

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



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# Gaza War: Another Turning Point in the World Situation

Signposts for Revolutionary Unity and Demarcation
Debate between Socialists about China & BRICS+

## English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.98, November 2023

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Picture on the cover: Contingent of the Austrian section of the RCIT at a pro-Palestine demonstration in Vienna on 21.10.2023

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# What do we know so far on the War between Hamas and the Zionist Apartheid State

By Yossi Schwartz, ISL (RCIT Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 17.10.2023

The number of Israelis killed is about 1300 according to the Israeli government (breakdown not given). The number of Palestinians killed: more than 2000 (1/3rd women, 1/3rd children). Israel targeted a group of Journalists in Lebanon who are covering the events in the north killing one and injuring several. They also targeted ambulances and medical personnel in Gaza killing nine medics. Israel, having cut off water, medicine, food, fuel, and electricity to 2.3 million Palestinians, asked that 1.1 million of them leave their homes and head south (South Gaza and then to Egypt). The Israeli army then bombed those (a minority) who actually complied with their orders to leave thus killing 70 and injuring over 200 (again wiping out whole families trying to flee). The carpet bombing continues and as medicine, water and food run out, an environmental and health catastrophe is unfolding (Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the UN, and the World Health Organization all warned of catastrophe). Meanwhile the Zionist US Secretary of State (he said he came to Israel as a Jew who supports Israel) bluntly supports Israeli actions that amount to genocide.

Not one of the Arab leaders Blinken met with so far (Mahmoud Abbas, Jordan's king, etc,) was willing to publicly call a spade a spade (that the USA is a full partner in getting us where we are today and in the crime of genocide). Only Turkey's Erdogan said something openly about this. Russian and Chinese leaders were diplomatically "neutral" and refused to jump on the propaganda bandwagon. The Zionist lobby having firm control on their lackeys in Western Governments and western mainstream media resorted to silencing the last remaining western opposition: the people. In Germany, Belgium, and France, governments tried to ban demonstrations calling to end the genocide and to comply with international law. Yet, millions took to the streets today in more than 40 countries around the world (yes even in Germany and France). Here in the West Bank 11 unarmed protesters were killed and dozens injured Friday (there is a video of Israeli settlers protected by soldiers murdering a young man protesting a settler incursion). The propaganda and attempts to suppress free speech are actually backfiring. Resentment is increasing globally and a global uprising has started. We just hope that it grows faster to limit the number of innocent children who will be murdered.

#### Gaza

The entire size of the enclave is less than 200 square miles and 2.3 million people. 1.1 million in the north and 1.2 million in the south of the small enclave. One of the densest places on earth. Most are the families expelled in the ethnic cleansing of 1947-48 from their land and houses. After the war of 1967 additional Palestinians families were expelled. Neither they nor their descendants have been allowed by Israel to return to their homes – Israel says this would overwhelm the country and threaten its existence as a Jewish state.

#### The Zionist mass killing of Gazans in the last 16 years Gaza under siege lived through 4 additional wars

"On Dec. 27, 2008, Israel carried out a large onslaught on Gaza over three weeks, named by Israel as "Operation Cast Lead" during which 1,436 Palestinians, including 410 children and 104 women, were killed. In response to the Israeli onslaught, 13 Israelis were killed in the Palestinian attacks" [1]

"Israeli forces launched a major military operation, code-named "Pillar of Defense", on Gaza on 14 November 2012, beginning with an airstrike that killed the leader of the military wing of Hamas. In the following eight days, before a ceasefire was reached on the 21st of November with Egypt, some 150 Palestinians, including more than 30 children and approximately 70 other civilians, and six Israelis, including four civilians, were killed. Israeli forces, Hamas' military wing and other Palestinian armed groups committed war crimes. The Israeli air force carried out bomb and missile strikes on residential areas, including strikes that were disproportionate and caused heavy civilian casualties. In some cases, Israel does not appear to have complied with its obligation to distinguish at all times between civilian objects and military objectives, launching some indiscriminate strikes which damaged or destroyed civilian property, media facilities, government buildings and police stations. The Israeli navy also shelled populated coastal areas with artillery in indiscriminate attacks." [2]

"From 8 July until 26 August 2014, 2,251 Palestinians were killed; 1,462 of them are believed to be civilians, including 551 children and 299 women. 66 Israeli soldiers and five civilians, including one child, were also killed. Overall, 11,231 Palestinians were injured during the conflict, including 3,540 women and 3,436 children. Roughly one third of these children will have to cope with disabilities lasting throughout life as a result of their injuries" [3]

"In May 2021, Israel launched a devastating 11-day military offensive on the blockaded Gaza Strip, the fourth major offensive launched by Israel on the Palestinian territory in 14 years. The assault killed at least 261 people, including 67 children, and wounded more than 2,200, according to the United Nations" [4]

#### Are the Israeli civilians innocent?

The war of 2023 began with Hamas' attack on Settlements surrounding Gaza. Places that before the ethnic cleansing of 1947-8 belonged to the same Palestinian families in Gaza. For example, modern Ashdod was established in 1956 on the sand hills 6 km northwest of the historical Ashdod, then known as Isdud, a Palestinian town which had been depopulated in 1948. [5]

Or Ashkelon: "The modern urban development of the area began approximately 4 km inland from the ancient site as the Palestinian town of al-Majdal. Its inhabitants were exclusively Muslims and Christians; on the eve of the 1948 Arab–Israeli War the inhabitants numbered 10,000 and in October 1948, the city accommodated thousands more Palestinian refugees from nearby villages. The town was conquered by Israeli forces on 5 November 1948, by which time much of the Arab population had

fled, leaving some 2,700 inhabitants, of which 500 were deported by Israeli soldiers in December 1948 and most of the rest were deported by 1950. Today, the city's population is almost entirely Jewish" [6]

Sderot: "The development was located on the land of the Palestinian village of Najd, which was depopulated during 1948 Arab-Israeli War] and served as part of a chain of settlements designed to block infiltration of the refugees from Gaza. Permanent housing was completed three years later, in 1954" [7]

Shamelessly the Zionist state settled new settlers' colonialists in the area around Gaza and the settlers accepted it without any protest. The vast majority (if not all) of these colonialist settlers serve or their sons and daughters serve in the Israeli army inflicting more pains on the Palestinians and politically they support the right and the far right in Israel. Thus, are they innocent civilians? As much as the Germans who robbed Jewish properties and supported and participated in the killing of the people including of Jews.

#### Hamas attack on October 7 2023

On Saturday October 7 Hamas fighters entered places surrounding Gaza to capture Israeli prisoners, soldiers and civilians, while the fighters in Gaza kept shooting rockets. The fighters were told by the command to kill only soldiers, officers and police and not civilians. Hamas' Head of Political and International Relations has told Sky News that no civilians have been killed by the militant group by order. [8]

Yet Israeli civilians were killed why? First many Gazans broke out from Gaza under 16 years of siege full of justified anger and it is possible that some of Hamas soldiers disobeyed the direction of the command. In any case the last people who have the right to complain about killing civilians are Israel and its imperialist friends.

On Saturday on Reshet B radio at around 10 o'clock in the morning a woman told how she was afraid of being killed by Hamas fighters but was told not to be afraid Hamas does not kill civilians.

#### The Zionist lies

There are three main lies used by the Zionist government and the Zionist mass propaganda.

1. The First Lie: Israel was surprised by Hamas attack

At first Netanyahu denied that Israel Had knowledge of Hamas preparation to attack but he was forced to admit that 3 days before the attack he received information from Egypt of the coming big attack. This raises the question: why did he lie? Months before October 7th it was clear to anyone with eyes that a new war in the Middle East is on the way. We in the RCIT wrote on 10.8.23 "Thus, a new war in the region is a real possibility. Such a war is in the interest of the Netanyahu government in order to unite the Zionists."

Even the BBC on 8.8 wrote: "The lack of a peace process between Israel and the Palestinians ensures that every ceasefire between the two sides is only temporary" [9]

Thus, Hamas acted in a *preemptive* strike. What shocked Israel is the strength and the detailed plans of Hamas that acted as a small popular army. So why did Netanyahu lie? He expected this attack from Hamas thinking it will be weak and will give him the chance to end the protests

against him. Unite all the Zionists and form a unity government and carry out a mass killing and a new Nakba and maybe even drag the U.S to a war against Iran.

2. The second lie about the massacre of babies

This story appears in many western imperialist newspapers. But as the ancient Greek dramatist Aeschylus around 550 BC said: "The first casualty of war is the truth".

This monstrous lie began by a report in I24 channel by an American Zionist Nicole Zedeck who did not show any picture of such beheaded babies. She says in defense of her story that she was told about this killing by two Israeli officers.

"It's not a war, it's not a battlefield. You see the babies, the mother, the father, in their bedrooms, in their protection rooms, and how the terrorists killed them. It's a massacre," IDF Maj. Gen. Itai Veruv told the outlet at the time the bodies were discovered: "They chopped heads of children and women," says David Ben Zion, Deputy Commander of Unit 71 to our @Nicole\_Zedek, while reporting from the massacre in Kfar Aza in southern Israel" [10]

#### From Reuters:

"The video shown to NATO, apparently taken from a mix of social media published by Hamas and unidentified phone videos, showed the bodies of scores of dead civilians, as well as the body of an Israeli soldier in uniform with his head missing. There were no images to suggest militants had beheaded babies — a particularly explosive accusation that first emerged in Israel's media and initially confirmed by Israeli officials. "The images of the dead infants were included in the video played to NATO. It was not released to the public, but was later seen by Reuters in Jerusalem. Reuters could not independently verify the material" [11]

"Despite international journalists and news agencies debunking allegations that Palestinian resistance group Hamas "beheaded babies" in Israel, the claim continued to make headlines on Wednesday in Israeli and Western media, receiving millions of social media views. "Hours after Nicole Zedk appeared, Anadolu reporters contacted the Israeli military over the phone to ask about the claims, with their spokesperson unit saying: "We have seen the news, but we do not have any details or confirmation about that" [12]

"Following Anadolu's reporting on the allegations, some international journalists posted on X confirming that the claim was untrue, showing how the misinformation propagates through social media" [13]

"A French reporter based in Jerusalem, Samuel Forey, said on X that he was in the Kfar Aza settlement, located less than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from northeastern Gaza, on Tuesday but no one had mentioned the alleged decapitations" [14]

"Aren Ziv, an Israeli photojournalist, likewise said he saw no evidence of beheaded infants, while neither the Israeli army nor spokesperson also did not mention any such incidents" [15]

Thus, there is no proof Palestinian fighters 'beheaded' babies. The only source is a radical settler. This is a similar to the allegation of rape by Hamas:

"In a historic, impassioned speech expressing unbridled U.S. support for Israel on Tuesday, President Joe Biden listed among the atrocities Hamas had committed that women "were raped, assaulted, paraded as trophies." "A White House spokesperson told the Forward that this assertion was based on a phone call earlier that day in which Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had told Biden that Israeli women had been "brutally raped and murdered." Similar characterizations have been included in

condemnations of Hamas by columnists, celebrities and editorial boards".

"But the source of the rape allegation remains murky. While sexual assault is a common feature of violent conflict worldwide, the Israel Defense Forces told the Forward Tuesday night that it does not yet have any evidence of rape having occurred during Saturday's attack or its aftermath. And most mainstream media outlets have avoided mention of rape, with the Los Angeles Times and NBC News specifically stating they have been unable to verify the claims. He then went on to list various names and their ties to the Israeli military" [16]

"British-Iraqi activist Kareem Dennis of MintPress News, an independent US-based watchdog journalism organization, claimed that i24 "has employed at least 35 veterans of the Israeli occupation forces as staff. Channa Rifkin is an i24News correspondent who transitioned from the channel's Social Media editor to the Israeli military, then returned to work for i24News."

"David Matlin, the host of a daily flagship show on i24News, is a former Israeli military sergeant and the regional director for Israel lobby group AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee)." Matlin is also a founding member of the channel. "Eyal Pinko, who was the head of intelligence in the Israeli Navy before becoming the head of division in the Israeli prime minister's office, is another correspondent for the channel," Dennis said in the X thread. He also mentioned Daniel Tsemach, a former i24 journalist who joined the channel after serving as a social media manager for the Israeli military. Tsemach recently left his position at i24 to join Israel's state-owned defense company, Rafael" [17]

In addition, the Israel Today daily has a list of those who were killed by Hamas mostly of the Zionist armed forces and no baby picture or name appear in this list. Jerusalem Post has a similar list but only of the Zionist armed forces. No baby appears on this list.

These are the alleged Israeli babies that Netanyahu claimed Hamas beheaded.

However, if you look closely, you will realize that these are large plastic death begs and cannot be of babies. Lies have short legs.

C. The third lie is that Israel ordered the 1.1 million Palestinians from the north of Gaza to move south in order to save their lives.

"A second Nakba': Echoes of 1948, as Israel orders Palestinians to leave

Thousands of people have moved to southern Gaza after the order, but others say there is no place safe from Israel's bombings and that they would rather die at home" [18]

The United Nations has called the move "impossible" and warned of "catastrophic consequences", while the government media office in Gaza commented that this Israeli decision unveils the true "criminal face" of Israel. That order led thousands of people in Gaza to move towards the Strip's south on Friday. But Israeli warplanes targeted two trucks and a car at three different points on the Salah al-Din and al-Rashid streets. The vehicles had families who were on their way to the southern Gaza Strip." At least 70 Palestinians were killed in the attacks, mostly women and children, Gaza's government media office said, and more than 200 were wounded." Yet, while thousands of people are evacuating, many others refuse to do so – and overall support for armed resistance to Israel's attacks appears intact. Crowds thronged the streets in different parts of Gaza on Friday, chanting slogans and insisting that they will not leave their homes. The bombings of the convoys of people leaving for the south have

reinforced those sentiments. "If they are bombing us anyway everywhere, then why should we leave? We are staying home and we want to die at home" [19]

#### The Israeli prisoners in the hands of Hamas

Hamas holds between 100-150 prisoners. Some of them were killed in the Zionist bombing of Gaza. Hamas holds them for exchange of prisoners but if Israel will attack and destroy South Gaza chances are that they will die in the hands of the Zionist criminals. There are around 5000 Palestinian prisoners among them 120 children and 70 children that are forced to sleep on the floor. One in every five Palestinians has been arrested and charged under the 1,600 military orders that control every aspect of the lives of Palestinians living under the Israeli military occupation. That incarceration rate doubles for Palestinian men — two in every five have been arrested.

"By comparison, in the United States, the country notorious for the world's largest prison population, one in 200 people is imprisoned. The imprisonment rate among Black Americans is more than three times the overall rate — but even then, is a tiny fraction of an average Palestinian's likelihood of spending time in jail" [20]

G. The friends of the Zionist apartheid, and those of the Palestinians national liberation struggle

It does not come as a surprise that Western imperialism led by the U.S defends and supports the Zionist apartheid state. After all Israel is the front line of the imperialists in the region. Biden is not only spreading the lies of Israel but providing her with more weapons to be used against the people of Gaza and for the planned ethnic cleansing.

On the other hand in the semi colonies and in the Arab states the masses support Hamas. There are huge pro Palestinians in the Arab states by the popular Masses and even in countries like England and in the US.

In Al Jazeera the journalist Andrew Mitrovica writes: "This is not 'righteous' payback or vengeance. It is — I repeat, for the legion of complicit hacks and stenographers who, remarkably, have never noticed, let alone given a damn, about the perpetual suffering and trauma of Palestinians — a genocide. If my blunt indictment stings, I challenge any of the historically illiterate columnists and American TV news celebrities who have rushed to Israel to burnish their credentials as "foreign correspondents" — with their hairstylists, makeup artists and writers in tow — to disabuse me, and much more importantly, the Palestinian diaspora and their allies, of our belief that a murderous genocide is unfolding in that besieged enclave" [21]

These insufferable hypocrites are again tarring Palestinians as "evil predators" while praising Israelis as "solicitous saints" for warning grateful Palestinians in Gaza that they're going to kill them en masse.

#### The Arab states

Were not the local rulers so afraid of the Western imperialists and their own people they would not sit on their hands but provide Hamas more weapons and enter the war rather than look how Israel is acting to genocide of the people of Gaza.

Tens of thousands have marched in support of Palestinians in cities around the world calling for an end to Israeli bombing of Gaza.

"Supporters of the Palestinian people hold a rally and march called a 'Day of Action for Palestine' as the conflict between Israeli and Hamas continues, near the White House in Washington, DC to chants of "Free Palestine" as the death toll continued to climb in the conflict between Israel and Hamas" [22]

"Thousands of pro-Palestinian protesters gathered in the US capital on Saturday, marching past the White House. Across the country, Americans have held pro-Palestinian protests with crowds gathering in Los Angeles, New York and Dearborn, Michigan – home to one of the largest populations of Arabs and Arab diaspora in the United States. In the United Kingdom, rallies took place in Manchester in northern England, Edinburgh and Glasgow in Scotland, and London, amid police warnings that anyone showing support for the armed group Hamas could face arrest. Protesters marching through the heart of the British capital were shadowed by a heavy police presence of more than 1,000 officers. Demonstrations in support of Palestine also took place in Switzerland's capital Geneva, in Turin – northwestern Italy, and in the Irish capital, Dublin. In Morocco's Rabat, thousands marched in solidarity with the Palestinian people." [23]

#### The Israeli prisoners in the hands of Hamas

There are 120-150 such prisoners of different ages. Some of them were killed by Israeli bombing. Invasion of the enclave most probably will end with the death of these prisoners. The families of these prisoners who demand to invade Gaza are taking responsibility for their death.

#### The centrists and the war

The ISA as truly right-wing centrists put on the same level the oppressor and the oppressed and defend shamelessly the right of self-determination of the Zionist settler colonialists: "Solidarity with those who have lost their loved ones and with ordinary men and women from all communities, on both sides of the fence, who face the horrors of war and the acts of massacre At the heart of the 'failure': the arrogance of the government's "conflict management" policy and the normalization of the occupation and siege led to war. What's needed is a struggle to stop the deterioration and to end the siege, occupation and poverty, as part of a struggle for a root solution to the endless rounds of conflict, within the framework of socialist change, on the basis of equal rights to existence, self-determination, and life with dignity and welfare" [24]

The IMT of Woods has a better position and they side with the Palestinians. However as long as they recognize the right of self-determination of the Zionist settler colonialism and call for a federative state they are on the wrong side.

The British SWP has a good position of being on the side of Hamas without giving it political support. They say: "Today much of the left says it can't support the resistance because Hamas is "backward" or uses violence. The Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin faced the same argument in 1916 when the Irish Republicans rose against British rule. They used armed struggle, and many of those involved were heavily influenced by religion and cross-class nationalism." But Lenin pointed out, "To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, is to repudiate social revolution." [25]

And that article does not provide a program for the lib-

eration of Palestine as a one, red and free state from the river to the sea!

This is the time for Iran, Hizboolah, and the Huties to join the struggle of the Palestinians and for the Palestinians in the West Bank to join the military struggle against the Zionist state and the PA that collaborate with the Zionist state

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#### Gaza Uprising: Another Turning Point in the World Situation

### Thoughts on Israel's war against the Palestinian people and its possible regional and global consequences

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 11 October 2023

Introductory Note: In the following document we will elaborate some thoughts on the Palestinian uprising in Gaza and its possible consequences for the world situation. Of course, we are fully ware that such theses have necessarily a very provisional, incomplete and speculative character given the very early stage and the unprecedented and extraordinary spectacular nature of this uprising. Hence, it is possible, indeed likely, that the RCIT will further develop or correct this or that hypothesis in the course of future developments in the coming weeks and months. However, the importance of this uprising obliges Marxists to think about the possible future developments and its consequences for strategy and tactics in the struggle of the workers and the oppressed.

\* \* \* \* \*

1. The Gaza Uprising is another turning point in the world situation of no less significance than Putin's invasion of the Ukraine in February 2022. True, it does not directly involve a Great Power (like Russia) since Israel is rather a junior imperialist state. However, it indirectly involves Great Powers as can be seen in hectic international diplomatic activities as well as by the Pentagon's decision to send the USS Ford Carrier Strike Group to the Eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, this is very likely to become a long war with profound political and economic consequences for the whole Middle East region as well as globally. It can provoke a new wave of workers and popular struggles in the region and beyond and it can result in decisive ruptures of relations between states. For all these reasons we consider the Gaza Uprising as a historic event.

#### Israel: a settler state in crisis

- Already in our first statement, we drew attention to the unprecedented and extraordinary character of this uprising. The bold and decisive strikes which Hamas dealt against the Zionist enemy have shocked and humiliated Israel. Positions of the so-called fourth-strongest army were overrun by "guerillas with Kalashnikovs" – as one bourgeois commentator noted. They occupied Israeli military bases, settler camps and infiltrated cities like Sderot and Ashkelon. And the much-praised "Iron Dome" system proofed impotent against the rockets from Gaza. This operation allowed the resistance forces to destroy a number of Israeli tanks and military equipment and to take more than 100 Israelis - soldiers and civilians - as prisoners (in order to exchange them later for thousands of Palestinian prisoners). As a result, Israels prestige in the Middle East has clearly suffered a huge blow. This will both embolden the masses and, at the same time, make the Arab rulers doubtful about the benefits of normalisation with the Zionist state.
- 3. The Netanyahu government will certainly try to utilise the war in order to achieve several aims. It wants to annihilate the Palestinian resistance and to provoke a new

Nakba, it hopes to strengthen its domestic position and its tries to force the U.S. to actively intervene on its side in an attempt to "change the Middle East". Let us briefly explain. It is well known that the extreme right-wing government of Netanyahu and his ultra-Zionist madmen desires to "solve the Palestinian question" by provoking a new Nakba. The dramatic escalation of the settler violence against Palestinians, the increasing number of murderous incursion of the Israeli army in Jenin, Nablus and other cities in the West Bank, the repeated storming and desegregation of the Al Aqsa Mosque - the third holiest site in Islam all this reflects a Zionist strategy aimed at the annihilation of the Palestinian people. One always has to bear in mind that Israel is a small settler state hated by the native population and living in a hostile environment of Arab and Muslim neighbouring countries. As we are living in a historic period of crises, catastrophes and wars, marked by global instability, accelerated Great Power rivalry and revolutionary uprisings, the position of such a settler state is becoming more and more fragile. This is even more the case since the traditional backer of Israel - U.S. imperialism - experienced a decline as the sole hegemonic power while new Great Powers (China and Russia) have risen. The astounding domestic crisis, where the Netanyahu government faced weekly mass protests since January 2023 by the liberal Zionist opposition, is an expression of such a crisis of the Israeli state. The Gaza Uprising has worsened this development which is an existential crisis not only of the government but also of the settler state as such.

#### Zionists plan a new Nakba

- This means that the Israeli state will try, indeed 4. must try, to "solve the Gaza problem" once and for all. If it does not succeed in this, it might open the period of death agony of the Zionist state. Hence, the objective logic of the events pushes Israel to try to kill as many resistance fighters as possible, to destroy as much as possible and to expel hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. This is the meaning of Netanyahu's proclamation to transform the Gaza strip into a "deserted island" and this is the rationale behind the statement of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Hecht, chief spokesperson of the Israeli military, that the Palestinians fleeing its air strikes in the Gaza Strip should head to Egypt. However, it is difficult to imagine that Israel could succeed in this without invading and conquering the enclave in an extremely bloody urban warfare. And after this, it would have to keep the stripe occupied for an extended period of time. Needless to say, that such an endeavour is extremely risky for Israel and will almost certainly provoke mass unrest in the Arab and Muslim world and bury Israel's project to reconcile with the Arab states (the so-called "normalization").
- 5. In short, Netanyahu hopes to "solve" the Gaza question by an annihilation program and, by this, also to save his crisis-riddled government. However, as our

comrades of the ISL in Occupied Palestine have repeatedly pointed out, the crisis of the Israeli government is not merely caused by Netanyahu's problems with the judiciary but reflects a fundamental crisis of the Israeli society and its internal ethnic, social and religious divisions. The extreme right-wing settler movement and the religious Zionist sector behind it do not only want to expel the Palestinians. They also want to get rid of the liberal Jews in Israel. As Lily Galili, an Israeli journalist, recently pointed out, these Zionist zealots have "a new target: Tel Aviv" (which is mostly populated by liberal Jews). These forces will certainly try to utilize the war in order to strengthen their position. It can not be excluded that they might succeed for a certain period – albeit this is far from certain. In the long run, however, these divisions between different groups of Israeli Jews will only exacerbate.

- 6. Could the Zionist state succeed in enforcing a new Nakba by expelling hundreds of thousands or millions from Gaza and the West Bank? One can not exclude such a terrible scenario. However, even such a development could not result in a stabilization of the Middle East since the fundamental factors of the global and regional instability the Global Depression of the capitalist world economy, the accelerating Great Power rivalry, the explosive domestic tensions filled with popular anger against the rulers remain in place. This is the decisive difference to the situation after the Nakba in 1948 and the creation of the Israeli state. At that time, the world entered a period of long economic boom and relative stability. Today it is the other way round.
- Many commentators compared this uprising with the surprise attack of the Egyptian army in the October War in 1973. While there exists an element of truth in this analogy, this counter-offensive of the Palestinians is much more shocking for Israel since it a rebellion of a ghetto population against a state which is already in a historic crisis with a deeply divided society. This brings us to another important issue to observe: what will be the effects of the Gaza Uprising on the moral of Israeli society in general and the army in particular? Clearly, the Netanyahu government tries to mobilise a wave of war-mongering and chauvinism. However, it is unlikely that such a militarist mobilisation could remove the fundamental causes which have weakened and divided the Israeli society in the past years. Furthermore, one must not forget that the Israeli society has escaped the spread of decadence and demoralization which has characterised the whole Western world in the past decades. How many Israeli soldiers are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their motherland?! They are "patriotic heroes" when they sit behind a video screen far away where they can direct some drones or missiles. But let us see how courageous they will be when they enter Gaza City! Compare this to the heroic Palestinian people in Gaza and the West Bank! In general, Israel's army has suffered a similar development like the U.S. army: they are very good in bombing and all kind of hi-tech warfare but not so good when it comes to long-lasting ground battles where the morale of its soldiers counts. Remember how Israel's army was routed by Hezbollah in the Lebanon War in summer 2006 and how cautious it has been in invading Gaza in the past four wars! In short, it will be an important issue to observe how strong the morale of the Israeli society will be in the course of the current war.

#### Transformation into a regional war?

- One of the most important questions is if other forces like Hezbollah in Lebanon of pro-Iranian militias in Syria and Iraq will join the struggle and therefore transform the Gaza War into a regional war? It is evident that such a transformation would bring Israel to the limits of its military capacities. Already now, the Israeli army is stretched. As an Israeli combat veterans' group pointed out, the army wasn't ready to protect its civilians on the Gaza border because they were preoccupied with guarding Israeli settlements in the West Bank. This is why the U.S. sent its Carrier Strike Group to the Eastern Mediterranean and it is a realistic possibility that it would directly intervene in the war in such a case. This in turn would have explosive consequences for the whole region and indeed globally. In the past years, Washington always wanted to focus on the Pacific region in order to keep its main rival - Chinese imperialism - in check. After Russia invaded the Ukraine, it had to redirect its resources. And if there opens now a third front in the Middle East, this will bring even the mighty capacities of the Pentagon to its limits!
- At the moment it seems that the leadership of Hezbollah is not enthusiastic about joining the war. Shamefully, its resources have been massively strained by its reactionary intervention in Syria on the side of the Assad tyranny against the revolutionary uprising of the people. However, it is certainly coming under enormous pressure both from its own supporter base as well as from Israel. Hamas has called others to join this decisive battle. There is a strong pressure from the "Arab street" not to let the Palestinians alone and this will only increase if the Israeli army invades Gaza. In the end, opposition to the Zionist state and solidarity with the Palestinian people has been the hallmark on which Hezbollah has built its prestige over the decades. Its reputation has been already harmed by its reactionary support for Assad. If it fails to act now, its prestige will be further undermined. For this reason, Hezbollah allows Palestinian factions under its protection to send rockets to Israel and its fighters are engaging in some small-scale warfare against Israel with some mortar shelling and attacking Israeli positions. The resulting escalation with Israel killing Hezbollah militants could easily escalate soon and result in the opening of the new front.

#### Will Netanyahu and the U.S. "change the Middle East"?

Netanyahu has said he wants to "change the Middle East". In addition to "solving the Palestine problem", he hopes to win such a decisive victory and to weaken Iran and its allies so much that this would "force" Saudi Arabia and other Arab states to "normalise" relations with Israel and to join an alliance with Tel Aviv in the leading position. First, one has to say that Israel is much too small and weak to "change the Middle East". This could be only done with the help of U.S. imperialism. Obviously, Netanyahu knows this, and it seems to us that he has the plan to drag the U.S. into the war in order to achieve such a goal. The White House itself certainly did not have such a goal since it wants to focus on China and Russia. In fact, the White House has been completely surprised by the new Gaza war. Just weeks ago, US National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan declared that the region "is quieter today than it

has been in two decades." (A remarkable statement for history books!) However, with the Presidential election ahead, Biden can not afford to look as weak in supporting its close ally, even more so as the Republicans will mercilessly utilise every failure of the Administration for their own electoral campaign.

- Such an intervention of the U.S. in the Middle East would force the White House to rethink its priorities. It can not have a strong presence in the Pacific, in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East at the same time. This would be beyond its military capacities. Washington can not and will not deprioritise its most important strategic task – to keep China in check. Hence, if the U.S. is forced to send ammunition, weapons and military forces to the Middle East, it is most likely that it will reduce its support for the Ukraine (which is unpopular among the Trumpian Republicans anyway). This could accelerate the already existing sentiment among the political elite in Washington to push for a pacification of the Ukraine War and to enforce negotiations which would result substantial concessions to Putin. Such a development, as we did point out in RCIT documents on the Ukraine War, would underscore how disastrous it has been for the Ukraine that the Zelensky government strongly relied on Western financial and military support in its just war of national defence against Russian imperialism.
- 12. Could Israel, with the help of the U.S., "change the Middle East"? This seems very unlikely to us. The main reason for this is the political and economic decline of the U.S. and the rise of China and Russia. Saudi Arabia's oil policy (in close coordination with Moscow) against Washington's interests, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates joining BRICS, Egypt's delivery of weapons

to Russia, the UAE's role in circumventing Western sanctions against Russia – all this demonstrates the U.S. does no longer dominate the Middle East. And Washington can not change these political and economic fundamentals by sending a single Carrier Strike Group. They would have to send a much larger forces which, in such a case, would massively weaken America's military presence on other fronts. Neither Israel nor the U.S. are any longer in such a dominant position as they were some decades ago. Hal Brands, a well-known Bloomberg columnist, recognized this changed relation of forces in a recently published article. "Yet the war in the Levant is also part of a broader, intensifying crisis of global security." He pessimistically concludes that "the Pax Americana of the post-Cold War period is over. For a generation after 1991, the world saw historically low levels of geopolitical and ideological competition, mostly because Washington and its allies had such decisive advantages. That's changing as revisionist actors — principally China, Russia and Iran — try to throw back American power and create their own spheres of influence. The resurgence of autocratic great powers, in turn, is intensifying pressures on global democracy. We're back to world politics as usual — and world politics is usually an ugly, violent affair."

### Could the Gaza Uprising trigger a new revolutionary wave?

13. The most likely scenarios of the war are the following. If Israel – despite its declaration of war and full mobilization of all military forces – fails to decisively defeat Hamas, this would be paramount to a historic victory of the Palestinian resistance. It would immediately embolden the Arab masses and provoke a new wave of revolutionary

### **Books of the RCIT**

#### Yossi Schwartz: Palestine and Zionism

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

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

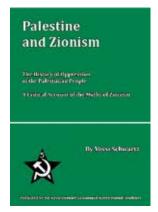
Yossi Schwartz also shows that the Palestinian people have heroically resisted against the occupation resulting in two Intifadas as well as the successful defense of Gaza against the Israeli aggression in three wars (2008/09, 2012, 2014). The author also analysis the shameful betrayal by the PLO leadership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

In Palestine and Zionism Yossi Schwartz defends the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian people and outlines a socialist perspective. He emphasizes that the only solution is the right of millions of Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and to replace the Zionist entity with one democratic state from the river to the sea – a *Free Red Palestine* with equal civil rights to the Arabs and the Is-

raeli Jews.

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

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



uprisings. Furthermore, such a victory would deepen the domestic crisis of Israel and could open its period of death agony. Likewise, such a development would deal a decisive blow to the "normalization" process. Finally, it would decisively weaken the position of the U.S. in the Middle East and strengthen its Eastern imperialist rivals. In the case of an Israeli victory, Tel Aviv and Washington would have bought some time. But no more, because all fundamental political and economic factors, the acceleration of the contradictions between the classes point to increasing instability and class struggle. Such a kind of Israeli victory would be comparable to America's victories in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003 – "victories" which soon resulted in new armed rebellions and guerilla struggles and, ultimately, defeat.

14. However, we also might see already soon a wave of pro-Palestinian mass mobilisations around the world and, most importantly, in the Middle East. Hamas has called for protests across the Arab world in support of the Palestinians. Khaled Meshaal, the leader of Hamas's diaspora office, issued a statement in which he said: "[We must] head to the squares and streets of the Arab and Islamic world on Friday, the Friday of Al Agsa Flood." The longer Israel merciless bombards the Palestinian people in Gaza, the longer Hamas and other factions manage to withstand against the Israeli aggression, the longer the Arab and Muslim governments remain passive, the stronger will the popular anger become which could explode sooner or later. Hamas is giving an example of determined struggle against the oppressor. This example will make Abbas and all the servile Arab leaders even more clearly look as what they are - coward lackeys of imperialism. In other words, a blow against Israel is also a blow against those Arab leaders which have built political and economic relations with Israel. Such a blow might provoke a new wave of mass struggles in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, some Gulf states and other countries.

#### Marxism, Hamas and the defeat of Israel

- 15. What do Marxists say about the tactics of Hamas in the Palestinian liberation struggle? As we have always emphasised, the RCIT as a revolutionary communist organisation fights for a very different program than Hamas which is a (petty-)bourgeois Islamist organisation. As such, Hamas wants to build a capitalist state in religious colours. Likewise, it currently takes an opportunist stance of support for the Iranian Mullah regime as well as the Assad tyranny.
- 16. In contrast, the RCIT advocates a socialist revolution of the working class and the oppressed masses in the Middle East. We stand for the destruction of the Zionist state, the unconditional right to return of the Palestinian refugees and the establishment of a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea which shall be a democratic and secular workers and poor peasant republic as part of a socialist federation of the whole region. In such a state, Jews will be a minority with full religious and cultural rights. Likewise, such a strategy aims at the overthrow of the Arab and Persian rulers by the popular masses.
- 17. As our comrades in Occupied Palestine have emphasised many times, the Israeli working class is part of a settler state and is bound with numerous privileges to it.

It can not play a vanguard or even an equal role in such a revolutionary process. No, the leadership will have to come from the vanguard of the Arab masses. Only in a period of existential crisis will it be possible to break a sector of the Israeli-Jewish working class away from Zionism so that they the join their Arab brothers and sisters. Such an existential crisis can either be provoked by a powerful Intifada in the region and/or a decisive military defeat of Israel against the Palestinian and Arab forces. A defeat of Israel against Hamas could us bring a significant step closer to such a scenario.

- 18. The governments and bourgeois media in Western states try to create a hysterical picture of Hamas as a "terrorist organisation". This is utter nonsense. Hamas has been the largest party at the last free elections among the Palestinian people, it has governed Gaza since 2007 and it is the leading force in the liberation struggle. Hamas is a legitimate part of the Palestinian resistance similar to the role of the PLO before the Oslo agreement and or of the ANC before 1994 (let us not forget that Western powers did also denounce these organisations as "terrorist" before they became "respected partners of the international community").
- This does not mean that we share the bourgeois program or strategy of Hamas. Neither do we approve all its tactics. As Marxists we do not advocate terrorist tactics against civilians. Hence, we do not assume responsibility for all its actions. However, one has to bear in mind that in Israel many "civilians" are armed settlers in kibbutzim who play a vanguard role in the Zionist aggression against the Palestinian people. In any case, it is a well-known truth that the oppressed have always more primitive weapons than the oppressors. Hence, while the Zionist state can kill Palestinian civilians with hi-tech missiles and starve them out via blockade, Hamas and other resistance factions have to fight with more primitive, i.e. less precise, means. Irrespective of the Western hysteria against Hamas, fact is that - according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - 6,407 Palestinians but only 308 Israelis died between 2008 and 31.8.2023. In other words, 20 times as many Palestinians as Israelis have died in the past 15 years. So, who is the terrorist?!
- Karl Marx once commented on the Indian uprising against the British colonial rule in 1857 in which the rebels also committed many atrocities: "However infamous the conduct of the Sepoys, it is only the reflex, in a concentrated form, of England's own conduct in India, not only during the epoch of the foundation of her Eastern Empire, but even during the last ten years of a long-settled rule. To characterize that rule, it suffices to say that torture formed ail organic institution of its financial policy. There is something in human history like retribution: and it is a rule of historical retribution that its instrument be forged not by the offended, but by the offender himself." The courageous coalition of 34 Harvard University student organisations published a powerful pro-Palestinian statement on 10 October in which they "hold the Israeli regime entirely responsible for all unfolding violence" between the Palestinians and Israelis following decades of occupation, adding that "the apartheid regime is the only one to blame". This is absolutely correct! It is the Israeli Apartheid state and not the Palestinian resistance which has introduced barbarism and terrorism. Israel is tasting now its own medicine!

21. Finally, as we said, the RCIT does not approve all tactics of Hamas and we do not advocate terrorist attacks against civilians. Nevertheless, one must not loose a sense of proportion and adapt to the hypercritical logic of Western media. The real terrorist is the Israeli state and any terrorist tactics of Hamas against civilians is only a subordinated element which does not change at all the just character of the liberation war of the Palestinian resistance. At the moment, Hamas is the leading force of the resistance struggle of the Palestinian people. We side unconditionally with this struggle, and we therefore support the struggle of Hamas – despite our political criticism of it – against the Israeli state.

#### The Gaza Uprising and the Left

- 22. The Gaza Uprising will create a new line of demarcation among the self-proclaimed progressive and socialist organisations. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a prominent "socialist" in the U.S. who is a member of the House of Representatives for the pro-Zionist Democratic Party, has shamefully denounced a pro-Palestinian rally in New York as "antisemitic". The German LINKE has a strong wing which explicitly supports Israel. And the Spanish Stalinists and left-populists (PCE, IU, Sumar) are part of a government which supports the pro-Israeli line of the European Union. Clearly, these are pro-Zionist traitors!
- 23. There will be those which declare general solidarity with the Palestinian people but refuse to side with the resistance forces (currently led by Hamas) against the Israeli army. Such a position has been advocated by organisations like Alan Woods' IMT, Peter Taaffe's CWI or the ISA. It is effectively a kind of "neutrality", a policy of reactionary abstentionism (similar to their position on the Ukraine War).
- Others, like the RCIT, openly and clearly stand on 24. the side of the Palestinian resistance. However, one must differentiate also among the supporters of the Palestinian resistance. There are those - usually with a Stalinist or Chavista background - who side with the Palestinian resistance because they fight against the Western enemy. At the same time, they sympathise or even support the Assad regime against the Syrian Revolution or Putin against the Ukraine. In contrast, the RCIT and other authentic socialists support all struggles of the oppressed peoples – those against (pro-)Western powers as well as those against (pro-)Eastern powers. It will be crucial to create a bloc of those socialists which oppose all imperialist powers and, at the same time, take a consistent pro-Palestinian, anti-Assad and pro-Ukrainian stance.
- 25. Of course, one has to be aware that there also exist difficulties. Among the political conscious activists among the Arab masses and the international solidarity movements, there exist contradictory sentiments. Those who have been active in the struggles against Assad or against Putin's invasion tend to have doubts to join a solidarity movement which supports a struggle led by Hamas (which has publicly expressed sympathies with Assad). And, equally, among those who support the current Gaza Uprising, there are many who are hesitant or even reject to side with the Syrian or the Ukrainian people. These are unavoidable challenges in a period of accelerated tensions between the imperialist powers of East and West. The task

of authentic socialists is to explain that we need to build a third camp of independent struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples which opposes all Great Powers

#### **Revolutionary tactics**

- 26. As we stated in the first declaration of the RCIT on the Gaza Uprising, we unconditionally support the struggle of the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli state. However, we do not lend political support to the leadership of these forces (like Hamas). Furthermore, one must demand from the Palestinian Administration of Mahmoud Abbas to immediately stop its collaboration with the Israeli state and to distribute weapons to the people so that they can defend themselves against the Zionist killers.
- 27. Outside of Palestine, it is the urgent duty of the international workers and popular movement to mobilize all over the world in solidarity with the Palestinian people. All Arab and Muslim governments which claim to stand by the Palestinian people must immediately break off all political, economic, and military relations with the Zionist state. They must send the Palestinian people everything they need from medical to military aid.
- 28. In the imperialist metropolises first and foremost in North America and Western Europe socialists should support all activities which undermine the shameful support of the imperialist governments for the Zionist Apartheid state. All activities of boycott against the Zionist state and all forms of sabotage of arms shipments to Israel are important and legitimate acts of solidarity.
- 29. As we mentioned above, there is a realistic possibility that the Gaza War could become a regional war with the Palestinian resistance, Hezbollah, the Houthis, pro-Iranian militias in Iraq and Syria and even Iran itself joining the war against Israel (which in such a case would most likely be supported by the U.S. with its navy, air force and possible even troops on the ground). Hence, this would involve forces which play a reactionary role in other fields. For example, the Iranian regime oppresses its own people including the Kurdish and Arab national minorities and Hezbollah and pro-Iranian militias have troops in Syria which help Assad staying in power.
- In a recently published article ("Marxist Tactics 30. in Wars with Contradictory Character"), we explained that in periods like the current one, socialists will be increasingly confronted with wars with contradictory character. A regional war as described above would be such a case. Marxists have to analyse concretely the developments in such a conflict and advocate corresponding tactics. The primary character of such a regional war would that of a just struggle of the Palestinian masses as well as Arab resp. Iranian forces against an imperialist settler state. In such a conflict the RCIT would stand for the military victory of the pro-Palestinian forces and for the defeat of Israel. At the same time, we would continue our support for the struggle of the Syrian people against Assad (including his allies like Hezbollah and pro-Iranian militias) as well as for the democratic protests of the Iranian masses against the Mullah regime.

#### The Fruits of a Jewish and Democratic State

Yossi Schwartz, ISL the section of the RCIT in Israel/Occupied Palestine, 04.10.2023

From its birth the Zionist movement adopted Jewish Symbols. The flag of the State of Israel is based on the design of the Jewish prayer shawl (tallit), with a blue Shield of David (Magen David). The official emblem of the State of Israel is a candelabrum (menorah), whose shape is said to be derived from the seven-branched moriah, a plant known since antiquity.

These symbols were necessary for the Zionist movement to justify their colonization of Palestine. The justification has been the Jews in exile returning to their ancient land that was waiting for them to return (supposedly empty). There is no need for DNA tests to know that the modern Ashkenazi Jews are not the same people as the ancient Jews. The Modern Jews are of capitalist society while the ancient Jews were tribes and beginning of a slave society. Nevertheless, gene tests show that two fifths of Ashkenazi Jews are descended from four women who lived in Europe a thousand years ago.

"The team, led by doctoral student, Doron Behar, and his supervisor, Professor Karl Skorecki of the Technion's medical faculty and Rambam Medical Centre in Haifa, published their findings online ahead of print publication in the American Journal of Human Genetics on 11 January (www.journals.uchicago.edu/AJHG/home.html). The article will appear in print in the March edition.

Professor Skorecki, a nephrologist who also conducts genetic research, is known for his 1997 discovery of DNA marker evidence showing that most modern-day Jewish men of the paternally inherited priestly caste (the Kohanim) are descendants of a single common male ancestor.

The "four founding mothers," he added, "are from lineages that originated long before the launching of the Jewish people some 3400 years ago. They probably came from a large Middle Eastern gene pool." [1]

It has been necessary for the European settler colonialists to give the Jewish religious institutions a state status to justify their colonization of Palestine. For these reasons the first Prime Minister of the Zionist state Ben Gurion, a secular Jew, gave the Rabbinical Authorities religious jurisdiction over some legal matters.

Jewish law has formal jurisdiction over the "personal law" of Jewish citizens of the state – law pertaining to marriage, divorce, inheritance, etc. This is a residue of the Ottoman millet system that was kept in place by the British and inherited by the State of Israel. After 1948, Jewish religious courts were incorporated into the state.

Traditional Jewish norms have exerted a particular influence on the legislation of spheres of life with peculiar cultural resonance such as the legal definition of Jewish identity and the consumption of pork. The Rabbinical Authorities decide "Who is a Jew" (which had practical significance especially with regard to qualification for immigration to Israel under the Law of Return). For example, the decision of the court in the 1962 Brother Daniel case (which ruled that a Carmelite Friar who had been born a Jew and still considered himself Jewish did not qualify for immigration under the Law of Return) in the context of Israeli politics, Zionist culture and Jewish law, shows that Zionism considers Jewishness as an ethnic and religious

affair, and not a cultural/'catholic'(universal) one.

Ben Gurion also released the young man studying in Yeshiva from military service that irritates the secular Zionists of today. The Zionists support Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. However, these secular Jews understand Jewish and democratic as democracy for the Jews while the religious Jews understand it as Jewish religious state.

As the occupation and the oppression of the Palestinians grew and so did the resistance of the Palestinians, more and more Jews in Israel turned to the right and to religion. The Jewish religious organizations feel today strong enough to force a religious state.

Yom Kippur, the most solemn and sacred date on the Jewish calendar, is usually a day of unity for Jewish Israelis. Highways empty, shops close and transport networks shut down, as nonobservant Jews show respect to the devout by avoiding work and driving.

But that social cohesion collapsed this year. Confrontations broke out on the streets of Tel Aviv as religious Jews tried to organize Yom Kippur prayers in which men and women were encouraged to pray separately — angering residents of the mainly secular city. [2]

On October 1st Sephardi Chief Rabbi Yitzhak Yosef said: "Jews who eat unkosher food are "impaired," and therefore it is "difficult for them to comprehend things." The rabbi added that, "I observe everything happening within the secular community. driven by the desires of this world."

Opposition leader MK Yair Lapid commented that Yosef has misrepresented his role, saying, "he is not the Chief Rabbi of Israel but rather the rabbi of a vocal minority that condemns millions of Jews who serve in the army, risk their lives, work, and support this nation. In one aspect, he is correct – they felt somewhat foolish tonight when they realized they are the ones funding his salary." [3]

No doubt, mass prayer in public places rather than in the synagogues is shoving religion down the throats of the secular. Most secular Zionists support the concept of Jewish and democratic state and by doing so for racist feelings against the Palestinians are bringing on themselves a Jewish state.

To stop this process, it is necessary to break with Zionism and to join the struggle of the Palestinian national liberation struggle.

When approaching the block of the two states in the mass movement against the government, we tell the people in this block: Brothers and sisters it is good you protest against the repression of the Palestinians. However Arab Palestinian and Israeli Jews will live in peace only with the return of the Palestinian refugees and this will happen only under socialist democratic state from the river to the sea.

No to religious coercion! For the right of return of the Palestinian refugees! For one red democratic state!

#### **Endnotes:**

- [1] https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1336798/
- [2] https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/28/world/middleeast/israel-yom-kippur-protests.html
- [3] https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-761245

#### Signposts for Unity and Demarcation

#### Which issues of the current world situation could constitute the basis for rapprochement of revolutionary socialists?

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 23 September 2023

ach historic period poses different questions of world politics at the centre of revolutionary strategy. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Marxists focused on clarifying the role of reforms within the struggle for power (the so-called Bernstein debate) as well as the question of participation in bourgeois governments (which right-wing social democrats like Millerand said it would be legitimate).

During the period of World War I and after, issues like the struggle against the imperialist war ("transform the imperialist war into civil war"), the strategy of revolutionary insurrection, the struggle for soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the approach to national liberation wars against colonial powers or the necessary demarcation from centrism and reformism became crucial issues on which Marxists at that time united their forces.

After the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR, the theory of "socialism in one country", the experience of the Chinese Revolution 1925-27 or the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee came to the forefront. Later these were supplemented by issues like the united front tactic versus the concept of "social-fascism" or the popular front tactic (e.g. Germany, France, Spain), the defence of the USSR and of (semi-)colonies against imperialism (e.g. Ethiopia, China) or the program of consistent defeatism against all imperialist powers (both fascist as well as "democratic").

In short, Marxists examined the degree of coincidences resp. disagreements with others not on the basis of abstract principles but by applying the general principles of revolutionary strategy to the concrete conditions of the global class struggle in the current period.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) has repeatedly followed such a method and discussed with other organisations on the basis of such a concrete application of the revolutionary program. <sup>1</sup>

As we are living in a crucial phase of global turmoil, it is highly important for Marxists to discuss today about possibilities for rapprochement. For this, they need to understand which issues of the world situation and the global class struggle constitute signposts for unity and demarcation.

Since the purpose of this article is to outline an overview of the questions which we consider as essential political milestones for a strategy discussion among Marxists, we will not discuss at this place these issues in detail but rather refer readers to our relevant documents.

#### A historic period of capitalist decay

Since the beginning of its existence, the RCIT has always insisted in its analysis of the world situation that the capitalist crisis of 2008 has opened a new historic period. We have characterised this period as one of capitalist decay, full of economic crisis, political instability and revolutionary and counterrevolutionary explosions. These features of accelerating contradictions have even intensified

in the past few years with the increasing number of wars and Great Power rivalry, the ecological crisis and various civilization threats as well as revolutionary situations. In short, the historic period of capitalist decay accelerates all contradictions – between states as well as between classes.

Marxists, in contrast to feeble opportunists, do not approach the challenges of the current period with despair and demoralisation but rather with revolutionary optimism. In fact, recognising such decline of capitalism and its revolutionising potential for class struggle (without ignoring the reactionary dangers) is the fundamental prerequisite for a revolutionary approach to the coming years full of tumultuous events, massive struggles and great opportunities.

### Accelerating inter-imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers (U.S., Western Europe, Japan, China and Russia)

Another key feature of the historic period which opened in 2008 has been the rise of China <sup>3</sup> and Russia <sup>4</sup> as new imperialist states and the consequential acceleration of the Great Power rivalry. <sup>5</sup> The decline of the old imperialist states – the Western powers – and the parallel rise of the new Eastern powers (China and Russia) has been a central factor in undermining the post-1991 world order and the end of globalisation.

In contrast, numerous Stalinists and Bolivarians view China (and also Russia to a certain degree) as a progressive factor in world politics and, consequentially, lend support to these powers. Others don't go that far but still fail to recognise the imperialist nature of these new Eastern powers a gross mistake which condemns them to political confusion and disorientation in crucial events of world politics. The only correct consequence of recognising the imperialist nature of all Great Powers is the policy of revolutionary defeatism as it had been elaborated by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. No support for Great Powers (neither their "own" nor any other) and its chauvinist policy; an orientation to utilise every conflict to advance the class struggle against imperialist governments and to transform it into a civil war - these are the principles which must guide socialists in conflicts between NATO and Russia or between the U.S. and China.

### Consistent support for the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples

Another feature of the current period, characterised by the acceleration of contradictions between states and classes, is the intensification of the oppression of nations by imperialist powers (respectively their proxies). Russia's war against the Ukraine, <sup>6</sup> against the Chechen or against the Syrian people, the U.S. occupation of Iraq, Afghanistan or Eastern Syria, <sup>7</sup> its military intervention in Somalia, Israel's relentless terror against the Palestinian people, <sup>8</sup> France's

intervention in Western Africa <sup>9</sup> – these are all examples of such imperialist wars where socialists are obligated to defend the oppressed nations (without lending political support to their leadership).

At the same, socialists have to recognise that the parallel process of increasing imperialist aggression against oppressed nations and the accelerating Great Power rivalry can result in wars with a dual character. Such contradictory conflicts combine both a progressive war of liberation as well as an element of inter-imperialist rivalry. It is the duty of socialists to concretely analyse such conflicts and to decide which of the two elements is dominating. The Ukraine War (where the U.S. and Western Europe support Moscow's opponent), the American aggression against North Korea or the conflict between the U.S. and Israel versus Iran (with China and Russia supporting Washington's opponents) – all these are examples for such conflicts with contradictory character where socialists take the side of the victims of imperialist powers without supporting any of the Great Power. 10

Many self-proclaimed socialists fail to consistently support the oppressed nations against the imperialist aggressor. Stalinists, social democrats and populists side – directly or indirectly – with one or the other Great Power and, consequently, aid the imperialist aggressor (e.g. with Russia against the Ukraine). Others, who recognise the imperialist character of the Western as well as the Eastern powers, make the mistake and degrade the struggle of oppressed nations (like e.g. of the Ukrainian people against Putin's invasion) to a mere "proxy war" in the service of imperialist powers. Consequently, they refuse to support legitimate liberation struggles and, instead, take a reactionary abstentionist position of neutrality.

We have seen a similar phenomenon during the process of the Arab Revolution which started in January 2011. This was the greatest revolutionary wave since the beginning of the current historic period fifteen years ago which shock – and partially overthrew – reactionary dictatorships in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and other countries. This process faced important setbacks and defeats – most importantly the bloody coup of General Sisi in Egypt in July 2013 – but also experienced important new waves like the popular uprisings in Sudan, Iraq and Algeria in 2018/19 <sup>11</sup> or the mass protests in the south of Syria in autumns 2023. <sup>12</sup>

Here too, all kind of Stalinists and Bolivarian sided with "anti-imperialist" dictators like Assad or Gaddafi against their own people. And much too many "socialists" turned their back to the popular insurrections soon after their beginning – shamefully denouncing these as "proxies" of NATO. In contrast, authentic socialists have always supported legitimate popular uprisings against reactionary dictatorships without lending any support to one or the other Great Power. They combined such support with advocating a socialist program with the creation of self-governing organs (popular councils and militias) and a workers and peasants government at its centre.

### The struggle against right-wing populists – without supporting liberals or popular fronts

The crisis of revolutionary leadership has resulted in the degeneration of many "socialist" forces into lackeys of this

or that imperialist powers. Another expression of such crisis has been the ability of right-wing populist forces to partly capitalise – in a reactionary way – from the growing disillusionment of sectors of the masses with the capitalist system. This has provoked many "socialists" to bemoan a regressive trend and the domination of reactionary ideas in the political consciousness of the masses.

Of course, authentic socialists take the threat of rightwing populist forces - like Trump, Le Pen, Meloni, Bolsonaro, Milei - seriously. But we refute the idea that the dominant feature of the current phase would be that "the masses go the right". No, the dominant feature is rather an acceleration of the class struggle! True, some sectors support reactionary forces at elections. But many workers and poor have entered the class struggle in the past years as numerous mass strikes have spectacularly demonstrated (e.g. the Yellow Vests and the general strikes against the pension reform in France, the Black Live Matters movement and the strike wave in the U.S., the popular uprisings in Chile, Ecuador or Peru, the above-mentioned examples of the revival of the Arab Revolution, the popular rebellion in Hong Kong in 2019, the anti-French mass protests in Niger, etc.). 13

The danger of right-wing populism must be fought on the streets – with the instruments of the class struggle (action committees, self-defence, united front tactic). It must not and can not be fought via support for openly bourgeois parties (like the U.S. Democrats or Macron in France) or via support for a popular front (e.g. Lula in Brazil).

### The overcoming of crisis of revolutionary leadership does not happen by itself!

The central problem of the current period is the huge discrepancy between the enormous revolutionary potential of the mass struggles and the weak state of revolutionary forces. However, the solution to this problem is not demoralised defeatism or retreat. No, all authentic socialists have the duty to take energetic initiatives in order to reduce and eventually close this gap by helping to rebuild a *World Party of Socialist Revolution*.

Of course, such a process will not be successful from one day to another. It will take time and it will face challenges and setbacks. But it must be done, and it can be done! Not by others but by us – by all those who understand the necessity of such efforts and who agree on the main principles of such a task.

The building of a new world party is determined by both objective and subjective circumstances. It would be ultimatistic to suppose that the alternative is all or nothing. This process has to be advanced as energetically as possible but without hasty organizational maneuvers resulting in superficial agreement which would not stand the test of the class struggle.

So, what should be done now? The RCIT believes that authentic socialists should open a process of serious discussion and collaboration between each other. Advancing such a process and testing possible areas of agreement could be done by elaborating joint statements on crucial issues of the international class struggle, by having regular meetings (physically or via internet communication), by issuing common journals for debate, or by undertaking joint interventions in international class struggle events.

There is no need to discuss in detail at this place how such organizational steps could look like. However, it is worth pointing out that we have various historical examples of such initiatives for rapprochement by our Marxist teachers. Think about the Lenin's tactic within the anti-war movement in 1914-17 (the "Zimmerwald Left") or Trotsky's initiative for a Bloc of Four in 1933. Those who are willing to take steps forward should not hesitate but act. Acting not sometime at a subsequent date but acting now since the urgency of the tasks is too big to wait and to hope for help by others.

The RCIT is strongly committed to serious discussions and the closest possible collaboration with all forces who share such an outlook. Above we have spelled out our signposts for unity and demarcation. Sure, comrades might disagree with us on one or the other issue or propose additional points. Naturally, all such criticism deserves serious attention.

We are also aware that a process of rapprochement is unlikely to see each and every difference removed within a short period of time. But this is no problem – as long as we start making steps forward and don't lose time! Let's get to work, comrades, and address the great tasks of the liberation struggle!

#### **Footnotes**

See e.g. RCIT: Six Points for a Platform of Revolutionary Unity Today, February 2018, <a href="https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/6-points-for-a-platform-of-revolutionary-unity-today/">https://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/6-points-for-a-platform-of-revolutionary-unity-today/</a>; Great Tasks demand Great Initiative! A Call to All Revolutionary Organizations and Activists to Fulfill Our Responsibility in this

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For our analysis of capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power see e.g. the book by Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <a href="https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/">https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/</a>; see also by the same author: "Chinese Imperialism and the World Economy", an essay published in the second edition of The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism (edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope), Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020, <a href="https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6">https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-91206-6</a> 179-1; China: An Imperialist Power ... Or Not Yet? A Theoretical Question with Very Practical Consequences! Continuing the Debate

### **Books of the RCIT**

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

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

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

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

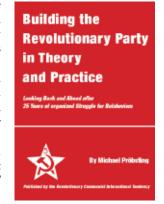
A few months ago, our movement commemorated its 25th anniversary. In the summer of 1989 our predecessor organization, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) was founded as a democratic-centralist international tendency based on an elaborated program. The *Revolutionary Communist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

25 years.

In Chapter I we outline a summary of the Bolshevik-Communists' theoretical conception of the role of the revolutionary party and its relation to the working class. In Chapter II we elaborate on

the essential characteristics of revolutionary party respective of the pre-party organization. In Chapter III we deal with the history of our movement – the RCIT and its predecessor organization. Finally, in Chapter IV we outline the main lessons of our 25 years of organized struggle for building a Bolshevik party and their meaning for our future work.

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



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We refer readers to a special page on our website where all 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/

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8 See on this a number of statements and articles of the RCIT which are compiled on a special sub-page on our website, <a href="https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-fourth-gaza-war/">https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-fourth-gaza-war/</a>

See on this several statements and articles of the RCIT and its Nigerian section which are compiled on a special subpage on our website, <a href="https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-coup-in-niger/">https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-coup-in-niger/</a>.

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11 The RCIT has published a number of booklets, statements and articles on the Second Wave of the Great Arab Revolution which can be read on a special sub-section on our website: <a href="https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-2nd-wave-of-great-arab-revolution/">https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-2nd-wave-of-great-arab-revolution/</a>.

The RCIT has published a number of booklets, statements and articles on the Syrian Revolution since its inception in March 2011 which can be read on a special sub-section on our website: <a href="https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/">https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/</a>.

13 See on this numerous statements and articles on our website.

#### International Debate among Socialists about China & BRICS+

### Report about a meeting between representatives of the RCIT, UIT-CI and PTS/FT in Buenos Aires (Argentina)

Report (with Videos and Pictures) by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 19 September 2023

The last day of the first part of RCIT's IV. International Congress, which took place in Buenos Aires (Argentina), saw a highly interesting debate about the class character of China and the rise of the BRICS+ alliance. (1) For this debate, which took place on 11 September, we invited representatives of two other international organisations which adhere to the tradition of Trotskyism. The meeting was well organised by our comrades in Convergencia Socialista (the RCIT Section in Argentina). Among the participants of the meeting were also representatives of other organisations with which our Argentinean comrades closely collaborate. Among these were the women's organisations Defensorías de Géneros and Madres Protectoras as well as the student and teachers' organization La Roja. The meeting was jointly chaired by Gabriela Capurro and comrade Francisco. Both are leaders of Convergencia Socialista (the RCIT Section in Argentina). Gabriela is also a well-known militant in the teachers' trade union in Bue-

Our current was represented by Medina Avdagić (Gunić) and Michael Pröbsting – both members of the RCIT's International Bureau. (2)

The International Unity of Workers - Fourth International (UIT-CI) was represented by José Castillo, a professor at the University of Buenos Aires and a well-known theoretician and leader of this organization. (3) UIT-CI is one of

the two large international currents standing in the tradition of Nahuel Moreno. It is mostly based in Latin America and has deputies in national and regional parliaments in Argentina (the name of their section there is *Izquierda Socialista*).

Matías Maiello spoke for the *Socialist Workers' Party*, the Argentinean "mother party" of the international current "*Trotskyist Faction*" (PTS/FT). Maiello is a sociologist at the University of Buenos Aires and a well-known intellectual and leader of this party. He is co-author of several books together with Emilio Albamonte – the historic leader of this organisation. (4) The PTS is the largest of the four parties which constitute FITu (to which *Izquierda Socialista* also belongs). It has several deputies in national and regional parliaments.

In addition to these four speakers at the platform, the meeting also heard important contributions from a number of comrades from *Convergencia Socialista* as well as from international delegates from the RCIT sections in South Korea and Brazil.

The debate was conducted in a very constructive manner and focused on the question if China (and Russia) are imperialist Great Powers. All participants agreed that the Chinese regime – despite the name of the ruling party – has nothing to do with "socialism".

However, the discussion also revealed important differ-



Delegates and guests of the RCIT Congress at the international debate between leaders of the RCIT, UIT-CI and PTS/FT (11.9.2023)

ences. While the comrades of the RCIT and UIT-CI consider China (and Russia) as imperialist powers, the PTS/FT comrade called these states as "capitalist powers which have some imperialist features". The discussion also dealt with political consequences of such theoretical differences. One of these is the Ukraine War where the RCIT and UIT-CI defend the Ukraine against the Russian invasion while the PTS/FT opposes both camps.

Irrespective of such differences, all participants agreed that this was a useful exchange of views which should be continued in order to deepen the analysis of socialists.

- (1) We will publish a report about our congress in about two weeks after the second part has been concluded.
- (2) For the RCIT's analysis of capitalism in China and its transformation into a Great Power see e.g. the book by Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, <a href="https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/">https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/</a>; many more RCIT documents on this issue are complied at a special subpage on the RCIT's website: <a href="https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/">https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/china-russia-as-imperialist-powers/</a>. Our latest article on BRICS+ is: BRICS+: An Imperialist-Led Alliance. The expansion of BRICS reflects the rise of Chinese and

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- (3) see e.g. José Castillo: Deuda Externa: colonización, miseria y corrupción. Buenos Aires, El Socialista, 2010 (https://izquierdasocialista.org.ar/2020/index.php/publicaciones/revistas/item/11639-deuda-externa-colonizacion-miseria-y-corrupcion); Para animarse a leer a Maquia-velo. Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 2012, https://www.amazon.com/-/es/Jos%C3%A9-Castillo/dp/950231963X; Tópicos de Economía Política, Buenos Aires (Argentina), Teseo, 2021, https://izquierdasocialista.org.ar/2020/index.php/blog/elsocialista/item/19127-topicos-de-economia-politica-jose-castillo
- (4) see e.g. Matías Maiello: De la movilización a la revolución (https://edicionesips.com.ar/producto/de-la-movilizacion-a-la-revolucion/); together with Emilio Albamonte: Estrategia socialista y arte militar (Buenos Aires: Ediciones IPS, 2018, https://edicionesips.com.ar/producto/estrategia-socialista-arte-militar/); Gramsci and Trotsky, Strategy for the Revolution in the West, Left Voice, 2016 (https://www.amazon.com/-/de/dp/B01N9ZE3E0/ref=sr\_1\_2? mk\_de\_DE=%C3%85M%C3%85%C5%BD%C3%95%C3%91&crid=193PPHPK4F9NI&keywords=Mat%C3%ADas+Maiello&qid=1695037882&s=books&sprefix=mat%C3%ADas+maiello%2Cstripbooks-intl-ship%2C174&sr=1-2)

### **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.

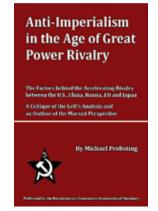
In Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry Michael Pröbsting critically discusses the analysis of modern imperialism by a number of left-wing parties (left social democrats, Stalinists, Trotskyists and others). He demon-

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 prob-

lems of Great Power rivalry and imperialist aggression against oppressed peoples. He outlines a Marxist program for the current period which is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future.

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



### What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!