

Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency



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New Series Issue Nr.101

February 2024

The Israeli-American War against Arab Peoples

A Disillusioned Diplomaton Prospects for U.S. Imperialism New Study about growing Militarism in the current Period

English-Language Theoretical Review of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), New Series No.101, February 2024

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Picture on the cover: Israeli soldiers operating in Gaza (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel%E2%80%93Hamas_war#/media/File:SoI--IDF-Negev-NG7.jpg)

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

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A Disillusioned Diplomat on the Prospects for U.S. Imperialism

On an interview with Richard Haass by the "Wall Street Journal"

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 9 January 2024

The Wall Street Journal (WSJ) – one of the key newspapers of the U.S. ruling class – has published a highly interesting interview with Richard Haass. Haass has been a foreign policy guru for many years. He was a high-ranking diplomat who served at the Pentagon under Jimmy Carter, at the White House under George H.W. Bush and in the State Department under Presidents Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush. He was also head of the Council on Foreign Relations – the semi-official think tank of the U.S. State Department – for two decades (until his retirement in summer 2023). ¹

In this interview, Haass offers a disillusioned prospect for the imperialist world order in general and for America's role as a global hegemon in particular. Since he is not a Marxist but rather a long-standing representative of the most powerful imperialist state, he can neither offer an alternative nor an explanation of the causes of America's decline. Nevertheless, the interview is highly interesting as it confirms the Marxist thesis of the end of U.S. hegemony from the viewpoint of an "insider". ²

At the beginning of the interview, the WSJ asks Haass about his book titled "A World In Disarray" which he had published in 2017. "If the world was in disarray then, what is it now?". The ex-diplomat replies: "Disarray on Stilts. When the book came out, I was criticized for being too negative. In retrospect, I wasn't negative enough."

The interview continues: "WSJ: There is a dictators-versusdemocracy struggle, a decline in U.S. influence over global affairs, the rise of China. Which of those factors are contributing to this disarray? HAASS: All of the above: The rise of China, which is not a status quo power, represents a shift in the balance; a truly disaffected Russia with the ability to do something about it, as we're seeing in Ukraine and elsewhere; a shift in power in various forms moving around the world. The domestic disarray in this country [the U.S., Ed.] has really contributed to it. We're less able, less willing to act effectively in the world. The gap between global challenges and global responses – there is no international community."

The former diplomat (correctly) identifies the weak domestic industrial sector as one of the causes of the U.S. decline. "Our relative position in the world has deteriorated, which, again, is in part because of the buildup of others. We've got a real problem with the defense manufacturing base."

Unsurprisingly, he does not identify the reasons why large parts of the domestic industry (and not only in the military-industrial sector!) has been destroyed respectively removed to China and other countries in the Global South. This has been the result of declining profit rates for America's corporations and the lack of any meaningful state-capitalist regulation – a result of decades of neoliberalism promoted by all the Administrations which Haass loyally served in the past decades.

It is, we note in passing, characteristic that the Putin regime – which combines the domination of oligarchs in the economy with a strong state-capitalist sector (albeit not as strong as China) – has been able to substantially expand its military-industrial sector in the past 1-2 years. Neoliberal America has not been able to achieve similar success, at least until now. ³



PUBLICATIONS OF THE RCIT

World Situation: In the Midst of a Global Political Tornado

Notes on global developments characterized by the Ukraine War, inter-imperialist rivalry, global energy and food crisis as well as spontaneous mass protests

by Michael Pröbsting, April 2022

Introduction * On the Causes and the Nature of the Ukraine War * The patriotic resistance of the Ukrainian people which Putin didn't expect * Continuity and transformation of the bonapartist Putin regime * On the dramatic acceleration of inter-imperialist rivalry * A massive shift in the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism * Challenges of EU imperialism * Cracks in the capitalist world economy * Russia's resilience against Western sanctions * Who blinks first? * The threat to the global financial order dominated by the US-Dollar * At the beginning of a new global wave of mass uprisings * The crisis of revolutionary leadership and the struggle against social-imperialism, social-pacifism and imperialist economism * Conclusions * Footnotes

Pushing the Ukraine to capitulate

In his interview with the WSJ, Haass also repeats his position that the Ukraine should accept the loss of 1/5 of its territory and make peace with Putin. "As desirable as it is that Ukraine recover all of its territory, it isn't going to happen. In part, because Russia can produce a lot more. And, in a pinch, North Korea, Iran, conceivably China would help them out. Ukraine needs to move away from its current strategy. We need to define success as not that Ukraine militarily liberates all of its land, but that Ukraine becomes a permanent fixture. They move away from an offensive strategy, which I believe cannot succeed, to a defensive strategy, which can succeed. My guess is it has to a very different Russia that might be willing to make some trades in exchange for no longer being a political and economic pariah." As we did discuss somewhere else, this is not only a view-

As we did discuss somewhere else, this is not only a view-point of a foreign policy commentator but the de facto official policy of the Biden Administration. Not only that but Haass himself is leading the U.S. team which undertakes secret negotiations with Moscow about the pacification of the Ukraine War since spring 2023. ⁴

Haass' suggestion that the Ukraine should "wait for a very different Russia" is particularly cynical since he himself says in the same interview, only a few sentences later, that "his [Putin's, Ed.] immediate successor might be worse." In other words, the former diplomat suggests that the Ukraine should accept the loss of its eastern and southern regions (which is home of the country's industrial base) for the next one or two decades!

The RCIT has repeatedly warned that the U.S. and Western Europe are not interested at all in the legitimate national rights of the Ukrainian people but only try to utilize their war of national defence in order to advance their own imperialist interests at the cost of their Russian rival. Hence, the Zelensky's policy of subordination to Western imperialism can not but result in a disaster for the Ukrainian people as it makes the country dependent to the foreign policy manoeuvres of Washington and Brussels. ⁵

Socialists have taken an internationalist and anti-imperialist stance in the Ukraine War from its very beginning. We have supported the Ukraine's war of national defence against Putin's invasion and called for international solidarity by the workers movement.

At the same time, we have also insisted that the Ukraine War has a dual character. Socialists unreservedly condemn the reactionary invasion of Putin and support the Ukraine's war of national defence against Russian imperialism. At the same time, we recognize that this war is combined with the accelerating rivalry between NATO and Russia. In this conflict, we support neither of the two imperialist camps. ⁶

Israel can not destroy Hamas

Another interesting aspect of Haass' interview is his pessimistic outlook about stability in the Middle East. At the beginning of the war, President Biden absurdly claimed that "Hamas is worse than ISIS" and announced Washington's unlimited support for Israel's genocidal war against the Palestinians in Gaza. However, Haass is not optimistic that Israel can achieve its goal of defeating the Palestinian resistance.

"WSJ: The stated goal of the Israeli government is to destroy

Hamas. Can Hamas be destroyed?

HAASS: No. It can be seriously weakened or degraded. But Hamas is as much of a network, a movement. You're always going to have either actual or potential armed resistance."

Haass also recognizes that there is no serious prospect for a stabilization of the Middle East.

"WSJ: So what's the path forward in this conflict? What does an endgame look like?

HAASS: I don't think there is an endgame right now, because the Israelis have gone in without an endgame. There are two big issues. They can degrade Hamas, and will. They are causing an awful lot of civilian casualties and deaths in the process, which is a separate conversation. But for there to be a real endgame you need a successor governing authority and a security provider. I don't see either available. The Israelis are going to have to do it." (...)

"WSJ: But you worked inside a U.S. government that, for decades, has said, "No, the answer is the two-state solution." Is the two-state solution more alive or more dead than it was on Oct. 6?

HAASS: It's more dead. It's on life support. And the reason is, as bad as Israeli-Palestinian relations were on Oct. 6, they're far worse now."

Again, Haass does not and can not offer any perspective as he is committed to the goal of reestablishing U.S. and Israeli hegemony in the region. In fact, there can be no peace as long as the colonial settler state Israel exists as it denies, by its very nature, the Palestinian people the right of national self-determination. The only solution is the revolutionary destruction of the Zionist state and its replacement by a single Palestinian state from the River to the Sea which would allow the right to return of all Palestinians. 7 Such a state should be democratic and secular, i.e. it would treat all citizens as equal irrespective of their religious or ethnic background. While the Jews would be a minority in such a state, they would have full religious and cultural rights. Such a state has to be a workers and poor peasant republic as part of a socialist federation of the whole region. Only a state which expropriates the monopolies and billionaires can ensure that the Palestinians get back their land and their homes. Only a socialist economy could elaborate a plan to rebuild Gaza and the West Bank and to share the wealth equally among all citizens.

As the Israeli army tries to annihilate the Palestinian resistance and to expel the population from Gaza, the RCIT and all authentic socialists unconditionally support the military struggle led by Hamas against the Zionist invaders without lending political support to their petty-bourgeois nationalist-Islamist program. ⁸

The imperialist world order without order and without a hegemon

The interview is a comprehensive confirmation of the Marxist thesis that the hegemonic role of American imperialism has ended. Sure, the U.S. is still one of the two biggest powers – China being the other – and can influence world politics more than most other states. But it does no longer *dominate* the capitalist world order – in contrast to the historic period since 1945. ⁹

As we have argued somewhere else, the U.S. is not being replaced by another hegemon – at least for the foreseeable future. In fact, there is no Great Power which could subju-

gate the other imperialist states (in contrast to 1945 when the U.S. was able to impose its undisputed leadership in the capitalist camp). ¹⁰

We have rather entered a historic period where several imperialist Great Powers – the U.S., China, Russia, Western Europe and Japan – are rivalling for hegemony. The result of this development is accelerating global instability, wars and economic crisis. The current wars in the Ukraine and in Gaza as well as various other crisis flashpoints (Taiwan and the South China Sea; the Korean Peninsula, Venezuela–Guyana, etc.) are expressions of such tendency.

State propagandists in China and Russia as well as many leftists – in particular various types of Stalinists and social democrats – advocate the concept of a "multi-polar world order". They claim that the replacement of the U.S. as the sole hegemon by several Great Powers would create a stable and peaceful world order.

This is utter nonsense. The existence of several capitalist Great Powers, of which none is strong enough to subjugate others, can only result in accelerating rivalry, militarism and wars. The first half of the 20th century has demonstrated this abundantly clear. ¹¹

Objectively, the concept of a "multi-polar world order" is a propaganda tool of Eastern imperialism as it glorifies the rise of China and Russia as Great Powers. Socialists must not choose between a world order dominated by one imperialist robber, and one dominated by several imperialist robbers. We never opposed the "unipolar" imperialist world order because it was "unipolar" but because it was imperialist! We don't choose between an "unipolar" or a "multi-polar" imperialist order – we oppose both equally because all imperialists "are worse".

For the RCIT and all authentic socialists, the alternative to the "unipolar" imperialist world order is not "multipolarity" but international class struggle against all Great Powers in order to replace any form of the imperialist system by international socialism! Peace, prosperity and stability can only be achieved in a world without robbers, i.e. a world without capitalism!

Footnotes

- 1 Gerald Seib: A World in Disarray? A Longtime Diplomat Says It's Worse Than That. Richard Haass offers his perspective on the wars in Ukraine and Israel, and China's outlook, Wall Street Journal, December 15, 2023, https://www.wsj.com/world/world-disarray-diplomat-pessimistic-b2dad137. All quotes are from this interview if not indicated otherwise.
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- 6 We refer readers to a special page on our website where all RCIT documents on the Ukraine War and the current NA-TO-Russia conflict are compiled: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/global/compilation-of-documents-on-nato-russia-conflict/.
- See on this e.g. two books by our comrade Yossi Schwartz, a Jewish Anti-Zionist since nearly six decades living in Occupied Palestine, who has dealt extensively with the Zionist state and the Marxist program: The Zionist Wars. History of the Zionist Movement and Imperialist Wars, 1 February 2021, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/the-zionist-wars/; Palestine and Zionism. The History of Oppression of the Palestinian People. A Critical Account of the Myths of Zionism, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/palestine-and-zionism/; see also a pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting: On some Questions of the Zionist Oppression and the Permanent Revolution in Palestine, May 2013, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/permanent-revolution-in-palestine/.
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"Highest Number of Armed Conflicts in three Decades"

New study confirms Marxist analysis of explosive character of current period

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 13 December 2023

The *International Institute for Strategic Studies* (IISS) has published a new edition of its annual *Armed Conflict Survey* in which it paints a grim picture about the crisis-ridden capitalist world order. ¹ The IISS is one of the most prestigious Western think tanks on security issues. It was founded in 1958 and has developed close relations with governments and military institutions. Hence, its outlook is representative for the world view of important sectors of the ruling class in North America and Western Europe.

The extensive IISS study finds that there are 183 regional and local conflicts underway in 2023 which is the highest number in three decades. It describes "a world dominated by increasingly intractable conflicts and armed violence amid a proliferation of actors, complex and overlapping motives, global influences and accelerating climate change."

It refers to "the recent global shocks caused by the coronavirus pandemic and the ongoing war in Ukraine" as important factors contributing to global instability. (Bear in mind that the survey was finished for publication before the beginning of the current Gaza War – another "global shock".) Furthermore, the IISS study points to the crucial role of the climate crisis in deepening the fragility of the global order. "The accelerating climate crisis continues to act as a multiplier of both root causes of conflict and institutional weaknesses in fragile countries."

The authors of the study also point to the "intractability" of these conflicts since they are the result of deep contradictions and, at the same time, there exists no longer a single hegemon – as the U.S. was in the past decades – which could impose the imperialist order in all regions of the world.

"At the core of the grim outlook for conflict globally is the current complexity of contemporary wars, which often feature a large number of diverse non-state armed groups as well as external interference. This, coupled with the diminished leverage of traditional resolution actors and processes, makes progress on their settlement a daunting task, contributing to their protractedness and resulting in little prospect for durable peace. The average duration of conflicts has increased over the last three decades amid an accelerated internationalisation of internal wars (which remain the most prevalent modality globally)."

Furthermore, the IISS study emphasise that many local conflicts have become intermixed with the attempts of regional and Great Powers to expand their spheres of influence. "Another driver of complexity has been the increasing internationalisation of civil wars, through the intervention of a growing number and range of regional and global powers in pursuit of their strategic interests."

A historic period of capitalist crisis

As mentioned above, the IISS is a bourgeois think tank with close relations to Western imperialist institutions. Hence, it approaches the crisis-ridden developments in the world from a superficial and empiricist point of view, ignoring the deeper contradictions between classes and cap-

italist states. Well, it is hardly surprising that non-Marxists can't provide a Marxist analysis!

Nevertheless, the findings of the latest edition of *Armed Conflict Survey* are a powerful confirmation of the Marxist analysis which we have elaborated in a number of documents in the past years. We have emphasised that capitalism has entered a historic period of decay in 2008 characterised by economic crises, rivalry between the imperialist Great Powers (U.S., China, Russia, Western Europe and Japan) and revolutionary and counterrevolutionary explosions. ² These contradictions have accelerated even further with the onset of a new era in 2019, characterised by a series of catastrophes (e.g. the climate crisis, the COVID Counterrevolution, the Ukraine War, the Gaza War). ³

Capitalism is a doomed system which can offer nothing but crises and catastrophes. The only way out is the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class and the construction of a global socialist society which would allow humanity to abolish oppression and exploitation and to overcome the devastations caused by poverty, wars, and climate change. ⁴

In such a historic period of decay, it is inevitable that confrontations between classes and states accelerate and increasingly take the form of wars between states as well as civil wars. Such armed conflict inevitable deeply shatter the power of the ruling class and open the possibility for revolutionary uprisings of the working class and oppressed peoples.

The IISS book points out that most armed conflicts are civil wars, i.e. conflicts which take place within a single country. Naturally, as non-Marxists, the authors do not differentiate between different types of such conflicts. However, the RCIT has always emphasised that one must distinguish between, on one hand, reactionary conflicts between two bourgeois camps where neither side represents the interests of the workers and oppressed; and, on the other hand, conflicts where one camp reflects - even if is fighting under a non-revolutionary leadership - the aspirations of the masses for democracy, national rights, or social justice. An example for the former case is the reactionary civil war in Sudan; 5 examples for the latter are the liberation wars of the rebels in Syria 6 or in Burma/ Myanmar. ⁷ The wars in the Ukraine ⁸ and in Gaza ⁹ are not civil wars but liberation wars of oppressed peoples against imperialist aggressors (Russia resp. Israel).

This demonstrates why it is crucial for Marxists to analyse concretely the nature of such conflicts in order to develop a correct tactic – a dual-defeatist position in case of a reactionary conflict on both sides and a position of defence of the oppressed and for the defeat of the oppressor in the case of liberation wars. ¹⁰

Conflicts with contradictory character

Furthermore, the IISS correctly points to the increasing number of conflicts with a complex character, i.e. conflicts which involve both progressive elements of a liberation struggle of the oppressed as well as reactionary elements as regional or Great Powers try to utilise such conflicts to advance their own interests. Hence, Marxists have to analyse the concrete nature of a conflict and determine which one of the two elements is dominating.

Furthermore, they have to study the evolvement of such a conflict to determine if its initially dominant element – e.g. its primary character as a liberation war – weakens and the other, initially subordinated, element – inter-imperialist rivalry – becomes stronger. If such a process of transformation crosses the Rubicon, the nature of a given conflict changes. In such a case, Marxists have to adapt their tactics and replace the defence of the camp of the oppressed with a dual-defeatist position. ¹¹

Unfortunately, various self-proclaimed Marxists have been incapable to determine the concrete character of such conflicts in a number of cases. Hence, they fail to side with the oppressed masses or, worse, even supported the reactionary aggressor! (e.g. they support Russia against the Ukraine or Assad against the rebels.) Others identify with the progressive camp ... but refuse to apply the anti-imperialist united front tactic. In other words, while they express their sympathy with the oppressed, they refuse to support the concrete forces fighting at the top of the masses. Referring to the petty-bourgeois-nationalist, Islamist or "right-wing" nature of these forces, such leftists shamefully reject to join the camp of the oppressed and take a reactionary abstentionist opposition. ¹²

The fact that liberation struggles today are led by (petty-) bourgeois forces demonstrates the weakness of authentic Marxists and the deep crisis of revolutionary leadership. However, it is impossible to overcome such crisis by abstaining from the class struggle of the workers and oppressed! Quite the opposite, such reactionary sectarians are doomed to remain isolated from the fighting masses.

The decisive task for socialists today remains that they join forces in building a *Revolutionary World Party*. The RCIT is strongly committed to collaborate with other revolutionaries to achieve this goal. ¹³

Footnotes

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- We have discussed our analysis of the current historic period on various occasions. See e.g. chapter 14 in Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism,* RCIT Books, Vienna 2013, http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/. See also RCIT: World Perspectives 2016: Advancing Counterrevolution and Acceleration of Class Contradictions Mark the Opening of a New Political Phase, 23 January 2016, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2016/. See also Yossi Schwartz: The Historical Crisis of the Imperialist System, 29.08.2022, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/historical-crisis-of-imperialist-system/
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- 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 this website: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/collection-of-articles-on-the-syrian-revolution/.
- We refer reader to RCIT documents on the civil war in Burma/Myanmar which are compiled on a special sub-page on our website: https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/collection-of-articles-on-the-military-coup-in-myanmar/
- 8 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/.
- 9 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more a number of RCIT documents on the 2023 Gaza War are compiled, https://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-gaza-uprising-2023/.
- See on this e.g. our book by Michael Pröbsting: Anti-Imperialism in the Age of Great Power Rivalry. The Factors behind the Accelerating Rivalry between the U.S., China, Russia, EU and Japan. A Critique of the Left's Analysis and an Outline of the Marxist Perspective, RCIT Books, Vienna 2019, https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/anti-imperialism-in-the-age-of-great-power-rivalry/
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From Zionist War on Gaza to Israeli-American War against Arab Peoples

Stop the genocide of the Palestinian people! Defeat Israel! Kick the US/UK forces out of the Middle East! Victory to the resistance!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 16 January 2024

- 1. Since January 11, US and British warships and jets have fired 150 missiles against the *Houthis* (officially called *Ansar Allah*). Furthermore, the White House decided to send 1,500 additional troops to Iraq and Syria. This marks an important escalation because, until now, these two Western powers confined themselves to indirectly support Israel their main ally in the Middle East with military and financial aid. Now, the Anglo-Saxon imperialists are entering the war directly. We can therefore speak about the transformation of the conflict from a Zionist War on Gaza to an Israeli-American War against Arab peoples. It has become a regional conflict between the supporters and the opponents of Israel's genocide against the Palestinian people.
- 2. While Washington and London were, on its own, not eager to start another war in the Middle East they still remember their humiliating defeats in Iraq and Afghanistan they felt obligated to launch these attacks against Yemen for three main reasons:
- a) Soon after the beginning of Israel's genocidal war against the Palestinian people in Gaza, Ansar Allah started a series of courageous attacks in solidarity with the resistance - both against the territory of Israel as well as against Israel-linked cargo ships. Since Asian imports and exports account for about a quarter of Israel's total foreign trade and transit mainly via Red Sea routes, these actions have been highly effective. They resulted in a substantial decrease of Israel's maritime trade in the Red Sea with revenues of Israel's port of Eilat dropping by more than 80%. b) Furthermore, the Houthis' solidarity activities have also substantial repercussions for global trade as the Red Sea and Suez Canal are key trade routes. Nearly 15% of goods imported into Europe, the Middle East and North Africa are shipped from Asia and the Gulf by sea. Nearly 21.5% of refined oil and more than 13% of crude oil go through the waterways. However, because of the insecure situation, the world's largest shipping companies have either paused activities in the Red Sea or rerouted their cargo ships, increasing costs for container from \$1,500 in November to \$4,000 in December 2023. As a result, shipping via the Red Sea has declined from 500,000 containers per day in November to about 200,000 currently.
- c) In addition, there is also a political-strategic reason for the Western escalation of the conflict. The small forces of the Palestinian resistance a broad coalition of petty-bourgeois Islamist, nationalist and left-wing forces, led by Hamas have successfully fought the Zionist invaders for more than 100 days. This in itself is a victory given the fact that they are numerically as well as military-technologically inferior to the Israeli army which was considered the fourth strongest army in the world. This heroic struggle of the Palestinian resistance has destroyed the image of Israel's "invincibility" and freed the Arab masses from fear from the Zionist monster. This is a turning point in his-

- tory, all the more because this development is combined with the emergence of an unprecedented anti-imperialist and pro-Palestine mass movement in the heartlands of Western imperialism itself. This development scares the Anglo-American imperialists and pushes them to a war against the Arabs.
- 3. At the same time, tensions are also increasing at Israel's northern front as *Hezbollah* has waged a low-intensity war against Israel since the Zionists started their genocidal war in Gaza. This conflict has substantially escalated in the last two weeks as Israel targeted and killed two high-ranking commanders of the Lebanese militia.
- 4. Add to this the regular bombardment of U.S. military bases in Iraq and Syria by pro-Iranian militias in protest against Washington's support for the genocide in Gaza. In response, the U.S. killed a commander of the Harakat al Nujaba group. This has intensified Iraq's opposition to the presence of U.S. troops in the country and Prime Minister Mohammed Shia al-Sudani promptly announced that his government would end the presence of American troops in Iraq and close all US military bases.
- 5. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) reiterates its unconditional support for the heroic Palestinian resistance. Likewise, we fully side with other forces fighting the Israeli or the Western imperialists. Such an approach should be also applied to Iran in case of a direct confrontation with the Zionist enemy or its Western allies. In all these conflicts we advocate the *military victory of the Palestinian and pro-Palestinian forces and the defeat of the Zionist and imperialist enemies*.
- 6. The RCIT has always emphasized that such support for the practical struggle does not mean that we lend political support to the program of these forces. This is particularly true in the case of the Lebanese Hezbollah and the pro-Iranian militias in Iraq. The former was and still is a key ally of the tyrant Assad who with support of Russian imperialism brutally suppresses the Syrian people. And the pro-Iranian militias in Iraq played an ultrareactionary role in repressing the mass protest in Bagdad, Basra and other cities in 2019.
- 7. Hence, while we side with all these forces in their confrontation with the Zionist and the Western enemy, we also continue to support the Syrian rebels in Idlib or the Iraqi youth protesting against the government. Likewise, we are in solidarity with the workers, women, youth and national minorities in Iran who suffer from oppression by the Mullah regime.
- 8. The current situation is characterized by the following glaring contradiction. While all Arab states denounce Israel's genocide, their rulers refuse to take any meaningful action like boycott, sending weapons to the Palestinians or waging war against the Zionist monster. Even Hezbollah and the pro-Iranian forces in Iraq have only reluctantly and with limited forces entered the war

against the Zionist state. Contrast this with the opinion of the "Arab street": a recently published poll found that 69% of Arabs stand with the people of Gaza and Hamas. A further 23% stand with Gaza but oppose Hamas. The survey also showed that 92% believe the Palestinian cause is an issue for all Arabs and not just the Palestinian people, up from 76% in 2022. Likewise, a majority wants the Arab governments to stop normalization with Israel and to impose a boycott on the Apartheid state.

9. Socialists must *call* on the Arab governments to cut all relations with Israel, to boycott the Zionist state and its Western allies, and to send weapons to the Palestinian resistance. As we are moving to a regional war against Israel and the U.S., the Arab regimes must be pressured to mobilize its military to stop the Israeli and Western aggression and to support the Palestinian resistance by any means necessary. However, it is clear that workers and oppressed can not trust the Arab regime in any way since they are interested only in money and power and implement any progressive steps against Israel only under massive pressure from below.

10. The struggle against Zionism and imperialism therefore goes hand in hand with a struggle against the Arab regimes – a revolutionary struggle that started already in 2011. Hence, the RCIT combines its support for the resistance struggle and putting demands on the Arab regimes with calls for the *independent mobilisation of the popular masses*. When the Arab workers and oppressed rise up, organise themselves in popular councils, arm themselves and overthrow the corrupted rulers, they will shatter the Middle East with an anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist tornado which will sweep away the Israeli Apartheid state and kick out the American military bases. It such a revolutionary process that can destroy the Zionist state and cre-

ate a single democratic and secular Palestinian state from the river to the sea with cultural and religious rights for the Jewish minority. Such a revolutionary process – a new and successful wave of the Arab Revolution – needs to result in the creation of workers and poor peasant republics in the Arab countries as part of a socialist federation of the Middle East. As part of such a revolutionary upheaval of the Arab masses, it will be possible to break a progressive section of the Israeli-Jewish workers and youth away from Zionism. The RCIT calls all socialists to join us in building a Revolutionary World Party committed to the cause of the liberation of the Palestinian peoples and all other oppressed peoples!

Victory to the Palestinian resistance! Defeat Israel! In any confrontation: Support the Houthis and other resistance

forces against Israel and the Western imperialists!

Expel the U.S.-led naval force from the Red Sea! Close all imperialist military bases in the Middle East!

For a global boycott movement against the Terror and Apartheid state Israel!

International Bureau of the RCIT

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We refer readers to a special page on our website where all RCIT documents on the 2023 Gaza War are compiled, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-gaza-uprising-2023/.

For our latest statement on the solidarity actions of the Houthis in the Red Sear see: UN Security Council Legitimizes US-Led Naval Force in Red Sea to Attack the Houthis, 10 January 2024, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/un-security-council-legitimizes-us-led-naval-force-in-red-sea-to-attack-the-houthis/

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.

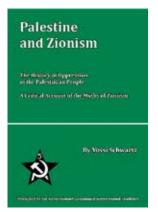
In Palestine and Zionism Yossi Schwartz defends the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian people and outlines

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/



On the Hamas Statement

By Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 23.01.2024

amas has published a very interesting document explaining the war of Israel against the Palestinians and the role and aims of Hamas as a national liberation movement. [1] This document says:

First Part: Why Operation Al-Aqsa Flood?

1. "The battle of the Palestinian people against occupation and colonialism did not start on Oct. 7, but started 105 years ago, including 30 years of British colonialism and 75 years of Zionist occupation. In 1918, the Palestinian people owned 98.5% of the Palestine land and represented 92% of the population on the land of Palestine. While the Jews, who were brought to Palestine in mass immigration campaigns in coordination between the British colonial authorities and the Zionist Movement, managed to seize control of not more than 6% of the lands in Palestine and to be 31% of the population prior to 1948 when the Zionist Entity was announced on the historic land of Palestine."

This is absolutely true.

2. "Over these long decades, the Palestinian people suffered all forms of oppression, injustice, expropriation of their fundamental rights and the apartheid policies. The Gaza Strip, for example, suffered as of 2007 from a suffocating blockade over 17 years which turned it to be the largest open-air prison in the world. The Palestinian people in Gaza also suffered from five destructive wars\aggressions all of which "Israel" was the offending party."

This is also absolutely true.

3. "According to official figures, in the period between (January 2000 and September 2023), the Israeli occupation killed 11,299 Palestinians and injured 156,768 others, the great majority of them civilians. Unfortunately, the US administration and its allies did not pay attention to the suffering of the Palestinian people over the past years but provided cover to the Israeli aggression. They only lamented the Israeli soldiers who were killed on Oct. 7 even without seeking the truth of what happened, and wrongfully walked behind the Israeli narrative in condemning an alleged targeting of Israeli civilians."

We cannot verify the numbers, but it seems as the correct number and that Israeli civilians were killed and the question is how?

4. "The Israeli violations and brutality were documented by many UN organizations and international human rights groups including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, and even documented by Israeli human rights groups. However, these reports and testimonies were ignored and the Israeli occupation is yet to be held accountable. For example, on Oct. 29, 2021, Israel's Ambassador to the UN Gilad Erdan insulted the UN system by tearing up a report for the UN Human Rights Council during an address at the General Assembly, and threw it in a dustbin before leaving the podium. Yet, he was appointed in the following year – 2022 – to the post of vice-president of the UN General Assembly."

While it is true it lacks an explanation for this cover up and support.

5. "As for "the peaceful settlement process". Despite the fact that the Oslo Accords signed in 1993 with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) stipulated the establishment of a Palestinian independent state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; "Israel" systematically destroyed every possibility to establish the

Palestinian state through a wide campaign of settlements' construction and Judaization of the Palestinian lands in the occupied West Bank and Jerusalem. The backers of the peace process after 30 years realized that they have reached an impasse and that such process had catastrophic results on the Palestinian people."

While it is true it is not clear who are the "backers of the peace process after 30 years realized that they have reached an impasse..."

6. "After 75 years of relentless occupation and suffering, and after failing all initiatives for liberation and return to our people, and also after the disastrous results of the so-called peace process, what did the world expect from the Palestinian people to do in response to the following: * The Israeli Judaization plans to the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque, its temporal and spatial division attempts, as well as the intensification of the Israeli settlers' incursions into the holy mosque. * The practices of the extremist and right-wing Israeli government which is practically taking steps towards annexing the entire West Bank and Jerusalem into the so-called "Israel's sovereignty" amid plans on the Israeli official table to expel Palestinians from their homes and areas. * The thousands of Palestinian detainees in Israeli jails who are experiencing deprivation of their basic rights as well as assaults and humiliations under direct supervision of the Israeli fascist minister Itamar Ben-Gvir. * The unjust air, sea, and land blockade imposed on the Gaza Strip over 17 years. * The expansion of the Israeli settlements across the West Bank in an unprecedented level, as well as the daily violence perpetrated by settlers against Palestinians and their properties. * The seven million Palestinians living in extreme conditions in refugee camps and other areas who wish to return to their lands, and who were expelled 75 years ago. * The failure of the international community and the complicit of superpowers to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state. What was expected from the Palestinian people after all of that? To keep waiting and to keep counting on the helpless UN! Or to take the initiative in defending the Palestinian people, lands, rights and sanctities; knowing that the defense act is a right enshrined in international laws, norms and conventions. Proceeding from the above, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood on Oct. 7 was a necessary step and a normal response to confront all Israeli conspiracies against the Palestinian people and their cause. It was a defensive act in the frame of getting rid of the Israeli occupation, reclaiming the Palestinian rights and on the way for liberation and independence like all peoples around the world did."

Absolutely right the Palestinians have the right to fight the occupation by arms and yet what happened to the Israeli civilians on October 7 who were killed and those in captivity?

Second Part: The events of Operation Al-Aqsa Flood and responses to the Israeli allegations

1. "Operation Al-Aqsa Flood on Oct. 7 targeted the Israeli military sites, and sought to arrest the enemy's soldiers to pressure the Israeli authorities to release the thousands of Palestinians held in Israeli jails through a prisoners exchange deal. Therefore, the operation focused on destroying the Israeli army's Gaza Division, the Israeli military sites stationed near the Israeli settlements around Gaza."

Absolutely legitimate target.

2. "Avoiding harm to civilians, especially children, women and elderly people is a religious and moral commitment by all the Al-Qassam Brigades' fighters. We reiterate that the Palestinian resistance was fully disciplined and committed to the Islamic values during the operation and that the Palestinian fighters only targeted the occupation soldiers and those who carried weapons against our people. In the meantime, the Palestinian fighters were keen to avoid harming civilians despite the fact that the resistance does not possess precise weapons. In addition, if there was any case of targeting civilians; it happened accidentally and in the course of the confrontation with the occupation forces."

What does it mean: "despite the fact that the resistance does

not possess precise weapons". What is the implication?
3. "Maybe some faults happened during Operation Al-Aqsa Flood's implementation due to the rapid collapse of the Israeli security and military system, and the chaos caused along the border areas with Gaza. As attested by many, the Hamas Movement dealt in a positive and kind manner with all civilians who have been held in Gaza, and sought from the earliest days of the aggression to release them, and that's what happened during the week-long humanitarian truce where those civilians were released in exchange of releasing Palestinian women and children from Israeli jails."

This is an admission that some Israeli civilians were killed in the chaos. But what about the others? Some Israelis indeed say they were treated fairly others say that they were abused but this they say after they were tortured by the Shin Bet.

4. "What the Israeli occupation promoted of allegations that the Al-Qassam Brigades on Oct. 7 were targeting Israeli civilians are nothing but complete lies and fabrications. The source of these allegations is the Israeli official narrative and no independent source proved any of them. It is a well-known fact that the Israeli official narrative had always sought to demonize the Palestinian resistance, while also legalizing its brutal aggression on Gaza. Here are some details that go against the Israeli allegations: * Video clips taken on that day – Oct. 7 – along with the testimonies by Israelis themselves that were released

later showed that the Al-Qassam Brigades' fighters didn't target civilians, and many Israelis were killed by the Israeli army and police due to their confusion. * It has also been firmly refuted the lie of the "40 beheaded babies" by the Palestinian fighters, and even Israeli sources denied this lie. Many of the western media agencies unfortunately adopted this allegation and promoted it. * The suggestion that the Palestinian fighters committed rape against Israeli women was fully denied including by the Hamas Movement. A report by the Mondoweiss news website on Dec. 1, 2023, among others, said there is lack of any evidence of "mass rape" allegedly perpetrated by Hamas members on Oct. 7 and that Israel used such allegation "to fuel the genocide in Gaza."

This has been our analysis as well. However, it is possible that some Israeli women were raped by angry Gazans who also came to the place after 17 years of siege and brutal bombing in the previous wars on Gaza.

5. "It is also a matter of fact that a number of Israeli settlers in settlements around Gaza were armed, and clashed with Palestinian fighters on Oct. 7. Those settlers were registered as civilians while the fact is they were armed men fighting alongside the Israeli army."

This is true as well.

6. "When speaking about Israeli civilians, it must be known that conscription applies to all Israelis above the age of 18 – males who served 32 months of military service and females who served 24 months – where all can carry and use arms. This is based on the Israeli security theory of an "armed people" which turned the Israeli entity into "an army with a country attached." There is no question that it is true that all Israelis at the age of 18 serve in the army as regular soldiers and are trained to shoot and kill. This in our opinion does not make them innocent civilians while Hamas sees them as civilians after they served in the army.

7. "The brutal killing of civilians is a systematic approach of the Israeli entity, and one of the means to humiliate the Palestinian people. The mass killing of Palestinians in Gaza is clear evidence of such an approach."

Books of the RCIT

Yossi Schwartz: The Zionist Wars

A History of the Zionist Movement and Imperialist Wars

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

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

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

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

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

In *The Zionist Wars* Yossi Schwartz defends the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people

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

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



It is self-evident.

- 8. "The Al Jazeera news channel said in a documentary that in one month of the Israeli aggression on Gaza, the daily average killing of Palestinian children in Gaza was 136, while the average of children killed in Ukraine in the course of the Russian-Ukrainian war was one child every day."
- 9. "Those who defend the Israeli aggression do not look at the events in an objective manner but rather go to justify the Israeli mass killing of Palestinians by saying there would be casualties among civilians when attacking the Hamas fighters. However, they would not use such an assumption when it comes to the Al-Aqsa Flood event on Oct. 7. We are confident that any fair and independent inquiries will prove the truth of our narrative and will prove the scale of lies and misleading information on the Israeli side. This also includes the Israeli allegations regarding the hospitals in Gaza that the Palestinian resistance used them as command centers; an allegation that was not proven and was refuted by reports of many western press agencies."

It is true that using the same excuse that civilians are killed in Gaza as Israel is targeting Hamas fighters and applying it to October 7th it justified the killing of all Israeli civilians. No other than Aharon Barak said that killing five Palestinian children in order to kill one Hamas fighter is reasonable and justified.

Part three: Towards a transparent international investigation

1. "Palestine is a member-state of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and it acceded to its Rome Statute in 2015. When Palestine asked for investigation into Israeli war crimes committed on its territories, it was faced by Israeli intransigence and rejection, and threats to punish the Palestinians for the request to ICC. It is also unfortunate to mention that there were great powers, which claim to be holding values of justice, completely sided with the occupation narrative and stood against the Palestinian moves in the international justice system. These powers want to keep "Israel" as a state above the law and to ensure it escapes liability and accountability".

Very true even though no explanation for the support of Israel is provided.

2. "We urge these countries, especially the US administration, Germany, Canada and the UK, if they are meant for justice to prevail as they claim, they are ought to announce their support to the course of the investigation in all crimes committed in occupied Palestine and to give full support for the international courts to effectively do their job."

This appeal is nonsense as these states are acting in self-interest as Israel is the front line of Western imperialism in the region. Only the mass revolutionary struggle can lead to the end of Western imperialists support for Israel. Hamas however is afraid of an independent revolutionary mass struggle of the workers and the poor peasants.

3. "Despite having doubts from these countries to stand by justice, we still urge the ICC Prosecutor and his team to immediately and urgently come to occupied Palestine to look into the crimes and violations committed there, rather than merely observing the situation remotely or being subject to the Israeli restrictions"

Nothing is wrong with a call for the ICC investigation, but we should not have illusions in it. The real solution will come first by the mass pressure in the form of a united front of the masses on the states claiming they support the Palestinians with actions not by words and in the real struggle for socialist revolution and the forming the socialist federation of the Middle East with a Palestine red and free from the river to the sea. A solution that Hamas opposes.

4."In Dec. 2022, when the UN General Assembly passed a resolution seeking opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the legal consequences of "Israel's" illegal occupation of Palestinian territories, those (few) countries who back "Israel" announced their rejection to the move that was approved by nearly 100 countries. And when our people – and their legal and rights groups – sought to pursue prosecutions against the Israeli war criminals in front of the European countries courts – through the system of universal jurisdiction – the European regimes obstructed the moves in favor of the Israeli war criminals to remain running free."

True enough.

5. "The events of Oct. 7 must be put in its broader context, and that all cases of struggle against colonialism and occupation in our contemporary time be evoked. These experiences of struggle show that in the same level of oppression committed by the occupier; there would be an equivalent response by the people under occupation."

Very true but for the oppressed to win more than political independence the strategy of the permanent revolution is needed leading to free democratic Palestine from the river to the sea with a revolutionary rule of working-class government in alliance with the Falahin.

6. "The Palestinian people and peoples across the world realize the scale of lies and deception these governments that back the Israeli narrative practice in their attempts to justify their blind bias and to cover the Israeli crimes. These countries know the root causes of the conflict which are the occupation and the denial of the right of the Palestinian people to live in dignity on their lands. These countries show no interest towards the continuation of the unjust blockade on millions of Palestinians in Gaza, and also show no interest towards the thousands of Palestinian detainees in Israeli jails held under conditions where their basic rights are mostly denied".

True these are the imperialists that must be smashed if humanity is to live.

7. "We hail the free people of the world from all religions, ethnicities and backgrounds who rally in all capitals and cities worldwide to voice their rejection to the Israeli crimes and massacres, and to show their support for the rights of the Palestinian people and their just cause."

Very correct.

Fourth Part

In this part Hamas states that it is a national liberation movement that we agree with, and we support them in the war against Israel but we do not agree with their program as it cannot lead to socialist revolution that is the only solution

Down with the Imperialists! Down with the Zionist state! For Palestine red and free from the river to the sea!

Endnotes:

[1] Hamas Media Office: Our Narrative... Operation Al-Aqsa Flood, January 2024, https://static.poder360.com.br/2024/01/Hamas-documento-guerra-Gaza-21jan2024.pdf

Gaza War and Arab World: A Massive Shift in Public Opinion

A new poll shows increasing hostility of Arabs against the U.S. and growing support for armed struggle against Israel

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

Fe have repeatedly emphasised that the current Gaza War is a historic event. Israel's genocide against the Palestinian people and the unlimited support for it by the U.S. and the whole Western world, the heroic struggle of the Palestinian resistance which has successfully obstructed the Zionist army to conquer Gaza until now, despite its small size and despite the war of terror which aims to make the strip uninhabitable – all this has shaken the world and provoked an unprecedented pro-Palestine solidarity movement on all continents. ¹

The votes in the UN General Assembly demonstrated that never before has the U.S. been so isolated on a crucial issue of world politics. Support for the Palestinian liberation struggle is massively increasing – even in countries where the ruling class and their media have waged a relentless campaign of support for Israel and hatred against "terrorist" Hamas (e.g. in North America, Western Europe, and Australia).

Such a shift in public opinion is particularly strong in the Arab world. Unsurprisingly, this makes Western strategists increasingly nervous. A few days ago, *Foreign Affairs* published an essay which fully confirms our assessment. This is all the more remarkable since this magazine is published by the Council on Foreign Relations – a think tank with close ties to the U.S. State Department. ²

This essay is based on the findings of an extensive survey in Tunisa which was conducted by the research firm *Arab Barometer*. By chance, about half the 2,406 interviews were completed in the three weeks before October 7, and the remaining half occurred in the three weeks after. Hence, the researchers could observe the shift in public opinion after this historic event.

While the survey is limited to one country, it is representative for the Arab world. Tunisia is – as the authors note – "about as close to a bellwether as one could imagine. In previous Arab Barometer surveys, Tunisians have had views similar to those found in most other Arab countries." Personally, I would even say that Tunisia is one of the most pro-Western countries in the Arab world, given its long-standing links with Western Europe not only via trade but also via tourism – one of the most important sectors of the country's economy. In any case, the authors are certainly correct to state that "analysts and officials can safely assume that people's views elsewhere in the region have shifted in ways similar to the recent changes that have taken place in Tunisia."

Numbers don't lie

Let us now briefly summarize the most important findings of the survey. Confirming the historic dimension of

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South

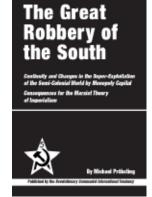
Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

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

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

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

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting argues that a



correct understanding of the nature of imperialism as well as of the program of permanent revolution which includes the tactics of consistent anti-imperialism is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future.

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the Gaza War, the authors say: "Those shifts have been dramatic: rarely are changes of this magnitude seen in the course of a few weeks."

One crucial finding is the collapse of popular sympathy for the U.S. In the interviews carried out before the October 7 attack, 40% of Tunisians had a positive view of the United States, compared with 56% who had an unfavorable opinion. "But after the war in Gaza began, that quickly changed. By the end of our fieldwork, only ten percent of Tunisians had a positive view of the United States. Eighty-seven percent, by contrast, had an unfavorable impression."

In contrast, China and Russia which take a neutral stance in the Gaza War, could keep or even raise their sympathy values.

Likewise, Tunisians view of Saudi Arabia which was considering so-called "normalization" of its relation with Israel before 7 October also darkened. Approval rates for the Saudi ruler Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman declined from 55% before the attack to 40%. The same can be said for the UAE's ruler Mohammed bin Zayed whose approval rating declined from 49% before the attack to a third in late October.

Likewise did the idea of "normalization" become even more despised. Already before the war, only 12% of people supported normalization. However, since the 7 October, such view de facto disappeared with just 1% expressed sympathy for this idea!

Iran took the opposite stance and expressed itself publicly and in strong terms as supporter of Hamas. Hence, while just 29% of Tunisians held a favorable view of Iran's foreign policies before 7 October, this figure did rise 41%. Views of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict also changed in important ways. Before October 7, 66% of Tunisians "favored a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders, whereas 18 percent favored an alternative diplomatic path, such as a single state with equal rights for all or a confederation. Just six percent of Tunisians chose "other," the vast majority of whom proposed armed resistance to Israel's occupation, possibly entailing the elimination of the state of Israel. But by the end of our fieldwork, only 50 percent of Tunisians supported the two-state solution. Those in favor of a one-state solution or a confederation fell by seven points combined. The biggest gain was the "other" category, which increased by 30 points to 36 percent. Once again, the vast majority of these Tunisians wanted continued, armed resistance."

Many worries for Western leaders

It is hardly surprising that the authors of the Foreign Affairs essay are deeply worried about such development which they consider, correctly, as representative for the Arab world. "In just 20 days, Tunisians' views on the world shifted in ways that rarely happen even over the course of a few years. There is no other issue across the Arab world to which people feel so individually and emotionally connected."

They fear that the U.S. has suffered a strategic setback in its global influence, particularly in the Arab world. "Public opinion matters even in nondemocracies, where leaders must worry about protests, and these shifting views will reshape politics in the Arab world—as well as around the globe. The United States and its regional allies will have great difficulty expanding the Abraham Accords, which normalized ties between several Arab states and Israel. Washington may also lose the advantage

in its contest with a rising China and a resurgent Russia. The United States could even find that many long-standing allies such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates become less friendly toward the United States and more receptive toward its rivals."

Equally alarming for Israel as well as for Washington is the dramatic rise in support for armed struggle the Zionist state. "[F]ar more Tunisians today want the Palestinians to resolve their conflict with Israel via force rather than with a peaceful settlement. The growing support for armed resistance could also have dangerous consequences."

One should add that the survey ended in late October. One can take it for granted that since then, America's prestige in the Arab world has even further collapsed, sympathy for a two-state solution has continued to decline and support for the armed struggle against the Zionist state has increased even more. The recent successful strikes of the Houthis in Yemen against Israel-linked shipping can not but have increased popular support for a militant course. ³

While we cannot foresee what the outcome of the current Gaza War will be, there exists no doubt that this is a world-shaking event. It is politicizing and radicalizing new generations all over the world and brings them in contact with anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist ideas. This includes, by the way, also a new generation of young American Jews who are fed up with the hypocrisy and brutality of the colonial settler state Israel.

Comrades, brothers and sisters, we are in the midst of a historic event similar to 1968 or 2003. Great events lie ahead, and we must educate and organize in order to be up to these tasks! The RCIT calls all those socialists who share our internationalist and anti-imperialist principles to join us in building a new Revolutionary World Party! Victory to the Palestinian resistance! Defeat Israel!

Footnotes

- 1 We refer readers to a special page on our website where more a number of RCIT documents on the 2023 Gaza War are compiled, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/compilation-of-articles-on-the-gaza-uprising-2023/.
- Michael Robbins, MaryClare Roche, Amaney A. Jamal, Salma Al-Shami, and Mark Tessler: How the Israel-Hamas War in Gaza Is Changing Arab Views. Support Is Falling for America and the Two-State Solution—but Rising for Iran and Violent Resistance, Foreign Affairs, December 14, 2023, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/middle-east/how-israel-hamas-war-gaza-changing-arab-views. All quotes are from this essay if not indicated otherwise.
- 3 See on this e.g. RCIT: Gaza War: The Houthis and the Looming Imperialist Intervention in the Red Sea, 14 December 2023, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/the-houthis-and-the-looming-imperialist-intervention-in-the-red-sea/; see also Michael Pröbsting: Gaza War: The Houthis Have Opened the Second Front. Major international shipping companies stop their operations through the Red Sea after a series of attacks by the Yemeni rebels, 16 December 2023, https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/gaza-war-the-houthis-have-opened-the-second-front/

The Situation of the Middle East

By Yossi Schwartz, ISL (RCIT Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 27.12.2023

It is beyond reasonable doubt that the Arab local rulers are afraid of a new wave of the Arab revolution and they want to stop the war of Israel on the Palestinian people as soon as possible. In addition to the war and the genocide of the people of Gaza the Houthis are given an example how to deal with Israel and the demands to cut all relations with Israel and even go to a war on the side of the Palestinians are spreading. Demands that we support. Let us examine the situation in each Arab state.

Iordan

Jordan is a close ally of Israel and the American imperialists. Nevertheless, the king and the queen have demanded to end the war against Gaza and call it a genocide. The tone of Jordanian politics has changed sharply towards Israel, and the countries' bilateral relations are at a low point. It is clear that Zionist genocide of the Palestinians is rapidly contributing to widespread support for Hamas not only among the Palestinians but also among Jordanians and Arabs across the region. This may end the Abraham accords at risk and is changing the political map of the Middle East, with its new alliances, the rise of the BRICS bloc, and the increasing influence of Iran, Russia and China in the Arab world.

The day after October 7th "Jordanians circulated video clips and sarcastic comments about the high death toll and capture of Israelis, an unprecedented loss for Israel in its history of its wars with Palestinian resistance movements. Spontaneous festivities took place in Jordanian streets, as people distributed sweets and chanted slogans in support of the leadership of Hamas' al-Qassam Brigades" [1]

Thisistherenewal of the popularity of Hamas that prior to the attack on Israel declined because Hamas dealt with the running of Gaza at the expense of its commitment to resistance. "This gap between the movement and the Jordanian public also widened as the result of Hamas' rapprochement with Bashar al-Assad's regime" [2]

During the recent protests in Amman, Jordanians called out the names of Hamas' military leaders, including Mohammed Deif, the commander-in-chief of the Al-Qassam Brigades, the movement's official spokesman, Abu Ubaida, and Yahya al-Sinwar, the head of the Hamas movement in Gaza. After the Al-Ahli hospital bombing, King Abdullah canceled a summit that Jordan had planned to host with the U.S. President Joe Biden. Among other changes in the official Jordanian position, Crown Prince Hussein entered the political discourse, taking a sharp stance against Israeli killing of civilians in Gaza. Foreign Minister Ayman Al-Safadi also made diplomatic efforts at the United Nations, and with the support of 120 countries, the General Assembly adopted a Jordanian resolution that called for an "immediate, permanent, and sustainable humanitarian truce leading to a cessation of hostilities," and a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas. Israel's genocide, with full American support, to the October 7. Hamas attacks could internationalize the crisis and compel multiple states across the Middle East to become engaged in a wider conflict. This is the most important concern for the Jordanian government that also fears the possibility of mass transfer of Palestinian civilians.

Egypt

In Egypt, the war exposed the cooperation with Israel into the limelight, and have pushed millions of Egyptians out of their inward focus on daily survival in time of high inflation and unemployment. They are now confronted with Israeli plans to recolonize Gaza using Egypt as a conduit, by forcing Palestinians south into Sinai. Both the Egyptian state and its citizens reject this vehemently, but for different reasons. These differences reflect a chasm between the regime and the population beginning with the signing of the Camp David accords in 1978, in which the massacres of the Palestinians are widening further and further every passing day.

Egyptians have a long history of support for the Palestinian cause, in the context of a shared Arab national identity. The public first opposed the Zionist colonization project in the 1930s, and under the pressure of the masses the Egyptian army fought in the 1948 Palestine war. In the 1950s, Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, offered state support to the Palestinians. Sadat and Mubarak policy of cooperation with the Zionist apartheid state was against the will of the Egyptian masses that rebelled against the corrupted dictatorial regime serving USA and Israel imperialism in the Arab revolution. The justified attacks of the Houthis against ships serving Israel are supported by the Egyptian masses.

"For Egyptians, the events of 7 October signified the Palestinians breaking their siege, which pierced the steady news stream of abuses, detentions, executions, and land grabs in Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Gaza. Egyptians then felt a sense of impotence as the bombardment began, particularly given their geographical proximity to Gaza. Israel has repeatedly bombed the Rafah crossing on the Egypt-Gaza border and obstructed aid convoys getting through. As the flow of devastating images continues, Egyptians' grief and fury have mounted. Mosques host continuous prayers for the dead, becoming spaces for a collective processing of the horrors unfolding" [3]

The actions of the Houthis in support of the Palestinians that block the passage of ships to Suez Canal cost Egypt significant economic losses, the fear of the masses and at the same time Al Sisi opposes the Zionist plans of driving the Gazan to Sinai desert explains the involvement of Egypt in the negotiation of cease fire between the Zionists and Gaza.

"Al Sisi is afraid that the masses will push Egypt to fight Israel as happened in 1948. Or at least cuts all relations with Israel "President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi has publicly stated that Egypt will not allow a displacement of Palestinians, as it would mean "the end of the Palestinian cause" and a potential threat to Egypt's national security. But news reports have suggested that Israel might offer to pay off some of Egypt's vast public debt in exchange for allowing the forced displacement of people from Gaza into Sinai." [4]

Most Saudis reject diplomatic relations with Israel contrary to the local ruling class.

"A new poll has found that 96 percent of Saudis believe that Arab countries should cut all ties with Israel to protest the war in Gaza, posing a significant challenge to the Biden administration's push for Saudi Arabia to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. According to the poll, 40 percent of Saudis expressed positive attitudes toward Hamas, compared with 10 percent in a poll several months before the war began. Only 16 percent of Saudis surveyed in the poll said that Hamas should stop calling for the destruction of Israel to accept the creation of Palestinian and Israeli states side by side — the "two-state solution" to the conflict that the Saudi government publicly supports" [5]

Algeria

"President Abdelmadjid Tebboune said in 2021 that Palestine is the "mother of all causes" and refused to join or endorse the Abraham Accords that, according to him and the majority of Algeria's political class, fail to address the root causes of the conflict... Reactions to the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza were also shared by the Algerian population. Following a general call coordinated by major political parties and civil society organizations, thousands of citizens marched across several cities and regions to condemn Israeli attacks and the perceived silence of the international community. Remarkably, these protests were the first since the COVID-19 pandemic and 2020 amendment of the constitution which put all demonstrations under strict state control. The unfolding events in Gaza come amidst a renewed talk on normalization processes between Israel and Arab states, most notably Saudi Arabia. Average Algerians stand behind the government's official rejection of the Abraham Accords and protesters illustrated this attitude by calling upon Arab capitals that have relations with Tel Aviv to expel Israeli Ambassadors" [6]

"The Algerian parliament officially authorized Abdel Majid Tebboune, the president of this country to go to war with Israel by a 100% vote. The voting session of parliament was accompanied by long slogans in support of Palestinian people & resistance groups. pic.twitter.com/6p2z0aCyfG — IWN (@A7_Mirza) November 2, 2023" [7]

"Algeria is the second Arab nation that looks to enter the war against Israel, following Yemen's declaration of war just two days prior." We launched a large number of ballistic and cruise missiles and a large number of drones at various targets of the Zionist enemy in the Palestine Occupied Territories," the spokesperson of the Yemeni armed forces, General Yahya Saree, said earlier this week. "We emphasize that this operation is the third operation in support of our oppressed brothers in Palestine" [8]

"The Algerian Parliament has voted to allow President Abdel Madjid Tebboune to enter the Israel-Palestine war. The vote will let Algeria join and support Palestinians in the war. The voting sessions witnessed long slogans in support of Palestine and resistance groups. Algeria is the second Arab nation, after Yemen, to enter the war against Israel" [9]

Morocco

The crowd in Rabat of about 10,000 people denounced what protest leaders called a "war of extermination" as well as the normalization of relations between Morocco and Israel. The protesters were called to the streets by a disparate group of organizations backing the Palestinian cause, including left-wingers and members the Islamist Justice and Charity movement . They marched along Mohammed V Avenue in the heart of the city, beneath banners declaring "stop the war of extermination in Gaza, stop normalization" [10]

Thus, the arrogant racist Israeli declared at the beginning of the war on Gaza that Israel will change the face of the Middle East and indeed it managed to change the Middle East. Instead of Abraham accords Israel is facing the hostility of the entire population of the region Moslem and Christians. If for decades the issue was the result of the 1967 war now the issue is the result of the 1948 war.

History has a few dialectical laws. The most important and relevant law is the negation of the negation. In 1948 a socialist democratic state with a Palestinian majority was negated by the ethnic cleansing and the formation of the Zionist state on 80% of Palestine. In 1967 Palestine was unified by the Zionist occupation of the entire country that was negation of previous division but as an apartheid state and now comes the turn of the process of negation of this negation Palestine red and free from the river to the sea that will be what it ought to be in 1948 but on a higher level.

Cut all relations with Israel!
Join the war on the side of Hamas!
Exchange of all the political prisoners!
Down with the Zionist apartheid state!
For Palestine red and free from the river to the sea!

Endnotes:

- [1] https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/90930
- [2] Ibid
- [3] https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/nov/29/war-gl
- [4] Ibid
- [5] https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/22/world/middleeast/sau-di-arabia-poll-israel-gaza-war-hamas.html
- [6] https://www.euromesco.net/publication/algeria-and-the-is-raeli-palestinian-conflict-reactions-and-policies/
- [7] https://new.thecradle.co/articles-id/11641#:~:text=The%20 100%2F100%20vote%20icame,of%20liberation%20against%20 French%20colonialism.&text=Algeria%20is%20the%20second%20Arab,war%20just%20two%20days%20prior.
- [8] Ibid
- [9] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FkgZpoujVJE
- [10] https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20231224-thou-sands-of-moroccans-rally-against-gaza-war-israel-ties

How Is the Struggle of the Palestinian People linked to Mexico?

By Jorge Arboleda, RCIT Mexico, December 26, 2023

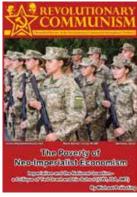
Palestine is a country that is experiencing a form of brutal colonization by Israel and other imperialist countries that are behind a colonizing project and that is part of an agenda of regional control of the Middle East. The recent history of Palestine is marked by the horror to which Zionism has subjected its people, under the dynamics of wars, displacement of their lands, the theft of their properties, the appropriation of their culture, and even the denial of their history. All this horror is characteristic of what the colonization processes of oppressed peoples have been in human history.

Palestinians experience segregation in their own land through what is known as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, surrounded by fences and walls that prevent them from returning to the lands that have been stolen from them by Israeli settlers, in addition to several checkpoints and surveillance. that limit their free movement even in the land where they are segregated. They are harassed all the time by the Israeli army, and almost every day some person or group of Palestinians are arbitrarily detained by the Israeli Occupation Forces to be imprisoned and tortured. Israel limits the passage of water; controls energy services and even maintains control of calorie consumption per person. Palestinians living in territory controlled by the State of Israel have Israeli citizenship, but suffer systematic discrimination from Israeli Jews. A significant

number of the Israeli working class are Muslims or Palestinians with work permits.

The inhabitants of the West Bank are constantly attacked by armed settlers, who little by little are displacing them from their lands with the help of the Israeli army, while the Gaza Strip is a gigantic overcrowded complex of Palestinians that is constantly attacked with bombs and missiles. Mexico does not suffer from this type of colonialist horrors, but there is undoubtedly a tendency towards it.

Palestine and Mexico have more in common than just a wall that separates us from an imperialist country that took more than half of our land from us. Just as Israelis can enter Palestinian territory without any problem, gringos are able to cross through Mexican territory at will without any type of restriction, while Mexicans, to cross the northern border, have to submit to the militarized immigration policy of the United States and go through rigorous filters that generally exclude people who are poor, who do not speak English, who lack property or who sell their labor power to survive. This filter also includes border surveillance from the Israeli company *Elbit Systems*. Just as Palestinians are an important percentage of Israel's working class, Mexicans residing in the U.S. are also a pillar of the North American economy. In our own country, many of the gringos who come to live here repeatedly discriminate against the Mexican population with the help of some lo-



Publications of the RCIT

The Poverty of Neo-Imperialist Economism

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

By Michael Pröbsting, January 2023

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

cal businessmen, creating communities of white foreigners and businesses where they speak only English and attract white tourists to receive their dollars and euros while they spend pesos. Many of them also promote the inflation of the real estate market in tourist areas and the so-called "magical towns" to ensure that they only live with other white foreigners or rich Mexicans. This is already a reality in places like Cancún (as well as part of the Riviera Maya), Los Cabos, San Miguel de Allende, Cuetzalan and Tepoztlan.

Mexico, in addition to being a semi-colonial country subject to the American economy, is also subject to its national security policy, which has turned Mexico into a battlefield for paramilitary groups that help multinational companies to appropriate the territory of indigenous communities under the pretext of combating drug trafficking. Within the framework of this war against drugs that has left approximately 400,000 dead, the State of Israel sells weapons, training, surveillance and espionage equipment to the Mexican army, the police and the National Guard, which they use to combat protesters, activists, peasants, journalists and immigrants who try to cross the northern border of Mexico, while the drug lords live under complete impunity, making business with the national and imperialist bourgeoisie, and negotiating with the gringo authorities so that Washington continues to maintain a control of the drug business until they are discarded and other drug lords take their place, perpetuating control of the Latin American region through militarization policies. And just as Israel exports an apparatus of violence to countries like Mexico, it also contributes to people who have committed crimes in our country enjoying complete impunity. Such are the cases of Andrés Roemer, a politician who during his time in TV Azteca sexually harassed and raped several women, and Tomás Zerón, one of the former attorneys who created the "historical truth," an invention about false facts that covers up to this day the whereabouts of 43 students from the Ayotzinapa Rural School, who in 2014 were kidnapped by police and soldiers. In the particular case of Andrés Roemer, he was detained by the Israeli authorities only in October of this year, however, Zerón is protected by a network of Israeli businessmen who sell surveillance and espionage systems to Mexico, known as NGO. An Israeli official revealed that the protection of Zerón is intentional, because Mexico was one of the countries that in the past voted in favor of investigations into Israeli war crimes against Palestine, in addition, the ties that former criminal officials - like Zerón

- have with the Zionist bourgeoisie in Mexico are many, which is why they also protect themselves by protecting him.

Also, here the Zionist bourgeoisie has done big business with real estate and water. Only in 2015 there was an attempt to impose a New Water Law by the then general director of Conagua (the Mexican institution that manage all that has to do with water), the Israeli businessman David Korenfeld, while the Mekorot company (also Israeli) has benefited from many contracts for water works in Mexico. Real estate companies, such as *QuieroCasa*, owned by businessman José Shabot, have also carried out several dispossession projects that have contributed to gentrification and inflation of the real estate market, constructing buildings illegally and taking away their right to water from poor neighborhoods. Such is the case of Aztecas 215, an apartment building that was built on the neighborhood of Santo Domingo in Mexico City, where there is no efficient water service. When QuieroCasa began to build their appartments, they discovered an underground river, but to prevent construction from being interrupted, they chose to connect the river to the sewers, which caused a fight by the inhabitants of Santo Domingo for water and against this company between 2015 and 2019. However, the real estate company always had the support of the government of Mexico City.

The Mexican government has refused to break any type of diplomatic, commercial or military relations with Israel, exhibiting its subordination to the Zionist bourgeoisie and the gringo imperialism that supports it, despite the fact that many countries, including Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, Honduras and Belize have taken some type of action against the genocide carried out by Israel against the Gaza Strip. This being so, it is the oppressed who suffer the segregation and oppression of the gringos and the Zionists who must show solidarity with the oppressed in Palestine. We call to continue supporting the Palestinian people from all possible trenches, and to combat the bourgeois pacifist discourse that criminalizes the Palestinian resistance, because just as in Mexico the self-defense groups and community police protect their communities from organized crime and paramilitary groups, the resistance brigades in Palestine defend themselves against the war of extermination that their people suffer.

Long live free Palestine from the river to the sea! For the triumph of the world movement of solidarity with Palestine!



Publications of the RCIT

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

What the RCIT Stands for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party!