Gaza or the new Great Alibi[1]

(Position statement)

Faced with the tidal media frenzy, we find ourselves *obliged* to reiterate the only proletarian position on the '*Palestinian question'*: the categorical refusal to support either of the opposing nationalisms and the affirmation of **revolutionary defeatism** in all camps, regardless of the pseudo-historical allegations or lamentations of the left wing of capital.

For many years now, the conflicts between imperialisms[2] in the Middle East have underscored the reality of the global contradictions of capitalism. Taking the place occupied for more than 25 years by the Vietnam War as the most serious focus of warmongering between the major capitalist powers, the '*Palestinian question*' is still the subject of the appetites and manoeuvres of multiple bourgeoisies against a backdrop of recurring massacres of civilian populations taken hostage by all the direct and indirect protagonists of these expansionist rivalries.

Nationalist hysteria is at its peak, and Palestinian nationalism is taking warmongering to new heights, notably by using the term '*genocide*' as an argument of absolute ideological authority against which all criticism must be crushed. We will not debate here the relevance of using the term genocide. It added nothing to our position, except that it could lead to confusion by suggesting that we are minimising the deadly nature/terror of this war. Those who die of starvation, disease due to lack of care or under bombardment have, in any case, all been murdered with impunity, regardless of the label attached to it.

That said, it is equally true that it is no coincidence that the media insists so much on the term genocide, nor that it provokes such debate among the political forces of Capital. As always, they seek to impose **THE** culprit on us: the State of Israel for some, Palestinian nationalism and Islamism for others. In all cases, the proletariat is pushed to choose one of the sides in contention, as, of course, in the situation in Ukraine. Defending the latter or defending Putin's Russia are the only alternatives that the capitalist factions allow us to choose.

The press and the media in general bombard us with horrific images of the agony of a civilian population criminally targeted by the State of Israel. This obviously provokes an indignant reaction from a large part of the world's population.

But why do these same media outlets, at the same time, stop talking about the atrocities of Islamism where it dominates? Why don't they say that Hamas itself was partly financed by the State of Israel to weaken the secular part of Yasser Arafat's former PLO Palestinian

[1] We refer here to the fundamental text of our historical movement entitled: '*Auschwitz or the Great Alibi*' published in 1960 in '*Programme communiste*', the journal of the International Communist Party (PCI) in French. This text aimed to denounce the hypocrisy of democratic anti-fascist discourse: '*The left-wing press has once again shown that racism, and in fact essentially anti-Semitism, constitutes a kind of Great Alibi for anti-fascism: it is its favourite banner and at the same time its last refuge in discussion.*' https://www.marxists.org/francais/bordiga/works/1 960/00/bordiga_auschwitz.htm

[2] On the question of imperialism we refer the interested reader to our text: 'Imperialism and anti-imperialism,…Formula of confusion' in our journal Matériaux Critiques N°2, and our website: https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes

movement? Why do they not talk about the '*refusenik*' movement in Israel? And finally, it is no coincidence that these same media outlets talk in terms of people rather than classes, largely inducing populations around the world to do the same.

They do not do so because they would then have to show that there are not good guys on one side and bad guys on the other. In fact, it is the fierce competition between the various capitalist and imperialist powers that leads to these deadly and devastating conflicts. **Faced with this imposition to choose sides, we reiterate our visceral struggle against these two faces of the bourgeoisie.**

Since 2006, the Palestinian National Authority has been controlled by Hamas, a theocratic, nationalist, anti-Semitic and reactionary organisation which, under the pretext of "*resistance*", constitutes the de facto occupying army in these territories. Hamas[3], and its main supporter, Iran (but also Qatar and Syria), is the in vivo archetype of Islamo-fascism[4], both ideologically and in its deadly practice.

Faced with this belligerent bloc, Israel - and Netanyahu's government - unapologetically defends its own capitalist interests and territorial expansion, justified by the need for '*vital*' defence against enemies who want to destroy it. The polarisation is symmetrical and complementary. It corresponds exactly, in every respect, to the warlike needs of both sides, which objectively have the same territorial claims for their outbreak.

The war is not yet over, but already the victorious protagonists are negotiating the reconstruction, which, according to some, should be modelled on a sanitised image of a "*new Riviera of the Middle East*" for wealthy tourists in search of exoticism. This economic cynicism is nothing more than the unapologetic affirmation of the economic, financial and geostrategic foundations of the conflicts of mature capitalism, which, no longer able to conquer '*virgin*' territories, must divide up ever more violently those already conquered many times over, for centuries.

In the same way, the name '*Palestine*' is nothing more than a pure ideological construct that corresponds neither to a geographically defined territory - which should be referred to by its real name of '*Judea-Samaria*' (which smacks a little too much of '*Judeo-Bolshevik*' sulphur) - nor to a state that has never historically existed and which, even today, presents itself, by default, as a '*de facto proto-state*'[5] ; one of the most corrupt in the world, it has no territorial sovereignty or currency of its own. [6]

[3] Hamas was formed in 1987 as the armed wing of the Muslim Brotherhood. Since the Second World War, powerful political ties have linked the Nazis to various Arab nationalist movements. Al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and a personal friend of Hitler, is the most well-known example of this. https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Amin_al-Husseini

[4] On this qualification, see our articles: 'Islamism: The criminal complicity of the left and the far left of capital' and 'The new forms of latent fascism" in our journal Matériaux Critiques N°2 and N°5, as well as on our website: https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes

[5] Palestine has never historically had any independent existence or autonomous identity. It has always been an undefined, multinational and multi-religious territory, passing from Ottoman to British or French rule, located at the crossroads of many empires and home to a diverse population.

[6] The main currency in circulation in this region is the shekel, the currency of its 'best enemy': Israel!

The slogan '*Free Palestine*', shouted from one end of the leftist world to the other, has no meaning and no possibility of ever being fulfilled. Similarly, the symbolic omnipresence of its flag at all spectacular events can only emphasize its lack of material reality. The so-called '*Palestinian*' population (not to mention the mythical '*Palestinian people*' who are said to know neither classes nor contradictions) actually lives mainly in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza.

Those who lead the campaigns for '*Free Palestine*' are helping to prepare the exploited people of the Earth to confront other exploited people, recruited into the other camp, when the day comes. In fact, they are preparing us to accept, like sheep, being slaughtered on the altar of their profits, in the two great camps that will eventually clash in the absence of a global social revolution! It is all these '*imperialist*' forces that must be opposed without compromise, by clearly showing them what they are to all those who, out of legitimate indignation, allow themselves to be duped by them.

The only class perspective today is represented by the '*refusenik*' movement which, although still very much a minority, is deserting the Israeli army, the IDF, and refusing to participate in the military intervention in Gaza. '*No one should cooperate with such a regime. Our most powerful means of resistance -perhaps the only one that can have an effect- is refusal to serve in the military, coupled with civil disobedience*.' Guy Perl -soldier and nurse- 11 April 2025.[7]

Internationalist revolutionaries are the only ones who truly oppose all wars and all massacres caused by competing capitalist interests. They therefore oppose the State of Israel as well as a hypothetical future Palestinian state. They oppose all states or those who aspire to create a new one, which would inevitably be of the same nature. They proclaim loud and clear, ***'Down with the Fatherland,' 'Down with all fatherlands,' 'Down with the nation,' 'Down with all nations.'*** The proletarians, the exploited, the wage slaves HAVE NO FATHERLAND; they must destroy, among other things, all borders!

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[7] '*A group of young people publicly burned their call-up papers. According to The Times of Israel, the attendance rate of reservists has fallen to 60% from 100% after the attacks on 7 October*.' See the website: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Refuznik_(Isra%C3%ABl)