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Revolutionary Communism

No. 24, July 2014

Palestine: Forward to the Third Intifada!	p.3
Down with Israel's New War!	p.5
Palestine: Masses Rise Up	p.7
Austria: Rally in Solidarity with Gaza on 13 July	p.9
Austria: Rally in Solidarity with Gaza on 9 July	p.10
Israel: Hands Off Hamas!	S.11
Israel/Occupied Palestine: Release All 400 Hunger Strikers!	p.13
Summary of the Program of the Internationalist Socialist League	p.15
Iraq: Defend the Sunni Rebellion against Maliki and US Imperialism!	p.22
Brazil: The World Cup and the Mass Protests	p.25
Austria: Public Meeting on Crisis and War in Europe	p.27
Austria: Successful demonstration against Planned Fascist March	p.27
On the 100th Anniversary of 1914: The Struggle against Imperialism and War	p.28
New Book from the RCIT: The Great Robbery of the South	p.37
New Book from the RCIT: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?	p.37
RCIT: What do we stand for	p. 38

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Palestine: Forward to the Third Intifada!

Organize the Uprising in Workers, Peasant, and Youth Popular Committees! Revitalize the Arab Revolution! Smash the Imperialist Apartheid State Israel!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)
and the Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), 7.7.2014*

1. A specter is haunting Israel and the Middle East – the specter of the Third Palestinian Intifada. For several days, the Palestinian masses have poured out to the streets in protest against the brutal murder of Mohammed Khdeir, a 17-year-old Palestinian teenager, who was burned alive. During the past weeks, at least 600 Palestinians have been arrested in the West Bank. At the same time Israeli society is boiling over with racist hatred and calls for the lynching of Arabs in revenge for the abduction and murder of three young Jewish settlers. In addition, the Israeli army has concentrated forces at the border with Gaza and threatens to commence yet another massive military strike against the Palestinian population. In short, the Israeli state is mobilizing all its forces to prepare for the annihilation of Palestinian resistance.

2. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and the *Internationalist Socialist League* (RCIT-Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine) are in full solidarity with the Palestinian uprising which may prove to be the beginning of the Third Intifada. Since 1967, Palestinians in the West Bank experience terror daily at the hands of Israeli occupation forces. Hundreds have been killed in the last few years, thousands are held in prisons, and millions live in hunger, humiliation, and poverty. In Gaza, nearly two million Palestinians are cut off from the world and, since 2007, are living in an open-air prison. How can anyone expect such an oppressed people to vegetate in passivity and agony?! The occupied, oppressed Palestinian people of the West Bank have every right to rise up, and we are in full solidarity with their struggle! At the same time, we support the military struggle of the Palestinian people residing in Gaza against the all-powerful Israeli army. The international workers' movement *must* mobilize for the support of the Palestinian struggle. For this reason, it is encouraging that the largest single trade union in Britain, UNITE, recently decided at its congress to support the international boycott campaign against the apartheid State of Israel.

3. Since its founding in 1948, Western imperialism has typically and continuously supported Israel, the No. 1 recipient of US foreign aid. In recent years, Germany has provided Israel with several Dolphin-class submarines, capable of launching cruise missiles bearing nuclear warheads. Imperialist Russia, too, has improved its relations with Israel in recent years. It is urgent that the international workers' movement and solidarity campaigns fight for the immediate end of financial aid and military support for the Zionist state.

4. While the main enemy is the Israel, the Palestinian masses also face major obstacles within their own camp. The Palestinian Authority, led by President Mahmoud Abbas and the bourgeois-nationalist Fatah party, collaborates with Israel and the imperialist powers. Hamas, a bourgeois

Islamist party, has to pretend that it is actively resisting Israel, since it is more subject to the pressure of the Palestinian masses. However, Hamas too is looking to reach an agreement with the Israeli government. Both Fatah and Hamas fear a Third Intifada, since implicit to such a broad popular revolt is the danger that the masses will break free from the control of these organizations and begin to mobilize independently. It is precisely because of Fatah's and Hamas' fear of such an explosion that the Palestinian masses need to organize themselves in popular committees, independent of their bourgeois leaderships. These committees should meet regularly and plan resistance activities. They should establish self-defense groups – which ideally will include progressive Jews who are prepared to defend the Palestinians – to resist the terror of the Israeli army. Most importantly, the formation of a revolutionary workers' party is long overdue so that the Palestinians have a real, vital political alternative to the existing rotten bourgeois leaderships.

5. Alone, the Palestinian masses themselves are not strong enough to defeat the powerful Israeli state. In these days and the near future, the central task is to build a region-wide, anti-imperialist popular resistance of Arab workers, poor peasants, and youth, one which will be independent of the rotten bourgeois regimes which, while often paying lip service to solidarity with the Palestinians, in fact merely act as servants of the imperialist powers and thereby only help consolidate the political order which ensures the continued existence of the Israeli apartheid state. In fact, a Third Intifada could act as a trigger for the revival of the Arab Revolution. This is particularly true for Egypt, where the reactionary military dictatorship of General al-Sisi is brutally repressing popular resistance. Equally, it could revitalize the Syrian revolution which is currently being weakened by the combined pressure of the armed forces of the Assad dictatorship as well as the ISIS reactionary Islamists. Such a region-wide struggle of the Arab workers and youth could mobilize the forces to smash Israel and found a Palestinian state from the river to the sea as part of a socialist federation of the Middle East. It could also convince a section of the Israeli working class to break with the racist apartheid state and join the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab workers and youth for equality and liberation.

6. The RCIT and the ISL have always supported the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. That is why, in the struggle between the Palestinians and the Israeli state, we are always on the side of the former – regardless of our absolute rejection of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces at the forefront of these struggles. All Palestinian political prisoners held by Israel must be set free immediately. All Palestinians must have the right to return to their homeland. Likewise, the land grab must

be reversed and the Palestinians must see to it that their land is returned to them.

7. A Jewish state in Palestine can only survive as long as the ongoing forced exile of the Palestinians continues to exist. A "two-state solution" would deny the Palestinians the right of return. Likewise, a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza would be reduced to a Bantustan, a dependent de-facto colony of the much richer and more powerful Israel. We therefore reject the so-called "two-state solution" which is promoted by the Fatah leadership as well as by numerous Stalinist, social democratic, and centrist forces both in Israel as well as around the world. Instead we struggle to achieve a single state in the whole of Palestine in which the Palestinians would naturally constitute the majority. In this reality, the State of Israel will be replaced by a *Democratic, Palestinian, Multinational and Socialist Workers and Fallahin Republic from the River to the Sea*.

8. The international workers' movement and all progressive organizations must rally to support the uprising of the Palestinian people. We call for solidarity actions around the world. Specifically, the RCIT and the ISL call for:

- * *Victory to the Palestinian resistance! Support the Popular Uprising! Defend Gaza! Defeat the Israeli aggression!*
- * *For popular committees and self-defense guards composed of Palestinian workers, poor peasants, and youth in places of work, towns, and villages to plan and launch a grass-roots Intifada.*
- * *For international solidarity actions including demonstrations and boycott actions against Israel!*
- * *Lift the Israeli blockade against the Gaza! Egyptian workers and peasants: Break the reactionary blockade of the al-Sisi regime against Gaza!*

* *Israeli workers and youth: Turn against the racist demagogues! Defend the Palestinians against the reactionary settlers, the fascist gangs, and the army!*

* *Unite the Arab Revolution with a renewed Intifada in Palestine! Support the Syrian Revolution against the reactionary Assad dictatorship! Bring down the reactionary military dictatorship of General al-Sisi in Egypt! Support the Sunni Uprising in Iraq!*

* *Onward to the building of a revolutionary workers' party as part of a Fifth International based on a revolutionary program!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

For more RCIT historical analyses of Israel as a Zionist apartheid state and the revolutionary program for the Palestinian liberation struggle in numerous documents and articles, see among others:

Yossi Schwartz: Israel's War of 1948 and the Degeneration of the Fourth International, in: Revolutionary Communism, Special Issue on Palestine, No. 10, June 2013, www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1948-1

Yossi Schwartz: Israel's Six-Day War of 1967. On the Character of the War, the Marxist Analysis and the Position of the Israeli Left, in: Revolutionary Communism, No. 12, July/August 2013, www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1967

Michael Pröbsting: On some Questions of the Zionist Oppression and the Permanent Revolution in Palestine, in: Revolutionary Communism, Special Issue on Palestine, No. 10, June 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/world-wide/africa-and-middle-east/permanent-revolution-in-palestine> ■



Down with Israel's New War!

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 9.7.2014

This article is being written on July 9, 2014, while Israel is bombing Gaza and rockets are falling in the region of Tel Aviv. We are being told that the Israeli government is considering a ground assault on Gaza which may be true or not. So far, at least twenty-seven Palestinians, many of them civilians including children, have been killed and more than 152 wounded. No Israeli has been killed. Ironically, Israel's propaganda campaign claim is that Hamas, unlike "humanistic" Israel, is firing rockets because it wants to kill civilians. Anyone who thinks differently is branded an anti-Semite.

The Ugliness

How ugly the political climate is in Israel, the climate which led to the attack on Gaza, can be judged by statements of members of the Knesset. Ayelet Shaked, for example – a Knesset member from the national-religious *Jewish Home party* – wrote in her Facebook page on July 1, the day before the brutal murder of 17-year-old Palestinian Mohammed Abu Khair, that the "Palestinians children are snakes."

"This is a war," wrote Shaked. "It is not a war against terror, and not a war against extremists, and not even a war against the Palestinian Authority. These too are forms of avoiding reality. This is a war between two people." (1)

Such a statement is neither isolated nor is it one that fell from the sky. Rather, it concisely expresses the historical logic of Zionism and the Israeli apartheid state. The same logic of stealing Palestine from its indigenous population is one that can conceivably lead to the genocide of the native Palestinians by the settler colonialists if the latter will only be able to accomplish this.

The Killing of Khudair

The day after Shaked wrote her hateful Facebook entry, Mohammed Abu Khudair was kidnapped in Jerusalem and later buried alive and burned. Six Israeli suspects were arrested on Sunday in connection to the murder.

"Abu Khdeir's death triggered several days of violent protests in Arab areas of Jerusalem and northern Israel as Palestinians accused Israeli extremists of killing the boy to avenge the earlier deaths of the Israeli teens. Israel's Shin Bet agency, which handles top security cases, imposed a gag order, blocking key details, including the identities and backgrounds of the youths, as well as most of the evidence from being made public. (...) Despite the gag order, some additional details have begun to emerge. Israel's Channel 10 TV said the suspects were the son and five grandsons of a prominent rabbi in Jerusalem, without further identifying him. It said two suspects used the rabbi's car for the kidnapping without his knowledge". (2)

Israel Targets Hamas

The collapse of the US-led framework negotiations, led to the recent Fatah-Hamas agreement to form a unity gov-

ernment. Israel was and is determined to destroy this agreement. It used the kidnapping and the discovery of the bodies of the three Yeshiva settler students for this purpose. The Israeli government was aware that the three young settlers were dead, but used the searches to try to dismantle Hamas' operations in the West Bank. In the course of the searches it arrested 400 Hamas activists and raided hundreds of businesses and institutions linked to the organization. Four young Palestinians were killed by the Israeli army.

Following the discovery of the bodies of the young settlers on Monday of last week, Israel carried out air strikes on thirty-four targets in the Gaza Strip controlled by Hamas.

By July 8, "Israel struck 150 targets in the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip and authorized the call-up of 40,000 reservists as we are told that it weighed a possible ground operation. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said in televised comments that he ordered a 'significant' expansion of Israel's offensive in Gaza that 'may take time.'" (3)

Last night Israel struck an additional 160 targets, including governmental buildings in the Gaza Strip.

"Israel's intense bombardment of the Gaza Strip has killed at least 27 people and wounded 130 others, Palestinian officials have said. (...) At least five children were among 12 others killed in Gaza on Tuesday, Palestinian officials said." (4)

A ground incursion into Gaza will result in the deaths of many Palestinians civilians and will cost the Israeli army some serious losses. For this reason the Israeli government hesitated while Israeli public opinion was shouting "revenge, revenge!" demanding that Israeli's army enter Gaza and kill as many Palestinians as possible.

"Yaakov Amidror, a former major general and national security adviser, said that Israel responded in force after Hamas had done so overnight. 'If we don't find a solution through this exchange of fire, and Hamas won't understand what we can do, we'll have no other choice than to do the big operation that we don't want to do today,' he said. Israeli public opinion is more supportive of a major military action than the prime minister or the government, 'which is more sober,' he said. 'Israeli public opinion is not only behind the government, but is pushing the government.'" (5)

Large groups of fascistic Jewish youth have been crying out against the Israeli government at rallies held in Zion Square in Jerusalem every night, clashing with smaller peace rallies and calling on the IDF to wipe out the Palestinians. At a July 7 rally, they also called for the blood of all Arab members of Knesset, and said of liberal female politicians: "Haneen Zoabi is a whore! Tipzi Livni is gay!" (6)

Hamas' Reaction

Prior to Israel's recent raids on the West Bank, Hamas claimed that it was not responsible for the deaths of the students. At the same time, Hamas spokesman Abu Zuhri announced that his organization is ready and willing to strike against Israel. These were not empty threats. In reaction to the latest bombing of Gaza, Hamas fired long-

ranged M302 rockets on the south of Israel, Tel Aviv, Haifa in the north of the country, and even on Jerusalem. Clearly the rockets in Hamas' arsenal are better than what Israel expected, and have a range of over 120 km, and their coordinated firing sent more than 500,000 Israelis scrambling to bomb shelters in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. So far no Israeli has been killed, as Hamas' weapons are inaccurate and are intended to send a message to Israel: "Quiet for quiet."

Regardless of the intentions of the both the Israeli government and Hamas, the cycle of massive bombing of Gaza by Israel and Hamas' retaliatory rocket fire can indeed lead to an Israeli invasion of Gaza.

The Imperialists and Their Servants

Initially, American and European imperialists stood openly with Israel. "Rocket fire drew a strong reaction from Washington and Brussels. 'We strongly condemn the continuing rocket fire into Israel, but we also support Israel's right to defend itself against these attacks,' US State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki said. (7) Today Brussels and the U.S. condemned both sides.

On Sunday of this week, the Arab League condemned Israel. However, in reality states like Jordan which condemned the Israeli attacks on the Gaza Strip, as well as the killing of Egyptian policemen by Israeli troops in the Sinai border area, has prevented hundreds of Jordanians from gathering at the Israeli embassy in Amman to protest the attacks.

In this military conflict, the *Internationalist Socialist League* (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine) stands with the Palestinians against the cruel and powerful apartheid regime that uses sophisticated military technology against the oppressed Palestinians. A serious defeat for Israel may lead to a third intifada of the oppressed and to the renewal of the Arab revolutionary uprising against the military regime in Egypt and the other reactionary regimes in the region.

Even the *Jewish Journal* is of the opinion that a third Intifada is possible in spite of the Palestinians existing leadership:

"Shifra Sagy, chair of the Martin-Springer Center for Conflict Studies and Negotiation at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, said she has heard more warnings of restraint from Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, as well as Arab leaders within Israel, than she did in the days leading up to the last two intifadas. However, she said — speaking over the phone between air-raid sirens, just outside Be'er Sheba — 'There are islands of anger and rage,' and with the smallest spark, 'it could suddenly go out of control.'" (8)

* Down with Israel's murdering wars!

* For a general strike of the Palestinians in the lands occupied by Israel in 1948 and in the West Bank!

* For the self defense of the Palestinians!

Footnotes

(1) Ali Abunimah: Israeli Lawmaker's Call for Genocide of Palestinians Gets Thousands of Facebook Likes, Electronic Intifada, 7 July 2014, <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/israeli-lawmakers-call-genocide-palestinians-gets-thousands-facebook-likes>; see also <https://www.facebook.com/ayelet.benshaul.shaked/posts/596568183794945>

(2) Josef Federman: Gaza militants unleash heavy rocket fire on Israel Yahoo, Associated Press, 8.7.2014, <http://news.yahoo.com/gaza-militants-unleash-heavy-rocket-fire-israel-203044041.html>

(3) Calev Ben-David and Saud Abu Ramadan: Israel Strikes Gaza by Air and Sea to Halt Rocket Attacks, July 08, 2014, <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2014-07-08/israel-strikes-gaza-by-air-and-sea-in-operation-to-halt-rockets>

(4) Al Jazeera: Israel steps up deadly Gaza Strip offensive, 9 July 2014 <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/07/israel-steps-up-deadly-gaza-offensive-201478135059977350.html>

(5) Steven Erlanger and Isabel Kershner: Israel and Hamas Trade Attacks as Tension Rises, New York Times, 8 July 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/09/world/middleeast/israel-steps-up-offensive-against-hamas-in-gaza.html?_r=0

(6) Simone Wilson: On the threshold of a Third Intifada, Jewish Journal 9.7.2014 http://www.jewishjournal.com/israel/article/is_this_the_third_intifada

(7) Channel News Asia: Israel, Hamas slide towards major Gaza conflict, 8 July 2014, <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/world/israel-hamas-slide/1245078.html>

(8) Simone Wilson: On the threshold of a Third Intifada, Jewish Journal 9.7.2014 http://www.jewishjournal.com/israel/article/is_this_the_third_intifada ■



Contingent of the RCIT's Austrian Section at the Demonstration in Solidarity with Gaza on 23.11.2012

Palestine: Masses Rise Up after the Killing by Burning Alive of Palestinian Youth

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 6.7.2014

The kidnapping and killing by burning alive of Mohammed Khdeir, a 17-year-old Palestinian teenager, last Wednesday led to some of the sharpest clashes since the year 2000. Palestinians in Jerusalem and in cities in the north of Israel – which is all Palestinian lands occupied since 1948 – have fought on the streets for several days now against the forces of oppression. These clashes are raising fear in the hearts both of the Israeli government and of the Palestinian Authority of a new intifada against Israel and the PA.

Israeli authorities have imposed a strict gag order on reporting details regarding the investigation into Muhammad's murder, which was an apparent reprisal for the killings of three Israeli teenager settlers who were abducted in the occupied West Bank on 12 June and whose bodies were found last Monday.

Israel used the kidnapping to try and destroy Hamas. Even *Human Rights Watch* has accused Israel of "serious violations" in a large-scale assault on Palestinians since the Israeli teens' abduction which the group said amounts to "collective punishment." In a 3 July statement, Human Rights Watch condemns Israel's collective punishment of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, including punitive home demolitions, mass arrests and deadly shootings:

"Israel's military operations in the West Bank following the abduction and killing of three Israeli teenagers have amounted to collective punishment. The military operations included unlawful use of force, arbitrary arrests, and illegal home demolitions. During raids on Palestinian towns, refugee camps and villages, Israeli forces have shot and killed at least five Palestinians and arrested and detained at least 150 more without charge."

The release adds: "Human Rights Watch investigated two of the deadly shooting cases and found that while some youths were throwing stones, there was no evidence that the victim or anyone in the line of fire posed an imminent threat to the lives of Israeli soldiers or others." (1)

Human Rights Watch also notes the atmosphere of intense incitement, cries of "Death to the Arabs" at Israeli rallies, and attacks on Palestinians by settlers.

Local media report that more than 170 Palestinians have been injured by Israeli occupation forces, which have used tear gas and rubber-coated steel bullets. (2)

The Responsibility of the Apartheid State

Any way you look at it, it is the Israeli apartheid state that is responsible for the bloody murders. The kidnapping of Mohammed Khdeir took place in Shoafat refugees camp and it is impossible that those who kidnapped and burned him were not assisted in one way or another by the Israeli police or the secret service. They would not dare to enter the refugee camp if they were not sure that the so called security forces at least protect them.

The rhetoric of the government spokespersons and others has been stirring up the atmosphere of revenge from the

first day the Israeli teenagers settlers went missing. Netanyahu said in a statement that they "were kidnapped and murdered in cold blood by human animals." Then there are the demands of Noam Perel, the Secretary General of Zionist youth movement *World Bnei Akiva*, who reportedly called for biblical retribution (that exacted by King David on the Philistines) on his Facebook page on Monday, adding that "a whole nation and thousands of years of history demands vengeance." (3)

Before the teenager's death, groups of Israeli extremists marched through Jerusalem calling for revenge attacks against Arabs with five Palestinians attacked. No one stopped them. A demonstration calling for murder has nothing to do with the right of freedom of speech, but with criminal racist activity.

Now the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has announced that he ordered an investigation into the "abominable" revenge murder of the Palestinian teenager in East Jerusalem. But this is no more than a hypocritical statement. Here is no serious attempt to find out the murderers. Israeli Security Minister Yitzhak Aharonovitch said it was too early to speculate on the motives of Mohammed's killers. His so called investigation is no more than white-wash.

The Palestinians have no doubt that the murder of Mohammed Khdeir was an act of revenge, and East Jerusalem yesterday became a war-zone. Barricades built with skips, snipers with rubber bullets, sound bombs, tear gas, the stink of burning plastic, and a front-line extending out from Mohammed's house.

Furthermore, *Electronic Intifada* has obtained video images showing the faces of the suspected kidnapers and murderers of Muhammad Abu Khdeir. The footage comes from a security camera on the building owned by Hussein Abu Khdeir, Muhammad's father. Muhammad was kidnapped from right outside the building. These two have not been detained. (4)

To add another crime the Israeli state is bringing the young cousin of Khdeir, a Palestinian-American teen who activists say was subjected to a brutal beating by Israeli police, to the court on Sunday.

Tariq Abu Khdeir, 15 years old, was detained on Thursday in Shuafat in East Jerusalem, during the second day of violent clashes that followed the killing of the Palestinian teenager.

A video released by Palestine TV showed three masked officers beating a handcuffed teenager and then dragging him away.

The boy could not be identified from the tape, but photos released on Friday by Addameer, a local rights group, showed the badly beaten Abu Khdeir, with severe injuries to his face.

Abu Khdeir's father told Al Jazeera that the boy in the videotape was his son, and no other Palestinians have come forward to report similar injuries.

The US State Department said it was “*profoundly disturbed*” by the video and demanded a full investigation. Abu Khdeir lives with his family in Florida, and was in Jerusalem on holiday.

An Israeli police spokesman said the videos were “*edited*,” and accused Abu Khdeir of taking part in clashes with police. (5)

The Resistance is Growing

It is popular now to equate the kidnapping and the killing of the three young settlers and the brutal murder of Mohammed Khdeir and blame the extremists on both sides. Yesterday I participated in a 300 people demonstration organized by fighters for peace who said: “*No more revenge, no more violence!*” It was a courageous demonstration but with the wrong message. We reject the equation between the killing of the three young settlers and killing of Mohammed Khdeir. The three Jewish settlers are part of the movement that is used by Israel to form an apartheid state from the river to the sea. Mohammed Khdeir, on the other hand, was an innocent boy who was murdered by the same movement that creates an apartheid state. The responsibility for both killing is resting with the oppressor –namely the Israeli apartheid state.

For A Working Class Strategy

As we wrote many times before, as long as Israel – a capitalist apartheid state – exists, the repression of the Palestinians will continue. We cannot predict yet whether a new intifada is breaking out. However, if it is breaking out it will meet the harsh repression of the apartheid state. By themselves the Palestinians are too weak to win the justified struggle. To win the struggle the Arab masses in the neighbor countries must be involved. For this the Arab masses – led by the working class with a revolutionary

party at the head – have to topple the existing regimes by a revolutionary struggle. Such a revolutionary workers party can be formed only in the fire of the struggle.

Such a struggle needs a clear program and strategy. The aim cannot be less than the replacement of the racist apartheid state by a state where the Palestinians will be free from oppression and discrimination and the Jews free from their role of oppressors. Such a state can be only a workers state from the river to the sea won in a struggle that will start with democratic demands such as the release all political Palestinian prisoners and the right of the refugees to return. This perspective must include a multi-national workers government based on the Palestinian workers, but also Jewish workers and migrant workers who support the Palestinians workers and oppressed, and supported by the fellahin.

FOR FREE RED PALESTINE FROM THE RIVER TO THE SEA!

Footnotes

(1) Human Rights Watch: Israel: Serious Violations in West Bank Operations, July 3, 2014 <http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/07/03/israel-serious-violations-west-bank-operations>

(2) Ali Abunimah: Kidnapped Palestinian teen was burned to death, autopsy shows, Electronic Intifada, 07/05/2014, <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/kidnapped-palestinian-teen-was-burned-death-autopsy-shows>

(3) Emma Pearson: Revenge Rhetoric’ Has Spiraled Out Of Control In Israel/Palestine, July 3, 2014, <http://emmalouisepears.wordpress.com/2014/07/03/revenge-rhetoric-has-spiraled-out-of-control-in-israelpalestine/>

(4) Ali Abunimah: Video shows faces of suspected killers of Palestinian teen, Electronic Intifada, July 5, 2014, <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/video-shows-faces-suspected-killers-palestinian-teen>

(5) Gregg Carlstrom: US teenager freed on bail by Israeli court, 6 Jul 2014 Al Jazeera, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/07/us-teen-appear-israeli-court-201476851982465.html> ■



Contingent of the RCIT's Austrian Section Predecessor Organization

Austria: Rally in Solidarity with Gaza on 13 July

Report with Pictures and Videos of the RKOB (Austrian section of the RCIT) on the rally in Vienna on 13.7.2014

About 500 people joined a rally in the center of Vienna on July 13 and showed their protest against the murderous assault of the Israeli state against the Palestinian people in Gaza. Most participants were from the Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian and Turkish community. Numerous chants in solidarity with Gaza reflected a militant mood of the participants.

The *Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION* (RCIT-Section in Austria) and the youth organization *RED*REVOLUTION* supported the rally. Michael Pröbsting (international secretary of the RCIT) addressed the crowd in two speeches in which he expressed our unconditional solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle. He also stated the need for a broad international solidarity movement with the Palestinian people and a boycott campaign against Israel.

The Austrian reformist and centrist left were again totally absent – as it happened during the last Gaza wars in 2008/09 and 2012. The reason for this is their adaption and capitulation to Zionism. Either they openly support Zionism. To give a few extreme examples. The youth organization of the Communist Party has repeatedly officially supported pro-Israel war-mongering rallies under the slogan “Free Gaza from Hamas”. So did the youth group of the Green Party. The leadership of the youth organization of the social democratic party – the biggest “left-wing” youth organization – has adopted a formal decision not to enter united fronts in which our organization – the *RKO LIBERATION* – participates because of our “anti-semitic” (i.e. anti-Zionist) position. Other on the left don’t share this reactionary positions but they don’t want to participate

in public actions for Palestine and in particular not with Muslim migrants (who currently form the main part of the solidarity movement) because of fear to become isolated from the pro-Zionist forces which are influential at the tops of the labor movement and in the university. Hence the Gaza war is a practical example for the opportunism and the rottenness of the so-called “left”.

A mass demonstration against Israel’s war in Gaza on next Sunday, 20 July, has been announced in which the *RKO LIBERATION* and *RED*REVOLUTION* will participate.

Below we summarize again the position of the *RKO LIBERATION* and *RED*REVOLUTION* on the Gaza war.

RKO LIBERATION and *RED*REVOLUTION* stand for an internationalist and socialist perspective in support for the Palestinian liberation struggle. We stand for the victory of the Palestinian resistance and the destruction of the imperialist apartheid state of Israel. We stand for the right of return of all Palestinian refugees. Together with our comrades in Israel / Occupied Palestine, we stand for a free and red Palestine in which all Palestinians and all those Israeli Jews, who accept the abolition of apartheid, could live together peacefully. We support the liberation struggles of the workers and peasants in Syria against the Assad dictatorship and in Egypt against the military regime of General Sisi. We stand for a socialist federation of the Middle East.

Pictures and videos of Michael Pröbsting’s speeches at the rally can be found at on the RKOB website:

<http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/bericht-kundgebung-palästina-13-7-2014> ■



at the “Mavi Marmara” Demonstration in Solidarity with Gaza on 4.06.2010

Austria: Rally in Solidarity with Gaza on 9 July

Report with Pictures and Videos of the RKOB (Austrian section of the RCIT) on the rally in Vienna on 9.7.2014

About 100 activists gathered for a rally in the center of Vienna on July 9, in order to express their solidarity with the Palestinian people. Beside the *Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION* (RCIT-Section in Austria) and the youth organization RED*REVOLUTION, numerous activists from the Palestinian, Egyptian and Turkish community as well as supporters of BDS Austria took part in the rally.

The demonstrators shouted numerous slogans in protest against the Israeli state terrorism and in support for the Intifada of the Palestinian people.

Several speakers addressed the rally, including Rami Ali (chairman of the Egyptian-Austrian Youth), Abu Baraa (a leading member of the Palestinian community), Michael Pröbsting (international secretary of RCIT, the international organization of RKOB) as well as Nina Gunić and Johannes Wiener (both speakers of RKOB).

RKOB and RED*REVOLUTION stand for an internationalist and socialist perspective in support for the Palestinian

liberation struggle. We stand for the victory of the Palestinian resistance and the destruction of the imperialist apartheid state of Israel. We stand for the right of return of all Palestinian refugees. Together with our comrades in Israel / Occupied Palestine, we stand for a free and red Palestine in which all Palestinians and all those Israeli Jews, who accept the abolition of apartheid, could live together peacefully. We support the liberation struggles of the workers and peasants in Syria against the Assad dictatorship and in Egypt against the military regime of General Sisi. We stand for a socialist federation of the Middle East.

The organizers agreed that this was just the first but definitely not the last solidarity action.

Pictures and videos of some speeches at the rally can be found at on the RKOB website:

<http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei-pal%C3%A4stina-kundgebung-09-07-14/> ■



Nina Gunic (top), Michael Pröbsting (left) and Johannes Wiener (right) speaking at Rallies in Solidarity with the Arab Revolution

Israel: Hands Off Hamas!

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 25.6.2014

During the past week and a half, the attention of Israeli society has been focused on the reported abduction of three young settlers and the barbaric actions of the Israeli army against the Palestinians, actions which most Israelis support under the pretext of searching for the missing three.

It is possible that the three young Israeli settlers were kidnapped, but this is not at all certain. Even the UN cast doubt on this, as was reported by the *Fox News*:

"Israel ripped the United Nations on Thursday after the international body claimed it had "no information to confirm" that three Israeli teens were kidnapped last week in the West Bank. Algemeiner.com reports that the UN initially condemned the kidnappings. However, Secretary General Ban's deputy spokesman, Farhan Haq, quickly withdrew the statement, claiming that the UN could not confirm the kidnappings." (1)

The *New York Times* wrote:

"Israel insists that Hamas is responsible for the abduction but has offered no proof. Three other groups have made dubious claims of credit. Hamas officials have generally cheered the capture without saying who carried it out. A spokesman on Thursday night praised "Palestinian resistance," but added, "if it truly is behind the kidnapping of the three teenagers." (2)

In the past, the Israeli government has been caught lying or conveniently distorting the truth. If the government is lying this time, it will likely be discovered in the future; but for now, Israel feels free to go on, terrorizing the Palestinians.

Kidnapping civilians with the aim of forcing the exchange of prisoners is, by definition, a terrorist act. Terror is any violence used against civilians for political purposes. In the context of Palestine, there are two types of terror. One is small-scale terror carried out by one or a number of individuals or by an organization, and has been used by some Palestinians in their struggle against oppression. The other type of terror is state terror, used by Israel on a massive scale with the aim of destroying all forms of opposition to the apartheid state. Today, Israel views Hamas as the more dangerous of its Palestinian enemies, and so it is not surprising that most of the hundreds arrested in the last week and a half have been members of Hamas, including activists and political leaders. Among them are ten members of the Palestinian parliament who clearly had nothing to do with kidnapping the three settlers. The Israeli army raided over 800 locations, storming through Palestinian homes and searching public institutions, in the cities of Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem, Tulkarem, and Jenin.

Among those arrested were fifty-one affiliated with Hamas who were among 1,027 Palestinian prisoners released in the deal between Israel and Hamas in the 2011 exchange for Gilad Schalit, a former tank crewman who spent five years captive to Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

Since the first announcement of the abduction of the three young settlers, Israel has arrested 355 civilians in the West Bank, has imposed a curfew on Hebron and other places, has bombed Gaza, and has killed four Palestinians in the West Bank. Jihad Mohammed Dodin, 15, was shot dead by army forces during a demonstration in the West Bank

village of Dura early on Friday. Another Palestinian, aged 22, was critically hurt by the army gunfire in clashes near the Qalandiyah checkpoint. He was transferred to the government hospital in Ramallah and later to the intensive care unit at Hadassah hospital in Jerusalem, but died of his wounds. The latest death brings to four the number of confirmed fatalities since Israel started its oppression. On Friday night alone Israeli troops arrested at least 25 Palestinians in the West Bank and raided 15 charities and 146 homes. Palestinian sources reported 37 arrests, 20 of them in Bethlehem, 11 in Hebron, 3 in Jenin and 3 in Jericho.

If indeed a Palestinian group abducted the three settlers, this was almost certainly *not* done by Fatah or Hamas but by a small unknown organization, probably in an attempt to release Palestinian prisoners including those under administrative detention, and those who have been on a hunger strike for more than fifty days. However, very strangely, no group has yet made any demands. We cannot know why, but among other possibilities is that *no* Palestinian group kidnapped the three. One of the teenagers called a police hotline and whispered, "I've been kidnapped," but the authorities thought it was a crank call and did not begin their search for hours. It is possible that indeed it was a crank call.

The fact that the Israeli government has chosen this opportunity to allocate an additional five millions shekels to the settlement activities shows that Israel is using the alleged abduction to expand the settlements instead of providing medical care and housing to its needy citizens. As always, we see where the clear priorities of the government are. Hopefully, the Israeli workers and poor will eventually, if not now, understand that until they break with Zionism, many of them will never be able to achieve a decent level of living.

Netanyahu hopes to destroy the Palestinian unity government

It is also clear that the Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, has used the abductions in an attempt to destroy the Palestinian unity government formed with Hamas backing earlier this month. This is not the first time that Israel has tried to destroy Hamas and failed, and the results will be no different this time around. Ironically, what potentially *could* cause real damage to Hamas is precisely the unity government with Abbas which Israel is attempting to sabotage.

As in the past, the Palestinian president continues to collaborate with Israel. Abbas declared in Saudi Arabia: *"The three teens are human beings like us and they should be returned to their families."* He added: *"Those who kidnapped the three teenagers want to destroy us. We will hold them accountable."* Abbas's comments drew sharp responses from Hamas, *underscoring the fragility of the recent reconciliation of the rival Palestinian factions."* (3)

Abbas told the Israeli daily *Israel HaYom* that he seeks a proof that Hamas is behind the abduction in order to end the unity government (4)

The collaboration of Abbas and his clique with Israel repressive forces has raised the anger of many Palestinians. A glimpse of this anger was reported by Al Jazeera: "Shortly after the Israeli troops withdrew, angry Palestinians reportedly attacked a police station, chanting against security coordination. The Palestinian Authority officers fired warning shots injuring two other Palestinians, witnesses told Al Jazeera." (5)

Abbas can only blame himself for his difficult situation. No one is forcing him to serve Israel. On this, Haaretz reports:

"In a conversation with senior Haaretz correspondents ahead of the Israel Conference on Peace in Tel Aviv on July 8, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas said he wanted Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to denounce the killing of three 16-year-old Palestinian boys, who were shot by Israeli soldiers over the past week, just as Abbas himself denounced the kidnapping of the three Israeli youths in Gush Etzion. 'I said the kidnapping was a crime, but does that justify the killing of three Palestinian teens in cold blood?' Abbas asked, adding, 'What does Netanyahu have to say about the killings? Does he condemn it? Look at what's happened all over the West Bank over the past days, the violence and the destruction of homes. Is that justified?' Abbas continued that Netanyahu needed to 'see how his soldiers behave toward Palestinians. What will I tell the families of the three Palestinian teens who were killed? Why were they killed? We're human beings, just like you. Can the Israeli government demonstrate the same feelings and say they are human beings and deserve to live?'" (6)

Abbas's begging Netanyahu to denounce what the Israeli army is doing, as if Netanyahu doesn't really know by himself, has the Palestinian president, in the best case, playing the village idiot.

The anger against the collaboration was expressed most sharply by Hanin Zuabi, member of Balad party in the Israeli Knesset, who called him a "traitor to the Palestinian people." (7)

Palestinian President Abbas collaborates with Israel

While we support unity in the struggle of all oppressed peoples, as we explained in our previous article dealing with the new Palestinian unity government, we cast serious doubt about its possible longevity. When Hamas and Fatah struck the deal last month which resulted in an agreement on elections in six months time and the forming of an interim government of "technocrats," Israeli officials denounced these signs of Palestinian unity. Nonetheless, the Israeli government has *not* cut off aid to the Palestinian Authority. The reason that Israel's blood money continues to flow to the PA could be seen in the wake of the reported abduction of three Israelis young men. On this point Alex Kane correctly observed:

In fact, PA security forces are working closely together with the Israeli troops that have ransacked homes and arrested hundreds of people alleged to be members of Hamas, as well as others with no affiliation to the movement. The close coordination has always been the rub in the unity pact. How do you reconcile factions when one faction is working with an occupation force bent on destroying the other faction?

The PA-Israeli security coordination that is targeting Hamas is weakening the unity pact – which may be Israel's real goal in carrying out such a wild military operation that has reached into major cities far away from the Hebron-area where the teens are

said to have been taken from.

Late last week, an Israeli military official told the New York Times' Isabel Kershner that "ongoing security coordination" with the PA was continuing. Today, Abbas defended the security coordination in front of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation as "in our interest and for our protection." The trouble with Abbas' statements is that it has become increasingly clear that Israel is exploiting the opportunity to strike a major blow at Hamas, which has denied carrying out the kidnappings. Former Israeli intelligence officials have explicitly contradicted Netanyahu's claims that Hamas is the party responsible. There have been no facts presented to the public that than based on fact." The doubts about Hamas' involvement – or at least doubts that an order to kidnap came from high-level Hamas officials, and not from a rogue faction – haven't stopped PA officials from floating the possibility that they will cut off the unity pact." (8)

Forward to a Red Palestine!

Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution concisely explains the backdrop for Abbas' treason. The Palestinian capitalist class, which developed too late in history, is deathly afraid that the masses will take up a truly revolutionary democratic struggle, one in which democratic revolutionary tasks are achieved by the working class on the way to a socialist revolution.

While we do not give Hamas, a populist movement committed to capitalism, any political support neither do we support the strategy of small scale terror in the just struggle of the Palestinians. This is because such terror only provides Israel with the excuse to use state terror. However, we do support a new massive uprising, like the Intifada which began in December 1987.

We say to the Israeli government: *"It is you who are responsible for the abductions, because you repress the Palestinians, steal their land, and arrest and hold those who oppose your repression without trial. You are only killing time and young Palestinians. It is you who are pushing for such actions of small scale terror. You are the big time terrorists."*

** Israel: Hands off the unity government! Hands off Hamas!*

** Release all Palestinians political prisoners!*

** For a Free, Red Palestine from the river to the sea!*

Footnotes:

(1) Fox News: Israel rips UN for saying it cannot confirm 3 missing teens were abducted, 20 June 2014, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2014/06/20/israel-rips-un-for-saying-it-cannot-confirm-3-missing-teens-were-abducted>

(2) Jodi Rudoren: Netanyahu Says Three Were Taken by Hamas, New York Times, June 15, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/16/world/middleeast/netanyahu-blames-hamas-in-kidnapping-of-israeli-youths.html>

(3) Batsheva Sobelman: Palestinian President Abbas demands release of missing Israeli teens, Los Angeles Times, 18 June 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-abbas-palestinians-abduction-hamas-20140618-story.html>

(4) See *Israel HaYom*, 22 June 2014

(5) Al Jazeera: Palestinians die in clash with Israeli troops, 22 June 2014

(6) Jack Khoury and Barak Ravid: Abbas to Haaretz: Netanyahu should denounce deaths of three Palestinian teenagers, 22 June 2014, www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.600256

(7) See *Israel HaYom*, 22 June 2014

(8) Alex Kane: How Israel is exploiting the reported kidnapping to weaken Palestinian reconciliation, 18 June 2014, <http://mondo-weiss.net/2014/06/exploiting-palestinian-reconciliation.html> ■

Israel/Occupied Palestine: Release All 400 Hunger Strikers! Release All Palestinians Political Prisoners!

by Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 13.6.2014

Israel marked 47 years to its 1967 occupation of the West Bank and Gaza by pushing through ultra-nationalist legislation which recognizes Israel as a Jewish state, and removes the facade of a Jewish and democratic state. Meanwhile, around four hundred Palestinians prisoners are in the midst of a hunger strike with the support of Palestinians outside the prisons.

Palestinians in Ramallah and Hebron demonstrated in solidarity with the detainees. Shops were closed in the West Bank city of Ramallah on Sunday. Black-and-white flags bearing slogans such as "Freedom for Prisoners" and "Chains must be broken" flew in the streets of Ramallah. (1)

On April 24, a group of 120 prisoners incarcerated under what Israel terms "administrative detention" – or imprisonment without trial of Palestinians suspected of security-related offences – began a hunger strike. They were later joined by another 170 inmates who also demanded that Israel abolish the procedure.

The News Agency Reuters reports: "Israel's Prison Service said 65 hunger strikers were being treated in hospitals, although none were in critical condition and all were conscious. A Palestinian lawyer who has visited some of the hospitalized inmates put the number of prisoners who had required hospital care at 100." (2)

Mass Solidarity with the Hunger-Striking Palestinian Prisoners

The solidarity amongst the Palestinians is huge. "In what must be one of the largest mass hunger strikes in the world, more than 5,000 Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails went on a one-day strike today [on May 8]". (3)

Activists from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine rallied in front of the United Nations offices in Gaza to show their solidarity with hunger-striking Palestinian prisoners inside Israeli jails. (4)

The Palestinian Human Rights Organizations Council (PHROC) sent a letter to the High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Catherine Ashton, about the deteriorating health of the Palestinian hunger strikers in Israeli jails. Among other things, this letter states:

"Following the launch of the strike the Israeli authorities immediately began taking punitive measures against the hunger strikers. These included the immediate isolation of all hunger strikers away from the rest of the prison population. Many hunger strikers have also been transferred to different prisons, while the leaders of the hunger strike have also been placed in isolation. All hunger strikers have been denied salt for the first fifteen days of their strike.

The Israeli Prison Service (IPS) and Israeli Special Forces have also been staging violent raids on the prisoners' cells and conducting intrusive searches of the prisoners on a daily basis. In many cases, the hunger strikers have been beaten and injured

during these raids and were subsequently denied medical treatment.

As you are aware the mass hunger strike of 2012 ended on 14 May 2012 after an agreement was reached between representatives of the prisoners and the IPS. At this time it was agreed that Israel would limit the use of administrative detention to only 'exceptional circumstances,' as is required under international law. However, it is quite clear that Israel has reneged on the agreement, as it has continued to use administrative detention on a systematic basis which has compelled the prisoners to launch a fresh strike." (5)

If international law were enforced, the civil and military authorities of Israel would have been jailed long ago. But international law is only enforced against leaders of the imperialist-controlled semi-colonies for crimes they commit in the service of one of the imperialist states when, for one reason or another, they were considered a liability rather than an asset.

On the subject of administrative detention, B'Tselem, the Israeli human rights organization, has written:

"Over the years, Israel has held thousands of Palestinians in administrative detention, for periods ranging from several months to several years. (...) Israel uses three pieces of legislation to hold Palestinians in administrative detention:

1. Articles 284-294 of the Order regarding Security Provisions [Consolidated Version] (Judea and Samaria) (No. 1651), 5770-2009, which is part of the military legislation in the West Bank. Most administrative detainees are held under individual detention orders issued pursuant to this order.
2. The Emergency Powers (Detentions) Law, which applies in Israel and replaced the administrative-detention arrangement established in the Emergency Regulations of the Mandate period. It is rare for residents of the Occupied Territories to be administratively detained under this law.
3. The Internment of Unlawful Combatants Law, which came into force in 2002. Originally, the law was intended to enable the holding of Lebanese citizens who were being held in Israel at the time as "bargaining chips" for the return of captives and bodies. Now, Israel uses the law to detain without trial Palestinian residents in Gaza Strip, where the military legislation was implemented following the "disengagement" plan, in September 2005." (6)

A Short History of the Emergency Regulations Laws

At the end of the second imperialist world war Zionists organizations in Palestine used terror against the British Mandate, Arabs, and Jews suspected of disloyalty to Zionism's aim of forcing the British to open the gates for Jewish immigration in preparation for the looming war between Israel and the Palestinians. In 1945, the British reacted by enacting the emergency regulations laws. This provoked an outcry amongst the Zionists:

"Dr. Bernard Joseph, later Israeli Minister of Justice Dov Yosef, called them "terrorism under an official seal." Yaakov S. Shapira,

Israel's future attorney general, said: "The regime created by the Emergency Regulations is without precedent in a civilized society. Even Nazi Germany had no such laws...Only one kind of system resembles these conditions—that of a country under occupation." Menachem Begin called the regulations "Nazi laws" and vowed not to obey them, although he had no complaint about them when Israel later used them against the Palestinians." (7) Of course, none of this has stopped Israel from using the very same laws against the Palestinians from 1948 onwards!

Netanyahu threatens to force-feed hunger striking Palestinian prisoners

In reaction to the ongoing hunger strike, Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, has threatened to force-feed the hunger striking prisoners and has vowed to push forward proposed legislation which will allow physicians to feed prisoners against their will. *The Electronic Intifada* reports:

"Force-feeding is a breach of the World Medical Association's guidelines on the treatment of hunger strikers, which states that: 'Physicians or other health care personnel may not apply undue pressure of any sort on the hunger striker to suspend the strike. Treatment or care of the hunger striker must not be conditional upon suspension of the hunger strike.'

Adalah, a non-governmental organization in Israel has stated in a press release emailed to *The Electronic Intifada* that the bill 'would remove the last civil right that administrative detainees possessed, after they had been denied all other rights that would allow them to strike against their illegal imprisonment.' (...)

The Israel Medical Association has condemned the proposed legislation. However, Israeli doctors have a long history of participation in the widespread torture of Palestinian detainees. This was published in a 2011 report by Physicians for Human Rights-Israel and the Public Committee against Torture in Israel, which describes the active role of medical professionals in the torture of Palestinian detainees:

'There is a strong suspicion that by blatantly violating the rights of the striking detainees to access adequate medical care and by flagrantly ignoring medical ethical standards and professional norms, the IPS [Israel Prison Service] utilized its medical system to pressure Palestinian prisoners and detainees on hunger strike causing unnecessary and illegitimate danger to their health and lives. Indeed, through various means, hunger strikers were isolated from any contact with persons not under IPS authority. They did so by delaying and denying entry to physicians, attorneys, and prisoners' family members, as well as by denying treating physicians' access to their patients' medical information.'" (8)

For a Free and Red Palestine!

As long as the Israeli apartheid state exists, Palestinians will be jailed in one or another form! We of the *International Socialist League* call on the international working class and all the supporters of the Palestinian people to organize demonstrations in solidarity with the hunger strikers and demand that Israel release them immediately.

Release the Palestinians hunger strikers!

Release all political Palestinians prisoners!

For a Free, Democratic and Red Palestine!

Footnotes

(1) Voice of America: Palestinians Close Shops in Support of Prisoners, June 8, 2014 <http://www.voanews.com/content/palestinians-close-shops-in-support-of-prisoners-in-israel-on-hunger-strike/1932113.html>

(2) Reuters: Palestinians close shops, rally for hunger-striking prisoners, June 8 2014, <http://in.reuters.com/article/2014/06/08/uk-palestinian-israel-prisoners-idINKBN0EJ0K320140608>

(3) Crescent: 5,000 Palestinians prisoners in Israeli jails go on hunger strike, May 8 2014, <http://www.crescent-online.net/2014/05/5000-palestinians-prisoners-in-israeli-jails-go-on-hunger-strike-crescent-onlinenet-4450-articles.html>

(4) Ashraf Shannon: Gaza rally in solidarity with hunger-striking prisoners, Press TV, May 14 2014, <http://www.presstv.ir/detail/2014/05/14/362549/gaza-rally-in-solidarity-with-hungerstriking-prisoners>

(5) Wafa: Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs Briefs Ashton on Deteriorating Conditions of Hunger Strikers, June 2 2014, <http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=25357>

(6) See B'telsm: Administrative Detention, 1.1.2011, http://www.btselem.org/administrative_detention and

Palestinians News Network: Administrative Detention in Israeli Prisons, 27 May 2014, <http://english.pnn.ps/index.php/prisoners/7601-administrative-detention-in-israeli-prisons>

(7) Donald Neff: From Its Beginning, Israeli Policy Promoted War, Not Peace, Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, May/June 1998, <http://www.wrmea.org/wrmea-archives/194-washington-report-archives-1994-1999/may-june-1998/8773-from-its-beginning-israeli-policy-promoted-war-not-peace-.html>

(8) Maureen Clare Murphy: Netanyahu threatens to force-feed hunger striking Palestinian prisoners, *The Electronic Intifada* 6.6.2014, <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/maureen-clare-murphy/netanyahu-threatens-force-feed-hunger-striking-palestinian-prisoners> ■



Yossi Schwartz, Leader of the RCIT Section in Occupied Palestine / Israel

Summary of the Program of the Internationalist Socialist League

Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), February 2014

1. The Internationalist Socialist League (ISL) is a Palestinian-Jewish revolutionary communist organization active in Israel (Occupied Palestine). The ISL is the local branch of the worldwide *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The goal of our organization is to found a revolutionary workers' party in all parts of what was formerly Mandatory Palestine (from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea) which will lead the workers to power through revolution. Following the revolution, our workers' state will join a socialist federation of all Middle Eastern workers' states, as we march relentlessly towards the establishment of a worldwide socialist federation.

A socialist society is one in which all means of production are owned and managed democratically by the working class. This type of society will gradually develop into a communistic society. The essential difference between these two types of societies is, while in a socialist society each worker will receive his or her pay according to the number of hours invested (i.e., the relative proportion of labor invested by this worker in the overall production of society), in a communistic society, in which all material want will disappear, each worker will receive payment according to his or her needs, and everyone will be able to develop their own talents and uniqueness.

Contrary to the popular claim disseminated by many bourgeois pundits that the former Soviet Union and her Eastern European satellites were, and China, and Cuba still are, communist states, in reality they all were and are degenerated workers' states in which the bourgeoisie was temporarily liquidated as a social class and the economy was nationalized. However, in each of these countries the control of the state machinery was in the hands of the bureaucracy which blocked the path to a socialist society and opened the road to the restoration of capitalism. The new bourgeoisie in these states sprang from the former bureaucracy. The Soviet Union was the only state in history in which political control was (during the leadership of Lenin) in the hands of the working class. The reason that the bourgeoisie depicts these states as communistic is to discourage the working class from undertaking conscious revolutionary activism.

2. The historical period in which we are living is a revolutionary period occurring on the background of the decline of the worldwide capitalist system. The capitalistic relations of production during the period of monopolies and tycoons have become an obstacle which only retards the development of the forces of production. We are living in a situation of severe crisis for the decaying worldwide capitalistic system, which commenced with the financial crises of 2008. Despite instances of partial recovery, the capitalists are not successful in ending this crisis, and production drops downward after every period of recovery. As a result, unemployment is rising, the standard of living of the masses of workers is decreasing, and social inequality is becoming less and less tolerable, as more and more people are able to achieve sustenance with difficulty. This is a period in which socialist revolution is not only pos-

sible but necessary.

3. The United States is a declining power. This decline is intensifying the struggles between the imperialistic states, including Russia and China, for spheres of influence and the exploitation of workers, especially in semi-colonial states (the commonly called "Third World Countries"). The tension between the imperialistic states can readily lead to a Third World War, and the only way of preventing this is by means of a socialist revolution.

4. We are living during the capitalist era called the Age of Imperialism, also commonly referred to as "Globalization." This is the stage of capitalism during which there is tight integration between international monopolies and tycoons and finance capital (i.e., banks), and during which the imperialistic states provide these parties with military and political support. During this period, the states of the world are divided into two – one group is the imperialistic states which exploit, to a particularly intensive degree ("super-exploitation"), the nations that constitute the second group of states – the "Third World Countries" or the semi-colonial states. Imperialistic rule obstructs the economic, social, and cultural development of the semi-colonial states. Accordingly, for revolutionaries, the mass struggle against imperialistic control is a progressive one, and as such should be supported without regard to who is leading it. At the same time, revolutionaries must not grant any *political* support to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships of this struggle. For example, we do not support the establishment of a bourgeois government as a step forward, seeing how progressive struggles both today and in the future will either be won under the leadership of the working class, or the semi-colonial states will continue to be exploited by imperialists. The experience of all such struggles since the end of the Second World War demonstrates this.

5. Israel is a state characterized by the capitalistic means of production, and is considered part of the bloc of the world's imperialistic states. This state was founded by the "Zionist movement" – a movement of European colonial settlers who took control of all of Mandatory Palestine. The claim of the Zionists that they returned to the country from which they were exiled 2,000 years ago is not authentic history but political mythos. This claim of the "People of the Bible to whom this land was promised" is the same claim made by the Europeans who dispossessed the Indians in America and the blacks in South Africa.

The contention that the State of Israel was established in response to the genocide perpetrated against the Jews is also not true. One has to believe in fairy tales in order to think that the Stalinists who controlled the Soviet Union, or the Imperialist Powers (with the US at their head) who supported the founding of a Jewish state in territory populated by an Arab majority, that these powers, most of whom didn't lift a finger to save the Jews during their plight, and some of whom even actively closed their gates to Jewish refugees during WWII, were looking out for the interests of the Jews. The idea of a Jewish state in an Arab region was intended to strengthen the grip of the impe-

rialists in the area and to prevent a socialist revolution. While the historical figure identified as the founding father of the Zionist idea is that of Herzl, in reality, this idea was already brought up during the nineteenth century by the British imperialists as a means of defending the Suez Canal, the building of which shorted the sea-route to India, the jewel in the crown of the British Empire. The same idea was raised even earlier by Napoleon Bonaparte when he attempted to conquer Palestine at the end of the eighteenth century and sought to mobilize Jewish support for his campaign.

6. While there are, in fact, discernable elements attesting to the existence of an Israeli people (such as a unified economy, language, shared social-psychology, etc.) separate from world Jewry, the Israelis themselves lack the vital element of consciousness – they do not see themselves as a separate people, but rather as part of the Jewish people throughout the world. The rulers of the State of Israel, for example, demand from the representatives of the Palestinian people (whether they in fact represent them or not) to recognize Israel as the state of all the Jews; the Israeli supreme court, considered both by its supporters and opponents as liberal and progressive, rejected a plea to recognize the existence of a separate Israeli people. In Israeli identity cards, one cannot be registered as having the nationality “Israeli,” and most of the Jews living in the country do not object to this restriction. Contrary to the Zionist claim that there is such a thing as the worldwide Jewish people, there is no such thing as a worldwide people.

During modern history, the idea of a “people” is inseparably linked to the successful founding of nation states or the attempts of others struggling to be created. This is a phenomenon tied to the rise of the bourgeoisie and this class’s need to unify local markets.

7. The Zionist movement took control of Palestine in three stages: During the first stage, under the auspices of British imperialism that promised the Zionists a “national home,” this movement gained control of 5% of the country, while dispossessing indigenous Arab peasants (“fellahin”) from their lands and excluding Palestinian workers from industrial plants which were part of the Zionist economy. This was done under three different slogans: “Hebrew Labor,” “Hebrew Production,” and “Redemption of the Land.” At the time of the Palestinian uprising of 1936-39 against the imperialist control of Britain, the Zionists took part in the repression of the rebellion alongside the British.

The second stage of the Zionist takeover of Palestine took place in 1948 with the establishment of the State of Israel in conjunction with the dispossession and expulsion of most of the Palestinians from the territories conquered by the Jewish state, as well as numerous documented massacres. (Collectively, these events are known by the Palestinians and their supporters of their struggle as the “Nakba.”) The Palestinians who remained in the State of Israel are what is usually called “second class citizens,” discriminated against in dozens of different ways related to all aspects of life. Among them, too, were victims of massacres perpetrated by the state – the Kafer Qasem massacre in 1956, the first Land Day massacre in 1976, and the massacre of protesters in October 2000, as well as massacres perpetrated by individual Zionists like Baruch Goldstein and Nathan

Zada.

During the third stage of conquest, Israel occupied the remainder of Mandatory Palestine in 1967, and till today the state continues the everyday dispossession of Palestinians under its control in what is referred to as “Area C” in the West Bank by expropriating lands and establishing settlements. At will, Israel enters and exits the territories formally controlled by the Palestinian Authority, “Area A,” in order to kill or arrest, without due process of law, individuals suspected of actively resisting the occupation, regardless of whether the targets of such operations are armed or simply political. Israel has imposed a cruel siege on all the territory of the Gaza Strip, today formally under the control of Hamas, and has transformed this territory into a massive ghetto. But Israel was not satisfied with this alone, and summarily liquidated hundreds of Palestinian civilians during her attack upon Gaza at the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009, an operation that was dubbed “Cast Lead.” Without doubt, the rulers of Israel aim to perpetuate the Apartheid state in all of Palestine, and they use all means to do so.

Israel, the state which today effectively controls all of Mandatory Palestine, is governed by and for Jews, even though today this group constitutes a minority of the population in the territory between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. Political rule of this type by an ethnic minority is today generically called “Apartheid,” after the name of the policy of the white minority in South Africa until 1994.

However, the essential difference between these two examples of Apartheid rule is that, while under the rule of the whites in South Africa, the blacks were dispossessed and became a source of cheap, super-exploited labor, for the Zionist movement, the aim was and continues to be the consolidation of an ethnically-based state with a Jewish majority throughout all of Mandatory Palestine, with the concomitant expulsion of the as many of the indigenous Palestinians as is politically expedient.

8. The Palestinian people are an occupied and dispossessed people struggling for its freedom. The Palestinians arose as a people separate from the other Arabic peoples, in the context of the struggle against the dispossessing colonialist Zionist movement and the British Mandate. We see their struggle as a progressive one, whose beginning is for a democratic revolution towards national liberation, but which is “stuck” and can only be victorious in the framework of a successful workers’ revolution. In contrast to the State of Israel, alien to the Middle East, the “strategic asset of the West” as Israeli politicians like to brag, the Palestinian people is an integral part of the Arab masses of the region, and its revolution is part of the same revolutionary struggle of these masses in the region that was artificially divided up by Britain and France.

9. In 2011, there began in the Middle East a social revolution against the decadent Arab regimes operating as agents for imperialism. In Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, and Egypt, long standing dictatorships were toppled, but this revolutionary struggle encountered great difficulties in overcoming the forces of counter-revolution: over the struggle in Libya, which began as a revolutionary movement, counter-revolutionaries took control with the aid of the bombs of the imperialist armies, and today the revolution is disintegrating into a situation of chaos; in Syria,

the Assad dictatorship continues to hold onto power while continuing to slaughter masses of the Syrian people.

Nonetheless, we are already witnessing the renewal of the struggle against the military dictatorship in Egypt, the heart of the entire region. Even though the Egyptian working class has led the struggles in that country, it has no revolutionary party that can lead a victorious revolutionary struggle headed by this class, and supported by the fellahin and suffering and oppressed layers of society, including the women and youth.

The leftist organizations in Egypt like the reformist Communist Party and the centrist Revolutionary Socialists (RS) proved that they are incapable of providing revolutionary leadership when they supported the military coup on and after July 3, 2013. While the Revolutionary Socialists subsequently disassociated themselves from their position supporting the army, they also previously disassociated themselves from their earlier position supporting Morsi in the presidential elections, as the lesser of evils. This shifting of positions proves that, in spite of their having among them dedicated persons of good will, they are not capable of building a revolutionary party, because they are continually dragged to positions of the bourgeoisie, instead of putting forth a program with a revolutionary perspective.

10. The Palestinian people have been waging a heroic struggle against their oppression for decades. However, at this stage, based on their own strength, they are not able to defeat militarily powerful Israel. Their only chance for success is in the victories of workers' revolutions throughout the region. An overwhelming military defeat for Israel would also assist the victory of revolutions in the region, including the revolution of the Palestinian people. However, revolutionary communists do not wait for a social-

ist revolution made by others. Therefore, we support and participate in all of the progressive struggles of the masses. This policy even includes support for the social movement struggle in Israel, where we disseminate the message that this movement can only be victorious if it links itself to the revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian people and the masses in the region.

The tactic that led the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Palestinians, even in the name of the Red Flag, to adopt guerilla warfare and acts of terror, has never proved itself as an efficient road to liberation, and only has helped Israel gain legitimization in world public opinion for the use of extensive state terror. The idea of the pacifistic struggle, à la Gandhi, to which part of the Palestinian masses have nowadays been driven out of despair in the wake of the failure of the Second Intifada, can also not be victorious. The claim that Britain left India due to the pacifistic struggle led by the Congress Party is an out and out mythos. The facts indicate that the Second Imperialistic World War severely weakened Britain. She, like France and other countries, was forced to abandon all of her colonies, while the American imperialists took their place.

A victorious struggle by the Palestinians can only be achieved by means of a mass, armed uprising, under revolutionary leadership that will know how to split the masses of Israelis from Zionism and draw as many Israelis as possible to the side of the revolution in which the essence and the tone will be set by the Palestinian working class. It is no coincidence that the only real split in the Zionist movement took place in response to the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. It was then that the Palestinian Communist Party was founded, a party that was authentically revolutionary at its beginning. This party became centrist



Cartoon by Carlos Latuff

in the years after Lenin's death, and became reformist in 1936 when it supported the popular front that brought about downfalls in France and Spain.

11. As mentioned, the State of Israel is a capitalistic state in which the capitalists also exploit the Israeli workers and in which social inequality is spreading and deepening. Revolutionaries support every struggle for the improvement of worker's conditions as long as this struggle is not directed against a different group of workers. However, in contrast to workers in all other places on earth, the Israeli working class is not able to develop a revolutionary consciousness on the basis of economic struggles. The reason for this is that instead of seeing the State of Israel as an instrument of the ruling class, Israeli workers see it as a tool that defends their own privileges relative to the Palestinians and the other peoples of the region. Rather than see the capitalists as enemies, they see them as a part of the crew of a single ship which must not be rocked too strenuously. This perspective is inherent to the Israel's character as a state of colonial settlers. As a result, the rulers of Israel can always readily block social struggles by means of the "security card."

The middle class in Israel, which until now has led the social struggles, has proved at home and throughout the entire world that it is not a class that can lead a struggle to victory. The social moment has failed until now because it hasn't linked the social struggles to the struggle for the democratic rights of the Palestinian people, and it collapsed as a movement when the government initiated yet another round of hostilities in Gaza. Similarly, this movement has accepted the demand for "equally sharing the burden" that was directed against the Arabs and ultra-Orthodox, and parts of it even voted for the rightist party of Yair Lapid, which regularly lashes out against these two segments of the population. Until now, the social struggle has enabled prominent activists from the middle class to be integrated into the establishment and Zionist parties while advancing their private interests. Food prices decreased for a short time, but subsequently went back up considerably, and are significantly higher than in other western states.

12. The Histadruth is a trade union acting in the service of the State of Israel, and as such binds the Israeli workers to the capitalists who control the country. Before the founding of Israel, this trade union served as part of the pre-state state and subsequently it has always acted in the service of the state. For example, the Histadruth acts as a propaganda organ for Israel among the professional trade unions around the world. In the last few years, a new, more militant trade union named "Koach LeOvdim" (Power to the Workers) has been founded which accepts Arab members without discrimination, but which entirely lacks a program capable of fomenting a victorious struggle for the working class.

Revolutionary communists should be active within the Histadruth and Koach LeOvdim. From within these organizations they should found factions that struggle for a revolutionary program via united fronts, pressuring the bureaucratic leadership to organize struggles including general strikes, while not sparing the leadership from criticism for their failures and bureaucratic betrayals. The program for the trade unions should be the Transitional Program which ties the ongoing labor struggles to

the long-term revolutionary struggle aimed at founding a multi-national workers' state. This program includes: taking over of factories and their placement under the democratic supervision of the workers; the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian working class; self defense against regime violence; opening the books of companies and banks to their workers' purview; incrementing salaries based on the cost of living index; shortening the work week without decreasing salaries or accompanying benefits; employing the jobless in public projects supervised by the workers, thereby linking the unemployed to the working class; cheap credit for small business owners; opposition to all oppression of women, youth, and sexual minorities; and the founding of a multi-national workers' government supported by the peasantry (fellahin) and grass route layers of the population.

13. The Palestinian trade unions and leftist movements like the "People's Party," the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine," and the "Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine," are subservient to the leadership of the Palestinian Authority which collaborates with Israel and the United States against the aspirations for national and social liberation of the Palestinian people. Masses of the Palestinian people find themselves today without any worthy leadership capable of standing at the forefront of a mass revolutionary intifada. Israel, which lives in fear of popular revolutionary outbreaks, is attempting to provoke a premature, small-scale eruption that will be forcefully repressed in order to prove to the United States that "there's no partner for peace," and therefore the US can only rely on Israel, and that the settlements in fact strengthen the control of Israel in the occupied territories and are therefore in the interests of the West, and in particular the US itself. This position is not accepted by US policy under Obama, which understands that Israel is getting weaker, and which has therefore initiated a rapprochement between the US, Europe, and Iran, the latter being the regional power with influence in Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon.

14. Hamas is a reactionary populist movement that tries to appear more militant than it actually is, seeing as it is even prepared to reach agreements with Israel, agreements in which the latter has no interest. Hamas has proved that it is not capable of leading a popular revolutionary struggle. Regardless, in any war against the Palestinian people in Gaza (or the West Bank), under any leadership whatsoever, including that of Hamas, revolutionaries stand against the State of Israel and for the Palestinians, but refrain from giving any political support to Islamist or secular petty bourgeois organizations, which sooner or later betray the struggle. This position of revolutionaries is derived from the tactic of the united front in countries in which oppressed peoples live, similar to the united front tactic of workers' organizations in imperialistic countries. This is the tactic adopted by revolutionaries wherever they are not currently in the position to lead the struggle of the working class. Examples of united fronts are trade unions and even workers' councils that spring up in revolutionary situations. This tactic is aimed at achieving as much popular support as possible for the struggle without sacrificing the revolutionary position at the center of which is the independence of the working class.

15. Since Marx, revolutionaries support the right of

self determination *only* for oppressed peoples. While the Palestinians *are* an oppressed people, the Israelis are an oppressing population. As Marx and Engels said “a people that oppresses another people cannot itself be free.” If Marx would have supported the right of self determination for everyone, he would have supported the demands for the southern United States to establish an independent confederation during the American Civil War. However, he supported only the north, because the south was economically based on slavery. Lenin also supported self determination only for oppressed peoples, as is clear from his argument with Rosa Luxemburg who rejected the struggle for the national liberation of oppressed peoples. Trotsky, who when addressing the issue of South Africa in 1935, called for a black republic and *not* for two states. Leftist organizations which support self determination for *all* peoples, without regard to their stage of development, quickly discover how far they are from Marxism. In order to clarify this point, we suggest the example of France which, during the Second World War, was an imperialistic country that was partially occupied by imperialistic Germany. The French Communist Party supported the struggle of de Gaulle who represented the part of the French bourgeoisie that wanted to reestablish its own independence so that it could continue ruling the French colonies like Viet Nam and Algeria. Its slogan was “a good German is a dead German.” Revolutionaries could not support this position, which was de facto support for the exploitation and oppression of the French colonies by French imperialism. Rather, their obligation was to struggle for a socialist revolution, thereby transforming the struggle against the German occupation into a revolutionary struggle of the working class for a workers’ state.

16. Israel makes use of super-exploited migrant workers and cruelly mistreats political asylum seekers in the country, particularly refugees from Africa. Revolutionaries support the just demands of migrant workers and refugees, including the demand to grant refugees recognition as such and to provide migrant workers with the same employment conditions as all other workers in Israel. We can understand the leaders of the refugee struggle, clinging as they do to the Zionist left and refraining from demanding citizenship for anyone who requests it. However, revolutionaries do not stop with the simple demand for recognition of refugees as refugees, but raise the demand for granting of citizenship to all those in Israel who request political asylum. In the US, this is Obama’s policy which makes it possible for refugees and migrant workers to obtain citizenship. But, in contrast to Obama, revolutionaries oppose the closing of borders of imperialistic countries like Israel which, like the other imperialistic states, participates in the brutal super exploitation of the semi-colonial countries, which in large part creates the phenomenon of migrant workers and refugees from Africa. The contention of the Zionists that Jews deserve a state because they themselves were persecuted as refugees is nothing more than cynicism when Israel treats the refugees from Africa as other countries previously treated the Jews. Revolutionaries link the struggle of migrant workers and refugees with the struggle for Palestinian national and social liberation and with the struggle of workers in Israel, while at the same time putting forth the revolutionary position for a multinational workers’ government including

migrant workers and refugees.

17. Israel has always been a racist country, discriminating not only against Arabs but also against the oriental Jewish communities. Today, Israel is particularly racist towards the Ethiopian community. Revolutionaries support the just demands of the Ethiopian community including the demand for unification of families, cessation of snatching of Ethiopian babies and their placement in orphanages and the end of all forms of discrimination against the Ethiopian community. Revolutionary activists from the Ethiopian community participate in all of the just struggles and support all of the just demands, but at the same time they fight to link the struggle of the Ethiopian community with the revolutionary struggle. Revolutionaries understand the concern of Palestinians created by the demand for the unification of families in the Ethiopian community, whose sons serve in the Israeli army and police force and thereby oppress the Palestinians. However, the correct and winnable path is to tie the struggle for the unification of Ethiopian *and* Palestinian families as much as it is to link the right of return of Palestinian refugees with a common revolutionary struggle.

18. A large part of the women in Israel, Jewish but in particular Arab, are systematically discriminated against. This discrimination is inherent to Israel’s nature as a racist capitalist country. Revolutionaries support all demands for the equality of women, but do not accept the feminist ideology, with all its variations as such, since women neither form a separate class, nor do men constitute the class enemy. Bourgeois women participate in the exploitation and oppression of women from the working class and the middle levels of society. Women’s liberation is, therefore, part of society’s liberation from the capitalistic system itself and its replacement by communism.

19. Broad layers of youth, and in particular young people from working class families, the Arab population, Ethiopians, and migrant workers, are oppressed and deeply exploited, and the struggles of the youth from these layers is a progressive one. But for their struggle to be victorious, it must be part of the revolutionary struggle.

20. Israel takes part in ecological destruction, and this needs to be addressed within the context of the struggle to expropriate factories owned by capitalists who are polluting the environment. The central demands here must be the expropriation of factories and banks without any compensation, and their democratic supervision by workers, with the transition to non-polluting sources of energy.

21. The imperialistic “peace plans” and the Oslo accords, the road map, and the new agreement towards which the US is driving do not represent peace between Israelis and Palestinians but rather support for Israel and a certain degree of support for the Palestinian Authority, as part of an imperialistic strategy, a “Pax Americana” against the peoples of the region, including the Palestinian people. Revolutionaries reject this “peace,” insofar as real peace can only be achieved following the elimination of imperialistic control of the region and the establishment of a multinational workers’ state from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River as part of a socialist federation of the entire region that will function for the welfare of the inhabitants, the working class and middle layers of society, as part of the struggle for a socialist society.

22. In light of the fact that Israel is an imperialistic set-

tlar state, in any war against the Arab peoples residing in semi-colonial states, the revolutionary position is to stand alongside the Arab peoples during the military conflict, without granting any political support to the Arab bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Revolutionaries in Arab states will not call for an end to the class struggle during any war with Israel, and will do everything to bring about, as soon as possible, the working class' coming to power by means of a mass armed uprising; a revolution that will transform the war to a revolutionary war of the working class. At the same time this revolution will call upon the Jewish workers to abandon Zionism and to participate in the building of a socialist society in the region and throughout the world. The State of Israel is not only the oppressor of the Palestinians and the Arabs in general in its wars, for example, against Lebanon or in the further past against Nasser's Egypt, but it is a death trap for the Jews. This is because Israel has transformed the political struggle into a religious struggle against the Moslems constituting about a billion persons, and sooner or later Israel will suffer a military defeat. The Jews in this country only have a future *together with* the Palestinian refugees and the masses of the Palestinian people, just as the migrant workers and other refugees only have a future here in the context of a socialist society.

23. The revolutionary position regarding military service in Israel is support for the Arab resistance to serving in the Israeli army and defense for the Jews refusing to serve for reasons of conscience. At the same time, young revolutionary Jews can work within the army in order to reach regular soldiers and to turn them against their officers. Without splitting the army along class lines, the revolution will not succeed. Jewish revolutionaries serving in the army can shoot in the air thereby refraining from any action that oppresses the Palestinians. In addition, the working class needs to learn how to use weapons which will eventually be turned against the exploiters. Naturally, revolutionaries do not support military service not undertaken for these goals. Whether to serve in the army or not is a tactical question whose answer will be determined by the ongoing situation and the needs of the revolutionary movement.

24. While revolutionaries do not adhere to religions, they respect those who do believe and understand the psychological need for belief is the result of a sense of insecurity common to the masses. Revolutionaries desire to unify the struggle of the religious and non-religious, and for this reason they oppose any oppression of believers by the bourgeois state; for example, the oppression of Moslems by Israel or of religious Moslem immigrants to Europe, or the campaign in Israel inciting against ultra-Orthodox Jews as parasites. At the same time, revolutionaries demand, among other things, the separation of religion and state, and oppose the funding of yeshiva students by the state. While this is a simple democratic demand, there is absolutely no chance that this will be implemented without a socialist revolution, inasmuch as the Zionists need the Jewish religion as their justification for dispossessing the Palestinians and their colonial settlement of Palestine. A revolutionary political party accepts religiously observant workers to its ranks on the basis of a revolutionary program, while religious belief remains the personal business of the believer. At the same time, this does not prevent

revolutionaries from disseminating the scientific perspective of the role of the working class – Marxism based on historical and dialectical materialism.

25. Due to its systematic oppression of the Palestinian people, Israel's isolation throughout the world is increasing. Revolutionaries in Israel support the boycotting of state institutions, universities, companies supporting the settlements, products from the settlements, and Israel's cultural, artistic, and sport institutions. At the same time, revolutionaries do not call for the total boycotting of all citizens of the State of Israel. We also do not support calls for imperialistic states to boycott Israel. Revolutionaries support broad-based, popular boycott movements but not boycotting by imperialistic rulers who are no better than Israel. The call for other imperialistic countries to boycott Israel only spreads illusions about the nature of these other states. Boycotting by states is a step towards war, and in wars between imperialistic states the revolutionary position is one of revolutionary defeatism for *all* sides, and in all imperialistic countries revolutionaries should see "their" own bourgeoisie as the *most* dangerous enemy. The most effective means of boycotting official Israel is the refusal of trade unions throughout the world of loading or unloading cargoes such as weapons, diamonds, and settlement products to and from Israel.

26. The program calling for two states, one a demilitarized mini-Palestinian state in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 living in peace alongside the latter, is an unrealistic and reactionary idea, something attested to by the support it receives from the US and Europe. Alas, not everything that imperialists support do revolutionaries oppose, but in the present case the idea of two states is intended to serve the imperialistic rule of the region. The proposed mini-Palestinian state is no different than the Bantustans that were established in South Africa, or the Indian reservations in North America, and denies, among other things, the right of return for Palestinians to their country. Even the Palestinian Authority collaborates with the US on this matter, and Israel is obligated to oppose it, at least out loud. Israel will do everything to prevent the return of the Palestinian refugees which is the heart and core of the conflict. Not only this, but Israel is today continuing to expand the settlements with the intention of preventing the founding of a mini-Palestinian state. If such a mini-Palestinian state would be established, the Palestinian citizens of Israel would be expelled to it under the guise of land swaps: the "triangle" region for the settlement areas.

27. Revolutionaries support the demand for the establishment of a democratic state from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River with equal rights for the masses of Arabs and Jews. However, a democratic state can hypothetically be either bourgeois under the combined rule of the Israeli and Palestinian bourgeoisies, or a democratic workers' state which is simultaneously the dictatorship of the workers against the bourgeoisie. Any state is a dictatorship; the question is by whom and for whom. Democratic Athens was a dictatorship for the slaves. Capitalism is a dictatorship against the workers. A workers' state in this country will be a state in which the Palestinian workers will rule with the support of a certain part of the Israeli workers as well as migrant workers and refugees, all of whom will prevent the bourgeoisie from retaking power.

A combined bourgeois democratic state is a pipedream, seeing as there is no chance that the Zionist bourgeoisie will agree to a bourgeois state with equal rights for all, and will do everything to prevent this. The mechanism of the state is never a neutral institution standing over all classes as liberals believe, but rather is an instrument for the control of the ruling class (by means of the army, police, legislature, courts, prisons, etc.). Hypothetically, the founding of a common bourgeois state was possible in 1947. However, this idea was toppled by western imperialism and Stalinism for the sake of the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, when it was nearly certain to all concerned that the Arab state that was also supposed to be established would not be, and instead, there would be a mass expulsion of Palestinians and Mandatory Palestine would henceforth be divided between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. If the idea of two states were realistic, it would have come about a long time ago. In practice, the idea of two states is nothing more than a smokescreen that permits Israel to continue to steal the Palestinian lands. It is conceivable that the Soviet Stalinists and their parties throughout the world supported the establishment of Israel in order to get the British out of the country, but after the Second World War the center of imperialism was no longer Britain but the US. In this way, the Stalinists unwittingly assisted the Americans. If we believe communist parties, like that of Israel (CPI), at their word that their support for the founding of Israel was based on their opposition to the British presence, essentially they are admitting to not understanding the world in which they live. The truth is that the reformist communist parties are not mistaken in their analysis, but rather their position is derived from their policy of subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie. Their continued support for the establishment of the State of Israel is the position behind their support today for the plan of the Arab League, which in turn supports the US plan. Similarly, their position regarding Egypt today is the support of the pre-imperialistic military dictatorship. The Israeli group "Ma'avak Socialisti" (Socialist Struggle) which also supports two "socialist" states, also essentially supports the right of self determination for the oppressors, and the fact that they choose to call the two states "socialist" does not change this basic fact. The approach of this organization (the local branch of

the CWI) reflects their surrender to the chauvinistic mood and discourse of the Jewish workers in this country. These "socialists" should be asked whether the solution in South Africa should have been two "socialist" states, one for the racist whites and the other for the blacks, in order to get the support of the white workers. The Da'am party of Israel is no different from this point-of-view even though recently their position has become that the solution can be either two states or one. At the same time, Da'am is not currently prepared to struggle for a single workers' state as part of a socialist federation throughout the region.

28. The establishment of a single democratic state is contrary to the Zionist position regarding a Jewish and "democratic" state – i.e., one with a Jewish majority under a parliamentary regime which oppresses and discriminates against Arabs. However, even if it were possible for the Zionist bourgeoisie to accept the notion of a single democratic state, it would still continue to be the hegemonic power in this state, while continuing to oppress the Palestinian people and exploit the workers. Witness, for example, how much the democratic bourgeois state continues the mass exploitation of blacks in South Africa, while a thin layer of black bourgeoisie, assisted by the ANC and by the local Communist Party, has joined the white bourgeoisie and perpetuates the exploitation. Beyond this, it is possible that the establishment of a single democratic state is only possible under revolutionary circumstances, and that the founding of a single bourgeois state in place of revolutionary workers' state will be merely be a kind of counter-revolution in a democratic guise as happened in South Africa during the revolutionary circumstances of 1994, when it was conceivable to have established a workers' state in South Africa, had there been a revolutionary, proletarian leadership.

29. The class enemy cannot be defeated without the establishment of a revolutionary party of the working class. This party will be led by the workers and will express the highest revolutionary consciousness of this class. It will utilize the tactic of the united front composed of all workers' and leftist organizations, alongside Palestinian organizations fighting against oppression. The Internationalist Socialist League is the kernel for the founding of such a revolutionary party in Palestine, as part of the founding of the Fifth International. ■



Cartoon by Carlos Latuff

Iraq: Defend the Sunni Rebellion against the Maliki Regime and US Imperialism!

Down with all Reactionary Religious Sectarianism! For a Workers' and Peasants' Republic!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 22.6.2014

1. A mass rebellion of the Sunni population has swept away government control over most of the Sunni areas in Iraq. This rebellion has sounded alarm bells not only among the bourgeois-Islamist Shia sectarian regime of Nouri al-Maliki, but also among the ruling classes in Washington and Teheran. The resulting destabilization of post-occupation Iraq signals a major defeat for US imperialism. As a result, the US has begun a new military intervention in Iraq. In light of these developments, the central task of socialists is to defend the uprising against the attempts of the Maliki regime, as well as of Washington and Teheran, to crush it. At the same time, reactionary forces like the arch-reactionary Salafist group *Islamic State in Iraq and Levante* (ISIL – often also abridged as ISIS) must be driven back, since they represent a major obstacle to the building of a *non-sectarian* resistance of workers and peasants in the Middle East against imperialism and reactionary dictatorships. The task is to transform the current rebellions in the Middle East into a region-wide class struggle for a socialist federation of workers' and peasants' republics.

2. A broad coalition of Sunni resistance organization has launched a major insurrection which successfully drove the army of the pro-US Maliki regime out of nearly all major towns in the north and west of Iraq. In a few days, the insurgents conquered cities like Mosul, Tikrit, Tal Afar, Baiji, and Rawa. As early as January of this year, these forces had taken over Falluja – the center of an heroic popular insurrection against the US occupation in March 2004 – and Ramadi. Their easy victories are the result of mass support for the insurrection, on the one hand, and of the highly demoralized Iraqi army whose soldiers were not willing to fight for the thoroughly reactionary and corrupt Maliki regime which was imposed by the US occupation forces before their withdrawal from the country.

3. Contrary to how these latest developments are depicted in many Western media outlets, this is *not* an insurrection led solely by the reactionary Salafists of ISIL. It is a popular insurrection of the Sunni workers and peasants, albeit led by various petty-bourgeois nationalist and Islamist forces. Besides ISIL these are mainly the Baathist *Jaysh Rijal al-Tariqa al-Naqshbandia* (JRTN, led by the former Saddam Hussein deputy Izzat al-Duri), Harith al-Dhari's *Association of Muslim Scholars in Iraq*, the *1920 Revolution Brigades*, the *Islamic Army*, the *Rashidin Army*, the *Iraqi Hamas*, Abdullah al-Janabi's Fallujah-centered *Mujahidin Shura Council*, the *Anbar Tribes Revolutionary Council*, and the *Army of Pride and Dignity*. While these forces are all Sunni-centered, many of them reject the sectarian hate-propaganda and actions against the Shiite population purported by ISIL.

4. The present insurrection is the legacy of the US conquest and occupation of Iraq between 2003 and 2011. Since its inception, the Maliki regime has been discredited by its collaboration with the US occupation forces. This re-

gime has conducted a policy of brutal suppression against the Sunnis and has excluded them from employment in the public sector. This suppression escalated dramatically during the past year and a half, after the outbreak of the *Iraqi Spring* in Anbar province in December 2012, from whence peaceful mass demonstrations and sit-ins soon spread to other provinces. Protesters demanded the resignation of the government, jobs for the unemployed, higher wages, the release of political prisoners, etc. Instead of offering any concessions, the government chose to brutally smash the peaceful mass demonstrations of mostly Sunni workers and peasants. The result was a mass radicalization of the resistance and the formation of a military coalition which is now leading the present insurrection.

5. Like Maliki's government, the exacerbation of sectarian divisions is the direct results of the country's occupation by US imperialism. Faced with mass resistance against the occupation, the US colonial administration encouraged indiscriminate sectarian terrorist attacks between the Shiite and Sunni populations. By such a "*divide et impera*" policy they hoped to weaken the resistance. While indeed this policy of divide and rule resulted in a temporary weakening of the anti-imperialist resistance, due to Obama's promises to the American public, the US occupation forces couldn't postpone leaving the country in 2011 before managing to politically stabilize the country under their control. Instead the Maliki regime is ignored by the Kurdish people, who have established a kind of semi-autonomous area; it is despised by the Sunni population, which has now rebelled en masse; and it is also discredited among the Shiite population. In short, the present rebellion is a major defeat for US imperialism and demonstrates the bankruptcy of its colonial plans for the Middle East.

6. The RCIT calls for socialists to support the Sunni insurrection. This insurrection is just because the Sunni people have been discriminated and brutally suppressed since the beginning of the US occupation in 2003. It is just because it is directed against the reactionary Maliki government, a lackey of US imperialism. However socialists must not lend any support to the (petty-)bourgeois leaderships of the Sunni forces. In particular they must encourage the formation of self-defense groups against the arch-reactionary ISIL. Socialists should oppose any advance of Sunni insurgents into Shiite territories, which would only terribly inflame sectarian tensions. Socialists should fight against sectarian divisions and call for the formation of joint action councils and militias of Sunni, Shiites, and Kurdish workers and peasants.

7. US President Obama is now attempting to save as much as possible the stakes of the largest imperialist power. He has already ordered 300 troops as "military advisers" to Baghdad in addition to the 5,500 (!) strong personal already stationed at the US embassy. He has also deployed the aircraft carrier *USS George HW Bush* and two guided

missile ships into the Persian Gulf. He is forced to negotiate with the bourgeois-Islamist regime of Iran which, for years, the US government has declared as being part of the "Axis of Evil." In the short term, another full-scale invasion of US imperialism involving a large number of ground troops is unlikely, given the high risk of American casualties due to the fierce resistance in Iraq, to say nothing of the tremendous unpopularity of additional foreign wars among a clear majority of the US population. However, there is a real danger that the US will bomb the insurgents with their deadly air force and drones. In addition, a limited intervention by Special Forces on the ground is possible.

8. US imperialism is faced with a dilemma. Maliki has repeatedly called upon the US and Teheran to lend him more support. He has called for the US to bomb the Sunni insurgents. However, Washington knows that diplomatic moves to integrate sectors of the Sunni leaderships in the Iraqi government are necessary, something which the Maliki government has vehemently opposed doing until now. However, replacing al-Maliki, Washington's main ally in the country, is no easy task, since there are few other reliable forces amongst the Shiite political parties. Most of them are either close to the regime in Teheran or follow Muqtada al-Sadr, a petty-bourgeois Islamist who led an insurrection against the US occupation in 2004 and who expressed his solidarity with the Sunni-dominated *Iraqi Spring*.

9. We in the RCIT consider it as the duty of socialists around the world to oppose any form of military intervention of US imperialism in Iraq. Washington's wars against Iraq have already cost the lives of at least one million Iraqis and displaced four million people. It is important that the international workers' movement mobilizes against another US war in Iraq. Socialists should call for the immediate withdrawal of all US military personnel from Iraq, as well as of the US navy from the Persian Gulf. In a military conflict, socialists should stand for the defeat of the US forces and for the military victory of its opponents (even if it is such arch-reactionaries like the ISIL).

10. The bourgeois-Islamist regime of Iran is determined to support the Maliki regime. It hopes to strengthen its influence and to use the present situation to gain recognition by US imperialism. It has therefore already reached out to Washington to coordinate their military activities in Iraq. Teheran's strategic goal is to come to some accommodation with Washington, which would help it become a major regional power with good relations with US, Russian, as well as Chinese imperialism. This demonstrates once more that the regime in Teheran is not "anti-imperialist" out of any principled considerations. It is a capitalist regime the class interests of which came into conflict with those of US imperialism after the Iranian Revolution in 1979. When the Iranian bourgeoisie spots a chance to come to reconciliation with Washington without giving up its power, it will do so. For this reason, the RCIT has in the past always called for the defense of Iran against sanctions and any military threats of imperialism, because it is a semi-colonial country which is suppressed and super-exploited by the imperialist world order. At the same time, we have always refused to give any political support to the regime and have consistently warned against having any illusions in its "anti-imperialist" rhetorical. We stand for

the defeat of imperialism, against any military intervention of Iran in the Iraqi civil war, for a socialist revolution against the Teheran regime, and the establishment of a workers' and peasant republic as part of a Socialist federation of the people of the Middle East.

11. The recent developments in Iraq have been a major blow to the myth of the petty-bourgeois pro-Assad left (mostly Stalinists, Bolivarian supporters of Chavez and Morales, various pseudo-Trotskyist groups, etc.). For more than three years now, these forces have been claiming that the reactionary dictatorship in Syria represents an "anti-imperialist camp" while the Syrian rebels were supposed to be pro-imperialist US agents. As it is well known, the Iraqi Maliki regime, as well as Teheran, has been from the beginning of the Syrian Revolution in spring 2011 the closest supporters of Assad – aside from the Putin government of imperialist Russia. These pseudo-socialists ignore that fact that the Syrian Revolution has an authentic democratic character representing the desire of the workers and peasants to get rid of the decades-old Assad dictatorship. They ignore that the Assad regime – which has collaborated repeatedly with US imperialism in the past – is a close ally of Russian (and Chinese) imperialism and is seeking some sort of reconciliation with Washington. The official envoy of the Quartet on the Middle East, Tony Blair – the former British Prime Minister and war criminal of the Iraq War – has already called for a full military intervention of Western imperialism and an accommodation with Syria's dictator Assad. The petty-bourgeois pro-Assad left entirely ignores that the basic democratic and popular character of the Syrian Revolution is not at all undermined by the reactionary actions of groups like ISIL, nor by the treacherous collaboration of some leaders of the opposition with US imperialism. As we see now, it is the so "anti-imperialist" allies of Assad – Maliki and Teheran – which are calling for the military intervention of US imperialism! The RCIT states that authentic socialists must continue to support the Syrian Revolution in order to bring down the Assad regime without giving any political support to the (petty-) bourgeois leaderships of the rebels like the FSA, al-Nusra, or ISIL.

12. The Kurdistan Regional Government in the north of Iraq has seized the opportunity created by the



present crisis for the Maliki government and has expanded the territory it controls to include the oil center of Kirkuk. For the time being, the KRG has reached a tacit agreement with the Sunni insurgents and refrains from initiating any military attacks against them. The leading forces of the Kurdish government – the two factions of the Barzani and the Talabani clan – are thoroughly bourgeois. Their interest is to establish their own capitalist state and to use the region’s oil reserves for profitable trade. However, given the historic oppression of the Kurds – in Iraq, as well as in Iran, Turkey, and Syria – socialists must defend the Kurdish people’s right for independence. However, we advocate an independent Kurdistan which is not under the control of the bourgeois clans but of the workers and peasants. Hence, the RCIT calls for an independent workers’ and peasants republic of Kurdistan which unites the Kurdish people of all four countries.

* Defend the Sunni popular insurrection against the Iraqi army!

* Down with any military intervention of US imperialism! Support the insurgents against any military intervention

of US imperialism! For international mobilizations to defeat the US aggression!

* Down with the reactionary sectarianism! Drive the ISIL forces out of the resistance movement!

* Defend the Kurdish people’s right of self-determination! For a united and socialist Kurdistan!

* Victory to the Syrian Revolution against the Assad Regime!

* No military intervention of Iran! Down with the bourgeois-Islamist regime in Teheran!

* For joint action councils and militias of Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish workers and peasants!

* Expropriate the foreign owners of the Iraqi oil industry without compensation! Nationalize all oil companies, large industrial and telecommunication enterprises and banks under workers control!

* For a workers’ and peasants’ government! For a socialist federation of the people of the Middle East!

International Secretariat of the RCIT ■



Brazil: The World Cup and the Mass Protests

Report from Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (RCIT Brazil), 17.6.2014

The expectation created by the leaders of the social and political protest movements for the opening of the World Cup was that there would be massive demonstrations. They hoped that there would be a replay of the events of June 2013. However these hopes turned out to be illusions.

The multi-faceted and multi-class crowd who entered the streets last June did not return. Many people became convinced by the government and the media that it would not make sense to participate in the movement called *"There Will Be No Cup"* since the state had spent so much money in the event.

The centrist left has been politically divided in their analysis of the situation. While the Morenoite PSTU (Brazil section of the LIT-FI) has joined the movement against the World Cup, the *Workers' Cause Party* (PCO) denounced that the slogan *"There Will Be No Cup"* would only serve to feed the demands of right-wing parties.

From January until the eve of the opening of the games there were many strikes, mainly workers of public transport and public services in general. The strike of the street cleaners in Rio de Janeiro was an example of a victorious struggle:

* It was a victory against the mayor who threatened to fire 300 street sweepers;

* It was a victory against the judiciary that declared the strike illegal;

* And it was a victory against their union leadership that attempted to reach an agreement with the bosses by massively reducing the striker's demands

This successful strike was followed by several other strikes in the whole country: by the public school teachers, the drivers of public transport, judiciary workers, etc. It appeared that the closer the date of opening of the World Cup was coming, the more the number of strikes and protests increased.

However, much of the movement was suppressed by the police who acted with brutality against strike pickets. Furthermore, the employers appealed to the judiciary, which, without exception, considered most of the strikes as illegal. However, despite these threats the bus drivers in São

Paulo ignored its trade union leadership which tried to sign an agreement with the bosses against the desires of the rank and file workers and went on strike for three days and virtually stopped the city. But the judiciary declared the strike illegal and fined the trade union with 200.000 reais (about 180.000 dollars). Finally, the strike ended with the help of Valdevan José de Jesus Santos, the treacherous president of the driver's trade union. Santos told a television network that he *"was not surprised by the judiciary's decision, and we will appeal to the judiciary to cancel the fine. We will appeal the punishment that because we are not guilty."* Also said has not intend to carry out a new strike in protest against the decision. *"We have no reason to. The union has not called strike, we are just call for judicial proceedings,"* he said.

The teachers of Rio de Janeiro – both state and county – proceed on strike since May 12 demanding a 20% wage increase and better working conditions. Recently, the teachers in São Paulo ended a strike that lasted 43 days in a very confrontation against the administration of Mayor Fernando Hadad (PT).

The workers of the São Paulo metro, whose union is mostly led by the PSTU, went on strike for five days on the eve of the opening of the World Cup. However, the accumulation of errors by the PSTU was crucial for the defeat of the movement: They do not unify the metro workers strike with the previous strike of bus drivers; after the refusal of the state government to meet the 36% demand of wage increase they lowered their demand to 10%, which was only 1.5% higher than the government's offer; and in addition they were accused by the government and the press to make an opportunistic and political strike. This strike did not find support from the people, who did not understand why they were without transportation because of a difference of only 1.5%. The result was, again, that the judiciary outlawed the movement and fined the trade union with 100.000 Real (about 90.000 dollars) for each day of strike. The governor of the State of São Paulo, Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB), based on the alleged illegality of the strike, fired 42 strike workers of the metro. The union leaders, instead of calling for an intensification of the strike, canceled it



and tried to negotiate the readmission of workers. But the governor was intransigent and kept the layoffs. It was a historic defeat of the subway workers.

The Homeless Workers Movement (MTST), which for months was the leading sector in the campaign against the Cup with massive street protests, was co-opted by the federal and municipal governments (PT) a few days before the start of the Cup. The PT governments promised to fulfill three of the MTST demands: 1) construction of 2000 houses on a plot near the stadium Itaquera; 2) creation of an inter-ministerial committee for the prevention of the forced evictions in the country, aiming to avoid conflicts and police violence; 3) realization of changes in the “*Minha Casa, Minha Vida*” (My House, My Life) program, which is a program that supposedly should allow for federal housing finance for the poorest people. Given these promises MTST withdrew from the streets.

As a result only a few groups continued to participate in the movement against the World Cup like some social groups independent of the parties, the teachers that are still on strike in Rio de Janeiro, and the few people of the so-called “*Black Block*”.

The tactic of the PSTU was a fiasco. They – and other of the left – backed the slogan “*There will be no World Cup*” and therefore prioritized to launch the metro strike on the eve of the event instead of uniting their strike with the struggles of the workers of public transport (buses) and the teachers. Worse, they helped the government to give

weight to their demagogic argument that they were doing an “*opportunistic strike which is harming the population.*”

It was also wrong of the PCO to claim that the movement “*There will be no World Cup*” was led by the right wing opposition. The truth is that the big sponsors and big corporations have invested a lot of money in this project and would never encourage right wing sections to boycott the event.

Moreover, the federal government used all the influence they have within the bureaucracy of the unions and social movements such as the MST (the powerful *Movement of the Landless Peasants*) to neutralize any broad social movement that could undermine the stability not only of governance but also the World Cup matches. In this sense, the bourgeoisie and the PT government are together as ever to ensure that they make profits together with FIFA.

The real battle between the government and the PT-PMDB and their allies against their traditional opponents of the PSDB and their allies will only start after the end of the World Cup, when the media will put in the agenda the October election for president.

It is urgent to build an authentic revolutionary party which can provide the working class with a leadership which unites the struggles of the different sectors of the workers and combines it with a socialist program to overthrow the capitalist ruling class. The CCR (RCIT in Brazil) is working towards this goal and looks forward to discuss and collaborate with like-minded militants. ■



João Evangelista: Leading Candidate of the Opposition List MUOC in the Teachers Union and Activist of the CCR (RCIT Brazil)

Austria: Public Meeting on Crisis and War in Europe

Report of the Austrian Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 28.6.2014

On June 18, a panel discussion with Winfried Wolf and Michael Pröbsting on “Europe - Crisis and War” took place. Winfried Wolf is a former member of parliament of the LINKSPARTEI in Germany, author of numerous books and editor of the journal *Lunapark21*. Michael Pröbsting is the International Secretary of the RCIT and has recently published the book *The Great Robbery of the South* in English and German language as well as a study on Russia as an imperialist power. The discussion focused on the perspectives of the EU as an imperialist alliance and the recent events in the Ukraine. The event was moderated by Stefan Kraft from the publishing

house *ProMedia*. There were not only interesting introductions from Wolf and Pröbsting but also a lively discussion by many contributions from the audience. In addition to a well-attended buffet table there was also a guessing game with a subsequent award ceremony to the winner. All in all an interesting and amusing evening!

You can view pictures of the event and download the two introductions of Pröbsting and Wolf here: <http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/veranstaltung-gro%C3%9Ffer-raub-18-6/> ■

Austria: Successful demonstration against Planned Fascist March

Report (with Photos and Videos) of the Austrian RCIT-Section, 6.6.2014

On June 4, 1,500 anti-fascists demonstrated against a planned march of a right-wing student group. The *Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION* (Austrian section of the RCIT) and the youth organization *RED*REVOLUTION* were amongst the organizing forces.

The demonstration succeeded in limiting the planned right wing march to an indoor meeting.

Michael Pröbsting, spokesman for the *RKO (LIBERATION)*, made a short speech at the starting rally of the demonstration. He emphasized that antifascists must not put any confidence in the bourgeois state in their struggle against the Nazis. He stressed that the Nazis can only be defeated by militant mass mobilizations on the streets.

During the demonstration the sizeable contingent of *RKO (LIBERATION)* and *RED*REVOLUTION* stood out with a militant spirit and a high level of discipline.

We sold a number of our newspapers and distributed 1.000 flyers, in which we denounced the brutal arrest of our 16-year-old comrade Clemens by the Viennese police and the threat of charges of “aggravated assault” against him. As we reported recently, comrade Clemens was arrested during the anti-fascist demonstration on May 17 when the police brutally protected a march of Nazis.

We say:

* *Anti-fascism is not a crime!*

* *Smash the fascist organizations!*

* *Solidarity with all those who are victims of repression and police violence like our comrade Clemens!*

Photos and videos of the demonstration can be found at on the RKO Homepage at

<http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/anti-fa-demo-4-6/> ■



Contingent of the RCIT's Austrian Section at the Antifascist Demonstration in Vienna on 4.6.2014

On the 100th Anniversary of the Outbreak of World War I: The Struggle against Imperialism and War

The Marxist Understanding of Modern Imperialism and the Revolutionary Program in Light of the Increasing Rivalry between the Great Powers, Revolutionary Uprisings, and Counterrevolutionary Setbacks

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25.6.2014

1. As we approach the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I, the historic crisis of world capitalism is again exacerbating the rivalry between the great imperialist powers. The most obvious examples of this are the recent flare ups between NATO and Russia over the crisis in the Ukraine and the tensions between China and Japan, as well as the USA, in the South China Sea. While an armed confrontation between these imperialist powers is unlikely in the near future, it is obvious that, on the centennial of the start of World War I in 1914, a new Cold War has started. This Cold War will prove to have been the preamble to future wars – first between proxies and later between the great powers themselves – if the international working class will not have prevented this in time by overthrowing the imperialist ruling class and taking power via the socialist revolution.

2. However, the exacerbation of the inter-imperialist rivalry is already having tremendous immediate consequences, long before a possible war between the great powers. All imperialist states will accelerate their armaments programs, paid for by additional cuts in social, health, and education programs at the expense of the working class and the popular masses. No less, the ruling classes in the imperialist states will intensify the ideological poisoning of the working class via a wave of chauvinism and militarism in the media, schools, etc. In addition, the inter-imperialist rivalry will have immediate economic consequences, since it undermines global trade in the world market. A characteristic example of this is the potential consequences of a gas war between the Ukraine, Russia, and the EU. Another example is the impact on international shipping in the South China Sea in the event of an intensification of China's conflict with Japan and USA.

3. At the same time, the exacerbation of class contradictions is increasingly provoking just, democratic, and social uprisings of the popular masses on the one hand and reactionary movements based on the déclassé middle class, as well as counter-revolutionary coup d'états on the other. Examples of progressive struggles are the wave of Arab Revolution from 2011 onwards (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, Syria); the 2014 Bosnian Revolution; the popular uprising in the eastern Ukraine; the strikes and demonstrations of workers and poor in Brazil; the mass mobilizations and general strikes in Greece, Spain, and Portugal; and the August 2011 uprising of the poor in Britain. Examples of reactionary countermeasures are General Sisi's military coup in Egypt on 3 July 2013; the *Euro-Maidan* movement in the Ukraine; the *Yellow Shirt* mobilizations and the military coup in Thailand; and the semi-fascist anti-government protests in Venezuela. In such conflicts and civil wars it is only natural that the rival

imperialist powers attempt to intervene in order to enhance their influence. For the same reasons imperialist powers are increasingly sending military forces into semi-colonial countries in order to enforce their claims (e.g., Obama's decision to continue the occupation of Afghanistan; the EU's military intervention in Mali and the Central African Republic; China's aggressive policy against Vietnam concerning the Paracel Islands; Russia's annexation of the Crimea).

4. In such a contradictory and explosive situation, it is indispensable that socialists provide the working class and the oppressed masses with a clear analysis of the increasing inter-imperialist rivalry as well as the nature of various local conflicts and civil wars. Without a clear understanding of modern imperialism and the nature of the current world situation, it is impossible for socialists to elaborate a correct program against imperialism and war. However, only if socialists are armed with such an analysis and program, will they be able to play a progressive role in advancing the building of an authentic revolutionary party of the working class and show the workers' vanguard a way out of the current crisis. If they fail to provide such an interpretation, they merely contribute, albeit involuntarily, to the mass confusion which is currently endemic in the international working class movement.

A Correct Understanding of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism is the Precondition for a Revolutionary Theory and Practice in the Present Period

5. Lenin's theory of imperialism is based on the understanding that, as a world system, capitalism has reached its historic limits. During this epoch, the forces of production repeatedly clash with the private property relations and the nation state. In the course of the twentieth century, capitalism's having expended itself provoked two world wars. Subsequently, these massive blood lettings were followed, starting in the early 1970s, by the long-term decline of the world economy as expressed in the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, in the over-accumulation of capital, etc. The culmination of this last process was the Great Recession of 2008/09 which opened a new historic period of capitalism's decline. The acceleration of capitalism's crisis inevitably intensifies the process of monopolization and the rule of the great powers, and exacerbates both class contradictions and heated competition among nation states. At the same time, we witness accelerated super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world – i.e., the appropriation of extra-profits by the imperialist monopolies and their home states which in turn intensifies the inequality between rich and poor countries. These extra-profits

help the imperialist bourgeoisie bribe the upper layers of the working class – the so-called labor aristocracy, which forms the material basis for the reformist bureaucracy in the workers' movements. Hence, we see increased antagonism between the ruling capitalist class and the proletariat and the popular masses, between the imperialist states and the semi-colonial world, as well as between the great imperialist powers themselves. Objectively, this reality is the backdrop for the increasing number of revolutionary upheavals, as well as for counter-revolutionary setbacks. Consequently, the present historic period is fundamentally revolutionary in character.

6. The RCIT defends the orthodox Leninist viewpoint and rejects the various revisionist attacks, explicit or implied, on it. We reject those theories and currents which claim that the inter-imperialist rivalry is being replaced by the emergence of a global "*transnational capitalist class*" (various Stalinists, left social democrats, and autonomous groups inspired by the theories of Leo Panitch and Sam Gindin or Toni Negri and Michael Hardt). Similarly, we reject those who claim that rivalry between the great imperialist powers is ostensibly *decreasing* because the Western powers are forming a joint phalanx against the *allegedly* non-imperialist powers Russia and China. (e.g., Stalinists, Socialist Action [Britain], Counterfire [Britain], WWP [USA]). Whether intentionally or unintentionally, these schools of thought are echoing Kautsky's schema of "*Ultra-imperialism*", i.e., this famous revisionist's theory that the great powers are increasingly joining forces in order to better exploit the working class and the (semi-) colonial countries. As such, these progressive forces erringly justify their revisionist conceptions by either declaring that China is still a "socialist" country or a "degenerated workers state." Or, while accepting the fact that Russia and China became capitalist countries more than two decades ago, they contend that both are semi-colonial capitalist countries exploited by the Western powers, or that they are "pre-imperialist" countries.

7. As we have shown in various places, the error of these groups is that they consistently ignore the fact that emerging imperialist China has become the world's largest economy; that its monopolies rank – according to different annual indexes – among the second or third largest national group in the annual lists of the world's largest corporations; that its super-rich capitalists similarly rank amongst the second, third, or fourth largest national group among the richest people on earth; that China is a major capital exporting nation; and that its military is becoming more and more powerful. At the same time, these groups ignore the fact that Russia is an imperialist power whose economy is dominated not by foreign capital but, rather, whose domestic monopolies control Russia and gain substantial extra-profits from investments abroad; that Russia is playing a dominating influence in various Eastern European and Central Asian countries; that it oppresses and super-exploits national minorities and migrants inside the Russian state; and that its military is one of the most powerful on earth (behind the USA and China). In summary, it is impossible to understand the dynamics of the present historic period, if one denies the existence of different great imperialist powers (*including* China and Russia) whose rivalry is not being mitigated but rather *exacerbated*.

8. These various revisionists ignore or falsify Lenin's

understanding of imperialism. They view one or two aspects of Russia's or China's economy in isolation (e.g., its figures of accumulated capital export) and claim that, since the figures for these emerging imperialist powers are less than the strongest western imperialist powers, they somehow don't fit into their schema of imperialist states. If Lenin would have adopted such an eclectic, undialectical approach, he would have, at his time, discounted the imperialistic nature of Russia, Japan, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, and the United States. The true Leninist method – as we have shown in various places – demands viewing the nature of an imperialist power as such by analyzing the totality of its economic, political, and military position in the global hierarchy of states. Thus, a given state must be viewed not only as a separate unit, but first and foremost *in its relation to other states and nations*. An imperialist state usually enters a relationship with other states and nations whom it oppresses, in one way or another, and super-exploits – i.e., it appropriates a share of the latter's produced capitalist value.

A Brief Overview of the Imperialist Powers Today

9. Beyond the decay of capitalism as a global system, the basis for the exacerbation of the inter-imperialist rivalry during recent years have been important changes – economic, political, and military – in the relations of forces between the imperialist powers themselves. Since World War II, the *United States* has been the absolute hegemon among the imperialist countries. However, this overwhelming dominance started to decrease as early as the 1960s and 1970s, and in subsequent decades the decline of US hegemony has accelerated. While today the US remains, *relatively*, the strongest of imperialist power, its status has fundamentally changed to being one of *primus inter pares*. The US empire has become severely over-extended, its political and military dominance being entirely disproportionate with its declining economic base. This development resembles the decline of British imperialism in the decades before World War I. While, after 1945, the US accounted for half of the world's industrial manufacturing – making it the center of the production of capitalist value – subsequently, its *relative* economic power gradually declined until, in 2011, it was superseded by China, and now accounts for only 19% of global industrial production. (As an aside, we draw our readers' attention to the fact that, even this figure is too high, as official production statistics of *all* western economies are significantly inflated, seeing how they surreptitiously attribute to themselves mass sums of capitalist value transferred to them by the semi-colonial world which they dominate.) Similarly, if we scrutinize the world's largest corporations (indexed in the so-called *Fortune 500*), we witness a significant decline in the place of US monopolies on this list, decreasing from 40% to 26% between 2000 and 2011. No less striking is that the US has been transformed from the world's largest creditor to its biggest debtor, and has become the world's leading importer, rather than an exporter, of capital. At the same time, the US still holds important assets which reflect its past strength: the US dollar is still the world's leading currency for international trade and its military budget is greater than the next nine national military budgets combined. However, regarding the first of these assets, the

EU, as well as Russia and China, are taking concrete steps to challenge the dollar's monopoly in the conducting of global trade and finance, while the second – the US's massive military spending – could not prevent it from facing defeats both in Iraq and Afghanistan. Consequently, the US is no longer able to intervene wherever and whenever it chooses, as was so clearly demonstrated in the autumn of 2013, when the US was forced to negotiate with Russia in Geneva over the Syrian crisis. Similarly, the US could not stop Russia from taking over Crimea, nor does it prevent China from flexing its muscles in the East China Sea. Related to this loss of absolute hegemony, reflecting as it does the political-moral crisis of the American empire, is the increasing unwillingness of the US population to complacently accept the deaths of US soldiers involved in their country's imperialistic adventures. To summarize, US imperialism is in a state of decline; the force and threats of force it wields are based on its past indisputable hegemonic position while, in fact, it has become a Colossus with feet of clay, similar to Britain before 1914.

10. *European imperialism* – organized under the EU, and led by Germany with France as its junior partner – is in a contradictory position. On the one hand, during the past decade it managed to more or less retain its position in the world market, as its monopolies avoided a significant decline and basically kept their share among the world's leading corporations. While, in fact, Germany, Italy, France, and the UK did encounter very modest decreases in their respective shares of the world market (Britain more so than others), they nevertheless remain among the world's leading economic powers. The Euro has gained in strength as a currency of world exchange. At the same time, the EU's main problem is that it is not a unified power. Hence, its effective weight in the world economy and politics does not equal its numerical weight (i.e., the total is less than the sum of its parts), to say nothing about the relative strength of its combined military forces. Without US backing, the EU would be in an extremely weak position, for example, in its struggle with Russia over influence in the Ukraine. Similarly, by itself the EU would be incapable of effectively defending its shipping along world-wide trade routes, nor of ensuring its imperialistic access to the raw materials of the South. This is why the only chance for Europe's monopoly capital is to push forward the creation of a pan-European state apparatus which will effectively unite its economic, political, and military power. Such a project will undoubtedly demand massive attacks being made on the interests of the working class, the middle class, and even sectors of the bourgeoisie as, among other things, it will require a massive increase in the EU's military spending. As long as such a project has not begun to approach some sort of parity with the relative strengths of the US, the EU will be forced to ally itself with the latter in order to realize its global interests.

11. *Japanese imperialism* could also potentially retain its position as the world's third largest economic power as is reflected in its share of world industrial production as well as being the home base of leading global corporations. However, Japan has three basic problems: it lacks close allies (like those, for example, which Germany has in the EU); it faces a huge and rising rival directly at its front door (i.e., China); and its military is still weak. As a result, it is still politically and militarily dependent on the

US. Hence, Japan's ruling class, served by the right-wing government of Prime Minister Abe, is whipping up reactionary chauvinism and militarism, and is launching massive attacks on its working class and peasantry, not least because it needs to finance its massive re-armament.

12. *China's* rise as an emerging imperialist power is the single most important development in world politics of the last decade. As already mentioned above, China has become the largest producer of capitalist surplus value. In the *Fortune 500* index of the world's leading corporations, the number of Chinese monopolies ranks only behind those of the US. China has become a major capital exporter and has become one of the biggest foreign investors in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Hence China – and to a lesser degree also Russia – is appropriating a substantial mass of extra profits from the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world. It is the world's largest holder of foreign exchange reserves and – like Russia – is increasingly making itself independent of the US dollar by steadily reducing its hold of US bonds. Together with Russia and the other BRICS states, China is establishing a global bank as an alternative to the IMF. Another sign of major changes in the hierarchy of imperialist powers is China and Russia's creation of a joint rating agency to counter US dominance. China's rise as an imperialist power is also reflected in its having become the world's second-largest military spender, as well as its recent militarist forays against Japan (the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands) and Vietnam (the Paracel Islands).

13. *Russia* too is an important emerging imperialist power. After the catastrophic collapse of the USSR, Russia has again become a major producer of capitalist value. While Russia ranked fourteenth on the list of the world's manufacturing countries in 2001, by 2011 it advanced to eighth place. It has created a number of monopolies which dominate its economy and increasingly invest their capital abroad. However, one has to be clear that Russia's economy and its monopoly capital are substantially weaker than that of China or the US. Putin has advanced the formation of the *Eurasian Union* and is attempting to increase Russia's hegemony in Central Asia and Eastern Europe. It is the world's third greatest military power. Russia's status as an imperialist power is illustrated by its ability to stand up against the US and EU imperialism in major issues of world politics (e.g., Georgia in 2008, Syria since 2011, and the Ukraine in 2014). There is no doubt that the specific formation of the bonapartist regimes in Russia (the Putin regime since 1999) and China (the Stalinist-capitalist regime since the early 1990s) enables both states to severely suppress their respective working classes and hence to utilize their economic resources effectively.

14. There are also a number of other *smaller or junior imperialist states* throughout the world (e.g., various smaller states in Western Europe; Australia, Canada, and South Korea). These all have witnessed capitalist development since the 19th century and are dominated by their own monopolistic bourgeoisie. For many decades, they have participated in the super-exploitation of the South. As a result, they have accumulated massive amounts of capital and wealth which enables them to bribe a substantial layer of the middle class as well as the labor aristocracy. However, these states are too weak to play an independent role and, hence, they must ally themselves with the stronger great

powers, filling a junior role by which they can ensure their own specific interests in the world economy and politics. It is important to recognize that these smaller countries are *not* semi-colonies but imperialist states; they are not exploited by the great powers, but rather profit economically and politically from the imperialist world order. So despite the differences in size and influence between, let us say, Switzerland and the US, both are imperialist states and the working class has no interest in supporting either of them in the event of armed conflict.

The Struggle against Imperialism and War Requires the Support for Just Struggles of the Workers and Oppressed in Each Country

15. The same dynamics which are exacerbating the inter-imperialist rivalry – the deepening crisis of the world capitalist system – are also accelerating the social and political convulsions throughout the world and, in particular, in those countries which do not belong to the small circle of very rich and powerful imperialist states. As a result, we have witnessed in the last few years broad-based class struggles and revolutionary uprisings, as well as the rise and growth of fascist movements and counterrevolutionary coup d'états, in the Arab countries, in Latin America, in Asia, and in Southern Europe. A correct understanding of the causes of these revolutionary and reactionary movements is essential for Marxists for two reasons. First, various imperialist powers try to intervene and to exploit such

upheavals to advance their own reactionary interests. Secondly, since the struggle against imperialist war starts by advancing the class struggle against the ruling capitalist classes in all countries around the world, victory or defeat in this or that country has important consequences for this struggle as a whole.

16. Lenin used to emphasize Hegel's saying that "*the truth is always concrete*," i.e., that Marxists have to concretely analyze the positions and interests of the combating classes in each situation. This involves studying whether the workers and the popular masses are engaged in a struggle which is objectively directed against a bourgeois dictatorship; against a reactionary regime which launches an austerity offensive or which acts as a national oppressor; or against an imperialist aggressor. Similarly, one has to evaluate if the struggle is an authentic mass struggle or rather a middle-class movement initiated and controlled by reactionary forces in order to achieve reactionary goals. In the event of imperialist intervention, one must analyze whether a given democratic or national liberation struggle has become fully subordinate to the imperialist maneuvers and thereby no longer possesses any significant internal dynamic of a workers' and peasant liberation struggle. If this is the case, Marxists must change their position and give up critical support for the liberation struggle.

17. Based on such an approach, Marxists must support just struggles and revolutionary uprisings and fight from within such movements for the political and organizational independence of the working class, i.e., they must

NEW RCIT PUBLICATION ON RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM!

Russia as a Great Imperialist Power

The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire

By Michael Pröbsting, March 2014

Introduction

I. What are the Criteria for an Imperialist State?

Imperialism and Super-Exploitation

II. Russia: The Nature of its Monopoly Capital and Empire

Monopolization

State Capitalism

Excuse: The Breakdown in the 1990s

Russia's Rise as an Economic Power

Capital Export of Russian Monopolies

Russia as a Great Political and Military Power

III. Rebuilding the Empire

Russia's Internal Colonies

Putin's Eurasian Union and the Semi-Colonies

Migration and Super-Exploitation

IV. The Distinguishing Characteristics of Russian Imperialism

V. The Arguments of Our Critics

WIVP (South Africa): Russia is a Semi-Colony of German Imperialism

LCFI: From "Imperialist" to "Pre-Imperialist" China and Russia

The LCFI's Schematic Understanding of Imperialism

The Great Imperialist Powers before 1914

Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks on Russia as an Imperialist Power

An Ultra-Left Version of Kautskyianism

Inverted Social-Imperialists

VI. Appendix: The Capitalist Restoration in Russia (2001)

Endnotes



break the workers away from their (petty-)bourgeois leaderships and organize them around a revolutionary party. This demands that revolutionary communists apply the united front tactic, i.e., that they combine practical collaboration with the mass organizations of the workers and oppressed (including their leaders) while at the same time providing uncompromising criticism of the failed strategies of these leaderships. Marxists must fight to combine democratic revolutions or anti-austerity struggles with a program for working class power. To do so they need to struggle among the workers' vanguard and the masses for a perspective of building workers' and popular action councils and armed militias, as well as a workers' government based on such organs. Where this or that great power attempts to intervene in the situation, revolutionaries must fight for the complete independence of the liberation movements from any imperialist influence. Examples of such just struggles and uprisings are the Arab Revolutions since 2011 (including in the ongoing revolution in Syria), the Bosnian Revolution of 2014, the popular uprising in the eastern Ukraine, the protests of workers and the poor in Brazil, and the anti-austerity mobilizations in southern Europe. These all were/are authentic mass uprisings for democratic or social goals, regardless of imperialist attempts to corrupt the leadership of these movements (like that of Western imperialism in Libya in 2011 and Syria today; or that of Russian imperialism in the eastern Ukraine). On the other hand, movements like the *Euro-Maidan* in the Ukraine or the *Yellow Shirt* mobilizations in Thailand were reactionary middle-class mobilizations fully controlled by reactionary forces and aimed at achieving reactionary goals (like Ukraine joining the EU, the pro-US semi-fascist riots in Venezuela, or encouraging the Thai military and judiciary to institute a coup d'état). For the meantime, both General Sisi's military coup on 3 July 2013 in Egypt and the military coup in Thailand on 20 May 2014 represent the highpoints of such reactionary offensives.

18. For authentic Marxists, the struggle against imperialism and war does *not* begin by promising what we will do in the future in the event of open war between the great powers, but by providing a correct analysis of, orientation towards, and concrete program for the actual ongoing class struggles of today. Those who, due to their adaption to petty-bourgeois pressures, fail to take up positions on the correct side of the barricades in today's revolutions and counter-revolutions will inevitably surrender to the pressures of chauvinism in any future wars. Hence, the RCIT denounces as politically criminal the support exhibited for the Euro-Maidan movement, as a kind of legitimate democratic struggle, by most of the larger centrist organizations (e.g., the Mandelite Fourth International, Peter Taffee's CWI, the Cliffite SWP/IST, the ISO [USA], and the Morenoite LIT-FT). Equally we denounce those who hailed the reactionary military coup of General Sisi in Egypt as a "*second revolution*" and who fail today to side with the mass protest movement against the regime (e.g., the ex-Stalinist *European Left Party*, the *Communist Party of Egypt*, IMT, LIT-FI, and the Cliffites). However, revolutionaries must also draw a line in the sand for those centrists and left-reformists who – when they actually *do* join the correct side of the barricade – invariably insert elements of confusion among the masses by disseminating a program replete with opportunistic adaption to the petty-bourgeois

leaderships of such movements. Examples of this phenomenon are the uncritical support for the pro-Western FSA among the Syrian rebels by the Mandelite Fourth International and the LIT-FI, and the Mandelites failure to oppose NATO bombing in Libya in 2011. Yet another example is the support of various Asian and Australian socialists for a bourgeois-parliamentarian perspective in the struggle against the military dictatorship in Thailand.

The Revolutionary Struggle against Imperialism, War, and Reaction

19. The escalating contradictions and tensions between the great imperialist powers, the intensification of the capitalist crisis, and the manifestations of the latter in the heightening of the class struggle make the understanding and application of the Bolshevik program against imperialist militarism and wars mandatory for the workers' vanguard. The Communist International, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, and later – after its Stalinist degeneration – the Fourth International led by Trotsky, distilled the experience of the revolutionary worker movements' anti-militarist and anti-imperialist struggles before, as well as during, World War I, experience which ultimately culminated in Russia in the socialist October Revolution of 1917. From their analysis, they determined that the starting point for every Marxist must be the famous dictum of the Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz who summarized the essence of any military conflict by the famous words, often repeated by Friedrich Engels and V.I. Lenin: "*War is merely a continuation of policy by other means.*" In Marxist terms this means that the working class must fundamentally oppose its imperialist government equally in times of peace as well as in times of war. It must use – regardless of whether during peace or war – every weakness and crisis of its class enemy to undermine and ultimately overthrow it. The German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht famously summarized the Marxist approach in the slogan "*The main enemy is at home!*" This means that the working class in the imperialist countries must view their own ruling class as the main enemy. Hence, it should focus its perspective and utilize the domestic political crisis of its ruling class – caused by inter-imperialist rivalry, military adventures abroad or even full-scale wars – to advance the class struggle against its own bourgeoisie, with the ultimate goal of overthrowing it by means of a socialist revolution. The Marxist approach to imperialist wars is expressed in the principle "*Turn the imperialist war into a civil war!*" which Lenin and the Bolsheviks and later Trotsky and the Fourth International made a pillar of the revolutionary program.

20. Hence, there is a political abyss between authentic revolutionaries and reformists like the French *Front de Gauche* and the Communist Party *PCF* (both members of the *European Left Party/ELP*) who were part of a war-mongering imperialist government which launched wars of aggression against Serbia in 1999 and against Afghanistan in 2001, and which more currently supports the French military interventions in Africa in 2013/14. Equally repulsive are leaders of the German LINKE who openly support the imperialist, apartheid state of Israel which has been suppressing and expelling the Palestinian people from their land since 1948. We equally denounce the open supporters

of Russian and Chinese imperialism who proclaim their support for the Eastern imperialist camp against its conflict with the West. An example of the latter is the support of Russia's *Stalinist-chauvinist KPRF* for Putin's war of oppression in Chechnya. Other examples are the pro-Russia and pro-China stands of various Stalinist and proto-Stalinist forces around the world (like the WWP[USA]) in various conflicts (Syria, Ukraine, East China Sea). Equally we denounce the Japanese *Communist Party's* support for its government's colonial claims to various islands in the East China Sea.

21. When war looms, various social democratic, Stalinist and centrist forces in the workers' movement, as well as progressive liberals, raise the slogan of *peace at any price*. This is usually combined with helpless appeals to the United Nations and the renunciation of violence on principle. Such pacifist slogans at times find a certain resonance among sectors of the working class. While there is, in fact, a progressive aspect to such sentiments when advanced by politically-raw workers who, in this way, attempt to express their hatred for imperialist wars, when propagated by various petty-bourgeois, social democratic, and Stalinist forces, the ideology of pacifism is utterly reactionary. In such cases it is an ideology cynically used to disarm the workers and oppressed peoples when, in fact, the latter can *only* achieve liberation from the imperialist yoke by means of an armed class struggle. In addition, reactionary pacifism confuses the working class and distracts it from the important support for just liberation wars – by oppressed nations like, for example, the Kurds; against imperialist occupation, like in Afghanistan or in Mali; or against a reactionary government and its fascist militias, like that in the eastern Ukraine.

22. To win the workers' vanguard, and later the entire proletariat, over to a *revolutionary* anti-war program, even during times of peace Marxists must consistently make the case for proletarian internationalism on all issues. The famous words from Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto* – "*The workers have no fatherland*" – was never intended to mean that socialists should be ignorant about oppression and discrimination of nations. Quite the contrary, Marx and Engels considered the struggle against any form of national oppression as a crucial part of the proletarian liberation struggle. However, what they meant and what is, more than ever, still valid today is that the workers must in no way identify their own class interests with the interests of the national state, which is nothing but the state of the capitalist ruling class. This is particularly true for the workers in the imperialist states – the US, the EU, Japan, Russia, and China as well as in smaller imperialist states – all of which are the biggest robbers and oppressors of the laboring masses around the globe. Hence, socialists must explain the need for the workers to break *with every form of political and ideological identification with the imperialist national state*. Trotsky explained this in his crucial document *War and the Fourth International*: "*A 'socialist' who preaches national defense is a petty-bourgeois reactionary at the service of decaying capitalism. Not to bind itself to the national state in time of war, to follow not the war map but the map of the class struggle, is possible only for that party that has already declared irreconcilable war on the national state in time of peace. Only by realizing fully the objectively reactionary role of the imperialist state can the proletarian vanguard become invulnerable to all*

types of social patriotism. This means that a real break with the ideology and policy of 'national defense' is possible only from the standpoint of the international proletarian revolution." (Leon Trotsky: *War and the Fourth International*, 1934)

23. From this follows the need for Marxists to mobilize the working class in imperialist countries not *only* against all forms of militarism and aggressive foreign policy. They must also explain that the workers must unconditionally support the struggles of the oppressed people against the imperialist states – in particular those who are in conflict with their "own" ruling class. Trotsky summarized this principle in his statement: "*The struggle against war and its social source, capitalism, presupposes direct, active, unequivocal support to the oppressed colonial peoples in their struggles and wars against imperialism. A 'neutral' position is tantamount to support of imperialism.*" (Leon Trotsky: *Resolution on the Antiwar Congress of the London Bureau*, 1936) Naturally, such support for the struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism must go hand in hand with a sharp denunciation of the (petty-)bourgeois leaderships of these struggles.

24. Hence, Bolshevik-Communists denounce those pseudo-Marxists who failed to call for the military victory of Argentina against Britain in the Malvinas War 1982; of Iraq against the US in 1991 and 2003; of Afghanistan from 2001 until today; of the Lebanese Hezbollah against Israel in 2006; of the Palestinians in Gaza against Israel; or of the Tuareg in the North of Mali against the French occupiers. Among these cowering pseudo-Marxists are the left-reformist ELP, the Stalinist KKE in Greece, as well as centrist forces like the Mandelite Fourth International, Peter Taffee's CWI, Alan Wood's IMT, and the various groups in the tradition of the late Tony Cliff.

25. Yet another important expression of proletarian internationalism is the unconditional support of Marxists for the complete liberation of national minorities, including migrants, living in their own and in all other imperialist countries. Thus, Bolshevik-Communists advocate the struggle for equal rights for migrants, who are, in their vast majority, a nationally oppressed layer of super-exploited labor, and other national minorities. As the RCIT has repeatedly elaborated, this includes the struggle for equal wages, access to jobs, equal language rights, etc. In addition, Bolshevik-Communists oppose the reactionary control of immigration by the imperialist states. The transformation of the imperialist states into armed fortresses to keep out poor masses from the semi-colonial world is a prime example of the existing global apartheid regime which divides the world – and hence the world proletariat



– in exploiter and exploited nations. Marxists in the imperialist countries must resolutely oppose their aristocratic ruling class and raise the slogan for “*Open Borders*.” This slogan against imperialist border control will significantly increase in importance given the swelling of the flow of migrants from the South hoping to enter the rich North, due to the barbaric super-exploitation of the former by the latter, and the dramatic, worldwide climate change. During the present period of globalization, in which migrants constitute an ever-increasing proportion of the working class in imperialist countries, the struggle for *full equal rights for migrants* is one of the most important issues for which Marxists must prepare the proletariat in the imperialist world, as part of their campaign against future imperialist aggression and wars. In addition, the very fact that migrants represent such a substantial minority of the proletariat will create tremendous difficulties for the imperialist ruling class in their future wars. This is because, from the start, they will have a sizeable minority which is much less, or not at all, inclined to rally to the defense of the “national fatherland” – in particular if, for example, the ruling class wages wars against oppressed peoples with whom the migrants share either national or religious links. To summarize, in light of the waves of chauvinism which will be generated as inter-imperialist rivalry increases, the proletarian internationalist struggle for the equality of migrants and open borders constitutes, for Marxists, *the* most important political and ideological challenge for the preparation of the working class in imperialist countries.

26. Therefore, the RCIT denounces those reformists and centrists who support, in one way or another, the perpetuation of national oppression of migrants. Examples of such shameful capitulations to chauvinism are the support for reactionary actions like the “*British Jobs for British Workers*” strikes in 2009 by the Stalinist CPB and the CWI’s section; the defense of immigration control in the imperialist states (by left social democrats, Stalinists, and obscure ultra-left sects like the groups of the so-called *Spartacist* tradition); as well as the refusal of nearly all reformists and centrists to fight for the abolition of the state language, and for full equality for the languages of national minorities and migrants.

27. The struggle against imperialism and war – which most basically involves the spread of revolutionary ideas and programs among the working class – is serious *only* if, from the very beginning, it is accompanied by a struggle against the forces which mislead and confuse the proletariat. Hence, Marxists must strenuously fight against those reformist and centrist forces which, in one way or another, opportunistically adapt to their own bourgeoisie. If these forces so readily adapt to their own ruling class in times of peace, it is guaranteed that they will completely capitulate to them when the pressure to do so increases in times of war. Glaring examples of the latter are the support by social democrats for the waging of imperialist war by their respective governments during World War I; and support by them and the Stalinists of such governments during subsequent wars: World War II, Serbia in 1999, Afghanistan in 2001, etc. No less representative of such treacherous opportunism is the refusal of various centrist groups like the CWI or the IMT to defend semi-colonial nations who have become victims of aggression of their own imperialist bourgeoisie (e.g., the Malvinas war 1982, Afghanistan

since 2001, Iraq 2003, Palestine, etc.). These forces openly adapt to *social-patriotism*. In fact, they are *social-imperialists*. Trotsky already emphasized that Marxists have observed the concrete policy of such “socialist” groups: “*At the same time, it is necessary to follow attentively the inner struggle in the reformist camp and attract in time the left socialist groupings developing towards revolution to a struggle against war. The best criterion of the tendencies of a given organization is its attitude in practice, in action, toward national defence and toward colonies, especially in those cases in which the bourgeoisie of a given country owns colonial slaves. Only a complete and real break with official public opinion on the most burning question of the ‘defence of the fatherland’ signifies a turn, or at least the beginning of a turn from bourgeois positions to proletarian positions. The approach to left organizations of this type should be accompanied by friendly criticism of all indecision in their policy and by a joint elaboration of all theoretical and practical questions of war.*” (Leon Trotsky: *War and the Fourth International*, 1934)

28. Finally there are those reformist and centrist forces who oppose the foreign policy of their own imperialist bourgeoisie by giving – directly or indirectly – support to the rival imperialist power. This is often justified by claiming that these powers are less imperialistic or not imperialistic at all, or that they are more democratic, etc. For example various Stalinists and centrists claim that China is a kind of workers’ state or at least a non-imperialist capitalist country. Others claim that Russia is not an imperialist but a semi-colonial or a “pre-imperialist” state. All these serve as justifications for lending these powers support against the US and EU. Conversely, there are also various petty-bourgeois progressive forces in Russia and China who justify *tactical* support for the US or the EU because these countries are less authoritarian. All this is a complete betrayal of the principles of proletarian internationalism. Such an opportunistic adaptation to a rival imperialist power has nothing to do with anti-imperialism. It is in fact just another form of social-patriotism. Ignoring the imperialist character of Russia and China forces one to walk not only into the theoretical trap of Kautskyanism, but also into the political trap of an *inverted social-imperialism*. This is no new phenomena. Lenin and Trotsky already denounced such inverted social-imperialists like the Germanophile Jewish Bundists in Russia during World War I or the social democrats and Stalinists in Germany, Italy, Austria, and Japan who supported the US, British and French imperialists during World War II. The road of Marxists must follow the principle as formulated by Trotsky: “*The struggle against war, properly understood and executed, presupposes the uncompromising hostility of the proletariat and its organizations, always and everywhere, toward its own and every other imperialist bourgeoisie.*” (Leon Trotsky: *Resolution on the Antiwar Congress of the London Bureau*, 1936)

29. The exacerbation of the inter-imperialist rivalry will increase the conflicts and wars conducted in the semi-colonial world, these wars being, in fact, proxy-wars between different great powers. An actual, recent example of this is the Euro-Maidan movement and the new right-wing government in the Ukraine which acted as a proxy for US and EU imperialism. Naturally, in such cases Marxists must not lend any support for such forces, as many centrists have done so in the case of the Ukraine. At the same time, it would be an equally criminal mistake to

subsume *all* struggles in the semi-colonial world with imperialist proxy-wars. While it is unavoidable that various imperialist powers will attempt to utilize national and democratic struggles in the South to advance their own influence, this does not mean that the struggle for democracy and national liberation ceases to exist as a progressive factor in world politics. This would be a reactionary conclusion which would condemn socialists to stand at the sidelines of the class struggle. In fact it would be a capitulation to the bankrupt methods of “imperialist economism” against which Lenin warned already a century ago. As the RCIT wrote in another document, Marxists have to “concretely analyze if a given democratic or national liberation struggle becomes fully subordinated to the imperialist maneuvers and doesn’t possess any significant internal dynamic of a workers and peasant liberation struggle. If this is the case, Marxists must change their position and give up critical support for the national liberation struggle.” (*Liberation struggles and imperialist interference*, 2012) This was the method on which Lenin and the Bolsheviks based their policy:

“Britain and France fought the Seven Years’ War for the possession of colonies. In other words, they waged an imperialist war (which is possible on the basis of slavery and primitive capitalism as well as on the basis of modern highly developed capitalism). France suffered defeat and lost some of her colonies. Several years later there began the national liberation war of the North American States against Britain alone. France and Spain, then in possession of some parts of the present United States, concluded a friendship treaty with the States in rebellion against Britain. This they did out of hostility to Britain, i.e., in their own imperialist interests. French troops fought the British on the side of the American forces. What we have here is a national liberation war in which imperialist rivalry is an auxiliary element, one that has no serious importance. This is the very opposite to what we see in the war of 1914-16 (the national element in the Austro-Serbian War is of no serious importance compared with the all-determining element of imperialist rivalry). It would be absurd, therefore, to apply the concept imperialism indiscriminately and conclude that national wars are “impossible”. A national liberation war, waged, for example, by an alliance of Persia, India and China against one or more of the imperialist powers, is both possible and probable, for it would follow from the national liberation movements in these countries. The transformation of such a war into an imperialist war between the present-day imperialist powers would depend upon very many concrete factors, the emergence of which it would be ridiculous to guarantee.” (V. I. Lenin: *The Junius Pamphlet*, 1916)

30. The revolutionary program against imperialism, war, and reaction can only be spread if those who defend such a program unite in a single organization and fight as a determined and disciplined collective for those ideas. In this struggle, they will inevitably encounter determined resistance not only from the ruling class itself but also from its supporters inside the ranks of the workers’ movement. It is urgent that authentic socialists intensify their efforts to overcome the crisis of leadership in the working class and join forces in order to build a revolutionary workers party in each country as part of the *World Party of Socialist Revolution*, which will be the *Fifth Workers International*. Such an International, as well as the pre-party organizations which we are building today, must orientate themselves neither to the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia nor the labor aristocracy, but first and foremost to the

proletariat of the South as well as the lower strata of the proletariat in the old imperialist metropolises. It from the forces belonging to these layers which will join the class struggle that the new International will be built. Hence, we repeat that the forces for new revolutionary parties and the new Workers’ International will not coalesce by the addition, the “regroupment,” or the “left unity” of revolutionaries with left-reformist and centrist forces. Of course there are and will be healthy forces among the socialist left around the world. But only those sharing the orientation towards the new layers of the vastly expanding world proletariat which is joining the class struggle will themselves be able to contribute to the building of the new International. The Bolshevik-Communists of the RCIT are determined to work for such a new International and look forward to discussing and collaborating with socialists around the world in order to advance this goal.

Summary

31. The struggle against imperialism and war demands that the working class must fundamentally and equally oppose its imperialist government in times of peace as well as in times of war. Following Liebknecht famous slogan “*The main enemy is at home!*” the working class in the imperialist countries must view their own ruling class as the main enemy. Hence it should focus its activity to utilize the domestic political crisis of its ruling class – caused by inter-imperialist rivalry, military adventures abroad, or even full-scale wars – in order to advance the class struggle against its own bourgeoisie, with the goal of overthrowing it by means of a socialist revolution. Instead of spreading pacifist illusions, they must base their program on the Lenin’s anti-war program which he summarized in the principle “*Turn the imperialist war into a civil war!*”

32. The struggle against imperialism and capitalism is impossible without the consistent support for the liberation struggle of the oppressed people for democratic rights and national liberation. This requires the unconditional support for the struggle against imperialist occupiers (e.g., in Afghanistan and Mali), against reactionary dictatorships (e.g., in Syria, Egypt, the eastern Ukraine, Thailand, etc.) as well as against national oppression (e.g., the Kurds). Equally, socialists in the imperialist countries must struggle for full equality of migrants. Those, who fail in this task, fail to understand the essence of Trotsky’s theory of permanent revolution and only mislead the workers’ vanguard. At the same time, such a struggle must be combined with the perspective of building workers’ and popular action councils and armed militias as well as a workers’ government based on such organs.

33. The working class can win the struggle against imperialism and war only if it learns to understand who its friends are and who its enemies are. Revolutionaries must help them by waging an open political and ideological struggle against reformist betrayal and centrist confusion. If this task is properly undertaken, revolutionaries will surely progress in their work towards the founding of new revolutionary parties and the Fifth International. Building new revolutionary parties is the key task in the coming period, since without such parties the working class will be unable to overthrow the imperialist bourgeois-

sie and, hence, will not be able to prevent future imperialist wars which endanger the existence of mankind.

For additional RCIT analyses of imperialism and the present world situation, we refer readers to the following publications:

RCIT: Escalation of Inner-Imperialist Rivalry Marks the Opening of a New Phase of World Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation Adopted by the RCIT's International Executive Committee, April 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* (English-language Journal of the RCIT) No. 22, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-april-2014/>

RCIT: Aggravation of Contradictions, Deepening of Crisis of Leadership. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation Adopted by the RCIT's International Executive Committee, 9.9.2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 15, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-september2013/>

RCIT: The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists. Theses of the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, March 2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 8, www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013

Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism*, 2013, 448 pages, <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>; in March 2014 the publishing house PROMEDIA published a shortened German-language translation of this book (see: <http://www.mediashop.at/typolight/index.php/buecher/items/michael-proebsting---der-grosse-raub-im-sueden>; The title is: *Der Grosse Raub im Süden. Ausbeutung im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*). A summary of the book can be read here: <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-summary/>

Michael Pröbsting: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>

Michael Pröbsting: Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics, 18 March 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 21, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/>

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New Books from the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South

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

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

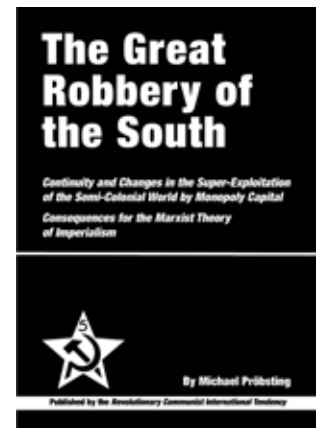
In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and the huge majority of mankind living in the semi-colonial world forms one of the most important elements of the imperialist world system we are living in. The Great Robbery of the South shows that the past decades have been a complete confirmation of the validity of Lenin's theory of imperialism and its programmatic conclusions.

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

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Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?

The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new book. It's called *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?*. The book's subtitle is: *The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism*. The book is in English-language. It has 5 chapters plus an appendix, 108 pages and includes 19 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who is the *International Secretary* of the RCIT. In *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* Michael Pröbsting analyses the character of the Cuban Revolution 1959-61, its bureaucratic degeneration, and the recent march of the Castro leadership towards capitalism.

The author demonstrates how the Cuban Revolution, despite the initial modest intentions of its leaders, was spurred forward to more radical policies by grass roots struggles of Cuban workers and peasants. In fact, the very abolishment of capitalism by the Cuban regime was no part of the original game plan of either Castro's Movimiento 26 de Julio or of the official Cuban communist party (PSP), but rather was a product of precisely such pressures from below.

Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? describes in detail how a number of relatively recent political, economic, and social measures were purposely taken by the Cuban government to open the road back

to capitalism. Pröbsting elaborates the key role of the world's new great imperialist power, China, in Cuba's state policy as exemplified in the June 2011 Sino-Cuban agreement for a first Five-Year Plan of cooperation between these two states.

Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? examines these developments from the viewpoint of Marxist theory, the nature of the ruling bureaucracy in Stalinist states, and the process of restoration of capitalism under such regimes.

In conclusion, the book proposes a socialist program for political and social revolution in Cuba to halt the advance of capitalism and to eradicate the country's bureaucratic dictatorship.

Price: 8 Euro / 12 US-Dollars / 7 British Pound (plus delivery charges) ■



The Author: Michael Pröbsting is a revolutionary activist since 30 years. He is the author of many articles and pamphlets in German and English language. He published books or contributed to books on *Rosa Luxemburg* (1999), on the *World Economy* (2008), on *Migration* (2010) and the *Arab Revolution* (2011). His latest book, *The Great Robbery of the South* (published in 2013), analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He is the *International Secretary* of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*.

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency:

What does the RCIT stand for?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We work inside the trade unions and advocate class struggle, socialism and workers' democracy. But trade unions and social democracy are controlled by a bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is a layer which is connected with the state and capital via jobs and privileges. It is far from the interests and living circumstances of the members. This bureaucracy's basis rests mainly on the top, privileged layers of the working class - the workers' aristocracy. The struggle for the liberation of the working class must be based on the broad mass of the proletariat rather than their upper strata.

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

emancipation of the working class.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*No future without socialism! No socialism without a revolution!
No revolution without a revolutionary party! ■*



