



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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## The Zionist Crusaders

Artificial Intelligence and the Militarization of Health

Kissinger on Great Power Rivalry and Ukraine War

Ukraine War: Inner Contradictions of 'Proxy War' Theory

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Picture on the cover: Artificial Intelligence (Source: Wikipedia, [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1c/Artificial\\_intelligence\\_prompt\\_completion\\_by\\_dalle\\_mini.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1c/Artificial_intelligence_prompt_completion_by_dalle_mini.jpg))

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

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# Artificial Intelligence and the Militarization of Health

Article by Medina Avdagić, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 15 June 2023

The COVID-19 Counterrevolution was a crucial episode in recent history. Under the pretext of fighting a pandemic, ruling classes all over the world tested the waters for an increase of surveillance and even military mobilizations. <sup>1</sup> Today it might seem that this historic episode was short-lived, a lapse towards Bonapartism without remnants. Interestingly enough, various developments in the field of Artificial Intelligence *do show a continuation of dystopian symbiosis of military and health care*. In this article, we will give three examples to show different forms of this symbiosis.

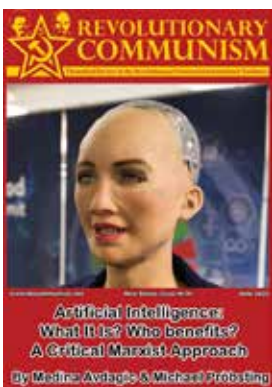
The Pentagon has recently stated its investment in the *Rapid Assessment of Threat Exposure (RATE)* program. Soldiers of the U.S. imperialist beast would wear biometric trackers, so that any health issue they might develop (especially in case of an infection with a virus or bacteria) could be recognized with the very first symptoms. <sup>2</sup> Not surprisingly, this technology is explained in context of a pandemic like COVID-19 and the necessity to stop the spreading of such a virus in the military apparatus. However, the approach that a device should be worn at any time by healthy people – in this case soldiers – is nothing else but total surveillance via biometric data. It would not be surprising if the next ones to get to wear such gadgets might be health workers, then teachers, transport workers and factory workers, ... and then everybody.

## 40,000 new possible chemical weapons developed in less than 6 hours

Another quality in the fusion of A.I. and health care is drug developing A.I., which has recently undergone an in-

teresting simulation. Specific paradigms of the algorithm were tweaked so that the A.I. would not compose a new medicine but rather a new chemical weapon. It took the A.I. less than six hours to develop 40,000 (!) new possible chemical weapons. The lead author of the paper written about this experiment, Fabio Urbina, was asked about the reasons why they even thought about such a simulation. His answer is very interesting: “We got an invite to the *Convergence conference by the Swiss Federal Institute for Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Protection, Spiez Laboratory*. The idea of the conference is to inform the community at large of new developments with tools that may have implications for the *Chemical/Biological Weapons Convention*. We got this invite to talk about machine learning and how it can be misused in our space.” <sup>3</sup>

Further in the interview, which was published in March 2022, Fabio Urbina also gave the example of OpenAI and their chatbot GPT-3 when it comes to regulations: “For context, there are more and more policies about data sharing. And I completely agree with it because it opens up more avenues for research. It allows other researchers to see your data and use it for their own research. But at the same time, that also includes things like toxicity datasets and toxicity models. So it’s a little hard to figure out a good solution for this problem. We looked over towards Silicon Valley: there’s a group called OpenAI; they released a top-of-the-line language model called GPT-3. It’s almost like a chatbot; it basically can generate sentences and text that is almost indistinguishable from humans. They actually let you use it for free whenever you want, but you have to get a special access token from them to do so. At any point, they could cut off your access from those models. We were thinking something like that could be a useful starting point for potentially sensitive



## Publications of the RCIT

# Marxism and Artificial Intelligence

## What Is AI? Who benefits?

## A Critical Marxist Approach

By Medina Avdagić and Michael Pröbsting, June 2023

- 1) Artificial Intelligence: A Leviathan Monster Serving the Ruling Class (Theses)
- 2) Why ChatGPT and similar technologies are more dangerous than you might think
- 3) Artificial Intelligence and the Marxist Understanding of Productive Forces

*Introduction* \* An example of pseudo-Marxist AI advocacy \* What are productive forces? \* Commodity fetishism and technology fetishism \* The relationship between productive forces and the relations of productions \* Transformation of productive forces into destructive forces \* Consequences of AI for the capitalist economy \* The liberation of productive forces from the fetters of obsolete capitalist relations of production – what does this mean? \* Productive forces, alienation and way of life under capitalism \* *Conclusions* \* *Footnotes*

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

models, such as toxicity models.”<sup>4</sup>

Finally, there is the example of the mini-drone *Lanius* – from the Latin word for butcher – which was developed by the Israeli arms manufacturer *Elbit Systems*. Unsurprisingly, the drone will be used against Palestinians fighting for their freedom. The very small drone which can easily be carried in the backpack of an Israeli soldier is built to shoot and can also function as a kamikaze drone. In addition to the small size which enables the use in populous urban areas, it is controlled by an algorithm that can be modified to make its own decision in combat.<sup>5</sup>

The autonomous function is officially not in use yet, but one can imagine how Apartheid state Israel readily tests autonomous weapons, compensating for an army relatively small in manpower. So far, so bad. The algorithm for such drones however is already in use since longer time. It was implemented in screenings for breast cancer.<sup>6</sup>

### Why Artificial Intelligence is not as crucial as the capitalist medical industry wants us to believe

The RCIT has explained the dangers of Artificial Intelligence as such in its recent articles and statements.<sup>7</sup> We raise the slogan of “*Oppose and Obstruct*” when it comes to further developments of A.I. Our critics might argue that every technology can be used for good as well as for bad things, and that the examples above proof this dualism. Should we really oppose and obstruct something that for example helps to detect breast cancer?

In this concrete case (and in most other cases in the medical field), the answer is to rely on humans and not on Artificial Intelligence. Breast cancer screening is complicated, because of the density of the tissue. In various countries, at least two experienced doctors examine the scans independently from each other to increase the ratio of findings. In a Swedish study with 68,008 screenings, the doctor who examines first had an average specificity of 98.5% compared to 81% specificity by the A.I. algorithm. In general, only studies with an extremely small number of patients have resulted in a better performance of A.I. compared to the performance of one doctor (never outperforming two or more collaborating doctors).<sup>8</sup>

Even apparent success stories of Artificial Intelligence in healthcare should be read very critically. *The U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs* has started to use algorithms to calculate which veteran might get suicidal based on provided data. When the A.I. calculated a high risk, a health professional would get in contact with the veteran to help.

A significant enough decrease of suicides arises from this.<sup>9</sup> But what if all veterans would have been provided with significant health care by human professionals from the very beginning? There is no such study because it was not tried yet.

The implementation of complex A.I. in the health system has first and foremost the function to replace health care professionals respectively to prepare their future replacement. At the same time, complex A.I. used in health care is often enough of direct or indirect use for the bonapartist interests of the capitalist state and its repressive military apparatus. The COVID Counterrevolution as we knew it might not be over but just changed its appearance. After all, for the ruling classes, it was never about saving lives and always about gaining more social control. Why should it be different when it comes to Artificial Intelligence?

### Footnotes

1 The RCIT has published more than 100 pamphlets, essays, articles and statements plus a book on the COVID Counterrevolution which are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/collection-of-articles-on-the-2019-corona-virus/>.

2 Pentagon gets \$10M to advance an AI algorithm that detects diseases early via wearables. With that funding boost, DOD will distribute thousands of devices to new cohorts. By Brandi Vincent, April 26, 2023. <https://defensescoop.com/2023/04/26/pentagon-gets-10m-to-advance-an-ai-algorithm-that-detects-diseases-early-via-wearables/>

3 AI suggested 40,000 new possible chemical weapons in just six hours. By Justine Calma, The Verge, March 17, 2022. <https://www.theverge.com/2022/3/17/22983197/ai-new-possible-chemical-weapons-generative-models-vx>

4 Ibidem

5 Fears for Palestinians after Israeli Elbit Systems reveals ‘terrifying’ new drone to be put to use in occupied West Bank. By The New Arab Staff, 25 November, 2022. <https://www.newarab.com/news/new-israeli-drone-poses-further-threats-palestinians>

6 Zürcher KI-Forscher «Als wir das sahen, erschrecken wir». Marguerite Meyer und Ariane Lüthi, Blick, January, 15, 2023. <https://www.blick.ch/schweiz/zuercher-ki-forscher-als-mein-team-und-ich-das-sahen-waren-wir-erschrocken-id18227867.html>

7 The RCIT documents on Artificial Intelligence are all compiled at a special sub-page on our website, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/compilation-of-articles-on-artificial-intelligence/>

8 Künstliche Intelligenz bei Brustkrebs-Früherkennung zu ungenau. APA, October 4, 2021. <https://science.apa.at/pow-er-search/15217112141400153018>

9 How the VA uses algorithms to predict suicide. By Mohana Ravindranath, POLITICO, June 25, 2019. <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/06/25/va-veterans-suicide-1382379>



## 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

# Kissinger on Great Power Rivalry and Ukraine War

## Notes on a remarkable interview with a “wise old man” of U.S. imperialism

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 22 May 2023

A few days ago, *The Economist* – one of the most influential bourgeois newspapers in the Anglo-Saxon world – published an 8-hour long interview with Henry Kissinger. Kissinger was Secretary of State and National Security Advisor of U.S. Presidents in the 1960s and 1970s. In the past 46 years he has been, as *The Economist* notes, a consultant and emissary to monarchs, presidents and prime ministers.<sup>1</sup>

Kissinger is without doubt a highly intelligent strategist of Western powers who remains very well-connected and influential within leading circles of the ruling class. In short, he is a “wise old man” of U.S. imperialism.<sup>2</sup>

The interview contains a number of highly interesting remarks. However, at this point, we want to focus ourselves on several issues which are particularly interesting for the Marxists’ understanding of the current world situation. As we will show, Kissinger confirms – from the other side of the barricade, so to say – several key theses which the RCIT and other authentic socialists have defended since some time.

### Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between U.S. and China

The first interesting issue which Kissinger discusses in length is the accelerating rivalry between the U.S. and China. The RCIT has explained in several works that China’s rise as a Great Power has challenged the long-term hegemony of U.S. imperialism.<sup>3</sup> As a result, there has been a massive escalation of inter-imperialist rivalry in the past years which will sooner or later turn into another World War if the international working class does not stop them in time.<sup>4</sup> We have concluded from our analysis that the rivalry between the U.S. and China – the two largest Great Powers on the planet – is “the main axis of inner-imperialist contradictions.”<sup>5</sup>

Kissinger, naturally from the point of view of an elder statesman of U.S. imperialism, confirms the Marxists’ analysis. “In his view, the fate of humanity depends on whether America and China can get along. He believes the rapid progress of AI, in particular, leaves them only five-to-ten years to find a way. (...) We are on the path to great-power confrontation.”

Remarkably, even more so coming from a long-term strategist of American imperialism, he calls the U.S. and China “two greatest dangers” which “have the capacity to destroy humanity.” “So, the key question is, is it possible for China and the United States to establish a relationship of a nature that reduces the danger of conflicts that arise autonomously, not sought by either side? And how do you do that? Well, I have thought – and what I’m saying now, I’ve said to leaders, to people in China with access to their leaders, and of course to American leaders also – that if the two presidents meet, rather than list all their grievances, which they know... hopefully the American president, from my point of view, would say: “Mr. President, the two greatest dangers to peace right now, are us two. In the sense that we have the capacity to destroy humanity.”

He warns: “Both sides have convinced themselves that the other represents a strategic danger. (...) We’re in the classic pre-

world war one situation where neither side has much margin of political concession and in which any disturbance of the equilibrium can lead to catastrophic consequences.”

Kissinger hopes to find a way out of this situation by advocating a “historic compromise” between Washington and Beijing where both sides accept that they can not dominate the world alone. However, history teaches that this is an illusion and Great Powers always strive for undisputed hegemony – even more so in a historic period of crisis and decay.

### The danger of Artificial Intelligence

Another interesting issue with which Kissinger deals in his interview is Artificial Intelligence (AI). The RCIT has explained in a substantial resolution about AI that this technology presents a powerful instrument in the hands of the capitalist ruling class (a “leviathan monster”) and constitutes a tremendous danger for the workers and oppressed. Furthermore, we warned that AI can easily get out of control and endanger the future of humanity.<sup>6</sup>

As mentioned above, Kissinger indirectly confirms our analysis as he fears that the deployment of AI will massively accelerate the arms race between the U.S. and China. He also warns: “The second area where China and America need to talk is AI. ‘We are at the very beginning of a capability where machines could impose global pestilence or other pandemics,’ he says, “not just nuclear but any field of human destruction.’ He acknowledges that even experts in AI do not know what its powers will be. (...) But Mr Kissinger believes that AI will become a key factor in security within five years. He compares its disruptive potential to the invention of printing, which spread ideas that played a part in causing the devastating wars of the 16th and 17th centuries.”

It is remarkable that not only Kissinger but also a number of other bourgeois experts in politics and technology increasingly get worried about the potential dangers of AI. At the same time, a large number of reformists and centrists remain astonishingly clueless and naive about AI and, explicitly or implicitly, welcome it as a “progress of productive forces.”

### Ukraine War and Russia-NATO conflict

The third important issue with which Kissinger deals in his interview is the Ukraine War. As the RCIT has elaborated in numerous documents, this conflict – a key event in world politics – has a dual character. Socialists unreservedly condemn the reactionary invasion of Putin and support the Ukraine’s war of national defence against Russian imperialism. At the same time, we recognize that this war is combined with the accelerating rivalry between NATO and Russia. In this conflict, we support neither of the two imperialist camps.

Hence, socialists must combine their support for the Ukraine’s war of national liberation with intransigent opposition against Western as well as Eastern imperial-

ism and all forms of chauvinist Great Power policy (e.g. economic sanctions). The RCIT has summarised such an approach in the slogan: *Defend the Ukraine against Putin's invasion! Beware of NATO and Zelensky – transform the resistance against the Russian occupation into a Popular War! Against Russian and against NATO imperialism!*<sup>7</sup>

Unsurprisingly, Kissinger analysis the Ukraine War from the viewpoint of the interests of U.S. imperialism. He repeats his position that the Western powers should avoid an escalation of the conflict with Russia and that they should work towards an end of the war rather sooner than later. He also reiterates his view that Ukraine should accept the loss of parts of his territory in order to find a compromise with Putin.<sup>8</sup>

*"The task now is to bring the war to an end, without setting the stage for the next round of conflict. Mr Kissinger says that he wants Russia to give up as much as possible of the territory that it conquered in 2014, but the reality is that in any ceasefire Russia is likely to keep Sevastopol (the biggest city in Crimea and Russia's main naval base on the Black Sea), at the very least."*

Such an approach is in line with a growing consensus within the imperialist governments in North America and Western Europe. As we pointed out recently, these forces strive towards a pacification of the war and want to force the Ukraine to accept the occupation of parts of their territory.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, even a group of several Eastern European countries pushes for a pacification of the Ukraine War. Seymour Hersh, a well-known American investigative journalist, reported recently that Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, and Latvia have *"been quietly urging Zelensky to find a way to end the war—even by resigning himself, if necessary."* Even if these governments are *"all allies of Ukraine and declared enemies of Vladimir Putin"*, they – according to Hersh – worry about *"the more than five million Ukrainians fleeing from the war who have crossed the country's borders and have registered with its neighbors under an EU agreement for temporary protection that includes residency rights, access to the labor market, housing, social welfare assistance, and medical care."*<sup>10</sup>

Hence, the pressure from the ruling class of NATO states on the Ukraine to give up their war of national defence and to accept some of Putin's demands becomes bigger and bigger.

### **"Restraining" (i.e. controlling) the Ukraine**

There are several more interesting statements in Kissinger's interview. First, Kissinger explains why he has changed his mind about the status of the Ukraine. Last year, he advocated a neutral status of that country in order to engineer a rapprochement with Russia. But now, he favours the entry of the Ukraine into NATO. What is particularly interesting is the rationale which Kissinger provides.

*"What the Europeans are now saying is, in my view, madly dangerous. Because the Europeans are saying: "We don't want them in NATO, because they're too risky. And therefore, we'll arm the hell out of them and give them the most advanced weapons." And how can that possibly work? We shouldn't end it in the wrong way. Assuming the outcome is the probable outcome, that would be somewhere along the line of the status quo ante that existed [prior to February 24, 2022]. The outcome should be*

*one in which Ukraine remains protected by Europe and doesn't become a solitary state just looking out for itself. I want to avoid that. Before I wanted Ukraine to be a neutral state. But with Finland and Sweden in NATO it doesn't make sense. I want Russia to give up much of what it conquered in 2014, and it's not my job to negotiate a peace agreement. I can tell you the principles of an enhanced, independent Ukraine, closely tied to Europe and either closely tied under a NATO guarantee or part of NATO. It's not an ideal outcome."*

He adds: *"[W]e have now armed Ukraine to a point where it will be the best-armed country and with the least strategically experienced leadership in Europe. (...) So, for the safety of Europe, it is better to have Ukraine in NATO, where it cannot make national decisions on territorial claims."*

So, Kissinger basically says that the Ukraine, particularly one which is well-armed, must be under control of Western imperialists. Otherwise, it could become dangerous as it would make decisions on its own about reconquering occupied territory. Kissinger's characterisation of the Zelensky government as *"the least strategically experienced leadership in Europe"* is nothing but a hypercritical phrase which means that the *Bankova* is not *"experienced"* enough to subordinate itself completely to the wishes of Washington and Brussels.

This is a highly remarkable admission from a leading strategist of U.S. imperialism about the worries of the Western ruling class concerning the Ukraine's interests of national self-determination. As long as the Ukraine's war of national defence coincides with NATO's interests to weaken Russia, the U.S. and Western Europe are prepared to lend tactical support. However, Washington and Brussels want to make sure that the Ukraine does not make independent decisions about their independence struggle. For this reason, the Ukraine should become integrated into NATO (either formally or via an alliance system like that between the U.S. and Israel).

Kissinger's statement confirms the RCIT's thesis that Ukraine's membership of NATO (or a special treaty) would be a reactionary development which would result in full subjugation of this country to the interests of Western imperialists. It would, as we explained in a comprehensive resolution, change the character of the war as it would make the Ukraine an underling of Washington and Brussels, i.e. it would transform the nature of the conflict from a war of national defence into an inter-imperialist proxy war.<sup>11</sup>

As mentioned above, the RCIT has recognised since the beginning of the war that the war has a dual character. We have been aware that Western powers possess an influence in the Ukraine, even more so as Zelensky government follows a bourgeois and pro-NATO policy. However, we insist that Marxists have to analyse concretely if Kyiv wages the war – under the pressure of its own people – primarily in order to defend its country against the occupation by Russian imperialism or if it subordinates itself, against the popular desire, to the Great Power policy of Western imperialists. We concluded that for now, the former is still the dominant characteristic of the war. However, NATO membership of the Ukraine (or a similar status) would change this and in such a situation, revolutionaries could no longer support the Ukraine's war.<sup>12</sup>

Various centrists who have refused to defend the Ukraine against Putin's invasion have argued that the Ukraine



would be already a proxy of NATO.<sup>13</sup> However, Kissinger's above-mentioned statement demonstrates – from the point of view of a strategist of U.S. imperialism – that the ruling class of Western powers does not consider the Ukraine under its control if it is not part of its political and military structures. As long as this is not the case, Washington and Brussels view the Ukraine as “too independent”, “too dangerous” and “too inexperienced” for being a proxy of Western powers.

### Would Ukraine “invade NATO”?

At this point, we might briefly discuss a thesis of Andrew Korybko, a well-known Putinista. Korybko is an American Moscow-based political analyst and lecturer at the Kremlin-affiliated Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He recently commented on the above-cited statement about Ukraine's “territorial claims” that Kissinger would “crazily” imply “that it might invade NATO if it became ‘dissatisfied’”. (...) Regardless of however “dissatisfied” Ukraine might be with that outcome, it isn't going to turn its guns against NATO afterwards. The scenario of it invading neighboring Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and/or Romania is a political fantasy<sup>14</sup>

This is rather a “crazy” interpretation of what Kissinger says. What he resp. the ruling class of Western powers are worried about is not that Ukrainian forces would invade another Eastern European country but rather that it would fight for its national territory against Russian occupiers when Washington and Brussels are looking for a rapprochement with Russia, i.e. a deal between the imperialist powers.

Unsurprisingly, blockheaded Putinistas like Korybko can not recognise that Ukraine is an independent country facing national oppression by Russian imperialism and, therefore, that it fights against Putin's invasion for its own interests and not because Western powers told it to do so. Hence, the Russian American analyst can not imagine that Western powers could be interested at some point to make a deal with Moscow at the cost of Ukraine's national interests. (As it is well-known, the friends of Russian imperialism even can not imagine that the Ukraine is distinct nation, as Putin argued in a notorious essay published in July 2021.<sup>15</sup>)

### Russia as a guardian of global imperialist interests in Central Asia

Let us finally turn to another interesting reasoning by the “wise old man” of U.S. imperialism. Explaining his above-mentioned statement that Western powers should strive for a rapprochement with Russia, he points to Russia's role as an imperialist guardian in Central Asia.

“Reintroducing Russia to Europe [is important]. If Russia isn't in Central Asia as an operating great power, it will become open to a Syrian-type civil war; all these many conflicts that are now in part restrained because they're inconvenient to Russia would then be open to some extent to Turkey, to Iran, certainly to China with great ambivalence on the part of India about all of this.”

This remarkable explanation demonstrates two things. First, it explains rationale why Western powers are interested in finding rapprochement with Russia.

Secondly, it shows that imperialists in West and East have a common interest in subjugating the peoples of

# Books of the RCIT

## Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry

The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan.  
A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective

In *Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* Michael Pröbsting analyses the accelerating rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers – the U.S., China, EU, Russia, and Japan. He shows that the diplomatic rows, sanctions, trade wars, and military tensions between these Great Powers are not accidental or caused by a mad man in the White House. They are rather rooted in the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system. This rivalry is a key feature of the current historic period and could, ultimately, result in major wars between these Great Powers.

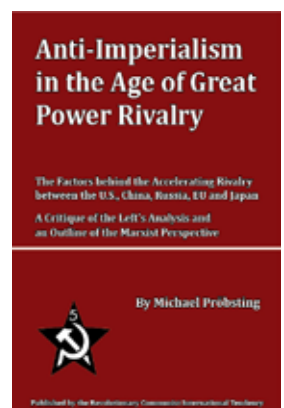
*Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry* demonstrates the validity of the Marxist analysis of modern imperialism. Using comprehensive material (including 61 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that a correct understanding of the rise of China and Russia as new Great Powers is crucial for assessing the character of the current inter-imperialist rivalry.

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

strates that most of these organizations fail to understand the nature of the Great Power rivalry and, consequently, are not able to take an internationalist and revolutionary stance.

The author elaborates the approach of leading Marxist figures like Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg to the problems of Great Power rivalry and imperialist aggression against oppressed peoples. He outlines a Marxist program for the current period which is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future.

The book contains an introduction and 29 chapters plus an appendix (412 pages) and includes 61 figures and tables. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.



the so-called Global South, i.e. the capitalist semi-colonial countries which are super-exploited and oppressed by the imperialist monopolies.<sup>16</sup> Kissinger's warning of a "Syrian-type civil war", i.e. an armed conflict resulting from a popular uprising against a dictatorship, reflects the authentic fear of the ruling class of all imperialist powers that the popular masses in Central Asia could rise up against their tyrants. Such a rebellion would endanger the Great Powers' access to the rich raw material sources of the region. Furthermore, it would rupture the so-called Silk Road, i.e. the Eurasian trade routes linking China with Russia and Europe.

Hence, when Kissinger advocates Western support for Russia's role as a Great Power controlling Central Asia, he expresses – as a "wise old man" – the interests of "Global Total Imperialist" (to paraphrase Marx' formula of the "Ideal Total Capitalist").

For Marxists, it is often of interest to read the deliberations of intelligent representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie. How can one fight the imperialist rulers if one doesn't know what they want and why as well as what are their worries. Kissinger's recently published interview is an example of this.

### Footnotes

1 The Economist: A conversation with Henry Kissinger. The transcript of his meeting with our journalists, May 17th 2023, <https://www.economist.com/kissinger-transcript>; a summary of this interview is here: Henry Kissinger explains how to avoid world war three. America and China must learn to live together. They have less than ten years, The Economist, May 17th 2023, <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2023/05/17/henry-kissinger-explains-how-to-avoid-world-war-three>. All quotes are from this interview if not indicated otherwise.

2 For past discussions about Kissinger's analysis of the world situation see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Henry Kissinger's Desperate Call for Imperialist Peace. An intelligent strategist articulates the fear of the ruling class about the Ukraine War and Great Power rivalry, 24 December 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/henry-kissinger-s-desperate-call-for-imperialist-peace/>; by the same author: "Worse than World War I". Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger warns that the Cold War between U.S. and China could get out of control, 21 November 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/worse-than-world-war-i/>

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5 See e.g. Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry, pp. 82-87

6 RCIT: Artificial Intelligence: A Leviathan Monster Serving the Ruling Class. Theses on Artificial Intelligence and its application in the period of capitalist decay. A first approach from a Marxist viewpoint, 7 May 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-theses-on-artificial-intelligence/>

7 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 170 RCIT documents on the Ukraine War and the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>. In particular we refer to the RCIT Manifesto: Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance. Socialists must combine the revolutionary defense of the Ukraine against Putin's invasion with the internationalist struggle against Russian as well as NATO and EU imperialism, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-ukraine-war-a-turning-point-of-world-historic-significance/>; see also: Manifesto on the First Anniversary of the Ukraine War. Victory to the heroic Ukrainian people! Defeat Russian imperialism! No support whatsoever for NATO imperialism! 10 February 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-on-first-anniversary-of-ukraine-war/>.

8 See on this our above-mentioned article "Henry Kissinger's Desperate Call for Imperialist Peace".

9 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: Ukraine War: "Wall Street Journal" Reveals Western Governments Eagerness to Push for a Ceasefire, 8 May 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-wall-street-journal-reveals-western-governments-eagerness-to-negotiate-a-ceasefire/>; see also RCIT: Towards a Turning Point in the Ukraine War? The tasks of socialists in the light of possible lines of development of the war of national defence in combination with the inter-imperialist Great Power rivalry, 11 March 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/towards-a-turning-point-in-the-ukraine-war/>

10 Seymour Hersh: The Ukraine Refugee Question. Ukraine's neighbors push for Zelensky to pursue peace as millions of displaced people flow into Europe, May 17, 2023, <https://seymourhersh.substack.com/p/the-ukraine-refugee-question>

11 Such we noted in the above-mentioned RCIT resolution "Towards a Turning Point in the Ukraine War?": "What could be such a turning point in the character of the war? As we noted in



past documents, a direct military intervention of NATO troops could transform the war in the Ukraine from a just war of national defence into an inter-imperialist war between Great Powers. Another possible development which could change the character of the war would be the membership of the Ukraine in an imperialist alliance like NATO or the EU. This would be not only a formal change because such membership subordinates such a country to the domination of major imperialist powers – both de jure and de facto. Furthermore, it would also trigger a mechanism of military intervention by the Western Great Powers (the famous Article 5 in the NATO Charter). However, as mentioned above, it is exactly for this reason why there exist strong resistance within the ruling class of NATO powers against the accession of the Ukraine. As a consequence, Washington, London, Berlin and Paris are considering a special treaty between NATO and the Ukraine which has been compared to the one between the U.S. and Israel. Since the concrete nature of such a treaty is not, and can not, be known by now (if it ever comes into existence), it is not possible at this juncture to judge if it would transform the relationship and make Ukraine a proxy of the Western power or not. If it would really establish a relationship similar to the one which has existed between the U.S. and Israel for several decades, it would indeed force us to view the Ukraine as a proxy of Western imperialism."

12 "The past 12 months have validated our analysis of the dual character of the conflict, and we therefore reiterate our dual tactic. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to ignore certain changes which have taken place respectively which could take place in the next few months for the reasons mentioned above. As we did already point out since the beginning of the war, the Zelensky government is thoroughly bourgeois and pro-NATO. After 12 months of war in which the Ukraine has become more and more dependent on Western military and economic assistance, the Bankova's pro-NATO orientation could not but increase. This does not mean that the Ukraine has already become a "proxy" of Western imperialism as all kind of opportunists claim who are just looking for an excuse to refuse defending a semi-colonial country against an imperialist aggressor. However, while quantity has not transformed into quality, we are certainly closer to such a point than we were in March 2022. (...) As we elaborated above, the Ukraine seems to head towards important developments and turning points. It is possible that this might change its character, i.e. that the elements of inter-imperialist rivalry become dominant over the elements of a just war of national defence. In such a case – for example if NATO forces intervene directly in the war, if the Ukraine becomes a member of NATO or EU or if it

establishes a "Israel-like" relationship – revolutionaries could no longer support the military struggle of the Ukraine but would advocate a dual defeatist position on both sides." (RCIT: Towards a Turning Point in the Ukraine War?)

13 See on this e.g. Michael Pröbsting: "Ukraine is a Proxy of the West?" – Facts versus Myths. New studies show the limited character of Western aid to the Ukraine, 5 April 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-is-a-proxy-of-the-west-facts-versus-myths/>; by the same author: Is US aid to Ukraine really 'unprecedented'? New studies destroy the myth propagated by supporters of Western and Russian imperialism, 4 April 2023, <https://links.org.au/us-aid-ukraine-really-unprecedented-new-studies-destroy-myth-propagated-supporters-western-and/>; Ukraine War: Beating the Dummy. A commentary on a hidden polemic of the ISA against its internal critics, 27 February 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-beating-the-dummy/>

14 Andrew Korybko: Kissinger Is Crazy To Imply That Ukraine Might Invade NATO If It Doesn't Become A Member, May 19, 2023, <https://korybko.substack.com/p/kissinger-is-crazy-to-imply-that>

15 See on this e.g. a pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Putin's Poodles (Apologies to All Dogs). The pro-Russian Stalinist parties and their arguments in the current NATO-Russia Conflict, 9 February 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/nato-russia-conflict-stalinism-as-putin-s-poodles/> (chapter 5 and 6).

16 The main works in which we deal with the theory of imperialism and its relevance for the analysis of capitalism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are two books by Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-of-the-south/> (henceforth referred to as "Pröbsting, 2013"); Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/>



## Publications of the RCIT

# The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism

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

By Michael Pröbsting, August 2021

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

A RCIT Pamphlet, 20 pages, A4 Format

# Ukraine War: The Inner Contradictions of the 'Proxy War' Theory

## Why practical actions against military aid for the Ukraine is wrong even if one would accept the theory of 'Proxy War'

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 3 June 2023

A large number of progressive organisations characterise the Ukraine War as a "proxy conflict" between Russia and NATO where the Ukraine plays the role of an agent of the latter. Among such forces are also self-proclaimed Trotskyist organisations like the *Fracción Trotskista* (led by the Argentinean PTS) and the ISA. One of the most important practical conclusions of these forces is their advocacy for workers strikes and sabotage actions against military aid for the Ukraine in Western countries.

As readers of our publications will be aware, the RCIT has always rejected the characterization of the Ukraine War as a "proxy conflict". This conflict has rather a *dual character* – at least until now.<sup>1</sup> Hence, socialists unreservedly condemn the reactionary invasion of Putin and support the Ukraine's war of national defence against Russian imperialism. At the same time, we recognize that this war is combined with the accelerating rivalry between NATO and Russia. In this conflict, we support neither of the two imperialist camps. We have summarised our approach in the slogan: *Defend the Ukraine against Putin's invasion! Beware of NATO and Zelensky – transform the resistance against the Russian occupation into a Popular War! Against Russian and against NATO imperialism!*<sup>2</sup>

At this place, we do not intend to repeat our critique of the "proxy war" theory and their advocates and refer readers to our relevant documents.<sup>3</sup> Here, we rather want to show that even if one would accept the basic premise of this theory, even then are their practical conclusions wrong. In fact, their advocacy of boycott actions against military aid for the Ukraine is in contradiction with the Marxist concept of revolutionary defeatism.

### Under which conditions did Trotsk advocate boycott actions against military aid?

Trotsky and the Fourth International elaborated in the 1930s different tactics for wars with different character. In case of a war between (imperialist) Germany with the USSR (a degenerated workers state) where the latter is allied with (imperialist) France, he stated the necessity to defend the Soviet Union. For this reason, he explained that socialists must apply different military tactics in Germany and in France.

Such he wrote in *"The War and the Fourth International"* (1934): *"Remaining the determined and devoted defender of the workers' state in the struggle with imperialism, the international proletariat will not, however, become an ally of the imperialist allies of the USSR. The proletariat of a capitalist country that finds itself in an alliance with the USSR must retain fully and completely its irreconcilable hostility to the imperialist government of its own country. In this sense, its policy will not differ from that of the proletariat in a country fighting against the USSR. But in the nature of practical actions, considerable differences may arise depending on the concrete war situation. For instance, it would be absurd and criminal in case of war between*

*the USSR and Japan for the American proletariat to sabotage the sending of American munition to the USSR. But the proletariat of a country fighting against the USSR would be absolutely obliged to resort to actions of this sort – strikes, sabotage, etc."*<sup>4</sup>

Trotsky defended this concept during the hearing of the Dewey Commission in 1937. *"Trotsky: This question is more or less answered in the thesis, "The War and the Fourth International," in this sense: In France I would remain in opposition to the Government and would develop systematically this opposition. In Germany I would do anything I could to sabotage the war machinery. They are two different things. In Germany and in Japan, I would apply military methods as far as I am able to fight, oppose, and injure the machinery, the military machinery of Japan, to disorganize it, both in Germany and Japan. In France, it is political opposition against the bourgeoisie, and the preparation of the proletarian revolution. Both are revolutionary methods. But in Germany and Japan I have as my immediate aim the disorganization of the whole machinery. In France, I have the aim of the proletarian revolution."*<sup>5</sup>

Rudolf Klement, a secretary of Trotsky and a leader of the Fourth International, elaborated these principles in more detail in an article published in 1938 (shortly before he was murdered by Stalinist agents). In this article, which was highly praised by Trotsky, Klement stated:<sup>6</sup>

*"War is only the continuation of politics by other means. Hence the proletariat must continue its class struggle in wartime, among other things with the new means which the bourgeoisie hands him. It can and must utilise the weakening of its "own" bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries in order relentlessly to prepare and to carry out its social revolution in connection with the military defeat engendered by the war, and to seize the power. This tactic, known as revolutionary defeatism, is one of the strongest levers of the proletarian world revolution in our epoch, and therewith of historical progress."*<sup>7</sup>

He goes on explaining: *"In the application of revolutionary defeatism against the imperialist bourgeoisie and its state there can be no fundamental difference, regardless of whether the latter is "friendly" or hostile to the cause supported by the proletariat, whether it is in – treacherous – alliance with the allies of the proletariat (Stalin, the bourgeoisie of the semi-colonial counties, the colonial peoples, anti-fascist liberalism), or is conducting a war against them. The methods of revolutionary defeatism remain unaltered: revolutionary propaganda, irreconcilable opposition to the regime, the class struggle from its purely economic up to its highest political form (the armed uprising), fraternisation of the troops, transformation of the war into the civil war."*

Klement then differentiates between two types of war: *"Only, where the struggle is imperialistic only on one side, and a war of liberation of non-imperialist nations or of a socialist country against existing or threatening imperialist oppression on the other, as well as in civil wars between the classes or between democracy and fascism – the international proletariat cannot and should not apply the same tactic to both sides. Recognising the progressive character of this war of liberation it must fight decisively against the main enemy, reactionary imperialism (or else against the reactionary camp, in the case of a*

civil war), that is, fight for the victory of the socially (or politically) oppressed or about-to-be oppressed: USSR, colonial and semi-colonial countries like Abyssinia or China, or Republican Spain, etc.”

“It is otherwise – so far as the outward form of its struggle goes – with the proletariat of the imperialisms engaged in a direct struggle against the progressive cause. In addition to its struggle for the revolution, it is its duty to engage in military sabotage for the benefit of the “enemy” – the enemy of its bourgeoisie but its own ally. As a means of revolutionary defeatism in the struggle between imperialist countries, military sabotage, like individual terror, is completely worthless. Without replacing the social revolution, or even advancing it by a hair’s breadth, it would only help one imperialism against another, mislead the vanguard, sow illusions among the masses and thus facilitate the game of the imperialists. On the other hand, military sabotage is imperiously imposed as an immediate measure in defense of the camp that is fighting imperialism and is consequently progressive. As such, it is understood by the masses, welcomed and furthered. The defeat of one’s “own” country here becomes not a lesser evil that is taken into the bargain (a lesser evil than the “victory” bought by civil peace and the abandonment of the revolution), but the direct and immediate goal, the task of the proletarian struggle. The defeat of one’s “own” country would, in this case, be no evil at all, or an evil much more easily taken into the bargain for it would signify the common victory of the people liberated from the existing or threatening imperialist yoke and of the proletariat of its enemy, over the common overlord – imperialist capital. Such a victory would be a powerful point of departure for the international proletarian revolution, not least of all in the “friendly” imperialist countries.”

### What does this mean for the Ukraine War today?

As we see, the Fourth International advocated the tactic of military sabotage *exclusively* in such wars where it supported one side – a workers state, a (semi-)colony, or a

progressive camp in a civil war – against another. In wars between two imperialist or two reactionary camps, it advocated the policy of intransigent class struggle against the ruling class but did not call for military sabotage.

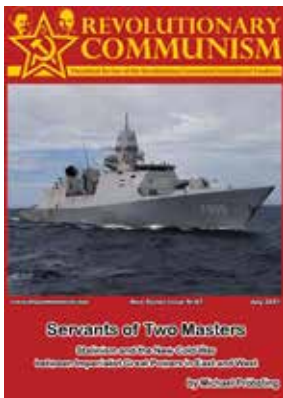
The reasons for this are obvious, as Klement explained. Boycott of weapons delivery etc. aids the opponent in a given war. Socialists advocate such sabotage in an imperialist country only in those cases where they actively support the cause of the “opponent” camp.

Now, the supporters of the “proxy war” theory never tire of saying that they neither side with the Ukraine nor with Russia. However, in this case they should take a defeatist position in the sense of not supporting any camp. But such a position does not include advocacy of military sabotage.

Look at the approach of Lenin and the Bolsheviks during World War I. They equally opposed all imperialist powers (resp. their proxies) and, therefore did not call for military sabotage in any camp. Trotsky and the Fourth International had the same approach during World War II concerning the conflict between the imperialist powers (Germany, Italy and Japan versus Britain, France and the U.S.)

We are sure that the cadres of organizations like the ISA or the FT are aware of the concept of revolutionary defeatism and its application by Trotsky and the Fourth International. Nevertheless, they advocate boycott of weapons deliveries for the Ukraine – despite the fact that it not an imperialist state (like Russia) <sup>8</sup> but rather a capitalist semi-colony. <sup>9</sup> How can this be explained?

The reason is that – consciously or unconsciously – they consider Russian imperialism as the “lesser evil” than Western imperialism. Hence, they want to weaken the Ukraine – the supposed “proxy” of NATO. However, in this way, they objectively aid Putin’s reactionary war against the Ukrainian people! No, comrades, authentic socialists must break with all forms of adaptation to social-imperialist Putinism!



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

# Servants of Two Masters

*Stalinism and the New Cold War  
between Imperialist Great Powers in East and West*

*by Michael Pröbsting*

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

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



## Footnotes

1 As we noted in recent documents, it is possible that the Ukraine's integration (or semi-integration) in NATO could result in a modification of the character of war. See on this: RCIT: Towards a Turning Point in the Ukraine War? The tasks of socialists in the light of possible lines of development of the war of national defence in combination with the inter-imperialist Great Power rivalry, 11 March 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/towards-a-turning-point-in-the-ukraine-war/>; Michael Pröbsting: Is Ukraine About to Become NATO's "Israel" in Eastern Europe? The "Wall Street Journal" reports about plans of Western governments to transform their relationship with the Ukraine at the NATO Summit in July, 29 May 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/is-ukraine-about-to-become-nato-s-israel-in-eastern-europe/>

2 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 170 RCIT documents on the Ukraine War and the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>. In particular we refer to the RCIT Manifesto: Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance. Socialists must combine the revolutionary defense of the Ukraine against Putin's invasion with the internationalist struggle against Russian as well as NATO and EU imperialism, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-ukraine-war-a-turning-point-of-world-historic-significance/>; see also: Manifesto on the First Anniversary of the Ukraine War. Victory to the heroic Ukrainian people! Defeat Russian imperialism! No support whatsoever for NATO imperialism! 10 February 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-on-first-anniversary-of-ukraine-war/>.

3 Our latest article where we critique the ISA's position on the Ukraine War is by Michael Pröbsting: Ukraine War: Beating the Dummy. A commentary on a hidden polemic of the ISA against its internal critics, 27 February 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/ukraine-war-beating-the-dummy/>; for a critique of the position of FT/PTS on the Ukraine War see e.g. Michael Pröbsting: No to Workers Boycott against Russia but Yes to Boycotting the Ukraine? On the support of the PTS/FT for boycott actions against arms shipments for the Ukraine, 26 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/pts-ft-workers-sanctions-against-ukraine/>

4 Leon Trotsky: War and the Fourth International (1934), in: Trotsky Writings 1933-34, pp. 315-316

5 The Case of Leon Trotsky. Report of Hearings on the Charges made against him in the Moscow Trials. By the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry (John Dewey, Carleton Beals, Otto Ruehle, Benjamin Stolberg, Suzanne LaFollette), Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York 1937, pp. 289-290

6 See Leon Trotsky: An Excellent Article on Defeatism (1938); in: Writings of Leon Trotsky 1937-38, pp. 153-154

7 Rudolf Klement: Principles and Tactics in War, The New International, Mai 1938, Theoretical Journal of the Socialist Workers Party (US Section of the Fourth International), <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/klement-war/>

8 The RCIT has published numerous documents about capitalism in Russia and its rise to an imperialist power. The most important ones are several pamphlets by Michael Pröbsting: The Peculiar Features of Russian Imperialism. A Study of Russia's Monopolies, Capital Export and Super-Exploitation in the Light of Marxist Theory, 10 August 2021, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-peculiar-features-of-russian-imperialism/>; by the same author: Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power. On the Understanding and Misunderstanding of Today's Inter-Imperialist Rivalry in the Light of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism. Another Reply to Our Critics Who Deny Russia's Imperialist Character, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/>; Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics, 18 March 2014 (this pamphlet contains a document written in 2001 in which we established for the first time our characterisation of Russia as imperialist), <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>; see also the following essays by the same author: 'Empire-ism' vs a Marxist analysis of imperialism: Continuing the debate with Argentinian economist Claudio Katz on Great Power rivalry, Russian imperialism and the Ukraine War, 3 March 2023, <https://links.org.au/empire-ism-vs-marxist-analysis-imperialism-continuing-debate-argentinian-economist-claudio-katz/>; Russia: An Imperialist Power or a "Non-Hegemonic Empire in Gestation"? A reply to the Argentinian economist Claudio Katz, in: New Politics, 11 August 2022, at <https://newpol.org/russia-an-imperialist-power-or-a-non-hegemonic-empire-in-gestation-a-reply-to-the-argentinean-economist-claudio-katz-an-essay-with-8-tables/>; Russian Imperialism and Its Monopolies, in: New Politics Vol. XVIII No. 4, Whole Number 72, Winter 2022, [https://newpol.org/issue\\_post/russian-imperialism-and-its-monopolies/](https://newpol.org/issue_post/russian-imperialism-and-its-monopolies/); Once Again on Russian Imperialism (Reply to Critics). A rebuttal of a theory which claims that Russia is not an imperialist state but would be rather "comparable to Brazil and Iran", 30 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/once-again-on-russian-imperialism-reply-to-critics/>. See various other RCIT documents on this issue at a special sub-page on the RCIT's website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/>.

9 For a political and economic analysis of the Ukraine see e.g. the pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: Ukraine: A Capitalist Semi-Colony. On the exploitation and deformation of Ukraine's economy by imperialist monopolies and oligarchs since capitalist restoration in 1991, January 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/ukraine-a-capitalist-semi-colony/>

## The Zionist Crusaders

By Yossi Schwartz, ISL (RCIT Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 01.06.2023

### Introduction: The Long View

The early decades of the seventh century were one of the most eventful periods in the history of the Land of Palestine. Within 24 years, between 614 and 638, the country changed hands three times. The four-centuries long conflict between Rome and Persia ended in a final collision of the Byzantine and Sassanid armies. Both these powers gave way to the rise of a new power, the Islamic forces, which would drive them both out of the region.

The Crusade started in Europe at the end of the eleventh century in 1095. Thirty crusades were launched with the aim of capturing Bayt al-Maqdis and "liberating" its Churches and Christians. The first crusade was successful in creating the first European colonial society by 1099, that ended within a century by Salah al-Din.

Saladin, to whom Arafat and Gamal Nasser were compared, was born around 532/1138 to a Kurdish family, Salah ad-Din served under 'Imad ad-Din Zangi and then Zangi's son, Nur ad-Din, Turkish governors of northern Syria. In 1171, after two years as vizier in Egypt, Salah ad-Din deposed the last Fatimid Shi'i caliph and returned Egypt to Sunni orthodoxy and, nominally, Abbasid control. With the 1174 death of Nur ad-Din, Salah ad-Din ended his vassalage and seized control of Syria, establishing himself as independent ruler over the lands of his late lord, with Egypt and northern Syria united under Salah Al-Din's command. At the head of a large and efficient army, Salah ad-Din exacted his 1187 victories against the Frankish Crusaders at Hattin and Jerusalem: this constituted both a great blow to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem—the impetus for gathering the Third Crusade—as well as the reclamation of a city holy to Islam from the rule of European Christians. He died in 1193 and immortalized in accounts by contemporaneous authors. [1]

The complete eradication of their presence was by the Mamluk century later. With the threat of the Ottomans into Europe, no longer was crusading to take Jerusalem feasible. Apocalyptic scenarios and the idea of restoring the Jews to Palestine marked a major shift for the prospects of the Holy Land. Napoleon issued the first official call to establish a Jewish colony, although never materialized. The British imperialists took it upon themselves to see this project through. The British managed to occupy Palestine, plans for a new colonial settler state were already in motion and after thirty years of British occupation, the reigns were handed over to the Zionists as the heirs of the Crusaders.

Both the Crusades and the Zionist projects although centuries apart resemble one another in more than one aspect. It may even be argued that Zionism is the continuation of the crusades or a new form of it and that Zionism is the heir of the Crusade. Many authors have looked at the parallels between these two historical movements, both foreign invaders coming from the west committing heinous crimes, establishing a colony in the heart of the Muslim World surviving for a period of time before their inevitable fall.

Britain, in order to prepare a Zionist state, chose the first High Commissioner for Palestine Herbert Samuel, a Brit-

ish Jewish Zionist. Over the thirty years of its occupation or so-called mandate over Palestine, Britain laid the foundations for the establishment of the Zionist state. A state that would act as the front line of Western imperialism and would become an imperialist state by itself due to the support of western imperialists. (Britain, Germany, France, USA). As many Zionists proclaimed that Israel is a strategic asset of Western influence in Southwest Asia for decades. However, with the decline of the USA and its power in the region the Zionist crusade begins to sink as well.

### The First Crusades

*"Due to the fragmentation of the Muslim World between two Caliphates in Baghdad and Cairo and the further disintegration into city states made it easier for the first crusade to take large parts of the Bilad al-Sham (Historical Syria). Due to the alleged support of the Shiite Fatimids in trying to forge an alliance with the crusaders against the Sunni Seljuks accelerated the process of the occupation of Palestine and Jerusalem" [2].*

*"The Fatimids occupied Jerusalem in 1098. The crusaders succeeded in occupying Jerusalem on 15 July 1099, through massacring tens of thousands of Muslims in the holy site of al-Aqsa Mosque, and the burning of Jews in their synagogue, with the Fatimid garrison being spared as they were fortified in the citadel and were allowed to leave the city unharmed." [3]*

*"The third crusade which lasted for five years ended with the signing of al-Ramlah peace treaty in September 1192 between Sultan Salah al-Din and King Richard stipulating a truce for three years and eight months." [4]*

*"The crusaders in Palestine lost hope of the arrival of the fourth crusade and in 1204 they signed a truce with Salah al-Din's brother al-Adil. Rather than reinforcements arriving, the opposite happened with many of the crusader knights in Palestine leaving for Constantinople to claim territory and fiefs and this deprived the Kingdom of Jerusalem of potential helpers.*

*"The sixth crusade, or the Crusade of Emperor Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily succeeded in taking Jerusalem through diplomacy, the emperor signed a ten-year deal with Sultan al-Kamil the son of al-Adil in 1229. He was the first Christian monarch to re-establish Christian rule in Jerusalem after Salah al-Din liberated the city. Al-Kamil agreed to a ten-year truce in February 1229, giving up Jerusalem and other places in Palestine to the crusades, however retaining al-Aqsa Mosque in Muslim hands and the aiding of Frederick to al-Kamil against all his enemies including Christians. Frederick entered the holy city in March 1229 and crowned himself King of Jerusalem." [5]* However ten years later the Muslims liberated Jerusalem.

### The Templars

Knights of the Temple were founded in Jerusalem at some time between January 14 and September 13, 1120 – two decades after the Christian armies of the First Crusade seized Jerusalem from Muslim rule. They were able-bodied warrior-pilgrims who could fight and who had promised to live a quasi-monastic life of penitence, poverty, obedience and duty beyond the normal vows of a crusader.

They were forbidden to swear, get drunk or overeat. Every Thursday before Easter, each Templar had to wash a pauper's feet before giving them new shoes and a loaf of bread. (A Templar official would check the pauper's feet for diseases before they began.)

*"The king of Jerusalem granted them a home in al-Aqsa Mosque, which was regarded as the most important and most beautiful mosque outside Arabia, more magnificent even than the Great Mosque of Damascus. When a Persian traveler visited al-Aqsa in its heyday, he described seeing "two hundred and eighty marble columns, supporting arches that are fashioned of stone, and both the shafts and the capitals of the columns are sculptured... the mosque is everywhere flagged with colored marble, with the joints riveted in lead... Above rises a mighty dome that is ornamented with enamel work." [6]*

*"The Templars identified al-Aqsa with the Temple once built by the Biblical king Solomon and under crusader rule the mosque had been repurposed as a palace for the king of Jerusalem. Later the Templars shared it. The 12th-century archbishop and chronicler William of Tyre explained that "because... they live next to the Temple of the Lord in the king's palace they are called the brothers of the Knighthood of the Temple." [7]*

### The Jewish Christian Crusade

A joint Christian-Jewish initiative for the occupation of Palestine was presented by David Reubeni to Pope Clement VII in the early sixteenth century in March 1524.[8] The Pope who saw this as an opportunity to mobilize Jews who were in need for arms to occupy Palestine under European auspices wrote letters to some European monarchs to support such an endeavor, such as the King of Portugal. [9] This may be the first time such an initiative was put forward for a colonialist settler Jewish state through relocating Jews to settle with European support. Although this did not materialize, it was the template that was followed a few centuries later by Theodore Herzl and succeeded with European support.

Herzl is everywhere in Israel. It would be difficult to find a town without a street named after him. He is memorialized in the names of boulevards, parks, squares, a city (Herzliya), a forest, a sprinkling of restaurants, a museum and even a national cemetery — Mount Herzl. His portrait hangs in the plenum hall of the Knesset. His birthday — Herzl Day — is observed as a national holiday. This is to be expected. After all, was he not the founder of the Zionist project and the Jewish state?

Not many know that his first solution to 'the Jewish problem' was a mass conversion of Austrian Jews to Catholicism? 'It should be done on a Sunday, in St. Stephen's Cathedral, in the middle of the day, with music and pride, publicly,' he wrote.

There's an amusing youth tube video in which a journalist presents a number of Israeli students with a quote from Herzl and asks who they thought wrote it. Every one of them says Hitler. They are shocked to discover the truth; the Herzl they'd learned about in school could not have written such an antisemitic statement. This is the quote: "an excellent idea enters my mind — to attract outright antisemites and make them destroyers of Jewish wealth" [10]

In an article Herzl wrote in the *Deutsche Zeitung* newspaper:

*"The wealthy Jews rule the world. In their hands lies the fate*

*of governments and nations. They start wars between countries and, when they wish, governments make peace. When the wealthy Jews sing, the nations and their leaders dance along and meanwhile the Jews get richer." [11]*

He also wrote: 'I think a democratic monarchy and an aristocratic republic are the finest forms of a State' but the Jewish state will be an improvement because 'we shall learn from the historic mistakes of others ... for we are a modern nation and wish to be the most modern in the world' [12]

In 1895, he wrote in his diary:

*"We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it employment in our country. But the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly." [13]*

Like our days Zionists he thought that the views of the Palestinian population could be discounted and that they had no political rights and should have no say in the matter. For him like the Belgium king Leopold who declared that Kongo was an empty land, Palestine was an empty country.

In his book *The Jewish State* he wrote: "We should form a part of a wall of defense for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism. We should as a neutral state remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence"

The Zionist parties that fought for and in 1948 succeeded in creating a state were Jewish nationalists. Their state would be not only of the Jews but for the Jews: the nation state of the Jewish people — all of them. They were clear that the state could only survive in that form by, as Herzl had explained, driving out the majority of the non-Jews who lived there. Maximum land, minimum Arabs was the political imperative. [14]

### The Zionist Crusaders

A historical analogy likening and linking Zionists to Frankish Crusaders or the State of Israel to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, appears frequently in contemporary dialogue on the Israel-Palestine conflict from a diverse range of sources and for a variety of political ends. [15]

The history of Palestine under the Franks, made immediately relevant to twentieth and twenty-first century Israel-Palestine via the Zionist-Crusader analogy, is researched, cited, and employed in political arguments by Israeli, Palestinian, and other Arab scholars and medievalists, politicians, authors, and lay contributors to popular culture. [16]

Viewing the Crusader states as a "prototype" of Israel, take the analogy as inspiration for historical research. Israeli historian Meron Benvenisti falls into this category, as well as his fellow Israeli scholars Meir Ben-Dov, Benjamin Kedar, and the famous Crusade historian Joshua Prawer.

Joshua Prawer, who left Poland for Jerusalem in 1936, authored *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, a seminal text in Israeli Crusade history. This book directly labels the Crusades as colonialist endeavors and, via an analogy accepting a parallel between the Crusader states and the State of Israel. Although Prawer is careful not to explicitly address the analogy in the bodies of his works, his acceptance of the validity of the comparison is documented in interviews and other



sources. He states that the analogy is “worthy of respect, but not without some problems.”

Benjamin Kedar is another Israeli academic who engages, like Prawer, with the analogical discursive framework, however he, has fewer reservations than Prawer. With an article entitled “Crusader Lessons”, Kedar throws himself into the discursive arena and presents his stance on the analogy as one who accepts its validity and seemingly speaks to an audience of like-minded individuals. In this article, Kedar responds to Prawer’s formulation of a medieval colonial state without a metropole and he notes, much in the vein of the analogic discourse, that Prawer’s thesis undercuts the argument that Israel is not a colonial state because Israel lacks a metropole. Formulations of Israel as a colonial state, used as a critique of Israel or an invalidation of its right to exist, usually emphasize the Disputed Territories as evidence of a space colonized by Israel. The main approach to neutralizing this threat, therefore, is to argue for additional or other criteria for status as a colonial state. The structure of a metropole and colonies is frequently cited as a counter-argument, precisely because Israel’s lack of a clear metropole may prove it is not a colonial state, and therefore has a legitimate claim to existence. Prawer, however, strips this argument of its force by providing its opponents a rebuttal: a metropole is not a necessary criterion for a colonial state. In other words, he provides the argument that Israel is settler colonialist society like the Crusade kingdom of Jerusalem.

The linking of Israel to the Kingdom of Jerusalem is even stronger when we compare Israel with the Templars and their Temple of King Solomon. Large part of the Israelis want to change the Al Aqsa mosque to the third Jewish Temple.

#### Endnotes:

- [1] EMMA KELLMAN SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF 25 APRIL 2014
- [2] Abu-Munshar, Maher. (2010). “Fātimids, Crusaders and the Fall of Islamic Jerusalem: Foes or Allies?”, *Al-Masāq*, Vol.22. 45-56.
- [3] Runciman, Steven. (1995). *A History of the Crusades*. 3 volumes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- [4] Runciman, 1995, vol.3: 76, 104.
- [5] Runciman, 1995, vol.3: 184-190
- [6] <https://www.history.com/shows/knightfall/pages/templars-crusader-origins>
- [7] Ibid
- [8] Mustafa, Mustafa W. (2021). *Yawmiyat David Reuben 1520-1525: Awal Muhawalat Tahaluf bayn al-Jamat al-Yahudiyah wal-Gharb li-Ihtilal Filistin*. Istanbul: Dar al-Usool Al-Elmiyah.
- [9] Ibid 105-106
- [10] Leon Rosselson, <https://medium.com/@leonrosselson/theodor-herzl-visionary-or-antisemite-The> Medium 25 October 2018
- [11] Ibid
- [12] Ibid
- [13] Ibid
- [14] Ibid
- [15] EMMA KELLMAN SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF 25 APRIL 2014
- [16] Ibid

# Books of the RCIT

## Yossi Schwartz: The Zionist Wars

### A History of the Zionist Movement and Imperialist Wars

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## On “Right” to Discriminate – Jewish Law was never progressive!

By Adam Smith, ISL (RCIT Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 11.05.2023

Two recent proposals – allowing the Rabbinical courts to mediate in new areas (outside of existing Kashrut and Family law), such as employment and rental law (as long as it is on a “voluntary” basis – another capitalist lie), as well as a “right to discriminate” based on religious rights, have shined a light on the role of the Halacha (Jewish Law).

Firstly, the communist opposition to organized religion is based on the fact that every organized religion has a lot of private property which it uses by its own directive, rather than a democratic decision around land use. In addition, for the vast majority of history, save for a few brief occasions, organized religion has been a tool to promote the ideology of the upper class, and has consistently sided with the ruling class. For example, many religions teach that rich and poor people are equal, or that rich people can “wash” their image by buying indulgences/donating to the local prayer house.

Traditional Jewish law is extremely cultish and chauvinistic/homophobic. Let’s look at some aspects of it. It is also at many times based on deceit.

1. Sechar Batala – For example, religious judges are not allowed to receive money for their services, and so are Rabbis, especially for events on Saturday. The solution? Pay them “sechar batala” – “unemployment wages” as you are “hiring” them for the entire week, and they are just “voluntary” needed for those couple hours. The rationale is that he had something else to do during that time, so the payment is for him to be unemployed during those hours (and he will voluntarily choose to use those hours for your needs...). It is obvious that once it is a person’s main job, he might not even have a pretend job to fall back to. [1]

2. Eruv. According to Jewish law, on Saturday it is illegal to carry large things or walk far, so there is a bypass, another Jewish “patent”, to put a string around the area (as large as half of Manhattan[2]) so it will be considered one block and therefore those activities will be allowed. [3]

3. Shabbos Goy – Many things are forbidden on Saturday, such as using electricity or lighting a fire, or even riding a bicycle or playing a musical instrument. For some creature comforts, before the days of home automation, one should hint, but not ask directly, a non-jew to turn the heat on, by for example, saying that it is cold in the room.[4] This is very condescending and insulting, as one can imagine. And if the non-jew does not get the message, it is permitted to ask directly.

A similar issue is about using the elevator on Shabbat. So the solution is an elevator which stops at every level! If living in a non-Jewish area, there is a debate whether one can ask a non-jew to press those buttons for oneself.

In a roundabout way, it is easier to observe the Shabbat outside Israel as many of the things can be delegated to non-Jews. For example, there is no need to use special generators, as the electricity outside Israel is not generated on Saturday using the labor of Jews. Or riding the metro system on Saturday (of which the author has personally seen

orthodox Jews do on Saturday in Vienna). [5] [6][7]

4. Passover sale – as Leavened goods are not allowed on Passover, the solution is to temporarily sell them to a non-jews for a symbolic price, and buy them from him at the end of the holiday. It is obvious again that this is not a real sale.

5. Snat Smita – Jewish law mandates every 7 years, a year of rest for the land. This is from the times of Jewish society being an agricultural one, and before improvement in fertilizers. Nowadays, not working 1/7 of the years is going to lead to bankruptcy. The more orthodox jews in Israel buy food from Arab places for that year, an approach that is more honest in my opinion than that of the religious Zionist, who do the following: They do a similar sale of the lands, as described in the paragraph above. However, it is forbidden to sell Jewish owned land in Israel to non-Jews according to the Halacha (Jewish law). The answer of the Rabbis is that a fictitious sale is allowed! [8]

6. Court Witness – Jewish women witness counts as half as valuable as a men’s, while non jewish account for zero. In a case that there is only the witness of a non-Jew, a court can use another demeaning tactic, to bring a jew to say that he heard the non-Jew say such as such. [9]

7. Orthodox Judaism has a very hard time to reform its laws because of a concept of “Yeridata Hadorot” (e.g each generation is less righteous than the previous one), which is why laws can just be extended, but never repealed formally. For example, riding a bicycle is forbidden on Saturday, because it is an extension of another law. *“The following example illustrates even better the level of absurdity reached by this system. One of the prototypes of work forbidden on the sabbath is harvesting. This is stretched, by analogy, to a ban on breaking a branch off a tree. Hence, riding a horse (or any other animal) is forbidden, as a hedge against the temptation to break a branch off a tree for flogging the beast. It is useless to argue that you have a ready-made whip, or that you intend to ride where there are no trees. What is forbidden remains forbidden forever. It can, however, be stretched and made stricter: in modern times, riding a bicycle on the sabbath has been forbidden, because it is analogous to riding a horse.”* [10]

Conversely, a law cannot really be formally repealed, so bypasses are created. Of course, there is a class component in deciding which laws are bypassed and which are not. The two main social ones that are bypassed are Prosveul (debt relief) and the ban on lending money with interest (using a Heiter Isska-permission to lend money with interest – what is actually said in the jewish contract is that both sides share the loss, but let’s say the present day courts have danced around the issue [11]).

8. Not treating gentiles on Saturday – unless gentiles said is rich and will cause problems for jews, in which case Jews are allowed to lie and fake a reason as to not raise the wrath of the gentiles (if they will think that they can get away with it). This is more of the Rambam and other middle ages approach, the more modern Rabbis do allow it.

9. Anti black racism: Maimondes has written some very racist things on black people, for example, as well as

others, attributing unattractiveness and other bad traits to Blacks [12] [13] [14] [15]. Also, when Jews published the Talmud in a censored version, they replaced the attacks on Christians with attacks on blacks (kushiates) gambling on Christian censor's racism. There are also earlier roots to this, the story of Noa's sons (sham, ham, yefet story, after the flood, ham (literally brown in Hebrew) got drunk and did bad things) as justification for slavery in Christian world as well, as well as justifying anti-Black racism in the Jewish world.

10. **Misogyny & Homophobia:** Women are seen in marriage contracts as property that moves from the father to the husband. The rabbinical courts also treat women as unreliable, and put restrictions on them that don't apply to men (such as no dating while the divorce is pending, while a man is allowed to).

In earlier instance of misogyny can be seen in the Biblical story of Enan, who didn't want to go along with the make-shift social program that brothers will take care of their brother's widows (and in material terms, keep the "property" – the women in the family) in case a brother is killed in a war. So he refused to have a child and he was killed. From his story, comes the Hebrew word for masturbation and the Christian attitude that masturbation is a sin.

Homosexuality is also illegal according to Judaism, to be treated with the death penalty (but not lesbism, as "*women minds are lighter*" according to the ancient Jewish wise men, in a chauvinist twist). The material reason for this is that homosexual couples don't reproduce and give birth to children.

Reform Jews are not much better, as they, for example, will not read out loud the bad parts, but they will not create new versions of the text. In addition, reform Jews tend to support Israel, and one of their demands is the right for women to pray in the Wailing Wall, a place that was created by bulldozing Muslims homes, historically had very little religious value for Jews and is being used to justify the oppression of the Palestinians. The main demand of the reform Jews is to have a seat at the oppressors table, not to join hands with the oppressed! True, there are also anti-Zionist reform Jews, but then again there are also an-

ti-Zionist orthodox Jews.

The truth is that Ben Gurion, a complete secularist, gave the ultra-Orthodox a partial exemption from going to the army, a monopoly of Kashrut and marriages, as well as the closing down of public transport on Shabbat. The reason for this is that the (orthodox) Jew religion provides Zionism with a good gatekeeper, building on old racism and xenophobia, as well as a religious rationale for having "ownership" over the land of Israel. This is why the separation of religion and state in Israel is a liberal pipedream.

We call for:

*An end to all religious chauvinism and Jewish supremacy!*

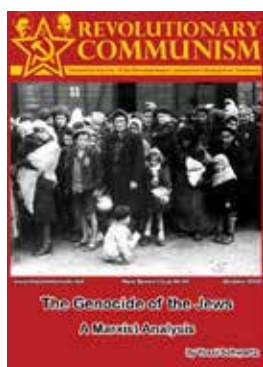
*Separation of state and religion- abolition of Rabbinical authorities!*

*Repeal of the Law of (Jewish) Return!*

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

#### Endnotes:

- [1] <https://www.daat.ac.il/encyclopedia/value.asp?id1=2731>
- [2] <https://www.npr.org/2019/05/13/721551785/a-fishing-line-encircles-manhattan-protecting-sanctity-of-shabbat>
- [3] <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eruv>
- [4] <https://www.anumuseum.org.il/blog-items/shabbos-goy-rescue/>
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- [9] <https://matzpen.org/english/1981-10-10/the-jewish-religion-and-its-attitude-to-non-jews-appendix-israel-shahak/>
- [10] <https://matzpen.org/english/1981-07-10/the-jewish-religion-and-its-attitude-to-non-jews-part-2-israel-shahak/>
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- [13] The Image of the Black in Jewish Culture <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1455673>
- [14] THE CURSE OF HAM: A CASE OF RABBINIC RACISM? David M. Goldenberg
- [15] Blacks and Jews in American Folklore NATHAN HURVITZ



## *Publications of the RCIT*

# The Genocide of the Jews

## A Marxist Analysis

*By Yossi Schwartz*

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

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*



## More than 4.5 Million Deaths

### New academic study estimates the direct and indirect deaths resulting from the U.S. wars after 9/11

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 18 May 2023

The Brown University's Watson Institute for International & Public Affairs in the U.S. has published a 39-pages report which estimates that more than 4.5 million have died because of America's wars after the Twin Tower attack in September 2001. This institute runs a *Costs of War* project which has already issued a number of well-known reports about the devastating consequences of Washington shameful "War on Terror".<sup>1</sup>

The study focuses on the death toll in countries which have been targeted by the U.S. in the past two decades – Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen. Stephanie Savell, the report's author and co-director of the *Costs of War* project, tries to calculate both the number of those killed in these wars as well as the number of those who died because of the consequences caused by these tragedies. "Though not an exhaustive list, predominant causal pathways to indirect death in the post-9/11 wars stem from: 1) economic collapse, loss of livelihood and food insecurity; 2) destruction of public services and health infrastructure; 3) environmental contamination; and 4) reverberating trauma and violence."

The study arrives at the following estimation: "Applying this ratio to *Costs of War's* calculation of 906,000 – 937,000 directly killed in the post-9/11 wars yields between 3,588,000

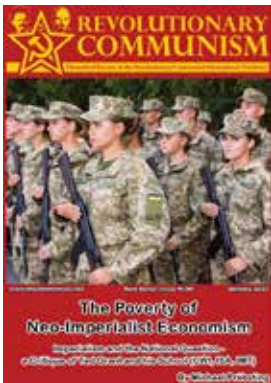
– 3,716,000 indirect deaths (3.6 – 3.7 million). Thus, the total figure of post-9/11 war deaths, including direct and indirect, could be 4,494,000 – 4,653,000, roughly 4.5 – 4.6 million." The author acknowledges that the figures are estimations and not exact calculations. However, she insists that her figures are a "reasonable and conservative estimate."

#### Washington's "War on Terror": barbarous and hypercritical

These "abstract" figures reflect the tragic consequences and the tremendous suffering for the peoples who have become victims of the merciless war-drive of U.S. imperialism. The butchers in Washington have waged one war after the other – either direct invasion or indirect wars of drones and local proxies – in order to keep their frail hegemony.

Such brutal wars resulting in the death of millions of people make the phrases of Western state leaders about "human rights" and "rule-based international order" so hypercritical and ridiculous for most people in the world!

The RCIT (resp. its predecessor organization) has a long record of internationalist and anti-imperialist opposition



## Publications of the RCIT

### The Poverty of Neo-Imperialist Economism

Imperialism and the National Question -  
a Critique of Ted Grant and his School (CWI, ISA, IMT)

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2023

**Introduction \* Part I. The Grantites' main flaws on imperialism and national oppression \* 1. Confusion on imperialism and the class character of states \* 2. Failure to recognise the nature of national oppression \* 3. Refusal to support liberation struggles as they take place \* Part II. The class basis and the theoretical tradition of Grantite revisionism \* 4. Strategic orientation to the labour bureaucracy, Sanders, Chavez, etc. \* 5. The Grantites' utopia: reforming the capitalist state and the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism \* 6. Are the police "workers in uniform"? \* 7. Woods against Lenin's concept of revolutionary defeatism \* 8. The Marxist theory of antagonistic contradictions and the inevitability of their violent explosion (and their gradualist distortion by Grantism) \* 9. Excuse: Comparing imperialist economism in the past and present (Bukharin/Pjatakov/Radek versus Grant/Woods/Taaffe) \* Part III. Some objections and Marxist answers \* 10. Undermining the unity of the working class? \* 11. "The workers would not understand this" \* 12. "But the national question can not be solved under capitalism!" \* 13. Are national liberation wars doomed to become "proxy wars" in the age of inter-imperialist Cold War? \* Conclusions \* Footnotes**

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against such reactionary wars. In Iraq, in Afghanistan and other countries, we have always advocated the military defeat of the imperialist aggressor and the victory of the oppressed people. Hence, we support all forms of practical aid for the oppressed people in such a war (including the delivery of weapons).

At the same time, we refuse to lend any *political* support for the non-revolutionary leadership which usually is at the top of such struggles (often these are petty-bourgeois or bourgeois nationalist and/or Islamist forces). We advocate the creation of organs of self-organisation and self-government like workers and popular councils and militias.<sup>2</sup>

### Russian imperialism: no “lesser evil”

In contrast to various Stalinists, reformists and populists, we do not limit our anti-imperialist solidarity to the victims of the U.S. or other Western Great Powers. We equally oppose the Eastern imperialists – first and foremost China and Russia.

We do not forget that Russian imperialism is not less reactionary and murderous than its Western rivals. Just think about Moscow’s murderous two wars in Chechnya (in 1994-96 and 1999-2009) during which up to 200,000 Chechens were killed and many more were forcefully made refugees – out of a small population of only about 1,2 million.<sup>3</sup> Or take Putin’s decisive military intervention in Syria since autumn 2015 which saved the tyrannical rule of Assad who slaughtered hundreds of thousands of people.<sup>4</sup> Add to this that since the beginning of his invasion in the Ukraine in February 2022, Putin has already killed tens of thousands of people and it must be feared that many more will follow.<sup>5</sup>

We reiterate that socialists must oppose all imperialist Great Powers – those in the West as well as those in the East. None of these is a “lesser evil”. All of these must be defeated. This is why the RCIT supports the struggle of oppressed people against imperialist aggressors – from Iraq to Chechnya, from Afghanistan to the Ukraine! To summarise our principles in a few words: *With the libera-*

*tion struggle of the oppressed people – always! With the (petty-) bourgeois leadership of the oppressed people – sometimes, when they confront the imperialist aggressor! With any of the Great Powers – never!*

### Footnotes

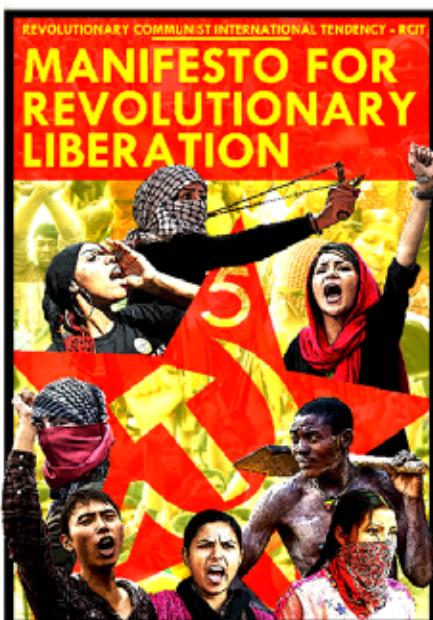
1 Stephanie Savell: How Death Outlives War: The Reverberating Impact of the Post-9/11 Wars on Human Health, Watson Institute for International & Public Affairs, Brown University 15 May 2023, [https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2023/Indirect\\_Deaths.pdf](https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2023/Indirect_Deaths.pdf). All facts and quotes are from this study if not indicated otherwise.

2 For an overview of the approach of the RCIT (resp. its predecessor organization) to imperialist wars see e.g. an essay by Michael Pröbsting: The Struggle of Revolutionaries in Imperialist Heartlands against Wars of their “Own” Ruling Class. Examples from the history of the RCIT and its predecessor organisation in the last four decades, 2 September 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-struggle-of-revolutionaries-in-imperialist-heartlands-against-wars-of-their-own-ruling-class/>.

3 The RCIT unconditionally defended the Chechen people in both wars and called for the defeat of the Russian aggression. See e.g. “Where does the RCIT Stand on Russia’s Occupation of Chechnya?”, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/russia-and-chechnya/> and “Russian Troops Out! Self-determination for Chechnya!”, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/freedom-for-chechnya/>

4 The RCIT has published a number of booklets, statements, and articles on the Syrian Revolution that can be accessed on a special sub-section of this website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/>

5 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more than 170 RCIT documents on the Ukraine War and the current NATO-Russia conflict are compiled: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/>. In particular we refer to the RCIT Manifesto: Ukraine War: A Turning Point of World Historic Significance. Socialists must combine the revolutionary defense of the Ukraine against Putin’s invasion with the internationalist struggle against Russian as well as NATO and EU imperialism, 1 March 2022, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-ukraine-war-a-turning-point-of-world-historic-significance/>; see also: Manifesto on the First Anniversary of the Ukraine War. Victory to the heroic Ukrainian people! Defeat Russian imperialism! No support whatsoever for NATO imperialism! 10 February 2023, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/manifesto-on-first-anniversary-of-ukraine-war/>



## 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*

