

Tuesday, 06.08.

A = general **E** = beginner **F** = advanced

● = Workshop will be held in English

■ = Translation into English/German will be provided

ab 13⁰⁰ Arrival & registration

15⁰⁰ - 15³⁰ **Opening plenary**

15⁴⁵ - 17⁰⁰	A1/A Countering the shift to the right Part 1: European elections and the crisis of the EU	B1/A Biden, Trump and the USA before the elections Seminarraum 1	C1/A ● Marxism, war and the national question	D1/E Basics of marxism: What is capitalism?
	Seminarraum 4	Seminarraum 1	Seminarraum 2	Seminarraum 3
17¹⁵ - 18³⁰	A2/A Countering the shift to the right Part 2: Outline of an action programme for Europe	B2/A Putin and the war The character of Russian imperialism	C2/A ● Revolutionary defeatism - from war to revolution	D2/E Basics of marxism: What is historical materialism?
	Seminarraum 4	Seminarraum 1	Seminarraum 2	Seminarraum 3

18³⁰ - 19³⁰ Dinner

19³⁰ - 21⁰⁰ Get to know each other & organising groups introduce themselves

ab 21⁰⁰Uhr Fun & Excitement: Song Night

15.45 – 17.00 Uhr

A1 Countering the shift to the right: European elections and the crisis of the EU

The European elections took place from 6 to 9 June. There were two election winners: the ÖVP and the European right. However, the shift to the right has now also taken hold in the centres of the imperialist project EU. The RN became the strongest force in France and led Macron to call new elections. In Italy, Meloni, a post-fascist, is already in government and in Germany, an increasingly populist CDU/CSU and the AfD have emerged as winners. This means that the EU project, the Green New Deal, can be declared dead. In addition to the ecological catastrophe, the question arises as to what significance the election has for the project of German and French imperialism. What developments are likely?

B1 Biden, Trump and the USA before the elections

Neither Trump nor Biden! Presidential elections will be held again in the USA in 2024. In recent years, US imperialism has been able to consolidate its position in the Western bloc and in the struggle for the redivision of the world, stabilising itself relatively economically compared to other imperialists. At the same time, its global supremacy continues to reach its limits. Internally, US society is deeply divided, which is also reflected in the political frontline between Trump and Biden. Both are backed by different domestic and foreign policy perspectives of US imperialism. What do these look like? What about the US labour movement? We want to discuss these and other questions in the workshop.

C1 Marxism, war and the national question

Whether in Ukraine, Palestine, the EU, Turkey or Africa: the „national question“, the struggle for the right to national self-determination, is one of the main political issues in the imperialist era. No wonder, because imperialism is inextricably linked with the division of the world, with the separation of nations and states between oppressor and oppressed. In this workshop we analyse the relationship between the nation state, nationalism and the struggle for national liberation and explain why the Leninist attitude to the national question in the current period provides the key to its solution.

D1 Basics of Marxism 1 - What is capitalism?

„The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles“ (Marx/Engels 1848 - MEW vol. 4). In capitalism, the contrasts between the classes are taken to extremes. Two main classes, labour and capital, face each other. While the former have only their labour to sell, the latter own and dispose of private property in the means of production, united as a class, but at the same time in competition with each other. Capitalist anarchy leads to crises, wars and the systematic destruction of our natural basis of life. But why? What dynamics permeate capitalism and why do we need to understand it in order to overthrow it? We want to discuss this and much more in this workshop and in our series on the introduction to Marxism.

17.15 - 18.30 Uhr

A2 Countering the shift to the right: Outline of an action programme for Europe

The EU, once launched under the title of a peace project, ultimately turned out to be a market for the strongest capital factions, Germany and France. It failed to overcome the borders of the nation state and thus the competition between the various capitals within it. Once launched to become the most dynamic economic area in the world (Lisbon Strategy 2000), the EU became the most fragile link in the imperialist chain. In this workshop we want to discuss the strategic hurdles of the EU in order to sketch out the impending development within the struggle for the redivision of the world and, consequently, ideas for an action programme for Europe

B2 Putin and the war: The character of Russian imperialism

Russia's attack on Ukraine massively intensified the battle for the redivision of the world. At the same time, however, it also revealed the confusion on the left. Some justified Putin's war of aggression, while others criticised it but refused to characterise Russia as an imperialist power. They like to point to the undoubted differences between the „old“ (Western) superpowers and the „new“ ones. As revolutionary internationalists, we understand the position of a nation based on its role within the global political-economic world system - and thus Russia as an imperialist power. In this workshop we want to substantiate this analysis by referring to the position of the bourgeoisie internally, the development of the composition of capital and its claim to be a great power.

C2 Revolutionary defeatism - from war to revolution

Karl Liebknecht already recognised it, the main enemy is in your own country! But what does revolutionary defeatism mean? What tactics exist in the struggle against war and what special features characterise them in the stage of imperialism? The workshop will focus both on the historical debates on the war tactics of the Second and Third Internationals and on their significance today in the midst of the increasingly heated struggle for the redivision of the world.

D3 Basics of Marxism 2 - What is historical materialism?

„Philosophers have only interpreted the world in different ways, but what matters is to change it“ (Marx - Theses on Feuerbach). Philosophy is one of the three essential sources of Marxism. But what do dialectics and historical materialism mean? The workshop is intended to provide an introduction to this background to our daily practice or to refresh it.

Wednesday, 07.08.

8 ⁰⁰ -9 ¹⁵	Breakfast			
9 ¹⁵ -9 ³⁰	camp plenary/general info			
9 ³⁰ -11 ⁰⁰	A3/E Where do women's & queer oppression come from?	B3/A ● Fight for reproductive rights	C3/A Women's movement in Palestine from 48 until today	D3/A On the relationship between exploitation, oppression and discrimination
	Seminarraum 4	Seminarraum 2	Seminarraum 1	Seminarraum 3
11 ³⁰ -13 ⁰⁰	Reflection meetings & caucus Session 1			
13 ⁰⁰ -15 ⁰⁰	Lunch			
15 ⁰⁰ -16 ³⁰	A4/A-F Critique of queer theory & deconstructionism	B4/A Concepts of transformative justice	C4/A: The Iranian left and the struggle for women's liberation	D4/E: Marxism, capitalism and disability
	Seminarraum 4	Seminarraum 1	Seminarraum 2	Seminarraum 3
17 ⁰⁰ -18 ³⁰	A5/A-F Frederike Beier - Materialist queer feminism as an alternative?	B5/A Raising children under capitalism	C5/F Switzerland: Perspectives of the feminist strike	D5/E Neurodiversity in the class society
	Seminarraum 4	Seminarraum 1	Seminarraum 2	Seminarraum 3
18 ³⁰ -19 ³⁰	Dinner			
19 ³⁰ -21 ⁰⁰	Reflection meetings & caucus Session 2			
ab 21 ⁰⁰ Uhr	Fun & Excitement: Games Night			

09.30 – 11.00 Uhr

A3 Basics of Marxism 3: Where do women's and queer oppression come from?

The oppression of women is the first form of systematic social oppression. It goes hand in hand with the emergence of the patrilineal family and represents the basic ideological unit of class societies. In 1884 Engels published „The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State“. In this lecture, we would like to give an introduction to the historical-materialist analysis of the oppression of women in class societies and ask ourselves: How topical are Engels' theses almost 140 years after their publication?

The oppression of women in the family is accompanied by other forms of social oppression that call traditional gender roles into question. In this workshop, we therefore want to discuss the following questions together: Where do women's and queer oppression come from?

B3 Fight for reproductive rights

The shift to the right is not an abstract movement; one expression is the attack on reproductive rights. Whether it's the Supreme Court's landmark decision in the Roe v Wade case, the withdrawal of adoption rights for lesbian couples in Italy, or the discussions about the „Herdprämie“ in Germany, resistance to reproductive rights remains a rallying point in the construction of a global women's movement. Ideologically, the fem*strike movement falls under the perspectives of authors such as Arruza, Bhattacharya, Fraser and Gago and their approach of building a feminist international.

C3 Women's movement in Palestine from 1948 until today

Imperialism and Zionism regard the Palestinian population as backward, as a centre of oppression against women and minorities. But is this true? In this workshop we want to take a look at the lively history of women's organising in the struggle for a liberated Palestine. When was the peak phase of organising? What were the programmes, priorities, strengths and weaknesses? What is the connection between social oppression and occupation? What programme, what perspective of women's liberation is needed?

D3 On the relationship between exploitation, oppression and discrimination

Class societies are the history of the rule of people over people, i.e. societies of unequal disposal of the social surplus product and property. In short: they produce all kinds of damned people on this earth. In this workshop, we want to look at how different forms of social inequality relate to each other, what significance their essential character has and how we think we can fight them accordingly. The workshop is the first part of the series on neurodiversity and presents the interim status of the working group on the topic.

11.30 – 13.00 Uhr

Antisexistisches Reflexionstreffen/Caucustreffen

15.00 – 16.30 Uhr

A4 Critique of queer theory and deconstructionism

Queer theory is probably the most popular theoretical approach of the so-called third wave of feminism in the 1990s. Growing out of the criticism of identity politics and „essentialism“, it understands both gender and sex as social, discursive constructions. In the discourse, oppression is constituted and reproduced as a form of binary opposition, whereby queer theory turns against both previous feminist theories and Marxism. In the workshop, we will look at the theoretical foundations of this theory and subject them to criticism.

B4 Concepts of transformative justice

Where to put all the perpetrators? The fight against social oppression does not end with proclamations, but is a constant challenge for the left, who have to question both social conditions and their character as socialised individuals on a daily basis. A central assumption of socialist systems of thought is that a system of punishment and sanctions should not be understood as exclusion from the social public sphere, but rather as a means of reappraisal and reintegration. Transformative justice encompasses concepts that advocate this approach. But what does it mean in concrete terms? And what are its strengths and weaknesses?

D4 The Iranian left and the struggle for women's liberation

Jina Mahsa Amini died on 16 September 2022, murdered by the henchmen of the Iranian morality police, who considered her hijab to be worn incorrectly and beat her to death. As a result, the largest protests since the 1979 Iranian revolution broke out. In 1979, large sections of the Iranian left put the struggle for the liberation of women (and the working class) on the back burner because the fight against imperialism could be won „first“ in a „bourgeois-democratic“ revolution. This stage theory also confronts us today in a different form, where the question of socialist upheaval must take a back seat to the democratic revolution against the mullahs. But what does this mean for (proletarian) women? What role does the liberation of women play in the programme and practice of the Iranian left? What perspective do they propose? What significance does the question of the struggle against oppression have in the Islamic Republic today?

D4 Marxism, capitalism and disability

Capitalism means reification. By objectifying social relations in objects, a semblance of vitality is attached to them - a real reversal of social exchange relations. At the same time, a veil of objecthood is thrown over the subjects of society, the social classes together with their random individuals (subject-object inversion). In this way, the capitalist law of nature, the law of value, subjects us all to general constraints. Those who cannot fulfil them or are suspected of doing so are devalued. This devaluation takes various forms, such as „too old“, „too ill“ or „too disabled“. Disability is not a purely individual, but above all a social relation-

ship. In this workshop, we would therefore like to attempt to form an understanding of disability.

17.00 – 18.30 Uhr

A5 Friederike Beier - Materialist queer feminism as an alternative?

In her book „Materialistischer Queerfeminismus - Theorien zu Geschlecht und Sexualität im Kapitalismus“ (2023), Friederike Beier attempts to dissolve the opposition between identity and class by conceptualising a synthesis between queer feminism and historical materialism. But does she break with the post-structuralist influences from Foucault to Butler? Can we build on it or does the project not rather

B5 Raising children under capitalism

Education is inextricably linked to the reproduction of the respective social formation, which is why education also differs. Similarly, childhood is not a supra-historical institution - and just as different classes occupy different positions in society, raising children differs under capitalism, even if it inscribes formal „equality“ on its banners. What function does raising child fulfil under capitalism? How are exploitation and oppression intertwined? What demands do we make? What alternatives does a socialist society formulate?

C5 Switzerland: Perspectives of the feminist strike

Women's strikes have been taking place in Switzerland on 14 June since 1991. At their peak, the so-called feminist strikes have mobilised almost half a million participants. The issues are diverse, from the fight against everyday sexism to raising the retirement age. Although the strikes are mass gatherings, they also have a more ritualised character than indefinite forms of struggle that transcend sectoral and gender boundaries. Our comrades from the Swiss "Was-tun?" group present the experiences and limits of their interventions in feminist strikes.

D5 Neurodiversity in the class society

Brains are like snowflakes, each one is different. When the neurosciences proclaimed the century of the brain in the early 2000s, a controversial debate broke out between and within different disciplines about the centrality of the brain in the general subject. A few years earlier, Judy Singer had discovered and shaped the neurodiversity movement by analysing the networks of autistic people in internet forums in the late 1990s. Here we are dealing with an interweaving of different challenges that we want to try to understand in their mutual influence. How do recognition and treatability relate to each other and what benefits do they each have? What do we actually mean by neurotypical and neurodivergent and what consequences does this have socially, for the labour movement or revolutionary organisations? We want to address these and other questions in our third part of the neurodiversity track.

What's reflection meeting?

These meetings serve to critically question one's own behaviour/organisational structures. This means that anyone can participate anywhere. The meetings take place with prepared questions and it is recommended that you take part in one. If there are enough people of an oppression in a reflection round, it is also possible to make a caucus there.

What kind of reflection meetings/caucuses are planned?

The last years we have always planned a FLINTA Caucus, as well as the counterpart: an anti-sexist reflection meeting. This year we have decided to give more space to other forms of oppression and to share our experiences of them and gain experience as an experiences in this regard as an organisation as a whole. We will have reflection meetings regarding racism, sexism and neurodiversity, as well as an antiracist caucus.

There will be two sessions of each reflection meeting, so you can take part in two different ones or take

What's a caucus?

A caucus is a kind of safe space for groups that experience discrimination. Its purpose is to allow members of these groups to share among themselves if they have experienced a discriminatory incident in the organisation but do not want to address it alone or to share if there are structural problems. The caucus can also be convened without a concrete incident, but then it should have a plan of what should be discussed.

Why we are doing this?

As an organisation, we do not assume that there can be spaces free of oppression in this society. After all, we have all been socialised in bourgeois society and cannot

simply escape this imprint. Conversely, this does not mean that we cannot and must not question and reflect on our behaviour. It is not really possible to change one's behaviour completely by reflecting „long enough and often enough“ - after all, being still determines consciousness - but as revolutionaries we have given ourselves the task of developing mechanisms to deal with the ills of society and this is one of them.

I want to have a caucus...

If there is a need for another caucus because there has been a concrete incident or assault and no solution could be found with the awareness team, contact the political camp committee. In our understanding, discriminated groups have a right to a shelter, but it makes sense to schedule it in such a way that many can participate, as it is then also a right of the respective group. This has to be included in the daily plan and clearly communicated, so it has to be done in coordination with the political camp committee.

I'm trans. Where I should go?

If there is a FLINTA Caucus, you can decide for yourself where you want to go and what you feel more comfortable with. In general, the socialisation you have experienced for a large part of your life can play a role in your behaviour. But you can participate in the women's caucus as a trans man, trans woman or nonbinary, if there is one.

Thursday, 08.08.

8.⁰⁰-9.¹⁵ Breakfast

9.¹⁵-9.³⁰ camp plenary/general info

9.³⁰-11.⁰⁰ A6/E
Fighting discrimination at school

B6/A ■
Function of the university in capitalism

C7/A ● ■
Bureaucratic and state-supporting - trade unions under capitalism

Seminarraum 3

Seminarraum 4

Seminarraum 1

11.³⁰-13.⁰⁰ A6/E
**Why student committees?
Why student union?**

B6/A ● ■
Critique of bourgeois science

C7/A ● ■
Building opposition to bureaucracy (using the example of Mahle and UAW)

13.⁰⁰-14.⁰⁰ Lunch

14.⁰⁰-15.³⁰ A6/E
School work made practical

B6/A ■
Taking the class struggle to university: but how?

C7/A ■
Revolutionary work place and trade union work: how does it work?

17.⁰⁰-18.³⁰ **Free Afternoon**

18.³⁰-19.³⁰ Dinner

ab 21⁰⁰Uhr Fun & Excitement: Short movies & night time hike

Info: The workshops complement each other in terms of content. We strongly advise you not to switch back and forth between the tracks.

A6 School work - theory and practice: Revolutionary work at school

In three interrelated workshops, we will look at various aspects of revolutionary politics at school. What is the actual function of education at school? It is probably not just about imparting knowledge - and schools are certainly not free of class differences and discrimination.

Where does it actually come from that schools are the way they are? What function does it fulfil for capitalism? How can we successfully lead the fight against oppression and discrimination at school?

What is lacking in the existing student representatives? What are our views on them? Why are we in favour of setting up student committees? Why are we in favour of a student union? What is it anyway?

We want to combine theory and practice in the three workshops. We will discuss theoretical foundations and programmatic demands, but above all we will also discuss how we can improve our school work in practice - and how you can get involved.

B6 Uni 1 - Theory and practice: Revolutionary work at the university

The „independence“ of research and teaching has long been a mere fiction. For decades, the content, form and purpose have been determined by large corporations and a state science policy that is committed to the overall interests of capital and the nation.

The „freedom of research and teaching“ is itself an ideology, behind which the bourgeois interest ultimately lies in the natural sciences, but also in the humanities. But for years, this interest prevailed over a pluralism that seemed to give the idea of „freedom“ at least the appearance of reality. The enforcement of reasons of state against any solidarity with Palestine not only illustrates the limited, even fictitious character of this right, but also that the imperialist bourgeoisie itself sees itself less and less able to afford this formal freedom.

It is therefore all the more important that revolutionaries understand the class character of the university and its role in the imperialist stage of capitalism. Criticising bourgeois academia is an indispensable part of revolutionary university politics. At the same time, it is important to understand the change in the class position of students, but also of teachers.

We must not stop at mere criticism, but rather bring class politics to the university. We want to discuss how this can be done by presenting the main features of an action programme for universities.

The workshop itself is divided into three interrelated steps

- Function of the university in capitalism
- Critique of bourgeois science
- Taking the class struggle to university: but how?

C6 BuG 1 - Theory and practice: Revolutionary work in companies and trade unions

The trade unions could be a bastion in the fight against low wages, privatisation, division and armament. But they are not. Instead, they act in support of the state and in the

spirit of class co-operation, of social partnership. But why is this the case? Why is it not only the DGB trade unions that act in a bureaucratic and statist manner? What role do reformism and bureaucracy play in this? And what role do trade unions play in capitalism itself? We will deal with these questions at the beginning of the workshops, because this is essential in order to develop a realistic, revolutionary strategy for revolutionising the trade unions, in order to be able to turn them into instruments of class struggle in the first place.

In a second step, we want to deal with the question of how it is possible to build an opposition against the bureaucracy and against social partnership and local nationalism, against the prevailing social chauvinism. We will look at examples of experiences of revolutionary intervention in workplaces and trade unions in different countries and ask ourselves how we can generalise them.

Finally, we address the question: „Company and trade union work: how does it work?“ This is not about a (further) organising tool, but about a strategic and tactical orientation. It is about what constitutes revolutionary workplace and trade union work and why building an opposition in this area cannot be enough, but why building a revolutionary party itself is of central importance for this work.

Friday, 09.08.

8. ⁰⁰ -9. ¹⁵	Breakfast			
9. ¹⁵ -9. ³⁰	camp plenary/general info			
9. ³⁰ -11. ⁰⁰	Plenary debate The multiple crisis of capitalism and the tasks of the revolutionary left			
11. ³⁰ -13. ⁰⁰	A7/A The political economy of occupation Seminarraum 4	B7/A-E What is the state? Seminarraum 3	C7/A G Basic principles of the united front Seminarraum 2	D7/A ● An action programme for Switzerland Seminarraum 1
13. ⁰⁰ -15. ⁰⁰	Lunch			
15. ⁰⁰ -16. ³⁰	A8/ A Zionism, shift to the right and Israeli working class Seminarraum 4	B8/A-E What kind of party is needed for the revolution? Seminarraum 3	C8/A Crisis or class struggle: where is the Left Party heading? Seminarraum 2	D8/A ● Class struggle in Denmark Seminarraum 1
17. ⁰⁰ -18. ³⁰	A9/A Stage theory vs. permanent revolution – critique of the Palestinian left Seminarraum 4	B9/A The Modi government and the class struggle in India Seminarraum 3	C9/A The KPÖ - left-wing reformism reloaded? Seminarraum 2	D9/A ● The Meloni government and the crisis of the Italian labour movement Seminarraum 1
18. ³⁰ -19. ³⁰	Dinner			
19. ³⁰ -21. ⁰⁰	A10/A One-state solution and right of return for all - how can they become reality? Seminarraum 4	B10/F Ursprünge des Kastensystem in Indien Seminarraum 3	C10/A-F Was ist eine Arbeiter:innen-regierung? Seminarraum 2	D10/A Civil war in Sudan Seminarraum 1

ab
20⁰⁰Uhr

Fun & Excitement: PARTY!!!11

09.30 – 11.00 Uhr

E2 Plenary debate - The multiple crisis of capitalism and the tasks of the revolutionary left

Everyone is talking about „multiple“ crises. But how are they actually connected? How are the economic crisis of capitalism and the struggle for the redivision of the world, racism and sexism, war and ecological catastrophe connected? What can we do in the face of impending barbarism, in the face of the imminent destruction of the foundations of human life? What can we do in the face of the progression of reactionary bogus solutions and irrationalism? The working class is not only facing its global recomposition, but also a historical crisis of its leaderships and organisations. This can only be resolved if revolutionaries can point the way forward theoretically, programmatically and practically.

11.30 – 13.00 Uhr

A7 Palestine 1 - The political economy of occupation

Divided into A, B and C zones, with restricted areas, checkpoints, a nationality law that further restricts mobility and labour - Palestine is a country of entrenched inequalities. But in contrast to South African apartheid, we are dealing with an Israeli occupying power whose practice is not aimed at segregation for the purpose of over-exploiting a section of the population, but increasingly at displacing them. But how does the occupation regime maintain itself in this way? In this first part of our four-part workshop series on the struggle for a liberated and socialist Palestine, we examine the political economy of Israel's occupation system in Palestine.

B7 Introduction to Marxism 4: What is the state?

The state is characterised by the division of citizenship according to specific territories and is at the same time the establishment of public authority in those territories to maintain the particular order. In this sense, Friedrich Engels described the state as a special formation of armed people. But what is the character of the bourgeois nation state, which in Marxism is also referred to as the ideal total capitalist? Is it a third force between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie or is it even a different part of the ruling class? How does the class state differ from the socialist semi-state? And can we put demands on states at all? We want to discuss this and much more together in this introductory workshop.

C7 United Front and Reformism 1 - Basic principles of the United Front

March separately, strike together! This simple formula summarises the united front. The united front was conceived by the young Communist International at its 3rd and 4th World Congress as a response to the existence of different organisations with different perspectives on the class struggle. It aims to measure the different programmes against each other in joint action. Even today, the labour movement is essentially shaped by parties, trade unions

and ideologies that keep it on the ground of the ruling order. How can we challenge this? How can we use the united front as a method to do so? In this four-part workshop series, we would like to raise these questions and examine them using current examples.

D7 An action programme for Switzerland

For decades, if not centuries, Swiss capitalism and its bourgeois democracy have been regarded as a haven of stability. Why is that? And how can this seemingly unshakeable class peace be broken? Around which key questions of the class struggle must revolutionaries group themselves and what strategy and tactics are needed to revolutionise the working class and social resistance movements?

15.00 – 16.30 Uhr

A8 Palestine 2 - Zionism, the shift to the right and the Israeli working class

„The people that subjugates another people forges its own chains“ (Marx 1870, MEW vol. 16). The ideology on which Israeli nationalism is based is Zionism. Through its historically special relationship with imperialist superpowers, such as originally Great Britain and today above all the USA, a relevant part of the Israeli working class can be subsidised and at the same time a negative trade balance can be maintained in the long term (-24.39 billion US dollars in 2023). At the same time, the composition of capital and thus the working class in Israel has changed massively. How does this relate to the massive shift to the right in the Israeli party landscape, but also in the population? In this workshop, we therefore want to ask what anchoring Zionism has as an obstacle to a progressive one-state solution in the Jewish section of the working class in Israel and how this can be broken.

B8 United Front and Reformism 2 - Crisis or Class Struggle: Where is the Left Party heading?

At the end of last year, a long-foreseeable split took place in the LEFT (Die LINKE) between the government socialist camp and the left-wing movement camp on the one hand and the populist forces on the other. The LINKE and the Sahara Wagenknecht alliance (BSW) are the result of this split. Now, after the first state elections and the bitter defeat in the European elections, we want to ask ourselves the following questions: What is the state of the Left Party? Which sections of the class does it still represent? What lines of conflict run through the party's decline? Is it enough to denounce the Left Party, or do we also have to take a tactical stance towards it?

C8 Introduction to Marxism 5: What kind of party is needed for the revolution?

The communist party after Lenin is the fusion of the programme of revolutionary Marxism with the workers' movement. But what exactly does the Leninist slogan of the new type of party mean? Why do we need a party at all? In this workshop, we want to discuss what the central task of revolutionaries, the building of a party, is all about. We will look at the experiences of the Russian Revolution. And what do the experiences of the Bolsheviks mean today?

D8 Class struggle in Denmark

Some right-wing reformists regard Danish social democracy as a model of success. In reality, its extremely social-chauvinist policies have by no means prevented the rise of right-wing populism; on the contrary, the adoption of its programme has strengthened racism and the right. However, the sister organisation of the Left Party, the Unity List, is not counteracting this development either, but rather adapting to it. ITO comrades from Denmark report on the failure of the Left Party there and the struggle for a revolutionary alternative.

17.00 – 18.30 Uhr

A9 Palestine 3 - Stage theory vs. permanent revolution: Criticism of the Palestinian left

For decades, the Palestinian left has been a central force in the liberation struggle against Zionist expulsion, colonisation and the imperialist order. It reached its peak in the 1960s and 1970s. It also played a significant, sometimes leading role in the first intifada from 1987 to 1993. Since then, however, its influence among the Palestinian masses has declined. The crisis of practically all organised movements has been undeniable for decades. The factors behind this decline are manifold. In this workshop we therefore want to look at the history, the programmatic failure of the Palestinian left and its causes.

B9 The Modi government and the class struggle in India

Parliamentary elections were held in India in 2024. The Hindu-chauvinist BJP of incumbent Prime Minister Narendra Modi suffered a heavy defeat and lost its absolute majority. However, Modi continues to govern in a coalition with smaller reactionary parties - and he continues to pursue his course of strengthening India in the global competition. While its regime harbours great power ambitions, Indian capitalism faces massive challenges despite gigantic growth. Unlike China, it has not succeeded in becoming an imperialist power, and whether it ever will remains highly questionable given the international situation and the enormous internal contradictions of Indian capitalism. How are Hindu chauvinism, racism and authoritarianism related to this? What are the strategies and policies of the bourgeois opposition, the trade unions and the „communist“ parties? What could a revolutionary policy look like?

C9 United Front and Reformism 3 - The KPÖ: Left Reformism reloaded?

The Austrian Communist Party is at a record high. With 3 % in Austria as a whole, it is the sixth strongest force in the European elections. It has undergone an enormous transformation in recent years. In Graz and Salzburg, it achieved massive electoral successes as KPÖ+, while in Vienna it ran together with the Vienna Left Electoral Alliance (LINKS). For some years now, it has focused on the issue of rents and organising methods. But what is the character of the party? Where are the limits of electoral success based on a left-wing social democratic programme? What attitude should revolutionaries take towards the „new“ KPÖ?

D9 The Meloni government and the crisis of the Italian labour movement

The Meloni government brought dramatic cuts for the working class in Italy, especially for its poorest strata, migrants, young people, women and LGBTIA+ people. However, there was no major resistance, limited to individual actions by the more radical trade unions and CGIL action days. The working class is paying an extremely high price for the rise of the right and the extreme crisis of its leadership. How can this crisis be overcome? Comrades of the PCL (Partito Comunista dei Lavoratori) report.

19.30 – 21.00 Uhr

A10 Palestine 4 - One-state solution and right of return for all: How can they become reality?

Free Palestine! But how? In this fourth part of our workshop series, we would like to provide an outline of an action programme for the liberation of Palestine. How can we fight for revolutionary leadership? Which demands are central to the movement? Why is the two-state solution a reactionary utopia? How and under what conditions can there be a joint movement of Palestinian resistance with the Jewish labour movement? How can the right of return be realised for all displaced persons and refugees? What can a binational state look like and why is a socialist revolution necessary to ensure peace and justice? How is this struggle linked to the revolution in the Middle East as a whole? We would like to discuss these and many other questions in this workshop.

B10 Origins of the caste system in India

The caste system still characterises Indian society today. For decades, it has been closely linked to capitalist exploitation and the oppression of women and minorities. But what are its roots? Is it a „remnant“ of a pre-capitalist past or has it become an integral part of Indian capitalism, its system of exploitation and domination? To answer these questions, we want to look at the character, emergence and role of the caste system in Indian capitalism.

C10 United Front and Reformism 4 - What is a Workers Government?

The Communist International systematised the meaning of the workers' government at its fourth world congress. Today, the slogan has virtually disappeared from most communist and Trotskyist organisations, and in a few others it has been robbed of its revolutionary and tactical content as a transitional slogan. In the workshop we will present the debates and conclusions of the III. and IV. International in their revolutionary periods and discuss why and how we can make this slogan fruitful for today.

D10 Civil war in Sudan

In Sudan, a democratic revolution shook the country. But half a revolution was followed by a whole period of civil war, waged by various sectors of the old elites and with strong interference from various imperialist powers. How can this situation be overcome? What path must revolutionaries take to make the revolution permanent, to bring a government of workers and peasants to power?

Saturday, 10.08.

8. ⁰⁰ -9. ¹⁵	Breakfast			
9. ¹⁵ -9. ³⁰	camp plenary/general info			
9. ³⁰ -11. ⁰⁰	A11/A ● ■ The Chinese Revolution 1925 - 27 Seminarraum 4	B11/ A/F The situation in Argentina and the policy of the FIT-U 1 & 2 Seminarraum 3	C11/A The class character of populism Seminarraum 2	E11/A Transport system and capitalism Seminarraum 1
11. ³⁰ -13. ⁰⁰	A12/A ● ■ Maoism and the emergence of the People's Republic Seminarraum 4	Seminarraum 3	C12/A Fascism - and how it can be combated Seminarraum 2	E12/A Energy industry and sustainability Seminarraum 1
12. ³⁰ -14. ³⁰	Lunch			
14. ³⁰ -16. ⁰⁰	A13/A ● ■ China: The restoration of capitalism Seminarraum 4	B13/A ● ■ Are you a communist? A critique of the IMT/RKI 1 & 2 Seminarraum 3	C13/A Anti-Muslim racism and its function Seminarraum 2	E13/A Extractivism and basic rents Seminarraum 1
	A14/A ● ■ China: Outline of an action programme for China Seminarraum 4	Seminarraum 3	C13/A Authoritarianism and Bonapartism Seminarraum 2	C13/A Planned economy, sustainability, socialism Seminarraum 1
18. ³⁰ -19. ³⁰	Dinner			
ab 20 ⁰⁰ Uhr	Closing plenary			
ab 21 ⁰⁰ Uhr	Fun & Excitement: PARTY!!!11			

09.30 – 11.00 Uhr

A11 China 1 - Lessons of the Chinese Revolution 1925 - 27

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was initially confined to Russian developments, but as the class struggle unfolded in China in the mid-1920s, he realised that many of its features corresponded to those in Russia and therefore required similar tactics. His proposals were systematically rejected by the Stalinist Comintern, leading to the catastrophic defeat of 1927. This was the background to his re-elaboration of the theory in the 1929 book „The Permanent Revolution“.

B11 The situation in Argentina and the policy of the FIT-U, 1 and 2

On 10 December 2024, Milei was sworn in as President of Argentina to solve the economic crisis. His means to this end are neoliberal measures that are unrivalled worldwide. Inflation has already risen massively in the three months he has been in office - by around 100 % to 250 % per year to be precise. Subsidies for public transport, gas, electricity and water have also been cut. Around 10 million people live off local food banks and the poverty rate has risen from 40% to 57%! A decisive battle is imminent. So far, there have been two nationwide days of strikes and action. But that won't be enough. What role did the Peronist-dominated trade unions play? What perspective does the radical left represent? What role can the electoral front FIT-U, the United Front of the Left and Workers, which consists of four Trotskyist organisations, play? How can it develop from an electoral front into an organised, revolutionary party? What programme is necessary for this?

C11 Shift to the right 1 - The class character of populism

The shift to the right is omnipresent - and not just in Europe. But how can we summarise its various manifestations? The term populism has experienced a rare boom in recent years - whether as a definition of one's own politics or as a label for one's political opponents. However, this use of the term does not explain anything. We therefore want to look at the Marxist analysis of populism in order to understand the special nature of populist movements such as parties like the RN in France or the AfD, Milei, Trump, Bolsonaro or Modi.

D11 Transformation, ecology and economy 1 - Transport system and capitalism

Phasing out the fuel engine in favour of e-mobility is the quintessence of the ecological transformation of German capital, the German government and the EU. The expansion of rail and local public transport plays second fiddle at best when it comes to the infrastructure for e-cars and road construction. This madness is not only systematic, it is also backed by powerful interests, centralised corporations of German big business and car capital. But what can a rational transport system look like - and above all: how can it be fought for? How can the workers from these industries - whether at VW, BMW, Daimler or Tesla, to name but a few - be won over to a common struggle?

15.00 – 16.30 Uhr

A12 China 2 - From the popular front to the degenerated workers state

In 1949, under Mao's leadership, the CCP took power from the collapsing Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) and established a People's Front government made up of representatives of the „patriotic bourgeoisie“, i.e. Kuomintang leaders who had split from Chiang, and the petty bourgeoisie. Mao foresaw a „long period“ of capitalist development, but in 1952 national and international developments forced a fundamental shift in strategy towards expropriation and the introduction of bureaucratic planning. Does this mean that Mao unintentionally implemented the strategy of permanent revolution?

B12 The situation in Argentina and the policy of the FIT-U, 1 and 2

C12 Shift to the right 2 - Fascism - and how it can be defeated

Parallel to the shift to the right in official politics and right-wing populism, openly fascist parties and movements are also growing. But what distinguishes them from other, extremely reactionary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces? In the workshop, we will discuss Trotsky's analysis of fascism, what distinguishes fascism from other reactionary petty-bourgeois forces and movements and under what conditions it can come to power. Above all, however, we will discuss how it can be fought and how the struggle for a workers' united front against fascism is linked to the struggle against capitalism.

D12 Transformation, ecology and economy 2 - Energy transition and sustainability

The bourgeois governments have long since de facto abandoned the transition to renewable energies. The energy transition has long since become a political mirage - with all its ecological consequences. In capitalism, sustainability must first prove itself in the profit rate, not in the relationship between man and nature. The issue of the energy transition is not only a central point in stopping the ecological catastrophe and global warming, it also represents a central challenge for a socialist society that produces sustainably in the interests of people and nature.

17.00 – 18.30 Uhr

D12 China 3 - Market reforms and the restoration of capitalism

By 1978, bureaucratic planning had reached its limits. Under Deng Xiaoping, the CCP introduced a series of „market reforms“ and „turned outwards“ to stimulate growth. As in the Soviet Union, these led to divisions within the bureaucratic apparatus and stimulated a „democracy movement“. Unlike in the Soviet Union, the regime succeeded in suppressing this movement after the Tiananmen massacre of 1989. Unlike in the Soviet Union, the party then decided to restore capitalism, but under its continued rule. What does this mean for the Marxist theory of the state?

D12 Are you a communist? A critique of the IMT/RCI, 1 and 2

A few months ago, the PCL (Partito Comunista dei Lavoratori), the Italian section of the International Trotskyist Opposition, published a comprehensive critique of the International Marxist Tendency, formerly known in German-speaking countries as Der Funke. In May, the various sections of the IMT declared the founding of communist parties and in June they proclaimed the founding of a new Revolutionary International (RCI). Has the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the working class now been resolved? What is the method behind this sectarian formation, which sees itself as the only subjective-revolutionary force? We will discuss these and other questions in this workshop.

D12 Shift to the right 3 - Anti-Muslim racism and its function

In recent decades, anti-Muslim racism has become a predominant form of racism in Europe and the USA - be it to fuel division, agitation and repression against those who are „different“ and dangerous foreigners at home, or to justify imperialist interventions in the name of democracy and human rights. Muslims in Europe experience double oppression - as racially marginalised and often as over-exploited members of the working classes. And they face a labour movement whose reformist and trade union organisations too often reproduce chauvinism and racism. How can we overcome this? What programme do revolutionaries represent?

D12 Transformation, ecology and economy 3 - Extractivism and land rent

The exploitation of the so-called Global South is a central element of the system of imperialism today. Extractivism is more than just the extraction of raw materials and the transfer of wealth to imperialist corporations and states. This relationship also forms a system of material cycles of environmental imperialism and essentially determines the accumulation and capital formation - ultimately also large parts of the social structure - of the exploited countries. In the workshop, we want to look at the role and relationship of extractivism, economic rent and extra profits in the overall system of imperialism and their significance for the ecological question.

11.30 – 13.00 Uhr

A13 China 4 - The contradictions of Xi Jinping's rule and the tasks of the working class

Xi's rise to power began after the 2008/09 crisis and his success in overcoming it fuelled big business support and international expansion. The regime still relies on a huge bureaucratic apparatus that maintains absolute political control over development, but its success has created a new capitalist class whose different sectors have different priorities. What are the dynamics driving China's development now? What are the broad outlines of a revolutionary action programme for China?

B13 Shift to the right 4 - Authoritarianism and Bonapartism

The attack on democratic rights and achievements, surveillance and control of public life is taking place worldwide today - even in countries dominated by bourgeois democracy. The trend towards authoritarianism is unmistakable. But how does this relate to bourgeois democracy? What actually is authoritarianism? What are Bonapartism, dictatorship and fascism? And what distinguishes these forms of rule from an „authoritarian democracy“? Precisely because these terms are used in an inflationary manner today, we consider their derivation to be essential for understanding these dangers. Only in this way can they ultimately be successfully combated.

C12 Are you a communist? A critique of the IMT/RCI, 1 and 2

D13 Transformation, ecology and economy 4 - Planned economy, sustainability, socialism

Capitalism will become neither green nor sustainable. That much is certain. But what could a different system look like? Is a (global) planned economy possible? Does it have to dismantle the productive forces (as parts of the environmental movement and supporters of degrowth theories claim)? Or is it not rather a rational decision that is needed as to which technologies, production and production facilities should be expanded or dismantled and where? How can ecological sustainability be integrated into a system in which all people can satisfy their basic needs and in which there is enough time and resources for the all-round development of each individual?

11.30 – 13.00 Uhr

E3 Closing plenary session: Changing the world, but how? Party and programme today

Sunday, 11.08.

8.⁰⁰-9.¹⁵ Breakfast

9.¹⁵-9.³⁰ camp plenary/general info

9. ³⁰ -11. ⁰⁰	A17/A Marxism and Criticism of psychiatry	B17/A What is Anarchism?	C17/F ● The Portuguese revolution in 1974	D17/A Critique of postcolonialism
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Seminarraum 4

Seminarraum 1

Seminarraum 2

11.³⁰-
13.⁰⁰

A18/F ■
Marxism and quantum theory

B18/A
Anti-Semitism today

C18/A ●
The British miners' strike

Seminarraum 4

Seminarraum 1

Seminarraum 2

Seminarraum 3

ab 13.⁰⁰ departure

09.30 – 11.00 Uhr

A14 Marxism and criticism of psychiatry

The history of psychiatry is also one of the most barbaric aspects of the healthcare system under capitalism. Incapacitation, immobilisation, deprivation of personal rights and even abuse and torture have permeated this institution over the centuries to this day. This goes hand in hand with the stigmatisation of patients in the public eye. It is therefore no wonder that criticism of psychiatry has developed along with it - partly in the form of demands for fundamental reforms, partly in the form of demands for the complete abolition and rejection of all forms of psychiatric treatment. What are Marxists' views on these movements? What can a Marxist critique of the institution look like and how does it differ from purely reformist approaches such as the rejection of all forms of psychiatric treatment? What demands do we make in the here and now and what should future medical care look like?

C14 The Portuguese revolution in 1974

1974, the year of the Carnation Revolution, was the most recent attempt at revolution in Western Europe to date. In April 1974, rebellious sections of the army led by the MFA overthrew the Caetano dictatorship and established a junta that promised „controlled“ democratisation. Caetano's overthrow inspired mass mobilisations of the working class and the emergence of dual-power organs in the following 18 months. This intensified the class struggle, including a failed right-wing coup in March 1975, and the influence of the reformist parties (CP and SP) increased. However, social democracy in particular ultimately proved to be a lifeline for „democracy“ and counter-revolutionary pacification. What role did the rapidly growing Trotskyist groups play? And what politics, what strategy, what tactics would have been necessary to help the revolution to victory?

D14 Critique of postcolonialism 1 and 2

For some years now, postcolonialist ideologies have not only been a massive factor in the academic landscape, but also increasingly a material force in the left and the movement against the excesses of the imperialist world system. We must not ignore its regressive character just because it is a significant force in many postcolonial struggles, but must feel particularly challenged to develop a clear understanding of it. Although there is no one postcolonialism, we want to discuss some commonalities and well-known representatives in this workshop - whether their predecessors, such as Frantz Fanon, or current representatives, such as Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri C. Spivak.

11.30 – 13.00 Uhr

A15 God does (not) play dice? - Marxism and quantum theory

For more than a hundred years, the theory of quantum mechanics has raised almost as many (philosophical) questions as it has answered (scientifically). The greatest thinkers in physics (Schrödinger, Einstein, Heisenberg, Bohr, ...) have grappled with the resulting questions. Is there even an objective reality before it is measured? What role do chance and

determinism play in nature? What is the nature of matter - is it all just excitations in a quantum field? For many people, this opens the door to irrationalism (quantum healing etc.) and idealism (consciousness is primary). Nevertheless, we think that we can approach these questions with a Marxist approach in order to better understand the world.

B14 Anti-Semitism today

In times of „threatened identity“, as in the current „crisis of globalisation“, capitalism gives birth to reactionary pseudo-solutions with tremendously aggressive potential - above all the archetype of all racist ideologies, anti-Semitism. Once again, the discomfort with „capitalist modernisation“ is blamed on „rootless cosmopolitanism“ - a fighting term used by the right and also by parts of the so-called left to address deep, even anti-Semitic resentments. At the same time, the reactionary equation of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism is disorientating, delegitimises the fight against imperialism and Zionism and at the same time trivialises the real, growing anti-Semitism.

C14 The British miners' strike 1984 - 1985

The defeat of the heroic British miners' strike was the key to the success of Thatcher and neoliberalism on a global scale. Its failure marked a strategic defeat for the British working class. In addition to Thatcher's brutal determination and the treachery of the Labour and trade union leaderships, the weaknesses in Scargill's strategy also contributed to the defeat, which proved incapable of overcoming the divisions within the trade union forces. It revealed the political limits of militant reformism and syndicalism in the face of a historic political confrontation between the classes. The defeat revealed that a political struggle against the government requires a conscious political response and leadership. What should this have looked like? What lessons can we learn from the struggle today?

D14 Critique of postcolonialism 1 and 2