a Stalinist bureaucratic workers' government is replaced by or transforms itself into a bourgeois restorationist government. Such a bourgeois restorationist government is one which is firmly resolved, both in words and deeds, to reestablish a capitalist mode of production, i.e., to*

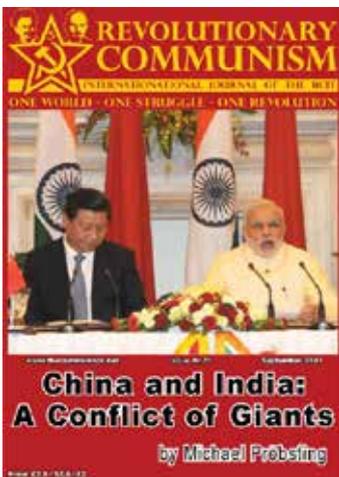
*move decisively against planned property relations in favor of creating a capitalist economy based on the law of value.*" (10)

Such an approach is in accordance with Trotsky's method when he discussed the possibility of capitalist restoration in the USSR in the later 1930s. He also insisted that the decisive criterion is not the exact degree of privatization of the economy: "*Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy.*" (11) It is rather the class character of property relations which the regime is defending: "*The class nature of the state is, consequently, determined not only by its political forms but by its social content; i.e., by the character of the forms of property and productive relations which the given state guards and defends.*" (12)

### Conclusion

Concluding our reply, we want to emphasize that it is decisive to understand the specific nature of the capitalist restoration process in North Korea. Since several years, the North Korean regime has made a decisive turn towards capitalist restoration. This is obvious from the rapid expansion of the private market sector, from the emergence of *Donju* capitalist class and from the linkage of the bureaucracy with these entrepreneurs.

What has been taking place in North Korea is a process of transformation of the old Stalinist regimes into Stalinist-Capitalist regimes similar to the developments in China, Vietnam and Laos in the early 1990s (or in Cuba in the



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

# The China-India Conflict: Its Causes and Consequences

*What are the background and the nature of the tensions between China and India in the Sikkim border region? What should be the tactical conclusions for Socialists and Activists of the Liberation Movements?*

*A Pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)*

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A4 Format*

**Introductory Remarks \* I. Recent Developments \* II. The Struggle for Domination of Bhutan \* III. The Background: Accelerating Rivalry between China and India in a Period of Capitalist Decay \* China's Belt and Road Initiative \* India's OCOR as an Alternative to OBOR? \* India's Increasing Ties with US and Japanese Imperialism \* How are the chances in a military confrontation between India and China? \* IV. China as an Emerging Great Imperialist Power \* China's Monopolies \* Super-Exploitation of the Working Class \* China's Capital Export \* China as a Military Power \* V. India: A Peculiar Semi-Colony in the Role of a Regional Power \* A Brief Historical Review \* The Characteristics of India's Semi-Colonial Economy \* India's Economic Elites: Many ... and at the same time Few \* The Parasitic Nature of the Indian Bourgeoisie \* India as a Regional Power and an Oppressor State \* Brief Remarks on an Historic Analogy: The Ottoman Empire \* VI. Revolutionary Tactics in the China-India Conflict \* Appendix: Imperialist vs. Semi-Colonial State: Some Theoretical Considerations \* 1. What are the Respective Characteristics of an Imperialist vs. a Semi-Colonial State? \* 2. Is a Transition from Being One Type of State to Another Possible? \* 3. Is the Category of "Sub-Imperialism" Useful? \* Footnotes**

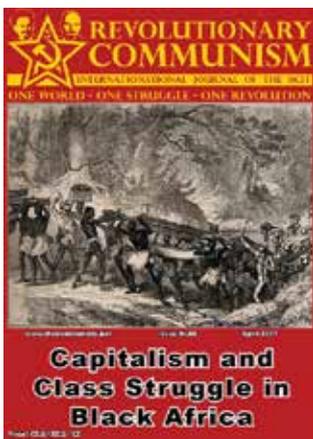
later 2000s). We therefore characterize the Kim Jong Un regime as bourgeois-restorationist. It defends and promotes the restoration of capitalism. This is the decisive criteria to characterize North Korea as a capitalist state.

#### Footnotes

- (1) Artur Kowalski: KRLD i restauracja kapitalizmu [polemika z RCIT], 04/07/2018, <http://1917.net.pl/node/23206> resp. <https://www.thecommunists.net/forum/krl-d-i-restauracja-kapitalizmu-polemika-z-rcit/>
- (2) Michael Pröbsting: In What Sense Can One Speak of Capitalist Restoration in North Korea? Reply to Several Objections Raised by the Polish Comrades of "Władza Rad", 21 June 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/north-korea-and-the-marxist-theory-of-capitalist-restoration/>; Michael Pröbsting: Again on Capitalist Restoration in North Korea, 12 June 2018, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/again-on-capitalist-restoration-in-north-korea/>; Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018: A World Pregnant with Wars and Popular Uprisings. Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, RCIT Books, Vienna 2018, Chapter VI. The Korean Peninsula: Imperialist Aggression, Capitalist Restoration and Revolutionary Defensism, pp. 95-105, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>
- (3) Michael Pröbsting: Jeszcze raz o restauracji kapitalizmu w Korei Północnej, <http://www.1917.net.pl/node/23163> resp. <https://www.thecommunists.net/home/polski/jeszcze-raz-o-restauracji-kapitalizmu-w-korei-polnocnej/>; Michael Pröbsting: W jakim sensie można mówić o przywróceniu kapitalizmu w Korei Północnej? Odpowiedz na kilku zarzutów podniesionych przez polskich towarzyszy z „Władzy Rad”, 21 czerwca 2018 r., <http://www.1917.net.pl/node/23194> resp. <https://www.thecommunists.net/home/polski/w-jakim-sensie-mozna-mowic-o-przywracaniu-kapitalizmu-w-korei-polnocnej/>
- (4) The following chapter has been verified by the comrades of

*Władza Rad* as an accurate summary of their views.

- (5) Majda Bne Saad: Can Small Farmers Survive Poland's Accession to the EU? (2002), European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, p. 3
- (6) Mieczyslaw Waclaw Socha and Yaacov Weisberg: Poland in transition: labor market data collection, in: Monthly Labor Review September 1999, p. 10
- (7) Christian Oliver: In North Korea, private agriculture quietly flourishes, Washington Post, October 14, 2011 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/in-north-korea-private-agriculture-quietly-flourishes/2011/10/14/gIOAGbZPKL\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.b212ce2fbd56](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/in-north-korea-private-agriculture-quietly-flourishes/2011/10/14/gIOAGbZPKL_story.html?utm_term=.b212ce2fbd56)
- (8) European Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Transition Report 1994, London 1994, p. 32
- (9) On the RCIT's analysis of China as an imperialist power see the literature mentioned in the special sub-section on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>. In particular we refer readers to Michael Pröbsting: The China Question and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-csr-pco-on-china/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, chapter 10, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/>
- Concerning the capitalist restoration process in Cuba we refer to: Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism, RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/cuba-s-revolution-sold-out/>
- (10) Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism, p. 54
- (11) Leon Trotsky: Not a Workers' and not a Bourgeois State? (1937); in: Trotsky Writings, 1937-38, p. 63
- (12) Leon Trotsky: Not a Workers' and not a Bourgeois State? (1937); in: Trotsky Writings, 1937-38, p. 61



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

# Theses on Capitalism and Class Struggle in Black Africa

*An Analysis of Imperialist Exploitation and Oppression and the Perspectives of the Liberation Struggle*

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# What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*No future without socialism!*

*No socialism without a revolution!*

*No revolution without a revolutionary party!*

