

Struggle against war

“We must prepare for large-scale incidents, including armed aggression against one or more states” the EU declared 25-3-2025.

Russia is going to attack, war is imminent....

The USA has left us alone and we can only trust in the rearmament of the EU....

This whole campaign of ideological brainwashing has three main objectives:

- increase profitability and investment in the military industries.
- test social reactions to the war effort demanded by EU leaders
- to make the business environment around the war facilitate the mobilization of money from rentiers towards the state debt that they want to develop to a higher level.

There is no danger of an immediate Russian attack on the EU. In fact, Russia's current military power is less than that of the EU. Except at the nuclear level and in terms of the number of soldiers.

Nor are we witnessing the disintegration of NATO, but rather a phase in which the US demands that its members bend even more to US interests in the short and medium term, as it now needs to concentrate on internal reinforcement. This means that the power of the EU will continue to be limited, but not the end of NATO. The US is focusing on the future confrontation with China. In its World War 3 scenario, the EU will have to confront Russia, thus limiting Russia's ability to cooperate with China.

= struggle against poverty

Everything is therefore geared towards an escalation of the arms race, covering both the economic flank (financing the imperialist military effort that is presented as necessary, with the corresponding defensive alibi: “the Russians want to attack us”) and social (see how the social classes, the bourgeois and proletarian sectors respond, if there is resistance and of what kind). They know that they have to squeeze surplus value out of the working class and bleed the bourgeois sectors dry via taxation, and that requires a state of mass irrationality, with great European nationalism for a cover, nourished by the particular nationalisms of its members.

= struggle against terror

For the working class, exploited and dominated, it is vital to respond in the terrain of radical, self-organized class struggle, uncompromising against bourgeois forces of whatever kind, against capitalism.

(Based on *Brussels already warns of a war in the heart of the EU*: <https://leftdis.wordpress.com/2025/03/26/brussels-already-warns-of-a-war-in-the-heart-of-the-eu/> and *Inter-imperialist negotiations, quarrels and contradictions*: <https://leftdis.wordpress.com/2025/03/19/inter-imperialist-negotiations-quarrels-and-contradictions/>)

On poverty and war



1. Poverty necessarily stems from capitalism, and competition between proletarian sectors causes poverty to increase. It is a problem of ownership of the means of production and social wealth, and that is why all kinds of states and governments promote this competition to improve the profits of capital, causing workers to be pitted against each other, becoming individualized and thus unable to show solidarity.
2. Poverty does not only affect those who live below the poverty line. Poverty also affects the wages and benefits of those above the poverty line. Poverty is the result of competition between employees. Therefore, solidarity with the poorest employees is in the enlightened self-interest of all employees and is not charity.
3. Charity stems from the fear of the possessing and ruling minority for the struggling solidarity of the vast majority, the workers. Only when the rulers and exploiters fear united labor struggles will they make real concessions.
4. The billions that are freed up for war are not spent on fighting poverty or compensating wages and benefits for increased prices and labor productivity.
5. The armament buildup that our rulers and exploiters want must be paid for by them. The politicians and entrepreneurs who want to support wars anywhere in the world must die on the front lines themselves. The fight against poverty is a fight against war, militarism and warmongering.
6. The system of benefits, allowances, food banks and volunteer work has been set up to worsen wages, benefits and social services. This system maintains poverty and worsens poverty. It cannot be improved in the interest of the employees.
7. Concessions can only be forced by making demands that can broaden the struggle to ever larger groups of employees:
 - Demand fixed amounts for everyone, not percentage increases that promote internal division.
 - Fight for all employees, regardless of age, gender, profession, education, sector, whether they are working or not, religion or passport.
 - Make contacts with other employees in struggle, hold public meetings and always elect representatives who can be re-elected and who have a clear mandate.

(Translated from Dutch: Zeven stellingen over armoede en oorlog : <https://arbeidersstemmen.wordpress.com/2025/03/20/zeven-stellingen-over-armoede-en-oorlog/>)

Not for Ukraine, not for Russia, for the international working class

Part of the support for the Ukrainian government is based on the defense of the right to national self-determination. In conventional bourgeois theory, which is necessarily idealistic, it is affirmed as the legal basis for peoples to be able to live freely. However, in bourgeois material practice, in reality, competition is affirmed tooth and nail, which leads to competing with the greatest possible display of force and cunning against competitors. This reality is dominant in the world of capitalist relations, which since the end of the 19th century has expanded to the most dynamic and economically significant part of the planet. Therefore, capitalist imperialism is the framework within which this right to national self-determination must be understood.

That is to say, this ‘right’ is the cover for some states with greater economic and military capacities, individually or in collaboration with others, to interfere and exert pressure and forms of domination over others. Others, with lesser capacities, more limited in economic and military terms, have to adapt to a status of manipulation by others, which they usually do by trying to obtain some advantages or by shifting their potential of force to pressuring others in worse situations. Forces aspiring to statehood but not yet there, or those with some control over unstable proto-state structures, have to operate in this field of imperialist capital conditioning.

Ukraine has been an instrumental force used by the foreign bourgeoisies to advance against Russian imperialism. In this effort, the dominant bourgeois factions have relentlessly deployed their totalitarianism. The Zelensky government is an example of this. Now it is asking for support from the EU because the U.S. is limiting it and doling it out according to its own imperialist interests.

Self-determination has served as a rallying cry, a deadly lure, for the proletariat to abandon its own interests and dedicate itself to alienating itself in the interests of the bourgeoisie by working hard, accepting all kinds of sacrifices, tolerating militaristic efforts and the iron fist of Ukrainian nationalism. Of course, this means hating “the Russians,” that is, hating the working class in Russia, which suffers from the exploitation and domination of Russian and international capital.

All kinds of calls for the defense of the right to national self-determination are necessarily a way of satisfying capitalist interests and promoting the working class as an alienated force in the daily quarrels and wars between the bourgeois forces, for the distribution of the booty of surplus value, for raw materials, for areas of high economic and military strategic interest... It is a weapon against the necessary revolutionary internationalism that the proletariat needs, at the risk of allowing the militarist deployment that leads on a large scale to a Third World War, if all the conditions necessary for its emergence are met, and to a large number of wars called local or regional, all imperialist, all turning on the carousel of disputes between forces, states and blocs of imperialist capitalism.

(The right to national self-determination within the framework of the power relations of imperialist capitalism: <https://leftdis.wordpress.com/2025/03/23/the-right-to-national-self-determination-within-the-framework-of-the-power-relations-of-imperialist-capitalism/>)

Twelve discussion theses about the war in Ukraine

We developed the following theses in discussing the Ukraine war and what to do against it. They may be discussed and concretized by proletarians worldwide trying to find a fundamental agreement as a tool for action against the war.

1.

Wars between the constituent parts of imperialist capitalism are a terrible reality in various parts of the world. The earth has experienced two world wars and many regional and local wars. In these wars, blood has flowed in abundance, blood to water capital's lust for profit. Capital lives in competition, and its parts are grouped to compete in the best conditions against their adversaries. This movement changes its forms but remains permanent in its content. It is the root of capitalist imperialism, and no state force or social class can escape it.

2.

Now, the war in Ukraine shows once again that in imperialist capitalism, all bourgeois factions and all capitalist states have to intervene in one way or another. On the one hand, the conflicts between capitalist nations are part of the world dynamics of imperialist capitalism: trade wars, political wars, and necessarily warlike confrontations. On the other hand, they intensify the exploitation and domination of the proletariat.

3.

The war in Ukraine is part of the formation of imperialist blocs. As a rising capitalist and imperialist world power, China challenges the number one imperialist position of the USA. After the fall of the Russian bloc, the USA tried to dominate significant parts of the world, among others, the countries of the former Russian bloc. At the same time, new regional powers resisted the US: Germany-France in Europe, Turkey in the former Ottoman Empire, Iran in the Middle East, etc. In this context, China aligned itself militarily and economically with Russia, and both tried to attract other states. However, the war in Ukraine has damaged the reputation of the Sino-Russian alliance. The US leads the opposing bloc, with NATO and AUKUS as essential alliances. As a first result of the war in Ukraine, the EU countries, Britain, Japan, Canada, Australia, and other allies on various continents, are more firmly integrated into the American bloc.

4.

The Ukrainian bourgeoisie is sharply divided over which of the two budding blocs it should choose.

The faction that believes that an alliance with Russia best serves Ukraine's imperialist interests has decided to break away from Ukraine its old industrial region of Donbas. Russian is the most widely spoken language in the region and is used for its nationalism.

The faction that believes that an alliance best serves Ukraine's imperialist interests with the EU and NATO makes itself a pawn in the US strategy against Russia. The Ukrainian language, and a narrative about its culture and history, are at the core of its nationalism.

Both nationalisms of "oppressed peoples" want their "full self-determination" to align themselves with the imperialist bloc of capital that best suits them. Nationalism ties the population – and especially the workers – to the capitalist and imperialist interests of their exploiters and oppressors, pushing them into an inter-imperialist war where the US and Russia pull the strings.

5.

All national capitals are necessarily pitted against each other. The inherent dynamic of globalized capitalism is based on disputes over markets, territories, strategic military control, sources of raw

materials and energy, and the control of labor flows. Nothing for the benefit of the proletariat and everything against it. The capital and money for all this come from our labor.

The exploitation and control of our class, which generates surplus value with its labor (realized and unpaid work), the basis of capitalist profit, becomes broader and more intense. The demands for submission to political and military dictates become more acute. The various capitalist factions use the proletariat as a mass of maneuver and cannon fodder.



Otto Dix, The war (1929-1932)

6.

In many areas of the world, vast masses of civilian population with many impoverished peasants are ravaged by imperialist wars for capitalist interests. Right now, we have Yemen, Northern Syria, parts of Iraq, Myanmar, Tigray-Ethiopia, Somalia, Congo, Mozambique, etc. Many proletarians are threatened and killed in these areas by the warring military apparatuses.

7.

The political, trade union and social forces call on us to defend one side of the war in Ukraine or the other. Some of them raise the campaign of democratic citizenship, with their “no to war,” based on pacifism, with demonstrations that are harmless spectacles. This way, they channel social tensions that arise from the consequences of the war. First of all, inflation. At the same time, numerous other wars have been hushed up or only a little published. But what these pacifists impose on the working class, whether active or unemployed, is so-called ‘social peace.’ While capital puts up the pressure and attacks us, we should sit back, divided as a class, holding our ground without defending our demands at the places of work and in the streets, thinking at most of supporting with votes and rallies this or that political demagoguery, trade union, NGO and other fauna subsidized by the bourgeois states, with a horizon of reformist change of capitalism... of which the effects of its development are catastrophic.

But there can be no peace in a capitalist society, there has never been, and there never will be.

8.

Either the proletariat reacts by freeing itself from subjugation to bourgeois interests and forces and from an attitude of mere distrust, or the exploitative and militaristic march of imperialist capitalism will intensify, leading, when several conditions are met, to a Third World War, and in the meantime

to the development of numerous wars in the world and intensified destruction of the natural environment of humanity.

9.

What is to be done? Radical defense struggle, broad and self-organized by the proletariat, is necessary. But it is not enough, neither against the open militarist manifestations of capitalism nor against the daily economic and political attacks. We must understand that the two are interrelated: to generate more offensive and defensive capacity against their competitors, all states, capitalist forces, and coalitions need to squeeze more and more surplus value out of the working class. Imperialism cannot stop doing this at the risk of seeing its positions and interests deteriorate. That is why every war between states is capitalist-imperialist. All states have to defend their positions with military means and organize themselves with the appropriate partners for this or that protection of their positions.

- There is talk of totalitarianism and dictatorships. But democracies have the same attitude.
- They speak of “oppressed nations” fighting for their self-determination. But this is in the framework of the struggles between the forces of capital, which use this self-determination to build coalitions with the capitalist powers and forces to improve their security and positions.
- They talk about national freedom. But it is the freedom of the national bourgeoisie to ally itself with others and fight to improve its positions, attract investments, monopolize trade, control strategic territories, land, and sea areas, and grab raw materials for itself.

National freedom is the freedom of capital to exploit labor power and exercise what is a dictatorship over the working class and society as a whole. The national bourgeoisie controls the means of production and distribution, along with the freedom to use its weapons against its opponents, finance professional and levy armies, and use military levies. They militarize the economy and society according to the pretensions of each side, and this has to be paid for by the proletariat. Right now, the proletariat as a whole and everywhere is paying the war with the inflation that followed the blow of the pandemic crisis. It cannot be otherwise as long as capital exists, just as debt levels, financial and monetary maneuvers, unemployment, and the degradation of the conditions of existence and work of the proletariat cannot stop increasing.

In doing so, they use their dirty tricks, and their cunning stands out. They cannot fail to do so; it is in the class relations of capitalism, their way of producing life and material wealth. That is the root that must be attacked in depth. And for that, it is necessary to have criteria, methods, and organization.

10.

Therefore, in the face of capitalism’s imperialist war, what is necessary is to promote the defense of internationalist revolutionary defeatism: against all bourgeois sides, states, and forces, for the defeat first of all of the bourgeoisie that exploits and dominates us nationally.

At the same time, we need international coordination to respond on the war fronts, at our places of work and in the streets, boycotting all military interests and structures that collaborate in the war, defending international solidarity among the proletariat across nations, ethnicities, and all kinds of divisions that favor capitalism.

Thus, **on the war front**, it is about soldiers directing their weapons against their officers and commanders and not against the soldiers on the other side of the front. It is about degrading the criminal, military hands on all sides of the war.

This front is essential because, on the military front, we find, on the one hand, a lot of professional soldieries and, on the other hand, terrible conditions of authority.

On the home front, at the places of work, in the streets, and the proletarian neighborhoods, it is a question of putting forward class demands, particularly to alleviate the remarkably miserable situation of the most exploited and worst treated parts of the proletariat. And in the rearguard and all over the world, it is a question of rejecting and resisting capital. Without sticking to cards and legal statutes of

citizenship, we should bring forward class demands through strikes, mass mobilizations, and meetings to organize the broadest possible mobilizations.

It is, therefore, a question of orienting ourselves towards radical transformation, of organizing ourselves for it, while being aware of the enormous problems that this represents.

In conditions of militarization, the effort is much greater, but at the same time, capital shows that imposing its despotic rule is a necessity of the first order so that imperialism can fight. Capital must reproduce the whole of society to adapt it to the needs of imperialism. But at the same time, this inevitably undermines its dominance by inciting the working class to resist. In each concrete situation, those proletarians who initiate class struggle will have to weigh their steps carefully in the face of an enemy increasing its repressive capacity. The mass dynamic is essential to generalize the unrest and not allow it to fragment or be fragmented, which would facilitate the repressive break-up and the victory of bourgeois forces.

11.

Without this class struggle against imperialist war, capitalism will further aggravate the terrible consequences that its global march has generated. It will further degrade our class and the environment, aggravate disputes between nations and blocs, spread mystifications and deceptions designed to subjugate us, and sterilize protest demonstrations, which to be effective must be broad, lucid, and international.

The working class is the target: hours and hours of work, sacrifices, renunciations, humiliations and existential insecurity, piles of corpses, and traumatized people everywhere. It is necessary to oppose the patriotic demands and alibis that chain us to capital in a daily routine of toil and fatigue to valorize capital. We have to resist the efforts to keep 'social peace' in exchange for some crumbs.

12.

The movements that develop from critical denunciations to concrete actions against capitalist interests and forces depend on the possibilities. From defense and solidarity organizations to the calls of our class, trying to bring together those who, in theory, and practice, want to react and promote a radical international dynamic for the emancipation of the working class by itself and united all over the world, for a society of free and equal producers, without classes, states, nations, money, and capitalist enterprises, oppression and exploitation, and establishing proper relations with the land, air, water, and natural resources.

Who wrote above theses? Who are we?

We are communists. But for action against the war, you do not have to agree on our orientation for further struggle:

a)

As communists, we believe only a society liberated from capital and its profit motive, without profit-making structures, ideologies, huge states, and armies, can meet the current challenges to the human race.

For these goals, we have to join forces with clarity and determination. We have to know that there are many problems and differences that can only be tackled in the very movement of the workers.

There is no choice but to become dynamic and fight unless we wait and wait, which is wrong. Otherwise, we will remain tied to sectarian dynamics and ideological illusionism.

b)

Revolutionary communists must act with clear principles, definite intentions, and precise orientations. The program of the social revolution is the instrument that the various forms of aggregation among revolutionaries pose as a necessity.

The aim is to achieve the self-emancipation of the proletariat worldwide, not to gain power for an organized communist minority or to generate state capitalism as in the USSR. The proletariat needs strong class-wide mass organizations like the workers' councils, which set themselves an international and coordinated revolutionary dynamic. These same mass organizations exercise the necessary dictatorship during the period that starts after the proletariat successfully takes power. In this long period of transformation of society and the proletariat, the capitalist economy has to be liquidated and replaced by an economy controlled by the direct producers, associated fraternally, capable of knowing and managing the working time, revolutionary and social needs. If the dynamic is not such, the councils will be elements of capitalist reform.

c)

It is normal and appropriate that the internationalist communist minorities organize themselves in several forms, depending on circumstances. The form ultimately to be reached is that of the World Party of Communist Revolution, on a serious, rigorous, and precise bases. This party must involve itself in:

- the development, clarification, and improvement of proletarian consciousness,
- promoting the advancement of the positions and methods of struggle of internationalist revolutionary communism,
- the worldwide advance of the process of independence of the working class against capital, in its coordination, to become a united and capable force.

This party does not aspire to seize power for itself but to lead the process in a world revolutionary sense. It is not a Bolshevik model party, substituting itself for the class. This party strives to be an actual vanguard reference to the proletarian class movement, which helps it defend itself against bourgeois ideologies and forces. This party supports a method of thought and response that empowers the proletariat to emancipate as a class for itself, to carry out the insurrection against the capitalist states, forces, and relations. Subsequently, the proletariat as a whole will be able to exercise the international revolutionary dictatorship aimed at the emancipation and overcoming of capitalist relations. For this dictatorship, it is necessary to generate and control world communist production and distribution. Capital will win if the workers' councils – with the party in their midst as a social vector of communist critique and action – do not control the economy.

What is needed is an international communist unification on solid, lucid, and precise methodological, principled, programmatic, tactical, and strategic bases. A proletarian awakening will promote this unification. But sectarianism, confusion, doctrinarism, and confused ideology are powerful cancers that demand a capable and robust reaction from the movement's healthiest and most advanced parts. This notorious and high demand from the movement and its most active and clarified elements addresses the internationalist communist groups and parties, which will be in the historical position of creating a new proletarian communist International Party which will be effective and not a bluff, nor a make-up maneuver of radicalized reformism, or an opportunist tendency which repeats the ravages of the Third, the Communist International.

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(War, exploitation, and capitalist domination: How and why confront them? 21-4-2022 :

<https://leftdis.wordpress.com/2022/04/21/war-exploitation-and-capitalist-domination-how-and-why-confront-them/>)

Not for Israel, nor for Palestine

In addition to the seemingly endless war in Ukraine and the increasing number of massacres around the world that barely appear in the media, yet another war has erupted in and around the state of Israel. The bourgeois and “social” media present the atrocities *à la carte* and garnish them in talk shows and *tweets* with bourgeois concepts that have long since lost their meaning: *attack and defense, land and people, the law of war, peace, national self-determination, national unity, democracy, human rights*, etc. The left (bourgeois) organizations have all again sought their place in ideological participation on one side or the other of the front line. On the other hand, several publications invoking the historical Italian Communist Left have issued statements on the war between Israel and Hamas. [1] They take a *proletarian internationalist position* in the vast majority of cases. In brief, both in Israel and in the Gaza Strip

- Both sides of the war, Israel and Hamas, are bourgeois, capitalist, and imperialist.
- The working class, both in Israel and Gaza, has no stake in this inter-imperialist war whose price they are paying in human lives, injuries, war trauma, and increased exploitation and oppression.
- The working class can only defend its own interests through independent struggle against its own bourgeoisie; revolutionary defeatism.

The following text shares these views and extends them further to include issues on which there are differences within the groups of the Communist Left. To this end, this text builds on an earlier analysis of the war in Ukraine [2]. The text briefly refrains from all sorts of historical background details and current situation. For those who miss this, see some texts mentioned in the source under note 1.

The current war cannot be understood as merely a Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The attacks back and forth find their roots not only in history or current tensions in the Middle East but especially in the growing imperialist contradictions on a global scale. Nor is the solution in the Middle East, but on a global scale, in the struggle of the international proletariat against world imperialism, a struggle that begins at home when workers as a class massively defend their living conditions – their wages, benefits, healthcare, their education – against the attacks of capital.

The UNITED STATES, CHINA, and RUSSIA are also involved in this war, but in the background, and they hope to remain so. The current armed conflicts surrounding Israel differ significantly from the war in Ukraine in that Russia is not a direct war participant. It is so far a war *by proxy*, with Russia and China on the one hand and the US on the other playing an important role. However, these nuclear superpowers do not want to be directly involved in this war. Direct involvement could turn into a Third World War, and they are not yet fully prepared.

The local bourgeoisie

From its inception, the state of ISRAEL has been a major fulcrum of US imperialism in the Middle East. By exercising of control over oil and gas resources and Europe’s access to Asia, the US has traditionally controlled the European powers from which it took world power in two world wars. Without US support, Israel could not exist. Israel’s imperialist self-interest consists – as with any state or state-in-formation – in its desire to profit as much as possible in each war from the redistribution of spheres of influence of the world that results.[3] In doing so, Israel has chosen to fight its adversaries by aligning itself with the US.

However, the Israeli state also has its own maneuvering space, and within the Israeli bourgeoisie, there are serious disagreements about using this space in the service of the imperialist interests of their national capital and state. The Netanyahu faction seeks not only the dismissal of legal proceedings against its corrupt figurehead but also further development into a strong religious state, and settlement politics toward a Greater Israel. The Democratic, Liberal, and Social Democrat group also wants a strong state, but through strengthening democratic deception, the partial integration of

its Palestinian citizens, and limited cooperation with the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in the West Bank.

The factions of the Israeli bourgeoisie have different relationships with the US. While Trump supported Netanyahu's Greater Israel policy, Biden's policy is not entirely clear. The US has made efforts to bring Israel and various Arab countries within the US imperialist bloc, particularly SAUDI-ARABIA, closer together. Hamas, with its death and destruction attacks by its most fanatical fighters from Gaza on Israeli settlements and rocket fire as far away as Tel Aviv, has sabotaged these U.S. attempts to strengthen its bloc for the time being. Besides TURKEY – always looking for allies to restore the Ottoman Empire – IRAN in particular, supports the Hamas regime in the Gaza Strip. Iran supplies parts to the Gaza Strip that Palestinian wage slaves assemble into rockets in underground factories. Iran further massively supports *Hezbollah*, which openly threatens to open a second front in northern Israel should Israel proceed with a large-scale ground offensive in Gaza. The US warned that such an offensive could last nine months, probably too long for Israel. It is no secret that China and Russia have good ties with Iran. For its part, China is concerned that the rapprochement of Saudi Arabia and Israel will impede the Middle East route of its New Silk Road to Europe and that China's Saudi oil supplies are at risk.

Like the Israeli bourgeoisie, the PALESTINIAN BOURGEOISY consists of multiple factions, which differ in preference for alliances with regional and world powers due to divergent bourgeois interests and assessments. HAMAS was initially given limited support by Israel against the rival and then stronger Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Now, the relationship is reversed. As the ruling party in the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in the West Bank, the PLO, has lost much of its credibility among the Palestinian people due to its rapport with Israel and corruption (around President Mahmoud Abbas, also called Abu Mazen). Israel and the Islamist HAMAS, which governs the Gaza Strip, now regard each other as main enemies.

Nor will there be independence for the Palestinian bourgeoisie in an unimaginable (but not impossible) future of a Palestinian state as in the present situation of aspirant statehood. For the Arabic-speaking proletariat who "enjoy" second-class civil rights in Israel and who live in the West Bank, in the refugee camps in various neighboring countries, and in the Gaza Strip, the pursuit of an "independent" Palestine means first and foremost submission to exploitation and oppression, terror and war. [\[4\]](#)

The working class in Israel

The proletariat in Israel – an immigration state – is traditionally divided by country of origin and language. The last groups to come generally get the worst working conditions forced upon them. In addition, there are the already mentioned Palestinians with limited civil rights and the Palestinian daily migrant workers from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, strictly monitored by the state of Israel, its state trade union movement *Histadrut*, *Hamas*, the NPA, and the PLO. Orthodox Jews and kibbutz residents (long since turned into military outposts) are in the majority the supporters of Netanyahu's push for a Greater Israel under a further strengthened religious state. Other sections of the population have opposed it, including mass demonstrations by male and female military reservists who form a large part of Israel's conscript army. The army leadership and secret services are alarmed at this "division."

What probably worries the Israeli bourgeoisie even more is the underlying **war weariness hidden** behind the democratic deceptions within which this movement was framed. The American warning of a nine-month ground offensive in Gaza and the possible opening of a second, northern front must also be understood in the context of the earlier war fatigue. Temporarily lost in indignation over Hamas' brutal attacks on settlements and shelling of Israeli cities from Gaza and Lebanon, the history of revolutions at the end of World War I has shown that it is **not impossible** that "war weariness" could return in increasing desertions, especially of conscript soldiers to foreign countries, in strikes in companies, especially in the war industry, in mutinies of soldiers and finally mass demonstrations again. [\[5\]](#) The chances of uniting the struggles of Israeli and Palestinian workers or

soldiers, however, are even more remote than those of forms of proletarian struggle against the war on both sides of the front line.

This assessment, of course, does not negate the need for **proletarian internationalist minorities**; however few, to alert the workers to the capitalist and imperialist causes of the war and the need for intensification of the workers' struggle, both in Israel and the surrounding territories and worldwide. Should in spite of the mutual hatred sown by Hamas and Israel[6] **the workers as a class move**, these same minorities are also in a position to play their historical role in what could then be the beginning of a proletarian world revolution.

The working class in Gaza

The situation of the proletarians in the Gaza Strip is far more serious than that in Israel and even that in the West Bank. **Largely unemployed** and without the prospect of the 19th century "industrial reserve army" to eventually, after one or more generations, to gain employment, the unemployed here partially rot away as a lumpenproletariat. The Palestinian bourgeoisie that controls the Gaza Strip with terror and Islamic ideology carefully selects **the most fanatical and brutal youth for the fighting groups** and deploys less fanatical but more precise proletarians for **slave labor in the underground assembly of rockets**. Among the mass of unemployed, it was **women** in particular who – as in other wars[7] – **began to protest against Hamas**. The women are always the first to move despite terror because they see their children suffering from hunger, in this case even lack of water and failing facilities, growing up without a future. The eruption of hostilities and heavy bombing have ended these protests, covered under nationalism and hatred of Israel. But as in Israel, there is a small chance that they will flare up again and be followed **by desertion, rocket assembly strikes, mutinies, and eventually uprisings against Hamas**. The tasks of the internationalist revolutionaries are the same as those we described above. Here, too, the deceptive left bourgeois slogan will be invoked – *first repel the enemy's attack and then deal with the internal enemy*. Here, too, the revolutionary slogan is the continuation and intensification of the proletarian struggle, **even if it leads to the defeat of the "own" bourgeoisie in the imperialist war**.

The working class in the region and worldwide

Because the proletariat in Gaza and other Palestinian areas, like that in Israel, is dominated by hatred, state terror, and nationalism, so we cannot expect this proletariat to rise against its "own" bourgeoisie. But if this does happen, we will fully support it. This support is also only possible if we already practically support the workers' struggle all over the world.

More likely are proletarian uprisings in the region, for example, in **Iran**, and **Turkey**. And in **China**, **Europe**, and **North America**. Each national bourgeoisie prepares for World War III between China and the US with intensified exploitation and oppression. The revolutionary wave at the end of World War I began with street protests by women, then with arms industry strikes and mass desertions, moving on to mutinies and soldiers forming councils and sharing their weapons with the urban proletariat carrying out mass strikes. We **cannot wait for** the proletarian revolution. The proletarian world revolution is being prepared in daily defensive proletarian struggles for immediate class interests. The revolutionary minorities' function in that struggle is to **point the way forward based on** their understanding of the whole movement that the proletariat is making toward a classless world society, toward the association of free and equal producers.

25-10-2023, Fredo Corvo, Aníbal

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(*The working class and the war Israel – Palestine*: <https://leftdis.wordpress.com/2023/10/26/the-working-class-and-the-war-israel-palestine/>. Including notes, left out here)

Traps in understanding the war in the Middle East

Horrific images from both sides of the front lines invite viewers to take a stand, take position, and take action. The war propaganda of both warring camps responds to this with:

- Images of the slaughter in kibbutzim, among festival goers, victims of rocket fire from the Gaza Strip, of those kidnapped.
- Images of victims of Gaza Strip bombings: hospitals, ambulances, schools, residential blocks.

The first human reflex to such images is empathy to share in the suffering of the victims.

This reflex is followed by a substituting flight from the aggressor or defense by a counterattack. The moral justification for counterattack falls back on the revenge morality of agrarian societies organized by family and tribal ties. The bourgeois ideology of the “people” as a community of interests of workers and capitalists can successfully appeal to this revenge morality as justification for war. In the current war, this is being done by both camps.

The question “Who started the war?” and, as the war progresses, the question “Who is causing the most casualties?” serves to determine aggressor and victim. Both sides give different answers to the question, “Who started the war?”. “The Palestinians started the aggression,” “Israel repeatedly expelled the Palestinians,” “The Jews have been expelled from their land and made lawless for some 2,000 years,” “the Holocaust.” Justifications of war take the form of history of a people, written in nationalistic venom. Now, there is also talk of “colonialism” versus “national liberation struggle” and “genocide,” where the murder of one people is worse than that of another. One measures the extent of massacres to justify subsequent massacres.

However, one suffering is not the other; grief is unique. The suffering from a shrapnel wound is incomparable to that of someone whose entire family was killed in a bombing raid. In both cases, war propaganda can successfully appeal to feelings of revenge. Such is the reality of war, and not that of the one who remotely believes he has a higher moral position, which relies just as much on revenge to justify participation in the war with arguments of “people” and “fatherland.”

So far, we are obviously in the realm of morality, a morality based on a form of society that is long gone but which still lives on in people’s minds thanks to nationalist indoctrination. Our reality is that of capitalism that, for over 100 years, has conquered the entire earth and imposed its production relations of labor and capital on humanity without offering progress. On the contrary, with the creation of the world market by colonialist policies, wars have turned into wars between imperialist powers, large and small states, united by alliances into imperialist blocs fighting each other directly or indirectly (by proxy). Nationalism in these wars is a means to unite the entire population around the state, to squeeze further and oppress the working class for the war effort, and to keep that same working class from defending its class interests with proletarian class struggle. Working class morality is based on its direct class interests in this reality of capitalism and its inter-imperialist wars. For a proletarian analysis of the current war in the Middle East, see previous article.

The traps in understanding the war are not limited to what is essentially a nationalist revenge morality on both sides. The longer an inter-imperialist war lasts, the more the desire arises among sections of the population to end what they see as a pointless and destructive war. This desire to end the war manifests itself most easily in states not directly involved in the war, which also have a semblance of civil liberties.

Migrants who have had a national identity forced upon them through discrimination because they came (sometimes several generations ago) from Arabic-speaking or Muslim countries, thereby feeling a connection to the Palestinian people. Incidentally, this is the exact mechanism that turned Jewish workers into Zionists around World War II. The effect is pro-Palestine demonstrations in several EU countries, the USA, and Canada.

We can also see that a part of the population chooses the losing party, the Palestinians, as the primary victim, with or without condemnation of the winning party, Israel, branded as the aggressor.

It all started with the sit-in in the hall of New York's Central Station with the characteristic slogan "Not my war," waged by Jews and others. Many protesters were arrested, showing the state of civil liberties in the US. This example was followed by sit-ins in several cities in the West, often ignored by the national media for their increasing support for 'the Palestinians'. At the national climate demonstration last weekend in Amsterdam, pro-Palestinian remarks led to a discord that is also insoluble within bourgeois ideology. What then remains is the hope that states will somehow stop the violence: France, the EU, the USA, Qatar? 'Peace' is still a bridge too far. What we see now is a rank order of de-escalation that is nothing but stages in war toward the victory of some and defeat of others: 'humanitarian pause,' 'combat pause,' 'ceasefire,' 'truce,' etc. Government leaders and parliamentary state parties are all concerned that larger segments of the population are turning away from military, economic, and ideological support for Israel. Hypocritically, they speak in favor of "humanitarian aid to the victims" and one or another "de-escalation" and "mediation" by which, not coincidentally, the USA also secures its imperialist interests. In the previous article, it can be read that the USA and the Netanyahu faction are also partly pursuing different interests, which, for example, also partly explains the loyalty pull within the EU.

All the phony discussions at the TV talk tables, all the invective on the "social" media hammer into the population that there is only one choice, the one for either warring party. This is most important in preparation for future wars, and eventually World War III between China and the USA.

Even actions intended as against war are affected by the choice of one side and against the other. The actions of dock workers' unions to refuse to load war materials are directed against the Israeli side of the war simply because Western countries supply arms to Israel and not to "the Palestinians." Similarly, Israeli deserters, like Ukrainian deserters, are mainly seeking refuge in Europe and America. What matters is that sabotage of arms shipments and aid to deserters should be explicitly conducted as intended against both warring parties and not unilaterally against Israel. Unfortunately, the latter is often the case with the actions of port unions. What this means for 'consciousness' (which is reflected by this 'action') seems clear to me: support for 'Palestine' (Iran, China, Russia), against 'colonizer' Israel, and 'imperialism' (the USA). Therefore, any anti-war propaganda and action by revolutionary minorities must be explicitly based on exposing the imperialist goals of ALL belligerent nations and the superpowers that support them. Therefore, these minorities must direct every solidarity to the proletarians on BOTH sides of the front line and put forward the perspective of the revolutionary development of the struggle to defend the interests of the international working class against the attacks of all factions of world capital. Of course, an internationalist position is an excellent antidote to the false division of the working class into pro-Palestinian and pro-Israel.

Revolutionary defeatism advocated by revolutionary minorities is directed not only at the proletarians directly involved in a war zone but also, above all, at the proletarians in states not directly involved but who support this war indirectly (by proxy) and enforce oppression, ideological domination and more exploitation of workers to that end. In Europe and America, the above "struggle against the war," which participates on one side of the front line, hampers the proletarian understanding that BOTH sides in the war serve bourgeois and imperialist goals, that both are anti-proletarian and that the only response of the working class is to fight against all factions of capital.

The previous article describes, based on historical experience and current class relations, some scenarios, probable and improbable, in which the working class struggle ends the war. Those who do not start from class struggle may write it off as unrealistic; the various bourgeois "solutions" are equally so, precisely when based on reality. The most 'radical' solution, of course, is the destruction of all Palestinians or all Jews, an unachievable goal. The 'two-state' solution is one of continuing wars. The solution of 'one state' in which Jews and Palestinians are given equal rights is hindered not only by generations of constant mutual hatred but also by the divide-and-conquer policy of each state by which it guarantees its power of oppression and exploitation. As long as capitalism and imperialism continue to dominate the world, many more wars will follow the present war.

The main issue in the current wars, whether in Ukraine, the Middle East, or elsewhere, is that of class struggle. I assume for the sake of convenience that no one here will deny that in all countries and on both sides of the front lines, capital, and its states are waging a class war against the working class:

cuts in health care and other services, strengthening repression and nationalist ideological domination, intensifying exploitation. Those who deny class struggle are asking the working class to give up its struggle in Gaza, in areas controlled by Hezbollah, in Iran, in China and Russia on one side, and on the other side in Israel and the Western countries around the USA that support Israel. In the previous article, the answer to this question is a resounding NO. The workers must not only continue their struggle against capital and its state despite the war but even intensify it, even if it would lead to the defeat of their own bourgeoisie and its state: revolutionary defeatism. If the proletariat gives up its class struggle, it will sign its death warrant. It will be ground up in the mincer of mutual bombing, physically and mentally exhausted in the arms production in the underground factories in Gaza and the above-ground factories in Israel.

- Then, every new protest against the war by women in Gaza, by reservists in Israel, or Jews in New York (sit-in in Central Station) must be crushed, every sabotage of production punished, and every deserter extradited to the army.
- Then the steelworkers in Iran have to work harder precisely because of “their” regime’s support for Palestine in the form of supplying components for missiles.
- And the same applies to workers in the Western arms industry and throughout the manufacturing sector – increasingly involved in the war economy.

(<https://leftdis.wordpress.com/2023/11/17/traps-in-understanding-the-war-in-the-middle-east/>)

‘Peace’ in the Middle East and Ukraine

The media talk a lot about ‘peace.’

Let’s see what they don’t say...

They leave aside the question of a new administration in Gaza, with a Palestinian bourgeois base, but clearly supervised and delimited by the international presence. Even if a part of Hamas continues to exist, the presence in Gaza of this new apparatus with police capacity will make it very difficult for them. In the West Bank, there has already been an abundance of shootings, arrests, torture and terror directed by the PNA, hegemonized by Fatah, which is demanding a reconditioning to be able to be in the primordial political power of Gaza.

The new Trump administration is going to support this, and the Axis of Resistance has no choice but to take it as an accomplished fact and maneuver in the shadows. Russia is strengthening Iran, but Iran will not start a war against Israel, nor will it launch itself to reclaim the piece of the Syrian cake that Assad and his band of scavengers have enjoyed. China wants business and relative calm, knowing that the decisive front is between it and the USA.

If in Ukraine the new US capitalist government allows what Trump propagandizes as a personal achievement, it is enough for China and Russia today and constitutes an achievement to highlight in their balance sheet. A cycle of relative limitation of the militarist noise does not mean an end of the general tendency of imperialist capitalism to the third world war between the opening and the increase of the militarist noise elsewhere. On the other hand, peace has not come to Palestine, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Sudan, and many other places, from Myanmar to Mozambique, through the Democratic Republic of Congo or Somalia.

The only possible ‘peace’ we need is through the elimination of capitalism on a world scale, and that can only be achieved through the radical, independent and revolutionary action of the proletariat.

(<https://leftdis.wordpress.com/2025/01/19/peace-in-the-middle-east-and-ukraine/>, 2-12-2024)

Has World War 3 begun? Or will it begin soon? Is it inevitable?

The year 2025 resembles in many ways the years before the Second World War began.

The bourgeois media use these similarities to convince us of the inevitability of a Third World War in their war propaganda. Like all historical parallels, they are appealing in their superficiality. But even in the case of the world war between the US and China that all civilized states and parties are preparing for, these parallels ignore the deeper causes and their conditions. These conditions are not yet completely fulfilled, as they were not in 1936: the armament, the formation of larger armies, the weapon technology, their financing and the formation and strengthening of imperialist blocs.

In the late 1930-ties, the working class was largely ideologically prepared to go to war: the physical and ideological defeats of the working class in Russia, in Italy, in Germany, in 1936 in Spain, and the ideological defeats in the 'democratic' countries such as France, Great Britain and the United States. Today, too, the working class is dominated by bourgeois ideology. But fewer and different from in 1936, as a result of which the ongoing proletarian defensive struggle against the increasing attacks on wages, benefits and social services can lead to an expansion to more workers, to better organization and a higher class consciousness.

(Based on the Dutch introduction to Paul Mattick, *Aantekeningen over het vraagstuk van de oorlog* (1936) : <https://arbeidersstemmen.wordpress.com/2025/03/19/paul-mattick-aantekeningen-over-het-vraagstuk-van-de-oorlog-1936/>)

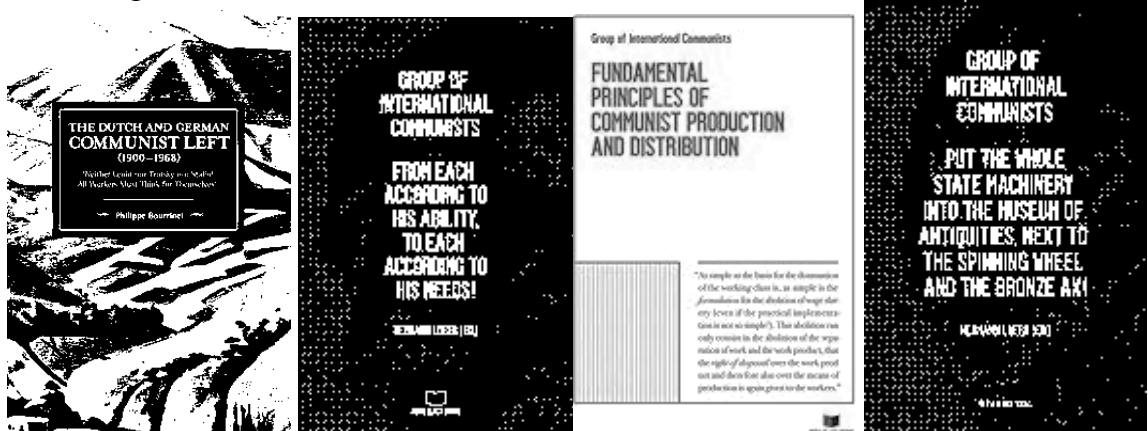
Colofon

Most articles have been published online in

- *Left wing communism, NOT an infantile disorder*: <https://leftdis.wordpress.com/>
- In Spanish at *Foro político-social internacionalista INTER-REV. Internacionalismo - Revolución*: <https://inter-rev.foroactivo.com>.

Lenin called the first opposition in the *Communist International*, mainly the KAPD in Germany (a.o. Gorter, Pannekoek) and the left communists around Bordiga in Italy *an infantile disorder*. Part of this historic Communist Left called itself *Council Communist*, as opposed to the 'Leninist', Trotskyist and Stalinist *Party Communists*. This current is a pole of reference and a source of inspiration for a small number of present groups and publications.

The following books can be found at Amazon.com :



This pamphlet was printed in the Netherlands

The bourgeois left as warmongers

Those with some interest and knowledge of politics, the world since Trump II seems upside down. In Europe, the left of the bourgeois state appears as warmongers and the most ardent defenders of rearmament, while the (extreme) right – with parts of the ultra-left – is more reluctant, seemingly peaceful, even pacifist, or supporting ... Russia. In Spain, where the left PSOE, with Podemos and SUMAR is in power, this confusing image is displayed by the media in all its deceit. Aníbal has analyzed the maneuvers in detail:

Enric Juliana comments. Arms race, opportunism and rhetoric

In his article *'Ceci n'est pas un réarmement'* [referring to the painting *'Ceci n'est pas une pipe'* by René Magritte], Enric Juliana writes: *"They will have to resort to regulatory tricks to spend more on defense (this is how it has been done for years)."*

The importance of bullets.

President Sánchez, the man of a thousand tricks, an expert in opportunism and cover-up rhetoric...does not like the term rearmament and prefers another that is covered by defense and security....

In imperialist capitalism there is no absolute division between defense and attack and weapons are instruments for the exercise of capitalist and imperialist power. The weapons they supplied to the Ukrainian army attacked Russia and defended the imperialist interests of NATO and individuals in the Ukrainian nationalist government. But Sánchez has a powerful dictionary...

But the production of armaments removes surplus value and generates profit only for the industrial sector that produces it. On the contrary, governments and state structures need to capture percentages of surplus value to promote militarism that cannot be allocated to other areas of state spending.

There is a lot of tension in the EU over money and over who will dominate projects. The states have to increase their

budget deficits and have to allocate significant sums of money to pay interest to the capitalists who subscribe to their debt issues aimed at forcing the machine of militarism.

In other words, directly and indirectly, the proletariat will have to tighten its belt and receive less, and the fiscal tensions in the bourgeois sectors already have national-populist forces lurking to capture bourgeois and social-imperialist social discontent, defending national sovereignty against the oligarchies and bureaucracies of the EU, in a language common to left, center and right national-populists.

All around this tremendous mess are the pacifist forces, trying to further stupefy the citizenry, telling the exploited class to press for a return to an idyllic previous situation...which was not idyllic and cannot be.

Juliana knows the ins and outs of bourgeois management and mocks it with his characteristic irony. He talks about the tricks of the regulators...

[SUMAR is part of the left-wing government in Spain. This sector is from the New Left and the PCE]

SUMAR activists amend their ideology to emphasize the rejection of military spending and call for withdrawal from NATO. They present changes to the policy document of the congress, which is held at the end of the month:

"Increasing spending without a thorough review of its efficiency and objectives will not make us safer, but more dependent on a war economy that mortgages Europe's future," SUMAR criticizes. *"Insisting on this path means getting trapped in a model of continuous rearmament, in which stability is measured exclusively in terms of the ability to deter and the accumulation of arsenals, rather than in terms of diplomatic strength, effective cooperation, the reduction of inequalities or the resilience of democratic institutions,"* it concludes.

This is why the proposal strengthens the position of the Movimiento SUMAR with a block against it: *"We are opposed to replacing dependence on NATO and the United States with dependence on our own spending capacity to maintain a militarized security model"*.

Another of the amendments seen by this newspaper deals with the thorny issue of NATO, which has caused so much discomfort in Díaz's party [SUMAR]. In this case, too, it does not allow for a flexible interpretation of the text. *"To the extent that NATO is no longer a shield under which Spain or the rest of the member states of the European Union can hide, we propose that Spain leave NATO,"* it concludes.

"An exit", the text continues, *"that entails the development of policies that pave the way towards an even more strategic collaboration with the Armed Forces of the rest of the European Union member states, as well as initiatives for the*

creation of a European Armed Forces that protects the freedom, rights and interests of European citizens'.

The bourgeoisie, the SMEs, their leftist political representatives and their alleged criticism of the war

All this bourgeois left verbiage, with its pacifism and diplomacy ... ends up defending a European army as the military pillar of a third imperialist bloc. A European army to be used against the proletariat when it rises up against the exploitation and class domination of capital.

This critical sector of SUMAR, like all kinds of sectors of the bourgeois left, defends capitalist power and tries to hide its Spanish nationalism... amid guns and tanks *"for European democracy"* and other blah blah blah.

Moreover, the vain pretense of leaving NATO, of breaking away from the *"US umbrella"* is materializing in the real movement of imperialist capitalism, the NATO bloc section, in the attempt of the EU capitalist leaderships to advance in power without breaking NATO.

SUMAR continues to add medals to the podium of petty-bourgeois militarism. dependent on big capital, but always trying to confuse about it, with enormous amounts of intoxicating blah-blah-blah.

[New from (mostly) internationalist sites, 24-3-2025 : <https://leftdis.wordpress.com/new-from-mostly-internationalist-sites-2>