

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM



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Communist International Tendency (RCIT)

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Middle East in Flames: Defeat US, Russian and Israeli Imperialism!



**plus: Iraq, Palestine, Egypt, Yemen,
Argentina, Brazil, Sweden, etc.**

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED UNITE!

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Revolutionary Communism

No. 26, September 2014

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Picture on the cover from the PFLP website showing a parade of PFLP fighters in Gaza City on 27 August 2014, <http://pflp.ps/english/2014/09/03/pflp-mass-march-and-military-rally-in-gaza-upholds-resistance-salutes-palestinian-steadfastness/>

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Defend Iraq against another Aggression of US Imperialism!

Support the Kurdish Right of Self-Determination against IS! Unite the Struggle against the US Attack with the Palestinian Resistance against Israel!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 9.8.2014

1. The Obama administration has announced another military intervention of US imperialism in Iraq. It has launched air strikes against the advancing forces of the extreme Salafist *Islamic State* (IS) which are advancing in the North of Iraq. The recent developments are a powerful confirmation of the total failure of the US aggression against Iraq in 2003 and the following occupation which lasted until 2011. The decision of the US government reflects the desperate attempt to stop its declining influence in the Middle East and to regain control over Iraq.

2. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) confirms its analysis and tactics as outlined in its recent resolution on the Sunni rebellion (see *Iraq: Defend the Sunni Rebellion against the Maliki Regime and US Imperialism! Down with all Reactionary Religious Sectarianism! For a Workers' and Peasants' Republic!* 22.6.2014). We call for the military defeat of US imperialism. We support the military resistance of all Iraqi forces – even of the arch-reactionary IS – against the US aggression. We call the international workers movement and organizations of the oppressed peoples to mobilize against this war with demonstrations, strikes, direct actions against the US military, etc.

3. The RCIT also confirms its support for the Sunni rebellion against the bourgeois-Islamist Shia sectarian regime of Nouri al-Maliki. The past few weeks have underlined the powerful and broad support of the Iraqi Sunnis for the rebellion. However, the past few weeks have also confirmed the reactionary character of the *Islamic State*. Their brutal repression against religious minorities like Christians and Yazidis as well as against all other trends amongst the Sunni community has provoked the justified hatred amongst many people. We oppose the IS's advance against the Kurdish territories and defend the Kurds resistance.

4. The opposition against a renewed US intervention in Iraq must be combined with support for the heroic resistance of the Palestinian people against the ongoing aggression of the Israeli state on Gaza. For an international solidarity campaign with the Palestinian people including financial, medical and military aid for the people in Gaza! For international brigades of volunteers to support the Palestinian resistance against the powerful Israeli army – as the workers movement did in solidarity with the anti-fascist resistance in Spain in the 1930s! For an international boycott campaign against Israel!

5. The looming military strikes of US imperialism against IS show once more the stupidity of various pseudo-“anti-imperialists” who denounce the Syrian resistance (including the IS) against the Assad dictatorship as “CIA agents”. Such conspiracy theories prove once more their incapability to understand the contradictions of the ongoing struggles of the oppressed.

6. While the struggle against imperialism might

force socialists to defend even reactionary forces like the IS against the US aggression, it is urgent to call for the formation of independent and non-sectarian workers and peasants militias. They should struggle against the US aggression, the Maliki regime as well as defend other groups against the brutal attacks by the IS. Equally they should strive to unite the workers and peasants from the Sunni, Shia and Kurdish communities. The goal should be the formation of workers and peasants republics as well as a socialist federation in the Middle East. Such a perspective must be a crucial part of the program of revolutionary parties in the region as well as of a new revolutionary Workers International (which will be the Fifth International in our opinion).

* 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!

* Defend the Sunni popular insurrection against the Iraqi army!

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

* Defend the Kurdish and Yazidi people against the IS forces! Support the Kurdish people's right of self-determination! For a united and socialist Kurdistan!

* Defend Gaza! Defeat Israel! For an international boycott campaign against Israel! For a free and red Palestine!

* Victory to the Syrian Revolution against the Assad Regime!

* 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 ■



Yemen: Down with the Price Hikes!

For a "Second Revolution" to Establish a Workers and Fallahin Government!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 3.9.2014

1. The Yemeni government has abolished fuel subsidies causing an increase in fuel prices by 60% to 90%. As a result, living costs for food and other basic necessities will increase significantly. This is a brutal attack on the working people of the poorest country in the Arab world. Even before these latest increases, half of the population of Yemen was officially living in poverty.

2. The Yemeni masses have reacted with shock and anger to this social barbarity. Since August 20, tens and hundreds of thousands of people have repeatedly marched through the streets of Sana'a demanding that fuel subsidies be reinstated and that the government resign. Activists have set up two makeshift protest camps in the north and south of the city. The protests are being organized by the *Houthi* movement – a petty-bourgeois movement based on the large Shia minority (about 35% of the population) which has traditionally been discriminated against. The Houthi leader, Abdulmalek al-Houthi, has handed Yemen's president, Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi, an ultimatum to meet the protesters' demands lest "other steps" be taken. Indeed, in the end the president was forced to dismiss his government on September 2. He also proposed a national unity administration and suggested reinstating fuel subsidies. Without doubt, a pre-revolutionary situation has begun in Yemen.

3. The price hikes demonstrate the thoroughly bourgeois nature of the government dominated by the bourgeois *Islah* party which is close to the *Muslim Brotherhood*. The government is implementing the dictates of the *International Monetary Fund* as well as of the reactionary regime of Saudi Arabia. Both have demanded

subsidy cuts in exchange for loans of \$560 million (from the IMF) and \$2 billion (from Saudi Arabia).

4. What we see in Yemen is similar to what has happened in many other countries. The monopolies which dominate the world economy – the big corporations and the global financial institutions – are putting pressure on the semi-colonial countries of the South. The monopolies are enriching themselves by demanding high interest payments for loans and the granting of licenses to them so that they can exploit the country's natural resources. Usually, these monopolies can rely on the capitalist, bourgeois lackey governments of these nations to comply with such demands. In exchange for their services, these governmental agents of the imperialists are granted exorbitant benefits for themselves which, through corruption, ensure a life of luxury for themselves and their families.

5. The unpopular policy of the *Islah* government demonstrates, once again, the unfinished nature of the revolution of 2011. In that year, the workers and fallahin heroically rose up against the pro-imperialist dictator, Ali Abdullah Saleh, who initially was the brutal ruler of North Yemen from 1978 and who, in 1990, subsequently united the two Yemens. In 2011, the demonstrators occupied central locales in the city, and battled the regime's reactionary goons. Finally, they succeeded in forcing Saleh to resign. But instead of carrying out a top-to-bottom revolution, the main institutions of the old regime remained in power, and Saleh's deputy Hadi became the new president. As a result, the hopes of the masses were betrayed.

6. This is why many people are justifiably



Contingent of the RCIT's Austrian Section Predecessor Organization at the School

demonstrating against the government and calling for a “second revolution.” And indeed, this is what the popular masses in Yemen need! But to achieve this they must learn the lessons from the unfinished revolution of 2011. The revolution must not be satisfied with simply replacing individuals at the top of the state apparatus. Rather, they must orient themselves to founding new, popular, council-based democratic organs to replace the old dictatorial state apparatus which remains fertile ground for corruption and abuses. Such councils should be based on regular assemblies of the workers in their places of employment and of the popular masses in their neighborhoods and villages, in which they can discuss and vote on the most urgent issues facing their society. These assemblies should elect delegates who will then form city, village, and regional councils. Ultimately, out of such direct, democratic organs a government should be elected. All delegates – including the elected government – must be accountable to and recallable by the regular grass root meetings. Such a government could never act against the people, since it would immediately be voted out of power. Such a Worker’s and Fallahin government would rely not on the old and corrupt army but on the armed power of popular militias. Such a government would break Yemen’s dependency of the imperialist monopolies, and would nationalize the key sectors of the economy under workers’ control.

7. At the moment, the most urgent task is to build a broad-based mass movement led by the working class. Such a movement must avoid any divisions on the basis of religion. Sunni and Shia workers and fallahin must unite on the basis of respect and tolerance for each others’ beliefs and culture. The movement must be based, no less, on the principle of solidarity with all minorities. In order to avoid the protests’ being sold out, it is vital that the masses hold regular meetings – for example, in the two currently existing protest camps as well as in workplaces and neighborhoods. Decisions about the next steps in the struggle against the government must not be made by a

few unelected leaders, but by mass popular assemblies like these. In addition, from such assemblies, the workers and fallahin should form popular self-defense groups to fight against attacks by the police. The central goal should be to overthrow the entire regime and to establish a Workers’ and Fallahin government.

8. Most importantly, the workers need a new party which is independent of capitalists, imperialist institutions, and bourgeois parties. Such a party should be based on the working class and should fight for a socialist revolution. It should orientate itself to unite the struggle with those of workers and the oppressed in other countries – from Palestine and Egypt, to Brazil, China, Greece, and the USA. To do this, this party must be part of the Fifth Workers’ International. This is what the RCIT is fighting for.

** For the immediate revoking of all price hikes! Down with President Hadi and the Islah government!*

** For the founding of popular mass assemblies to democratically lead the protest movement!*

** For a mass movement which unites Sunni and Shia workers and fellahin, one which is based on solidarity and respect for all groups!*

** For a Workers’ and Fallahin government defended by popular militias which will expropriate the foreign corporations and the rich domestic capitalists! For the nationalization of the key industries and banks under workers’ control!*

** For solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle! Defend Gaza – Defeat Israel!*

** Down with the reactionary military dictatorship of General al-Sisi in Egypt!*

** Down with the reactionary monarchy of Saudi Arabia!*

** Renew and extend the Arab Revolution which started in 2011!*

** For a united, socialist Yemen as part of a socialist federation of the Middle East!*

** Onward to the building of a revolutionary workers’ party as part of a Fifth International! ■*



Student Strike in Protest against the Visit of US President Bush in Vienna on 21 June.2006

“US imperialism controls everything in Yemen!”

An interview with a Socialist in Yemen

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), July 2014

Introduction of the RCIT:

Below we print an interview with a socialist in Yemen. While we do not share all his viewpoints it provides an interesting insight in the political situation in this country.

* * *

Please tell us something about you (name, age, profession, etc.) and your motivation to do revolutionary work?

My name is Mohammed. I am 23 years old. My father was part of the movement of the left in the north of Yemen. His name was in the execution list. He managed to leave Yemen after that. He decided to live a normal life; get married, have kids, etc.

He travelled back to Yemen in 2003.

He did not tell us, me and my siblings, anything about his past as a socialist but his ways in raising us has reflected all his believes in our lives. When I made a visit to the *Socialist Party* near home, old comrades recognized my father's name and told me how my father and three others were running everything in Yemen. He passed away four months ago.

I don't like the way people treat each other and I've always asked myself: Why there are poor people and on the other side extremely rich one? And the most important question is: why do people fight? It's all about money. I knew it's not about things you believe in but how valuable you are to the capitalists. I hate when people take advantage of others. And of course I love my country.

What would you say are the most urgent political issues in your country today?

I think it is security and safety of people as well as the state of the economy.

How do you assess the mass protest against the former President Ali Abdullah Saleh and the outcome? Which were the leading forces in the protests?

It was a normal reaction for people who had suffered a lot. But when you see it from another way it was somehow an imitation of the revolution in Tunisia. If there should be a revolution it should be now because the current government has make the days of the former president look like a vacation.

The leading forces mainly were Muslim brother represented by their party “The Islah” and the Houthis. If you weren't following any of these people you would be neglected.

The outcome is the initiative of the Gulf which was a twisted move to keep the country under their But the good thing

I believe the protesting had accomplished is that it stopped the inheritance of power of the former president's family. The presidency was supposed to go to his son Ahmed.

What was the role of women in these protests?

Despite the fact Yemen has a conservative culture and a narrow minded thinking, women have played a big role in those protests. They joined the protests and some stood against the soldiers who were ordered to stop the march by any means even shooting with real bullets.

What is the role of US imperialism in Yemen?

It's controlling everything. They have the money, the most powerful weapon .The US imperialism uses and stand with anyone until there is nothing they could offer and then they turn against him. It's like a cow boy who rides a horse until it could no more carry him and then he dump him to find another horse.

How do you assess the role of the regime in Saudi Arabia?

It has been and always will be a curse to Yemen. There was no war in Yemen in this century and the previous that Saudi Arabia hadn't have a hand in it; the revolution of 26th of September in the north, the civil wars in the south of Yemen during the period of the *Socialist Party*, the war between the south and the north in 1994.

They have delivered the Gulf initiative which was nothing but a joke that no revolution could accept it as an answer. It's a big mistake and we are paying for it now.

What do you think about the civil war in Syria?

It's an attempt for changing the map of the new world order for the time after the withdrawal of the US army of Afghanistan. The US is taking a new way in dealing with Middle East. Their wars have led them to a dead end. They hope to use al-Qaeda with the help of Saudi Arabia's money and the scholars of Muslims. But the answer must lie in the hands of the Syrian people. I'm against any interfering by any other country.

Al Assad's regime is still a capitalist and I could never stand it.

What do you think about the Sunni uprising in Iraq?

It's a result of what happened in Syria. Al-Qaeda owns half a billion Dollar of the profits which they get from selling Syrians oil in the black market. The war against them will take long but taking over Iraq is impossible. There is a possibility that the wars could reach Jordon and even wider areas of the whole region. As a result of the outcome of the Syrian civil war, the uprising of Shiites is coming and Iran will play a big role.

What is the role of so-called al-Qaida in Yemen?

A lot of young people here are victims of some radical movements. It will take time and effort to get rid of it for good. The war against terrorism is the issue of international importance now.

How could the divisions between Sunnites and Shiites in Yemen be overcome?

In my opinion, the division of Sunnites and Shiites in Yemen are a result of political issues. It is because of the conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Three years ago, during the mass protests, none of these divisions have existed and Shiites and Sunnites were both protesting together against Ali Abdullah Saleh. The divisions weren't considered until the Gulf initiative. Because Shiites were against it Sunnites started a war and things escalated. This would end after the conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia is settled.

How do you assess the divisions between the North and the South of Yemen?

The unity in 1990 happened because of the efforts of the southerners and the role which the Socialist Party has played. It has successfully united 21 sultanates before. However, they've made a mistake uniting with an underdeveloped country and an uneducated people. There should have been a balanced approach. One also has to say that the north is being run by corrupted people. The southerners recognized this only when it was too late. Another thing which had happened was that the regime

of Saudi Arabia wanted to destroy the Socialist Party and to stop the uprising of the left since it was a threat to them. Sadly they managed to do that and now the Socialist Party is extremely weak and is ineffective.

Southerners should be given the right to choose what they want and rebuild what once was great.

Are there groups in Yemen which sympathizes with Marxism? If yes, please describe them.

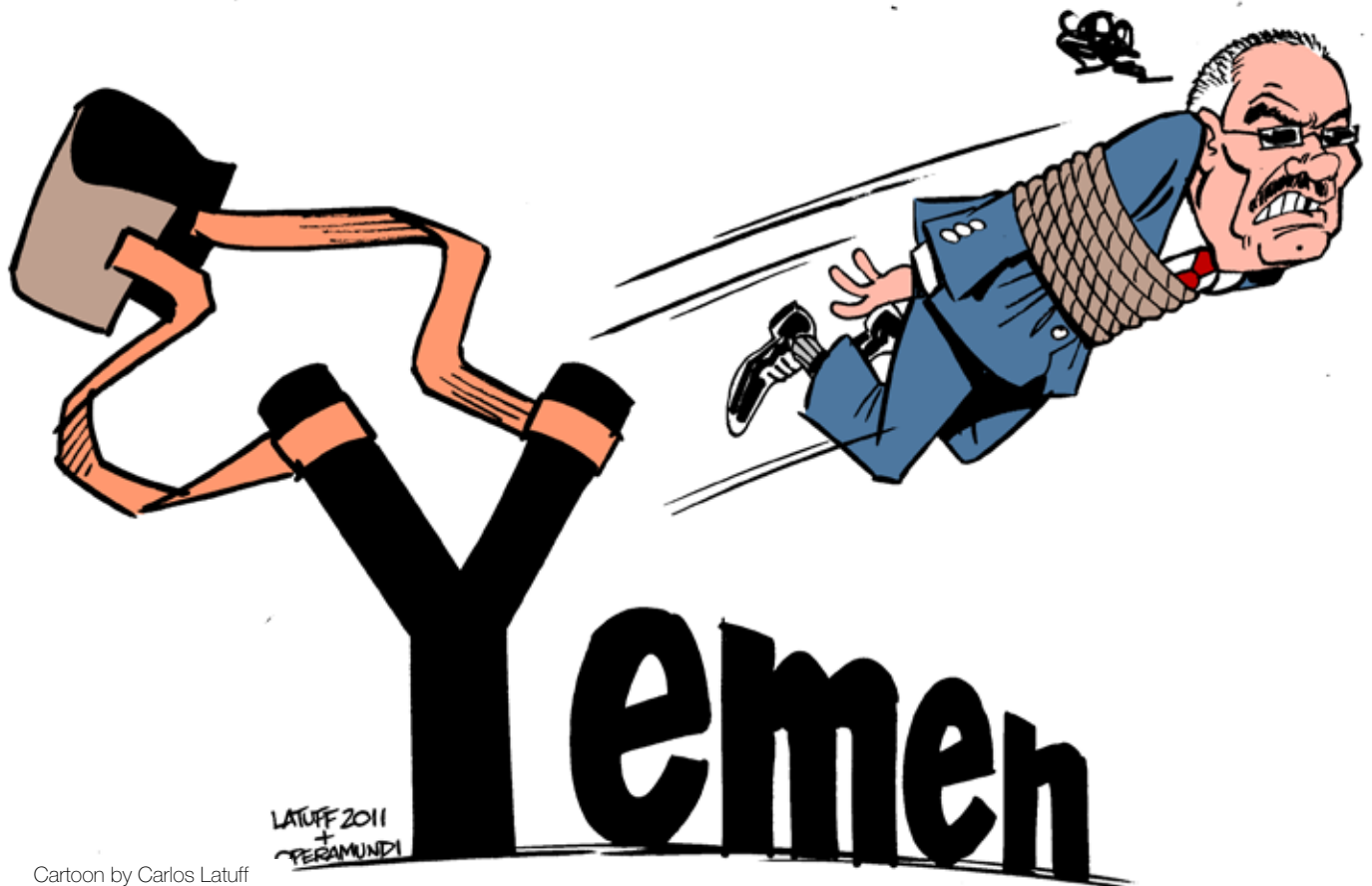
There isn't any. The reason is because of the bad image of Marxism that had been planted in people's minds. Any one hears the words "Communism", "Marxism" or even "Socialism", you would be considered as a bad man who should be killed. For them it's something against Islam and you can never be both (a Muslim and a communist).

How do you think can a revolution take place in Yemen?

If you want to have a revolution in Yemen, you ought to have money. Unfortunately, without it you can't do anything. What happened in 2011 during the mass protests is an example. Only those who had the money could stay for long and play an effective role. Those who tried to do something against the opposition of the leading forces had to withdraw.

If you want to make peaceful protests, you will need tents and food to feed the protesters.

If you wanted it aggressive, you need money for weapons. ■



Cartoon by Carlos Latuff

Israel Starts Ground Offensive: Defend Gaza! Defeat Israel's War!

Support the Palestinian Resistance!

For a Workers' and Popular International Campaign to Boycott Israel! Down with the Regimes which Collaborate with Israel! For a Free, Red Palestine!

*Joint Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency,
Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), the Communist Left of Australia
and the Editor of the Blog vansterparlan.v-blog.se (Sweden), 22.7.2014*

1. Israel's ground offensive marks another escalation in its terrorist campaign against the Palestinian people. Until now, at least 604 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip have been killed and more than 3,700 have been wounded. This is not a conflict between two religious or national groups. Rather, this is an arch-reactionary war of oppression on the side of the racist apartheid state of Israel and a just war of defense on behalf of the Palestinian people! Democrats and socialists can't help but enthusiastically support the heroic Palestinian resistance and work for the defeat of Israel.

2. We welcome and participate actively in the global solidarity movement with Palestine. We salute the mass protests in Turkey which justifiably attacked the Israeli embassy. Similar heroic actions were undertaken by the Egyptian masses during the last Gaza war in November 2012. We condemn the French "Socialist" government, which is supported by the "Communist" Party, for outlawing the pro-Palestine mass demonstration on 19 July.

3. We call for the building of a mass international solidarity movement of the working class and the oppressed. We call on the mass organizations of workers' and popular movements (trade unions, parties etc.) to join the international solidarity campaign for Palestine and to actively engage in boycott actions against all commercial activities with Israel! It should boycott all contacts with Zionist institutions while – at the same time – encouraging close collaboration with all progressive Israeli Jews who protest against the apartheid regime. Such a mass solidarity movement should mobilize to close down Israel's embassies around the world. Equally such a solidarity movement must work towards ending the military and financial aid for Israel by the imperialist states.

4. We condemn the reactionary Palestinian Administration led by Mahmoud Abbas and the bourgeois-nationalist Fatah party. The Palestinian Administration collaborates with Israel and acts as its agent against the Palestinian people. While we support the just resistance struggle of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad against Israel and its collaborators, we reject their bourgeois Islamist agenda. We also criticize their military tactics which don't focus on resistance to the Israeli army and armed settlers, but rather target unarmed civilians. The Palestinian workers and poor should be organized by a revolutionary workers' party which unifies the fight for national liberation with the international struggle for socialist revolution.

5. In the Arab countries as well as in Turkey the mass

international solidarity movement should condemn local regimes for their collaboration – open or hidden – with Israel. In particular, we condemn the mass destruction of the tunnels to Gaza by the military dictatorship of General al-Sisi which cut the life line for the people of Gaza. No less, we condemn the intensive economic ties of the Erdogan regime with Israel which have continued for many years. The solidarity movements must force these governments to cut all ties with Israel, close down the Israeli embassies and – in the case of Egypt – immediately open the border crossing in Rafah.

6. The international solidarity movement should combine the struggle against Zionism with the just ongoing popular resistance in Egypt and Syria against the dictatorships of al-Sisi and al-Assad. We condemn the collaboration of the "Communist" parties in both countries with these regimes.

7. We reject the reformist and pro-Zionist "two-state solution" which is promoted by the Fatah leadership as well as by numerous Stalinist, social democratic, and centrist forces both within Israel as well as around the world. Such a pseudo-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. Instead we struggle to achieve a single state in the whole of Palestine in which the Palestinians would naturally constitute the majority. All Jews will be welcomed to live in such a state as long as they accept the democratic rights of the Palestinian majority. In short, we fight to replace the State of Israel with a *Democratic, Palestinian, Multinational and Socialist Workers and Fallahin Republic from the River to the Sea*.

Let us unite under the banner "Defend Gaza! Defeat Israel's War! For a Free, Red Palestine!"

Signatories:

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Israel/Occupied Palestine, Brazil, USA and Austria): www.thecommunists.net/

Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), <http://www.the-isleague.com/>

Communist Left of Australia: <http://communistleftaustralia.yolasite.com/>

Editor of the Blog vansterparlan.v-blog.se (Sweden): <http://vansterparlan.v-blog.se> ■

Jews Say: End the War on Gaza — No Aid to Apartheid Israel!

Jews for Palestinian Right of Return, July 22, 2014

Introduction by the RCIT and the ISL:

Below we reprint a very progressive statement initiated by the *Jews for Palestinian Right of Return*. Our comrade Yossi Schwartz, a well-know, lifelong communist and Anti-Zionist, and key representative of the *International Socialist League* (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), was among the initial signers of this petition. The statement justly condemns the reactionary Israeli war against the Palestinian people in Gaza as well as the Apartheid regime in the whole of historic Palestine. In addition, the signers of the petition support the international boycott campaign against Israel. As the statement is limited to radical democratic demands, it does not include the goal for which the RCIT and the ISL are fighting: a *Democratic, Palestinian, Multinational and Socialist Workers and Fallahin Republic from the River to the Sea*; in other words, a *Free, Red Palestine*. Nevertheless, this limitation does not negate the very progressive nature of this petition which constitutes a powerful tool against the reactionary myth spread by the Israeli state and its international supporters, i.e., that Israel represents the interests of all Jews and all who oppose the Israeli state are therefore “Anti-Semites.” The RCIT and the ISL urge Jews in Israel / Occupied Palestine and around the world to sign this petition.

Note: The statement was initially signed by 200 individuals and received more than 1,500 additional signatures in only two day! To view all signatures go to <https://www.change.org/de/Petitionen/benjamin-netanyahu-jews-say-end-the-war-on-gaza-no-aid-to-apartheid-israel-bds-with-200-initial-signers>

* * * * *

On July 12, 2014, Gaza civil society issued an urgent appeal for solidarity, asking: “How many of our lives are dispensable enough until the world takes action? How much of our blood is sufficient?”

As Jews of conscience, we answer by unequivocally condemning Israel’s ongoing massacre in Gaza, whose victims include hundreds of civilians, children, entire families, the elderly, and the disabled. This latest toll adds to the thousands Israel has killed and maimed since its supposed withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005.

In response to this crisis, we urgently reaffirm our support for a ban on all military and other aid to Israel.

In 1967, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. opposed the Vietnam War with his famous declaration: “For the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.”

Today, *we* cannot be silent as the “Jewish state” -- armed to the teeth by the U.S. and its allies -- wages yet another brutal war on the Palestinian people. Apartheid Israel does not speak for us, and we stand with Gaza as we stand with all of Palestine.

In the face of incessant pro-Israel propaganda, we heed Malcolm X’s warning: “If you’re not careful, the newspa-

pers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed, and loving the people who are doing the oppressing.”

For Israel’s relentless war on Gaza is no more an act of “self-defense” than such infamous massacres as Wounded Knee (1890), Guernica (1937), the Warsaw Ghetto (1942), Deir Yassin (1948), My Lai (1968), Soweto (1976), Sabra and Shatila (1982), or Lebanon (2006).

Rather, it is but the latest chapter in more than a century of Zionist colonialism, dispossession, ethnic cleaning, racism, and genocide -- including Israel’s very establishment through the uprooting and displacement of over 750,000 Palestinians during the 1947-1948 Nakba. Indeed, eighty percent of the 1.8 million people sealed into Gaza are refugees.

Like any colonial regime, Israel uses resistance to such policies as an excuse to terrorize and collectively punish the indigenous population for its very existence. But scattered rockets, fired from Gaza into land stolen from Palestinians in the first place, are merely a response to this systemic injustice.

To confront the root cause of this violence, we call for the complete dismantling of Israel’s apartheid regime, throughout historic Palestine -- from the River to the Sea. With that in mind, we embrace the 2005 Palestinian call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign, which demands:

- * An end to Israeli military occupation of the 1967 territories
- * Full equality for Palestinian citizens of Israel
- * Right of return for Palestinian refugees, as affirmed by UN resolution 194 ■



Cartoon by Carlos Latuff

Israel lost the 51-Day War but the Palestinian Liberation Struggle Continues

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 30.8.2014

The ceasefire agreed to by Israel and Hamas in Cairo came after 51 days of fighting. During this war Israel killed 2,142 people, most of them civilians including more than 490 children; it injured more than 10,000, and destroyed thousands of homes; it bombed mosques, hospitals, and schools. 69 Israelis were killed, nearly all of them soldiers.

Israel has claimed that it warned civilians about areas that it intended to attack by dropping leaflets and firing missiles that carried little or no explosive payload. Such claims are to defend Israel against accusations of war crimes for its responsibility in bringing about the heavy death toll. In reality, the Palestinians had no place to hide from the killing machine.

"There is literally no safe place for civilians," Jens Laerke, spokesman of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, told a news briefing in Geneva. (1)

A War provoked by Israel

Unlike those who always ask who started a war, Marxists are interested in the nature of the fighting sides, and what a victory for each side will bring. Who cares whether, in the American Civil War, it was the North or the South that began the war? The real question was what would be the result of the victory for the South or the North, taking into account the social and political nature of the two sides. A victory for the North would lead by necessity to the liberation of the black slaves. Similarly, who cares who began the latest war in Gaza? The real question is what is the nature of each of the sides, and what will be the results of a victory for any one of them?

Nevertheless, and just for the record, it was Israel that initiated the war when it raided homes in the West Bank and arrested hundreds of people suspected as being supporters of Hamas. The pretext was the killing of three young yeshiva students in the weeks before the war began. Israel's internal security service arrested Hossam Qawasmeh, whom Israel is claiming was the leader of the group responsible for the kidnapping and murder of the three. The news of the arrest of Qawasmeh comes after some Western mass media expressed skepticism regarding whether the kidnappers who acted in June did so following instructions of leaders of Hamas, even though Qawasmeh was indeed on the payroll of Hamas. The real reason that Israel arrested hundreds of Palestinians was the announcement made at the end of April of a Palestinian unity government, a government which Israel wanted to prevent.

The Class Interests behind the Gaza War

While most observers of the war between Israel and the Palestinians in Gaza see it as a local conflict between Israel and Hamas, in actuality it is part of the war and the destruction currently taking place throughout the entire region. Behind this violence is the drive of the imperialists

and their lackeys to maintain imperialist control of the oil-rich Middle East, while those fighting against the destabilized regimes, many of whom are clad in Islamic robes, are fighting against the rule of the imperialists. Wars are not fought for religious reasons. Behind the religious excuses lay class interests and it is our duty to analyze and present this analysis to the workers and the oppressed.

The puppet regimes of the Arab states that are controlled by the imperialists wanted Israel to crush Hamas. "This is unprecedented in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict," said CNN's Ali Younes, an analyst who has covered the region for decades. "Most Arab states are actively supporting Israel against the Palestinians -- and are not even shy about it, or doing it discreetly". (2)

The Arab puppets sense that behind the Islamists are the resentful masses. The reason these pro-Western reactionaries wanted Israel to win was their fear of a new wave of revolutionary uprisings. The reason the masses in the region are being pushed in the direction of the Islamists is the failure of the left to struggle for a socialist revolution, who rather tail one or another bourgeois force. By comparison, the Islamists appear to be fighters who are defending the poor and the oppressed.

However, unlike the Arab puppet rulers, the sympathy of the Arab masses is with the Palestinians. Therefore, the support of the Arab puppets for Israel, in a war which Israel could not win, may cost these phony leaders dearly. Israel's defeat in the second Lebanese war of 2006 was one of the reasons for the uprising and still unfinished revolution of 2011.

Our Support for the Palestinian Victory

While we do not support Hamas' strategy of firing on Israeli civilians, because this only provides Israel with a pretext to kill many Palestinians, Israel's state terrorism is immeasurably worse. Our criticism of Hamas' strategy does not blind us to the fact that Israel is the more dangerous enemy of the workers and the oppressed.

During the many slave rebellions in America, slaves often killed children of the white slave owners, children who, of course, were not responsible for slavery. However, only those who supported slavery stood on the side of the slave owners and argued that the slaves in rebellion are dangerous terrorists who put the lives of the black slaves themselves at risk.

If Hamas were a revolutionary organization, it would have armed the entire population of Gaza as best as it could. Under such circumstances, Israel would not have dared attack the Palestinians. However, regardless of their reactionary nature, Hamas fought against an imperialist state which is daily oppressing the Palestinians. This oppression includes the stealing of lands; the detention of Palestinian political prisoners; the siege Israel has imposed on Gaza for eight years; the killing of entire families; and the refusal to allow Palestinians refugees driven out of their

homes by Israel in 1948 to return to their country.

Thus, from a working class, revolutionary perspective, while we do not grant the reactionary Islamists any political support, we recognize that the interest of the international working class was to see the military defeat of the imperialist side, namely Israel

In our politic analyses, we rely on the historical lessons of the class struggle. When the Communist International was still a worldwide revolutionary party, it took the side of 'Abd el-Karim, a religious Moslem who led the Riffian rebellion (1922-1926) against the French and Spanish colonial occupation of the Riffians, and the short-lived Islamic Republic of the Rif. At that time, the pro-imperialist reformists took the side of the French imperialists, with the very same arguments used today against Hamas in its fight against Israel.

The three Camps in this War

Regarding this war, there are three camps: (1) the pro imperialists who claim that Israel has the right to defend itself against the terror of Hamas; (2) those who put the two sides on the same level; and (3) those, like us, who oppose the imperialist side and want to see the military defeat of the imperialists and their lackeys. Those who support Israel's murderous war accuse us of supporting terrorism. The reformists and centrists, who refused to call for the defeat of Israel, accuse us of war mongering. What they cannot even understand is that it was and is their own policy which pushes the masses in the direction of the Islamists, who are justifiably seen as the servants of Israel and the other the imperialists. Some of these leftists in Israel, like Maavak Socialisti, are truly courageous, and participated in the peace demonstrations. For this they were attacked by right-wingers. This, however, does not change the fact that their politics have nothing to do with revolutionary Marxism

You don't have to be a Marxist to understand that it is the nature of Israel, as a settler colonialist state, to conduct wars against the Palestinians so as to force them to give up their national aspirations to be free from oppression, regardless of the existing leadership of the struggle.

As Adam Shatz, from the information clearing house, wrote in 2012:

"In 1982, it broke its ceasefire with Arafat's PLO and invaded Lebanon, citing the attempted assassination of its ambassador to London, even though the attack was the work of Arafat's sworn enemy, the Iraqi agent Abu Nidal. In 1996, during a period of relative calm, it assassinated Hamas's bomb-maker Yahya Ayyash, the 'Engineer', leading Hamas to strike back with a wave of suicide attacks in Israeli cities. When, a year later, Hamas proposed a thirty-year hudna, or truce, Binyamin Netanyahu dispatched a team of Mossad agents to poison the Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal in Amman; under pressure from Jordan and the US, Israel was forced to provide the antidote, and Mashaal is now the head of Hamas's political bureau.

Operation Pillar of Defence, Israel's previous war, began just as Hamas was cobbling together an agreement for a long-term ceasefire. Its military commander, Ahmed al-Jabari, was assassinated only hours after he reviewed the draft proposal. Netanyahu and his defence minister, Ehud Barak, could have had a ceasefire – probably on more favourable terms – without the deaths of more than 160 Palestinians and five Israelis, but then they

would have missed a chance to test their new missile defence shield, Iron Dome, whose performance was Israel's main success in the war. They would also have missed a chance to remind the people of Gaza of their weakness in the face of Israeli military might. The destruction in Gaza was less extensive than it had been in Operation Cast Lead, but on this occasion too the aim, as Gilad Sharon, Ariel's son, put it in the Jerusalem Post, was to send out a Tarzan-like cry that lets the entire jungle know in no uncertain terms just who won, and just who was defeated. (3)

From the very beginning of this latest war, the ISL and the RCIT took the side of the oppressed Palestinians, without giving Hamas any political support. This refusal to support Hamas is due to our recognizing that, sooner or later, because of their bourgeois class interests, they will betray the Palestinian revolutionary struggle.

What is the Perception of the Outcome of this War by the Masses?

While many people ask what was the aim of Israel in this war, one clear aim like that of all of Israel's wars against the Palestinians: to break the will of the Palestinians to resist Israel rule in throughout all of Palestine. It was not a war between the mighty army of Israeli against 15,000 Hamas fighters; it was a war of the Israeli state against the Palestinian people and their will to be free.

Thus, the result of this war should be judged by the perceptions of the Palestinians themselves and of the Arab masses throughout entire region as to who exactly won the war.

If the perception of the Palestinians and the Arab masses is that Israel won the war, then the imperialist side won another battle in the Middle East. But if the perception of the Palestinians and the Arab masses is that Israel lost the war, they will feel more confident that the imperialists can be defeated.

The fact that Hamas, by itself, stood for 51 days against one of the strongest armies in the world is a victory for the Palestinians.

The Terms of the Agreement

According to the British *Guardian*:

"The terms of the deal – brokered by the Egyptian government, and reached on the 50th day of the conflict – appeared to be almost identical to those agreed at the end of the previous war 21 months ago. Israel will open crossings on its border to allow humanitarian aid and construction materials to enter Gaza, and will extend the permitted fishing zone to six miles off the coast of Gaza. The Rafah border crossing between Gaza and Egypt is also to be opened.

More difficult issues will be deferred for further indirect talks between the two parties in a month. They include Hamas's demands for an airport and seaport in Gaza and the release of Palestinian prisoners, and Israel's insistence on the disarmament of militant groups and the return of the remains of two of its soldiers killed in the fighting." (4)

Both Israel and Hamas have presented this agreement as a victory for their own side. But it is enough to observe the mood of the Gazans and the Israelis to know who won this war. The whole world was able to observe the differences in the mood amongst the Palestinians and amongst the Israelis.

“Celebrations continued in the Gaza Strip late into last night following the cease-fire agreement. Addressing an enthusiastic crowd, Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri said Hamas “permitted” the Israeli residents of the communities near the border fence to return to their homes. “We attained victory when we were able to smash Israel’s deterrence,” he said.” (5)

However while the Gazans came out into the streets to celebrate, making the V symbol the Israelis are depressed. Not because Israel committed war crimes, but because, in the opinion of 90 percent of the Israelis, who supported the war against the Palestinians, Israel did not commit enough war crimes. Only 38 percent of Israelis were satisfied with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s performance as the Gaza fighting approached its 50th day, according to a poll for Channel 2 by market research firm Shiluv Millward Brown. (6)

Israel claims that the celebration in Gaza is nothing more than a show coerced by Hamas. However, this is not what the Palestinians think.

“There were street celebrations in some parts of Gaza on Tuesday evening, with residents cheering, firing guns in the air, or raising green Hamas banners. In east Jerusalem, Palestinians set off fireworks above Damascus Gate, at the entrance to the Old City.” (7)

Israel never as isolated as before, Hamas never as popular as before

As a general rule, when an imperialist state loses a war there is a revolutionary uprising against the state from the left. However, in Israel, the criticism of the government is coming from the Israeli right, those who wanted to see the destruction of Hamas. This seeming conundrum actually reflects the nature of Israel as a settler colonialist state in which the Israeli population sees the state as a protector of their privileges.

What was the point of this war, they ask, when the result is much the same as it was after the 2012 war against Gaza? However, these critics are wrong. The results for Israel are much worse than those in 2012. Israel has never been as isolated as it is today; Hamas has never been as strong politically as it is today; and the Palestinian authority led by Abu Mazen which openly collaborates with Israel has never been as weak as it is today.

One has to add, that the war cost Israel at least 3 billion dollars. According to Moti Bassok of Haaretz, Israel’s Gaza operation cost it \$60 million a day. (8)

The Palestinian Victory is a new Impetus for the Arab Revolution

Those who will pay the cost of the war will be the working class and the middle class in Israel and other countries which support Israel financially.

The Israelis will complain, but the government has nothing to be worried about. These complaints by the Israelis will not break them from their reactionary Zionist ideology. The Israelis will most likely not take to the streets to topple the government as is happening in Yemen, because they support the Zionist state. Even if they do form a protest movement, it will die as soon as the slogan *“let the army win”* or *“let’s share the burden”* will be heard, as happened to the Israeli protest movement in 2011.

But if the defeat of the Israeli state in this war will most likely not bring the Israeli masses to the streets, we can at least expect a new mass movement in the region against the pro-imperialist regimes.

This cease fire is merely a pause in the Israel-Palestine conflict. It promises to ease movement at all border crossings with the Gaza Strip, but will not lift the blockade. Nor will it return the Palestinian refugees to their homes or put an end to the expansion of the settlements.

Sooner or later, the war will erupt again, because Israel has never needed much pretext to go to war. It has to prove to the Arabs that Israel is strong and it has to prove to the West that Israel remains a strategic asset for the imperialists against the Arab masses, and especially against the Palestinians. Whenever Israel loses a war, it needs more wars. Israel is a death trap for the Israelis and its criminal actions are pouring oil on the fire of real anti-Semitism. It is true that Israel equates anti-Zionism with Anti-Semitism; but real Anti-Semitism exists and feeds on Israeli crimes. While the Israeli state claims that opposition to its crimes is Anti-Semitism, it has an interest in the spread of Anti-Semitism, as this motivates more Jews to emigrate to Israel to oppress the Palestinians.

We repeat what the ISL and the RCIT have said from the beginning: The only solution is a single state in the whole of Palestine in which the Palestinians would naturally constitute the majority. All Jews will be welcomed to live in such a state as long as they accept the democratic rights of the Palestinian majority. In short, we fight to replace the State of Israel with a *Democratic, Palestinian, Multinational and Socialist Workers and Fallahin Republic from the River to the Sea.*

For a Free and Red Palestine from the River to the Sea!

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Who Won the Gaza War?

by Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 8.8.2014

After almost a month of butchering, the Zionist propaganda line is that Israel won the war against Hamas. If the 1,900 Palestinians killed, 80% of whom were children, elderly, and non-combatant men and women, plus thousands of wounded, is to be the measure of victory, then Israel certainly won. If the number of destroyed homes, schools, mosques, and hospitals is used, then, once again, Israel won the war. And if the number of destroyed tunnels is taken as the measure of success, then Israel won the war. However, if the weakening of Hamas is the factor which determines who was the victor and who was the loser, then Hamas won the war.

Israel's Goals

To answer the question of who exactly won the war, first it is necessary to establish what, exactly, were Israel's goals in launching it.

In the Israeli press a few days ago (August 5) the following appeared:

"... serious questions were raised as to whether or not Israel had achieved the stated aims of the war by creating the kind of deterrence that would prevent Hamas from starting another war a year or two from now. Without question, Israel failed to reach the lofty objective of Gaza's disarmament, and no one expects Hamas to voluntarily throw down its arms." (1)

On this same question, Britain's *The Guardian* wrote on August 3:

"For Israel, which stumbled into a war that it clearly didn't want to wage, the issue is not one of fighting or not fighting, but, rather, how aggressively they should do it. There are those, particularly the prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, who want nothing more than to end this war before it spirals even more out of control, fearful of the increasing diplomatic costs and the potential for a full-scale humanitarian crisis in Gaza. But there is another side, what JJ Goldberg of the Jewish daily Forward calls the "smash Hamas factions." These are the far-rightwing members of Netanyahu's governing coalition who want to see Israel continue its Gaza offensive until Hamas is defeated or at the very least incapable of waging any serious attack on Israeli civilian targets. As the far-right Naftali Bennett, the country's economy minister, put it last week: "Don't give in and don't stop until you achieve that goal... strike at Hamas mercilessly... until demilitarization, until a victory... until we finish the work." (2)

Most Israelis clearly supported the position of Bennett, yet even the Zionist propaganda has to admit that Hamas' popularity among the Palestinians is high, while that of the PA collaborator is low.

The *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, a Zionist organ, wrote the following:

"Did Hamas lose?"

Hamas certainly doesn't come out of this victorious. Its operational capabilities took a heavy hit thanks to Israel's bombardment, the discovery and destruction of dozens of tunnels running under the Israel-Gaza border, and the depletion of a big chunk of Hamas' rocket caches.

الرابطة الاشتراكية الأممية

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واقفوا الفاشية وسفك الدماء في غزة!

نرى انه هناك مجالا لوقف إطلاق النار، بشرط إزالة الحصار الإجمالي على غزة وإطلاق سراح جميع السجناء السياسيين الفلسطينيين. مطالبة حماس للزح سلاحها، في حين أن إسرائيل تملك واحد من أقوى الجيوش في العالم، هي مطالبة مثيرة للشفقة والشقة.

صلة الجيش الإسرائيلي هو الذراع العسكري للحكومة والتي تستخدم الإرهاب تجاه الفلسطينيين وشعوب المنطقة. يتمويل من الشعب الذي يعاني الالتزامات الاقتصادية.

نرحب المحاولة لتوحيد كل أولئك الذين يمارسون سياسة الإهاب من قبل الحكومة الإسرائيلية والقوات الفاشية، لكننا نرى بالمطالبة لتوحيد الشعارات في المظاهرات خطأ فادح.

أفضل أساس للتوحيد والتكاتف هو حرية في التعبير عن الرأي لجميع الأفراد والمنظمات - و فقط في هذه الطريقة سيتمكن للإسرائيليين نقول: لديكم الحق في العيش بأمان، ولكن الجمهور لفحص واختيار الوسيلة الأفضل لوقف جرائم الحرب المخاطرة المباشرة بسلامتكم هي دولة إسرائيل التي تنصب ضد الشعب والعنف ضد أولئك الذين يتعاطفون مع معاناة الفتح لسكانها اليهود. في حين أن أطفال 'سديروتا' يعانون من الصواريخ، أطفال غزة ينجون بطريقة شعبة. جرائم إسرائيل الوحشية تثير شيطان معاداة السامية وتعرضكم للخطر بالإضافة

العديد يقارنون دولة إسرائيل لدولة "الإبرتهيد" (الفصل العنصري) في جنوب أفريقيا، ولكن العملية التي تجري هي

أكثر مماثلة لعملية الطرد والتطهير العرقي للسكان الأصليين الطريق الوحيد للفرز في هذا النضال من أجل السلام والأمن في أمريكا وأستراليا العملية تصبح ممكنة واقعية برعاية بالنسبة لكم ولأطفالكم في والنضال من أجل المساواة والعدالة عملية السلام وحل الدولتين الذي هو ليس سوى وهم خطير.

الاجتماعية، هو توحيد النضال مع الشعب الفلسطيني لإقامة دولة اشتراكية وديمقراطية من البحر إلى النهر.

أجل، أمام إسرائيل تتقف الآن منظمة برجوازية منظمة "حماس"، والتي تنفق عتية في الطريق لتحرير فلسطين لأنها للحديث بقية. تجعل المدنيين أهداف لتزويد إسرائيل ذريعة لمنجحة المدنيين العزل. حماس تتمتع عن تجديد الحشود في غزة ليقاوتوا المحتل.

لو نظم واستمر حماس بمئات الآلاف من الرجال والنساء المسلحين بدلاً عن التزود بأسلحة ممثلة بصواريخ بدائية. فإن الجيش الإسرائيلي لن يجزو القنوم إلى أرض غزة. ولكن إسرائيل هي دولة إمبريقية ممججة بالسلاح، بينما حماس هي القيادة المنتخبة لشعب محتل ومضطهد يحارب من أجل الحرية.



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

Israel: Violence against Women during the Gaza war

By Hila Slutsky, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 19.8.2014

There is a direct connection between Zionist racism and violence towards women. Recently, during the Gaza war, it became quite evident:

Sexist Attacks against Pro-Palestine Women

1. Any woman who dared to express any level of objection to the war was answered with a barrage of sexist remarks and sexual harassment, unlike any male objector. Right-wing Zionists commented on her looks and many wished for her to be raped.

For example, Hanin Zoabi, a Palestinian MP, who defended the people of Gaza, was accused of being a terrorist by right-wing Zionist MPs and their supporters. Many explained her non-conformist views as resulting from sexual frustration, since she is 45 and single, unattractive, etc. They called upon men to have sex and even rape her to "calm her down."

Another example from a different angle would be Israeli actress and model, Orly Weierman. Orly also came to the defense of the people of Gaza and voiced harsh criticism of the Israeli government and army, however this time her views were dismissed for being a "whore" whose list of sexual partners include, god forbid, the son of Libyan dictator Mu'ammarr Qaddhafi, Sayf Al-Islam.

So, according to right-wing Zionists, having too little or too much sex clouds women's judgment and renders their views illegitimate. This caused one left-Zionist publicist to ask in one of her articles: "exactly how much sex must a woman have for her views to be respected"?

Again, men who opposed the war or even dared to mildly criticize the government or army were attacked verbally and physically, including prominent left-center Zionist journalists, pundits, artists and politicians. But no one felt the need to address neither their sexuality nor their sexual habits.

As for myself, I have also been threatened and sexually harassed for my position against the war. I've been called a "whore", people wished I would be raped by Arabs or serve as one of the 72 virgins waiting in heaven for Muslim terrorists. Some of them came to where I live one night, demonstrated against me hurling obscenities.

The "Patriotic" Israeli Women

2. During the war a new Facebook page, "Standing with IDF", was opened which called upon young women to send full/half-naked pictures of themselves to boost IDF soldiers' moral. On naked parts of their body, hundreds of Israeli women wrote "I *heart* IDF" and sent the pictures to be posted on this Page, which received more than 30,000 likes.

And if this disgusting willingness of young women to take part in the objectification of the female body wasn't enough, some young women posted their contact info and offered sexual favors for combat soldiers as a way to help the war effort. Many men posted comments on this page supporting the view that satisfying soldiers' sexual needs

during a war is an obligation of patriotic women.

Rise of Sexual Violence during Gaza War

3. Statistics show that sexual and physical violence against women increased during the war on Gaza. Women's organization in the underprivileged south of Israel report of a 60% rise in sexual violence in July 2014 compared to July 2013. A center for battered women reports of a 20% rise in women seeking refuge resulting domestic violence. Some of them claimed that they became used to a certain degree of violence by now, but during the war it became much worse.

The war on Gaza clearly shows how Zionist racism and verbal as well as physical sexual violence go hand in hand.

The oppression of women will end only when oppression in general ends. In Palestine this means, in the first place, to fight against the imperialist Zionist regime, which politically, military and ideologically justifies every step to fight against the just Palestinian struggle for freedom. As women we have to see, that there will be no end of oppression of us, until there is no end of oppression of Palestine. We must unite to end the oppression of us! If we do not enlarge the struggle for a free, red Palestine, we will never be free. Join us! ■



Cartoon by Carlos Latuff

Report from Israel: My Experience as a Political Prisoner

By an Israeli supporter of the Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 15.8.2014

In military jail in Israel, there are two facilities, prison number 6 and number 4, which approximately 15.000 soldiers go through every year. About 80% are due to defections, mainly soldiers who have to help in financing their families, and 426 NIS (about 100\$) a month is ridiculous figure that can hardly be called a salary. Another 10% or so is about drug-related offenses, which are harsher treated as compared to civilian courts. The rest is miscellaneous, refusal to follow commands, refusal to undergo certain courses and so on.

Overall in Israel, military service is mandatory for a period of 3 years. While the ISL advocates that Jewish communist revolutionaries work inside the army in order to reach regular soldiers and to turn them against their officers and the Zionist occupation, we consider it under the present circumstances as a tactical question if revolutionaries infiltrate, refuse or dodge the army rank-and-file service. I chose to refuse for personal and conscious reasons. In addition, there isn't a legal option for males to refuse military service for political reasons, which is a democratic right, along with the right of oppressed minorities not to serve in the army (which not surprisingly, is also under attack). However, the army, in recent years, created an internal committee to deal with conscious „Refusniks“. As a rule, for males and even for females, it has to be framed as absolute radical pacifism and not as opposition to the occupation to receive the exemption.

The military is a special kind of employer. It has the power to send soldiers to its own special kind of court, a military tribunal, and its own jails. It has extraordinary power over individual's private life, like no other private employer. In addition, military courts are corrupt in their attitudes towards justice, for example, it is assumed that the officers always tell the truth, and that you are guilty until proven innocent.

At first, I travelled to the Bakum (induction base). After refusing, they put me in arrest at the Bakum. After a short speech that went something like „you are a traitor to your country blah blah your friends are fighting in Gaza blah blah“ (it was during the Gaza war) and a body search, I was stripped from any personal items and put in a cell with nothing in it except metal beds for a couple of hours. Afterwards, I was promptly sentenced to 20 days. A bus transferred me and the rest of the detainees to prison number 6, where you put on prisoner uniform (actually it was US Army uniform, how symbolic), go through reception, and go to sleep at around 1 AM. The first night is harsh on purpose to create demoralization.

In a typical day in Company B, where I was, you wake up at 5 AM, have some morning military parade, eat breakfast, some more military parade, and then a couple hours of rest, then lunch, a telephone call of 4 minutes, and have time to buy cigarette/snacks and then a couple more hours of rest, and then dinner and some more parades and then the guards lock the door and you go to sleep at around 10 PM. The cells are closed structures, but the door and the

windows on top let wind and sunshine in.

There are several companies in military jail. In company A, you work in cleaning, kitchen, guarding, accompanying suicidal prisoners in company D, or do IDF external jobs, such as handling uniforms. It is known that in the past some work even consisted of filling sand bags that were used in areas occupied since '67. In exchange, you get unlimited phone time usage during your free time and better attitude from the guards. This is done mainly to reduce the labor cost of running the prison.

In company B, you can also do certain types of work (kitchen work, cleaning, helping the guards with some tasks, etc.), but not guarding, and get some of the mentioned privileges. The inmates clean their own cells, and the guards appoint an inmate to make sure that the work gets done, although he has no legal or special status to bring complaints to the guards. There are also hidden informers, who, in exchange for better treatment, shortened terms, and playing XBOX with the guards in the management room, tell the guards about any smuggling of illegal possessions, such as cellphones, or about discontent among the inmates. The capo system works well.

Company C is similar to Company B, just reserved to prisoners with longer sentences. Company D is the Isolation/Dungeon area, reserved for suicidal prisoners (that's part of the reason why in the dining room there are only spoons), prisoners who do lots of serious problems, prisoners who refuse to wear uniforms/shave, etc.

Prison number 4 is similar, just with less discipline, and worse food and less opportunities to make phone calls (3 times a week as opposed to every day). The cells have TV's and newspapers in them, to pass the time and to pacify the prisoners.

The guards have more powers at their disposal. They have cameras in the cells, and can deny telephone calls if they wish, or even add days in jail for a harsher „misbehavior“ during the prison term. For example, if you need to talk on the phone with your family, the guards will use that against you to make sure you behave as they like. They can send inmates to Company D.

The more disciplined prisoners undergo lesson with a teacher, mainly for brainwashing purposes about the importance of military service, or one time it was about why we should respect the guards (one of the reason given was that they are human. Well, who isn't? Needless to say it probably would not mean better treatment towards the prisoners.) There is also a more general mandatory lesson for everyone, about varying topics. One time it was about the Gaza war, and other times it is about society, or Israel's history.

They can also become very strict with inmates they don't like. If they are mad, they can also ban arbitrary things, like sleeping during free time [the biggest time-passer during prison along with smoking]. I think that some of the guards are there just to stem pressure from their childhood unto the inmates, who will do the same thing to the

Palestinians when they get out of jail...(there has also been very limited violence against guards off-duty by former inmates).

I did try to initiate some political conversation in prison, knowing that there is some solidarity among prisoners and more openness to radical ideologies. When speaking about practical steps, some people agreed, even if they didn't define themselves as leftist. There is a wide difference in response across different ethnicity (Ethiopian/White) and class, especially people who defected to work and support their homes because they are poor. While Ethiopians were less „institutionalized“, some of them were very racist.

The prison was close to full, as the war led to many refusals, only half of the places in company A could be used due to security reasons, and some of the guards went to

fight in Gaza.

I also talked with Uriel Ferera, a left-Zionist conscious objector. I would also say that the female guards were consistently tougher than the male guards, as if to prove that they were „equal“ to men in their ability to order around the prisoners. The prison is a totalitarian institute, even if you are allowed to have watches and to speak with other people. You cannot escape from it.

Jails are a necessity for the capitalist system. They are for punishment and deterrence, to keep soldiers from breaking the military discipline. Another minor purpose for prison is to „educate“ the prisoners about the correct ways. That's why it's created to be miserable enough so soldiers would not want to return there. Prison is a mirror of our current class society. ■



Israel: Report on antiwar rally in Tel Aviv on 26 July

Report by Boris Hammerschlag, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 27.7.2014

On Saturday night, July 26, we attended an antiwar rally in Tel Aviv organized by the Communist Party of Israel (CPI) and its Hadash front. Initially, towards evening, we were informed that the police had revoked the permit for the demonstration, but at the last minute this decision was rescinded and the rally took place, as planned. While, undoubtedly, fewer participants reached the scene due to the last minute changes, the rally itself was the largest against the Gaza war, in Israel, since the beginning of the military operation, with 5,000-7,000 people taking part. Participants held signs distributed by Hadash, Daam, and some Israeli NGOs. There were three Zionist flags and dozens of red flags.

During the rally, one of our ISL members gave a recorded interview to a blogger from California, and elucidated the ISL/RCIT position on a single socialist state in Palestine, the urgency for BDS campaign led by workers, and other related topics.

The rally was confronted by a much smaller Zionist counter-demonstration. Members of the latter group attempted to physically attack the demonstrators on our side of the barricades, but were held back by the police and anti-fascist activists. During these attacks, one anarcho-communist from UNITY was hit in the head with a metal rod and was evacuated to a local hospital for urgent stitching.

During the rally, speeches against the war were delivered by leaders from Meretz, Hadash, a number of peace-oriented NGOs, and one head of a labor union for university professors. The number of Meretz activists present was very small, a fact which is now reverberating with much criticism on left-wing social media.

After the rally began, the police ordered the organizers to cut it short. They claimed that this was for the security

of the demonstrators, as Hamas had broken the ceasefire called on Saturday, and they feared the sending of missiles to Tel Aviv. However, the police's real motivation was that its forces were once again, as in Haifa a week earlier, outnumbered by the Zionist gangs and they had no desire to be caught in the middle of a giant brawl.

The organizers agreed to the police request and asked the demonstrators to disperse from one end of the site of the rally, so that the police could prevent the Zionists from following them. However, at some point the police presence thinned out, exposing a group of leftists to physical attacks by hooligans bashing them with Zionist flags and spraying them with pepper spray. One of those wielding a can of spray was a uniformed soldier on leave. A few policemen rushed to arrest the soldier, but eye-witness reports relate that these same police officers were later seen shaking the soldier's hand and releasing him.

We assisted the Hadash contingent in gathering up their signs and flags and load them into one of its leader's car. These activists needed help because they, too, became surrounded by Zionist thugs. Member of the Knesset Dov Hanin (CPI/Hadash) left the site as soon as the rally ended, but instructed his really large state-funded bodyguard to remain behind and help fend off any Zionist counter-demonstrators who got too close and threatened the Hadash activists.

Reports by ANTIFA say that some demonstrators were targeted and later followed by fascist gangs and attacked near their homes. One of our young women from the ISL youth group had Zionist demonstrators under her window at 01:00, even though her parents had physically locked her in her room so that she couldn't attend the rally. ■

Ultra-Leftism and the Destruction of the Israeli State

A Reply to the Argentinean COR

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 27.7.2014

The Argentinean group *Corriente Obrera Revolucionaria* (COR) recently published a statement on the Gaza war in Spanish and English. (1) It contains a general statement expressing the anti-Zionist position of this organization, their siding with the Palestinian resistance against Israel and the outline of a socialist perspective. Unfortunately the authors mix this generally correct approach with ultra-left nonsense. They attack our international tendency for its supposed softness in the struggle against the Zionist state. Such they wrote: "... the RCIT that has a section in what they call 'Israel/Occupied Palestine', refuse to advance the destruction of the State of Israel. Instead they pose the entelechy of 'down with Israel's assassin wars', of course, they concede the Palestinian people the right to self-defense."

Either the COR leaders have not read the RCIT documents on Palestine or they deliberately distort our position. Both possibilities speak against them. There is hardly a single statement or article of the RCIT or its section in Israel / Occupied Palestine in which we don't state the inherently reactionary nature of the Israeli state as a Jewish state, and our goal of abolishing it and replacing it with a single workers' and peasants' republic in the whole of historic Palestine (summarized in our agitational slogan "For a free, red Palestine!").

In our statement at the beginning of the present Gaza war the RCIT and its section in Israel / Occupied Palestine stated: "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." (2)

In another statement, published at the beginning of the last Gaza war in November 2012, we wrote:

"The State of Israel must be destroyed and be replaced by a secular, Arab-Jewish workers' republic in the whole of Palestine. In such a state, the Palestinians and the Jews, who accept the elimination of the privileges of the apartheid state of Israel, can live together equally and peacefully. We combine this perspective with the struggle for a socialist federation of the people in the Middle East." (3)

And in *The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto* – the RCIT's program – we wrote: "Therefore, the national oppression can only be overcome when the Palestinian refugees are given the full right of return, get their land back or receive proper compensation and if the State of Israel is destroyed." (4)

In the appendix to this article we give several more ex-

amples. (5) It is therefore obvious that the COR leaders hope that the readers of their statement are not aware of the real positions of the RCIT and its section in Israel / Occupied Palestine.

The accusations by COR are particularly pathetic since Johannes Wiener, one of the leading comrades of our Austrian section, was threatened by the bourgeois state with jail because of so-called "sedition". This "sedition" was that he called in a speech at a public rally during the Gaza war in November 2012 for the "destruction of Israel"! The COR leaders must know about this not only because we published several reports on this event but also because they at that time send us a message in solidarity with our comrade! (6)

Behind this nonsensical distortion of our position is not just the COR leaders desire to discredit the RCIT. It also reflects their infantile "anti-Zionism." This becomes obvious from their objection when we speak about "Israel / Occupied Palestine." Probably it is because COR characterize Israel as an "entity (because it is not based on national classes we don't consider it a proper State)". Unfortunately the COR leaders fail to explain this, let us put it diplomatically, originally idea. If the Israeli state is not based on national classes, on what else is it based? Does COR deny the existence of an Israeli bourgeoisie, indeed even a class of monopoly capital as we have shown in a recent study? For example there are a number of Israeli multinational corporations. According to the *Forbes Global 2000* – a ranking of the biggest, most powerful companies in the world – 10 multinational corporations from Israel are listed. This is similar to other smaller imperialist countries which have a much longer history of imperialist development like Austria or Belgium (each 11 corporations) or Finland (12). (7) Where do the Israeli capitalists derive their profits if not by exploiting the Jewish workers as well as the Arab and migrant working class in Israel (in addition to their extra-profits from foreign operations)?! Do the COR leaders want to deny the existence of an Israeli-Jewish working class (which of course is very privileged, relative to Palestinians and migrant workers, and contains larger proportion of labor aristocrats)?! Needless to say, there is also an Israeli-Jewish middle class. So which national classes do not exist in Israel according to the COR leaders?

In addition it should be unnecessary to add that Israel is not only a state but also a very powerful, militarized state. It is the eighth largest nuclear power in the world, and ranks tenth among the world's arms exporters. (8)

The COR leaders might object that Israel is based on the support of the imperialist powers. There is no doubt that Israel receives an important amount of financial and military assistance as we – and many other supporters of the Palestinian liberation struggle – have pointed out many times. But this imperialist aid does not deny the basic fact that the production of surplus value takes place in Israel based on the exploitation of its working class. Neither does

it negate the fact that the Israeli bourgeoisie has its own imperialist interests, or that it is not simply an underling of US imperialism. Israel has always been a colonial settler state which, with time, developed into a powerful, small imperialist state. It continues to exist as a colonialist settler state, since its entire existence is based on the theft of land and the expulsion of the indigenous Palestinian people, a process which is being continued by the ever-expanding settler activities in the West Bank.

Little children hope to deny ugly realities by closing their eyes. The COR leaders hope to deny the real existence of the powerful Israeli state by claiming that it does not exist. Marxists and adults in general should know that such methods of denial are pretty useless when searching for the correct orientation in politics and life in general.

Footnotes

(1) Corriente Obrera Revolucionaria: *"Derrotemos la ofensiva sionista! Destrucción del Estado de Israel!"* respectively *"Let's defeat the Zionist offensive! Destruction of the State of Israel!"* 9.7.2014, <http://www.cor-digital.org/>

(2) RCIT and ISL: Palestine: Forward to the Third Intifada! 7.7.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/victory-to-palestinian-uprising/>

(3) RCIT: New Wave of Israeli terror against Gaza: Support the Palestinian Resistance! Defeat the Zionist killing machine! 15.11.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/defend-gaza/>

(4) RCIT: The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto, 2012, p. 49, <http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto/support-the-national-liberation-struggles/>

(5) See e.g.: *"Peace will only be built in the region when all injustice is overthrown. In Palestine, that means the end of the state of Israel, which can only rule by apartheid discrimination and ethnic cleansing against Palestinians inside its borders and permanent war with the Palestinians and their allies beyond. It means the full right of return of all the Palestinian refugees to one democratic state, from the river to the sea. Because such a democratic state would be dedicated to overcoming the national oppression of the Palestinian people, we believe its national character would naturally be determined by the Palestinian masses, who would be its overwhelming majority. Israel's Jews should have full civil rights as a minority in such a state and thus be able to live free of any form of religious or racial persecution. But Zionists must be denied any right to keep stolen land or property or continue their apartheid rule."* (ISL: The Zionist State Tries to Break Gaza Again – and Fails Again, November 2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/isl-statement-on-gaza-war/>)

"We in the Internationalist Socialist League, Arabs and Jews, fight for such a working class leadership. We offer against the Zionist nightmare of an apartheid state from the river to the sea a revolutionary perspective of a democratic Palestinian state from the river to the sea, that in its class contents will be a multi-national workers state supported by the Fallahin from the river to the sea." (ISL: The Nakba Day 2013, 5.4.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/nakba-day-2013/>)

"The slogan of a single 'Democratic State in the whole of Palestine' is a historic and progressive one. It expresses the desire of the Palestinians and all progressive Jews to smash the Zionist state and to replace it with a single state. In this state all privileges for the Israeli Jewish oppressor nation – which they automatically have in the present Apartheid State – will be abolished. All Palestinian refugees will have the right to return and will – given the fact that they form a 2:1 majority and that it is their historic homeland – shape the character of the future state." (Michael Pröbsting: On some Questions of the Zionist Oppression and the Permanent Revolution in Palestine, May 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/permanent-revolution-in-palestine/>)

"We stand for the victory of the Palestinian resistance and the de-

struction of the imperialist apartheid state of Israel." (<http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/rally-for-palestine-9-7-2014/>, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/rally-for-palestine-13-7-2014/>, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/demo-for-palestine-20-7-2014/>)

"The RCIT calls for the destruction of the Israeli Apartheid state." (<http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/editorial-rev-com-7/>)

(6) We have reported about the threats against comrade Johannes Wiener here: RKOB: Austria: Pro-Israeli War-Mongers try to throw 20-year old Palestine Solidarity Activist into Prison. RKOB spokesperson Johannes Wiener is accused of „sedition“ because of a Pro-Palestine speech during the Gaza War, 13.12.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/no-to-criminalization-of-rcit-activist/>; RKOB: Victory! The Charge against RKOB Spokesperson and Palestine Solidarity Activist Johannes Wiener has been dropped! Austria: Israelite Cultus Community suffers defeat in its attack on Free Speech and Palestine Solidarity, 10.1.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/solidarity-with-wiener-won/>. For the international solidarity campaign including the COR's message of solidarity see: Statements in Solidarity with RCIT Activist Johannes Wiener, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/solidarity-with-johannes-wiener/>

(7) The World's Biggest Companies, The Forbes Magazine, 18.4.2012, <http://www.forbes.com/global2000/>; We also refer readers to our study by Michael Pröbsting: On some Questions of the Zionist Oppression and the Permanent Revolution in Palestine. Thoughts on some exceptionalities of the Israeli state, the national oppression of the Palestinian people and its consequences for the program of the Bolshevik-Communists in Palestine, May 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/permanent-revolution-in-palestine/>

(8) Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security, 2012, Summary, pp. 13-14 ■



Michael Pröbsting speaking at a Gaza Solidarity Rally on 13.7.2014 in Vienna

Israel's War against the Palestinians

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 23.7.2014

Israel's barbaric war in Gaza is not merely against Hamas, but rather is the latest round of violence used by the Zionist project to create, fortify, and defend a colonialist settlement state for "the Jewish people" at the expense of the displaced indigenous population of Palestine. In this war, as in all colonial wars, it is the interest of the international working class to call for the victory of the oppressed over the oppressor, specifically, the Palestinians over Israel. Until now, more than 600 Palestinians, including many women and children, have been killed during the fighting in Gaza. According to the Gaza Health Ministry, in Shuja'iyah alone, located in the eastern part of the city of Gaza, more than sixty people were killed by heavy artillery and tank fire during the twenty-four hours between last Saturday and Sunday.

"Palestinian witnesses and officials said at least 62 Palestinians were killed in shelling of a Gaza neighborhood that left bodies strewn in the streets and thousands fleeing for shelter." (1)

"... tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of Gazans have been forced to flee their homes, more than 2,400 [have been] wounded, the Palestinian health ministry said. About 75 percent of the casualties have been civilians, according to a United Nations count" (2)

On Sunday, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu defended the military actions which have resulted in the killing of tens of Palestinians, mostly civilians, in Gaza's Shujaiyeh neighborhood, maintaining that Hamas blocked residents in the area from fleeing so it could use them as human shields. Netanyahu made this cynical statement on BBC's Arabic Service as part of a round of interviews in major international media.

The massacre in Shujaiyeh brings to mind the terrible bloodshed in the West Bank city of Jenin in 2002. During the Shujaiyeh massacre, Hamas fighters killed thirteen Israeli soldiers and wounded another fifteen, four of them seriously. As of Monday evening, 22 July, twenty-nine Israeli soldiers and two civilians have been killed since the Israeli military began its ground offensive last week.

"Israel spokesman Peter Lerner told TIME that Israel sustained relatively heavy losses because Hamas militants were intent on trying to defend what was far from a regular neighborhood." (3)

As the number of Israeli soldiers killed grows, the atmosphere in Israel will undoubtedly become uglier with more attacks on Palestinians citizens of Israel and against so called "leftists."

Netanyahu claims that Hamas does not want a cease fire. However, Hamas' conditions for a cease fire are totally justified. They include a pullback of Israeli tanks; lifting of the Israeli seven-year long blockade on the Gaza Strip; opening air, sea, and land entries to Gaza under supervision of the United Nations and other countries; and the release of prisoners detained last month. (4)

While we support these Hamas demands, we do not support Hamas politically, as sooner or later this bourgeois led reactionary organization will betray the Palestinian

struggle, and come to an accommodation with Israel. Neither do we support the killing of Israeli civilians. However, it is impossible to compare the Israeli's state terror against Palestinian civilians with Hamas' largely ineffective missile barrages upon Israel which, so far, have killed two civilians – in light of sophisticated Israel's air defense system. Israel is a highly developed imperialist state while Hamas is the democratically-elected government of the colonized Palestinians, who are the only ones that can decide who will be their government.

The War of the Tunnels

Without doubt, as these lines are being written, the discovery and destruction of Hamas' tunnels into Israel have become the focus of Israel's campaign. Prior to this, Israel, together with a great deal of Egyptian cooperation, saw to the destruction of hundreds of tunnels which led from Egyptian Sinai into the Gaza Strip, tunnels which were prepared and used, particularly during Morsi's regime between June 2012 to June 2013, not only to smuggle food and other necessary materials into Gaza under siege, but weapons for self defense as well. The Palestinians have the right to defend themselves against Israel which is equipped with the most modern and sophisticated killing technology. Hamas itself is limited in the amount of sophisticated weapons they have, as the Arab states that denounce Israel have not helped them defend themselves, while Egypt under al-Sisi is working with Israel, as we noted above. Al-Sisi's cooperation with Israel is also manifested by the ridiculous terms for a cease fire which he suggested, terms immediately accepted by Israel, which entirely ignored all the demands of Hamas and allowed Israel to continue its seven-year siege on Gaza.

Israel's Aims

After starting its military operation with the stated goal of ceasing the firing of rockets on its population, Israel now claims that its aim is to destroy a network of tunnels which Hamas militants dug to carry out cross-border raids. These relatively limited military goals – when compared with its intentions during the 2008-2009 Cast Lead operation of toppling the Hamas regime in Gaza and destroying the organization reflect Israel's realization that it cannot destroy Hamas, and even if it could, Hamas would be replaced by more radical Islamists. Israel claimed that its attack on Shujaiyeh was targeting Hamas' terrorist infrastructure. Whether this is the case or not, we should be aware that in the mind of the Israeli government all Palestinians including children – so many of whom died as collateral damage in the course of this attack – are terrorists, or future terrorists. Like during the war against Lebanon in 2006, the real aim of this operation is something far beyond returning the people of Gaza to the Stone Age

(see below). As the Jewish historian Ilan Pappé writes:

"The Zionist strategy of branding its brutal policies as an ad hoc response to this or that Palestinian action is as old as the Zionist presence in Palestine itself. It was used repeatedly as a justification for implementing the Zionist vision of a future Palestine that has in it very few, if any, native Palestinians. The means for achieving this goal changed with the years, but the formula has remained the same: whatever the Zionist vision of a Jewish State might be, it can only materialize without any significant number of Palestinians in it. And nowadays the vision is of an Israel stretching over almost the whole of historic Palestine where millions of Palestinians still live" (5)

"Return Gaza to the Stone Age"

Sheldon Adelson's right-wing *Israel Today*, the newspaper with the highest circulation in Israel – in no small part because of it's given away for free – and which is recognized as the organ reflecting the opinions and policies of Netanyahu, has called for Gaza to be returned to the Stone Age:

"The Gaza Strip must be returned to the Stone Age. Not in the sense of destroying every home and all the infrastructure, which would leave Gaza residents wandering among ruins. Rather, Israel should eliminate every rocket, bomb and gun in Gaza. In other words, get rid of the arsenal Hamas has accumulated over the past 10 years. The snake must be defanged, leaving Hamas without rockets. The most it would have left would be stones." (6)

Such demands echo similar calls during early attacks upon Gaza. For example, during the last Gaza war in November 2012, Interior Minister Eli Yishai called for Gaza to be consigned "to the Middle Ages."

"Interior Minister Eli Yishai said Operation Pillar of Defense would continue and likely be expanded, a reference to the possibility that a ground offensive has already been given the go-ahead. The war in Gaza must be so painful and difficult that the terror groups will not think twice but a hundred times before they fire missiles against Israel again," it was reported in The Israel National News. "Destroy and damage infrastructure, public buildings and government buildings. We must make sure that Hamas will be spending many years rebuilding Gaza, and not attacking Israel," he continued. "A few days ago he said, 'The goal of the operation is to send Gaza back to the Middle Ages, only then will Israel be calm for the next 40 years.' His words were relatively mild compared to some of the comments that have been coming out of Israel in recent days. Journalist, Gilad Sharon, the son of former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, in an editorial in the Jerusalem Post on Sunday called for Gaza to be flattened like the US flattened the Japanese city of Hiroshima in 1945 with an atomic bomb. 'We need to flatten all of Gaza. The American's didn't stop with Hiroshima – the Japanese weren't surrendering fast enough – so they hit Nagasaki too. There should be no electricity in Gaza, no gasoline or moving vehicles, nothing. Then they'd really call for a ceasefire,' ranted Sharon." (7)

Regardless how many Palestinians Israel kills this time around, politically it will have failed. This most recent military operation can only further isolate Israel internationally and strengthen the resolve of the Palestinians to struggle against the oppression. The influence of Hamas among the Palestinians and the Arab masses continues to grow while the collaborating Palestinian Authority will

lose the little influence it had. Israel cannot rule Gaza directly, and for this reason it had to pull out from Gaza in 2005. If Israel is now planning to replace Hamas with the PA, this amounts to no more than wishful thinking. The fate of this ploy will be similar to what events in Iraq have illustrated, where the corrupt and oppressive pro-American regime is now disintegrating.

The Nature of the Israeli State

The current round of massacres will end in a few days or weeks, but sooner or later the killing will be resumed because Israel is committed to removing most of the Palestinians from their country, as it did in 1948. These cycles of violence will end either when Israel will be militarily defeated or when the struggle for liberation leading to a socialist revolution will win. Those who speak about a two-state solution, whether capitalists, socialist reformists (the Communist Party of Israel), or those like centrist *Maavak Socialisti* (CWI) who call for two "socialist states," all take as given that the existing imperialist order is permanent and, at the same time, entirely ignore the nature of the Israeli apartheid. There is no way, at one and the same time, to support both the right of self-determination for the Palestinians and the right of self-determination for Israeli's since by definition the state of Israel must act to oppress, kill, and otherwise remove the Palestinians from the entire country. And there can be no other Israel.

What does *Maavak Socialisti* mean when they call for two "socialist states"? It is essentially their recognition of the right of the settler colonialist oppressors to self-determination. Indirectly, such recognition is a rejection of the right of return of the Palestinians refugees. For, if the refugees will be allowed to return to what is today Israel, the Palestinians will constitute the demographic majority of the state. Why, then, will there be a need for two states with a Palestinian majority rather than a single socialist state where they will be the majority and those Israelis who accept this new reality will not be discriminated against? Why, indeed, if in such a state, where the Israeli workers who will participate in the socialist revolution will be part of the new ruling class, until classes will entirely disappear and with them the state itself?

Trotsky on the Right of Self-Determination

Trotsky rejected the notion of self-determination for the whites in South Africa. There, of course, it is true that the ratio of whites to blacks was overwhelmingly on the side of the black masses. By contrast, the ratio between the Israelis and the Palestinians is virtually equal, if we look at the entire population of all what was Mandatory Palestine. But even if we would grant Israelis the edge, looking at this question from the perspective of Israel alone rather than from the perspective of the region in which the Israelis constitute a small minority is both misleading and a hallmark of a reformist perspective. This is because, in the final analysis the future of the Palestinians will be determined by the regional socialist revolution and the world socialist revolution, and not by what the Israelis want. Furthermore, the support that revolutionary socialists give to the right of self-determination depends on whether the

nation in question is an oppressor nation or a colonized and oppressed one. Israel is unquestionably an oppressive and imperialist political entity. We revolutionary socialists only support the right of self-determination for oppressed nations, as an alliance between the working class and the oppressed nations against imperialism. Self-determination is *not* an absolute right but a bourgeois democratic right that is subordinated to the world socialist revolution. Marx and Engels supported the North against the South in the American civil war, even though the South claimed that it had the right of self-determination. This was during the age in which capitalism was still progressive. Today we live in the epoch of the decay of capitalism and socialism is the next progressive stage of history.

On this Trotsky wrote: *"We do not only recognize, but we also give full support to the principle of self-determination, wherever it is directed against feudal, capitalist and imperialist states. But wherever the fiction of self-determination, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, becomes a weapon directed against the proletarian revolution, we have no occasion to treat this fiction differently from the other 'principles' of democracy perverted by capitalism."* (8)

In 1939, Trotsky supported the right of self-determination for the black minority in the US black belt, even in places where they were a minority, if they should demand this right. He viewed this question not from the perspective of what the white workers want but what the black oppressed minority wants. Thus, for him, it was not the number that was decisive but the struggle of the oppressed. He wrote: *"Comrade Johnson used three verbs: 'support', 'advocate' and 'inject' the idea of self-determination. I do not propose for the party to advocate, I do not propose to inject, but only to proclaim our obligation to support the struggle for self-determination if the Negroes themselves want it. It is not a question of our Negro comrades. It is a question of 13 or 14 million Negroes."* (9)

Jews, Zionism and Anti-Semitism

Is there a question of whether the oppressed Palestinians actually demand the right of return? No. But, at the same time, Hadash and Maavak Socialists tell them: "You cannot demand the actualization of the right of return because the Israeli chauvinist workers oppose it. Israel is stronger and, therefore, you must accept an Israeli state. In reality, on the ground, the Oslo accords which led the PLO to recognize Israel have not resulted in the foundation of a mini-Palestinian state, because the Zionists want the entire country for themselves, and the PA serves Israel. It is *impossible* to equate the demand of self-determination for the Palestinians and the Israelis. The Palestinian struggle for national liberation is an anti-imperialist struggle, while support for Israel and the right of self-determination for Israelis is a defense of imperialism. Therefore, it is a grave mistake to assume that the economic struggles of the Israeli workers and poor can lead to socialist revolution. This was proven when the Israeli protest movement rose and collapsed in a matter of months in 2011, and the protestors took up the slogan of equal responsibility for military service. Most Israelis, as settler colonialists in all the parts of Palestine, whether occupied in 1948 or 1967, the very same people who protested three years ago today support the criminal war against the Palestinians. This is because they see the Israeli state as a defender of

their relative privileges. They reside in towns like Sderot, Ashkelon, or Tel-Aviv/Jaffa, the original populations of which today live as refugees in Gaza. Some Israelis, who do not agree with the war, remain silent. Unfortunately, many Jews around the world still support Israel, even though this support is declining, as is illustrated by the fact that only a few Jews abroad demonstrate for Israel. Regardless, this support has become a breeding ground for authentic Anti-Semitism among some sections of the world's population. Thus, Israel's criminal oppression and massacres not only make life in this country an inevitable death trap for Israelis, but contribute significantly to the rise of real Anti-Semitism around the world.

The leaders of Israel are, to a certain extent, pleased with this growth of Jew-hatred, as they reckon that it may lead to more Jewish immigration to Israel, and thereby augment the forces which oppress the Palestinians. At the same time, these same leaders exploit the political incorrectness of Anti-Semitism, and claim that opposition to Zionism is Anti-Semitic, disingenuously making no distinction between the hate of Israel's crimes and Anti-Semitism against individuals and communities of Jews, simply because they are Jews; hatred which is manifested in attacks on synagogues or the denial of the holocaust.

Many people deny that Israel is similar to South Africa during the Apartheid regime, and they are right to do so. In fact, Israel is not the same but worse. In South Africa, the white settler colonialists needed the blacks to accumulate capital, and thus turned the blacks into a source of cheap labor. Israel does not need the Palestinians as cheap labor. It wants them out of Palestine.

While we reject the notion that it is possible to compare the hideous crimes of Nazi Germany against the Jews to the crimes of Israel against the Palestinians, we should bear in mind that the Final Solution was decided upon after Hitler realized that he did not need the Jews as slave laborers, because he found plenty of cheap labor in occupied East Europe.

The Imperialists Back Israel

To this point the imperialists are backing Israel. France's social democratic government banned a pro-Palestinian demonstration last Saturday. The British Prime Minister has reassured Israel of Britain's support in the ongoing conflict between the Jewish state and Hamas in Gaza. (10) US President Barack Obama, who initially defended Israel's attack on Gaza, saying that Israel has the right to defend itself, told Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in a telephone conversation on Sunday that the United States wants to achieve an immediate cease fire between Hamas and Israel, along the lines of the understandings that ended Operation Pillar of Defense in November 2012. In other words, Obama is backing Egyptian President al-Sisi's cease fire plan that serves Israel.

Massive Support around the World for the Palestinians

Around the world, many demonstrations against Israel's barbaric war are taking place these days. Up to 100,000 people demonstrated in London on Saturday in one of the biggest anti-war demonstrations in years. 20,000 people marched in Vienna in solidarity with Gaza. The

most militant demonstration took place in Turkey where thousands of protesters attacked the Israeli consulate in Ankara. This demonstration called for the Turkish government to end diplomatic relations with Israel. But governments which hypocritically denounce Israel's barbaric war nevertheless maintain their diplomatic relations with Israel and buy weapons from it to oppress their own people.

Demonstrations in Israel

Not all Israelis agree with the Israel's murderous war. A few demonstrations have taken place in Haifa, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem, where rightwing counter-demonstrators have attacked those critical of the war, while shouting "Death to the Arabs!" The police have either done little to stop the attacks on the peace demonstrations, or actually participated in the attacks.

In one of peace demonstration in Tel Aviv, hundreds demonstrated under the slogans: "End the Massacre in Gaza – Enough Attacks on the Palestinian people!", "The Occupation Will Kill Us All," and "Liberate Gaza!" Fascists broke the police barriers at the site, screaming "Death to Arabs," but were repelled. In Haifa, rather than having a single united-front demonstration, two different rallies took place last Saturday, one organized by Hadash, the peace front of Communist Party of Israel (CPI), the other by the Palestinian liberal party, Balad. According to Hadash, a joint demonstration could not be arranged because the two parties could not reach agreement on the slogans. In Haifa, during the Hadash demonstration, at least 800 rightwing nationalist protestors attacked 350 peace activists, who demonstrated under the main slogans prepared by the CPI: "The people demand a ceasefire!" (although it wasn't clear which people and which ceasefire were implied here); "In Gaza and Sderot children want to live!"; "Gaza Don't Worry, We Will End the Occupation!"; "Fascism Will Not Pass!"; "Jews and Arabs Refuse to be Enemies!"; "Stop the War!"; and "Stop Killing Civilians!"

Ironically a decorated bus from Jerusalem tried to reach Gaza in solidarity with the Gazans, but was attacked in Sderot. It is true that in Sderot and in Gaza children want to live, but in Gaza children die.

At Hadash's demonstration in Haifa, large stones and water bottles were hurled at the demonstrators, while the police protected the Zionist rightwing hooligans. The latter trapped the peace demonstrators in a confined area, making them sitting ducks for the barrage of stones, glass bottles, and eggs being hurled. One of our ISL members was injured by a stone which hit his shoulder. Several Palestinians were arrested by the Police for crossing some imaginary line.

Under a great deal of pressure, the Palestinian leadership in Israel called for a joint demonstration which was held on Monday, July 21 in Nazareth with thousands attending. Eighteen demonstrators were arrested.

These attacks by the rightwing and the ineffectual performance of the police demonstrate the need for the organization of self-defense, not only for demonstrations, but in general for the Palestinians and their Jewish supporters everywhere. For this to happen, in every city and village where Palestinians live, a self-defense committee must be formed. These committees should be

coordinated nationally and the leadership, both on the local and national level, must be democratically elected from the most able militants.

The Solution

The heroic struggle of the Palestinians in Gaza may yet reignite the revolutionary struggle of the Arabs in countries like Egypt, living under an oppressive military dictatorship which clearly supports Israel.

As long as the Israeli apartheid state will continue to exist as an ethnically-based discriminatory regime which oppresses the Palestinians, such wars will continue. The only solution is the founding of a single democratic state for the Palestinians and Jews, something which can only be achieved by a workers' revolution. By themselves, the Palestinians cannot defeat Israel. The workers' revolution in Palestine must be part of a socialist revolution throughout the region, one which will establish a socialist federation that will include all of Palestine from the river to the sea.

Defeat Israel's barbaric war!

For a general strike of the Palestinians in Israel!

Self defense for the Palestinians and the Jewish supporters!

For free, red Palestine from the river to the sea!

Footnotes

- (1) Reuters: Arab League calls Israeli attack in Gaza "war crime" 20 July 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/20/us-palestinians-israel-arableague-idUSKBN0FP0GY20140720>
- (2) Anne Barnard And Jodi Rudoren: Despite Israeli Push in Gaza, Hamas Fighters Slip Through Tunnels, July 19, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/20/world/middleeast/gaza-israel.html>
- (3) Ilene Prusher and Hazem Balousha: Israel Prepares for Long War in Gaza as Both Sides Suffer Most Yet Casualties, TIME, July 20, 2014, <http://time.com/3009796/israel-gaza-invasion-casualties/>
- (4) Jewish Telegraphic Agency: Hamas lists cease-fire demands, July 16 2014, <http://www.jta.org/2014/07/16/news-opinion/israel-middle-east/hamas-lists-cease-fire-demands>
- (5) Ilan Pappé: Israel's incremental genocide in the Gaza ghetto, The Electronic Intifada, 13 July 2014, <http://electronicintifada.net/content/israels-incremental-genocide-gaza-ghetto/13562>
- (6) Amos Regev: Return Gaza to the Stone Age by Amos Regev 9 July 2014, http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_article.php?id=18675
- (7) Russia Today: Bloodlust in Israel: 'Flatten Gaza, send it back to Middle Ages, they need to die!', November 19, 2012, <http://rt.com/news/israel-gaza-hamas-war-103/>
- (8) Leon Trotsky: Social Democracy and the Wars of Intervention in Russia 1918-1921 (Between Red and White) (1922), London 1975, p. 94
- (9) Leon Trotsky: Self-Determination for the American Negroes (1939), in: Leon Trotsky: On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination, pp. 45-46
- (10) ITV: Prime Minister: UK 'staunchly supports' Israel, 22 July 2014, 21 <http://www.itv.com/news/update/2014-07-09/prime-minister-uk-staunchly-supports-israel> ■



Israel / Occupied Palestine: Fascists Attack Pro-Gaza Demonstration in Haifa

Report by Boris Hammerschlag, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 21.7.2014

On Saturday night, July 19, we attended a pacifist, anti-war demonstration organized by the Communist Party of Israel and its Hadash front, held in Haifa starting from 21:30.

When we reached the location of the demonstration, we, along with the other participants, were overwhelmed by the number of the Zionist counter-demonstrators, some of whom were wearing yellow shirts with the raised black fist emblem of the Kahanist movement. As the organizers of the demonstration, the Communist Party and Hadash dominated it, but were so vastly outnumbered by the counter-demonstrators, that it was virtually impossible to hear the slogans of Hadash over the commotion made by the Zionists and Fascists.

The main slogans chanted by the CPI/Hadash were: *"The people demand a ceasefire!"* (Exactly which people and which ceasefire?); *"In Gaza and Sederot, children want to live!"*; *"Gaza, don't worry, we will end the occupation!"*; *"Fascism will not pass!"*; *"Jews and Arabs refuse to be enemies!"*; *"Stop the war!"*; *"Stop killing civilians!"*

The police assigned to maintain order during the demonstration arrived with ridiculously insufficient anti-riot forces, having clearly underestimated the number and the vicious intentions of the Zionist count-demonstrators.

One of our ISL members volunteered to use as an improvised weapon one of the mock-flags distributed by a spe-

cial contingent of able-bodied Palestinians who constituted part of the rear-guard which was supposed to ensure that no fascists infiltrate the demonstration or attempt to harm any of the participants.

At some point, large stones and water bottles began being thrown at us, while the police seemed to be protecting the Zionists from us rather than the other way around. The counter-demonstrators managed to box us into a confined area, with the result that we became sitting ducks for the stones, glass bottles, and eggs being hurled at us. In this situation, one of our ISL members was struck by a stone on his shoulder, which a day later was still very bruised and sore. Several other demonstrators were hit on their heads, causing minor to serious bleeding. While doctors were present at the demonstration, they came to demonstrate and were thus unequipped to help any of the injured, some of whom were taken to the hospital by the police. A number of Palestinians were arrested for crossing some imaginary police line. Any demonstrator overwhelmed by anger or excitement was forced to immediately calm down by the leaders of the demonstration. Member of the Knesset Mohammed Barakeh, the chairman of Hadash, was shouting out orders like an army sergeant, particularly to the more militant youth.

The organizers asked for the help of the police to end the demonstration and to evacuate us to safety. Not surpris-



Cartoon by Carlos Latuff

ingly, the police agreed. Using water cannons, they managed to disperse some of the Zionist counter-demonstrators so that we could board the busses which had brought us to Haifa. One bus, from the Palestinian town of Sakhrin in Israel, managed to take off with young demonstrators on board.

For quite some time we remained stranded in the confined area where we were continually pelted with rocks, branches of trees, and water bottles. Unable to flee anywhere, we waited for the police to receive backup so they could evacuate us. One woman leader of the CPI suggested out loud that the surest way out of there would be for us to attack the policemen just to get arrested and taken away.

The police devised their own inept plan. They decided that the remaining demonstrators should move through the streets of Haifa escorted by mounted riot police until we lose the mob. All the while the Zionists continued hurling stones at us with no interference at all from the police, who were vastly outnumbered and didn't dare clash head on with the mob. Needless to say, should a Palestinian have thrown as much as a peanut in the opposite direction, this would have had much more serious consequences. The Zionists refused to abandon their pursuit of us, cursing and hurling objects all the time. They even called out to the residents who live in the streets we passed through to pelt us from their windows up above, and some idiots actually did so.

Fortunately for us, a public bus on its route with only a few passengers on board passed by us. The police stopped the bus and asked the passengers if they would be willing to get off the bus and make room for us, to which they agreed. The bus driver then took us all the way down Mt. Carmel to the seashore where a CPI bus was waiting at a gas station. As soon as we left the gas station, several fascists who had reached the place started hurling stones at the bus, and managed to completely shatter one of its windows which fell entirely off the bus. In parallel, the

violence continued Saturday night: reports have reached us of a fascist gang beating up a 60 year old Palestinian man.

Eventually, we reached the Haifa offices of the CPI where an urgent meeting was held by the party leaders, with one of our ISL members attending as a guest. Those present calculated the number of arrested and injured, and then issued press releases and attempted to plan what to do next. Member of the Knesset Mohammed Barakeh, again chairman of Hadash, rejected a motion to respond to the attack by organizing a united demonstration together with all the Palestinian movements and Jewish anti-Zionists, claiming that he does not want people to arrive with provocative slogans. (Note that on Facebook, Hadash is continually accused of sectarianism because of its refusal to cooperate with the other nationalist and Islamist movements.) Barakeh also reasoned that the ongoing military operation would result in such a demonstration's receiving, at best, only minor media coverage, something which would negate most of the effect that it would otherwise have.

Barakeh indeed knows well the mobilized nature of the Israeli media. During the time the demonstration covered in this report was going on, Israel's state run television Channel 1 was broadcasting its weekend magazine news edition. Its report of the havoc then actually taking place in Haifa consisted of a medium shot of the channel's reporter, surrounded by rightwing goons chanting jingoistic, pro-war slogans, and even dancing the *hora* around the reporter, while Hadash's demonstration was only verbally referred to as the cause of the fascistic gathering being broadcast live from the streets of Haifa.

However, despite Barakeh's initial opposition, pressure from below proved most effective: yesterday, it was announced that today, Monday, July 21, a united march and rally of all the Palestinian movements in Israel as well as and Jewish anti-Zionists will be taking place in the northern city of Nazareth starting from 16:30. ■



Cartoon by David Baldinger

Israel: While the Guns Roar, Exacerbated Political Intimidation of Israel's Palestinian Citizens

Report by Gerard Stephens, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 2.8.2014

On Friday, August 1, we participated in a solidarity meeting with the Nazareth branch of the *Communist Party of Israel* (CPI). The meeting was organized by the party's Tel Aviv chapter, following the continued incarceration, without bail, of nine Palestinian youths who were among forty arrested – most of them members of the CPI or its youth organization – in a demonstration against Israel's current military operation in Gaza which took place in Nazareth on July 21.

All arrests were apparently made under the flimsiest of excuses. For example, Said Barakeh – son of Member of the Knesset Mohammed Barakeh, chairman of the CPI's Hadash front – was reported to have been taken into custody when he began recording the police arresting his fellow demonstrators on his iPhone.

A court order extending the jailing of the nine until August 20 was subsequently appealed by lawyers representing the youths; towards the end of Friday's meeting, we received word that the regional court authorized to rule in this case had just rejected the appeal. As a result, the nine still being held will spend a month behind bars before being brought to trial. Informed sources estimate that, due to the fabricated and contradictory nature of the police evidence, all will be acquitted. Regardless, the arrest and holding of these youths will have served the larger goal it is intended to achieve: the further intimidation of Israel's Palestinian population and a warning lest others insist on protesting the criminal war.

Such intimidation is certainly nothing new, neither historically or during the present round of violence. In the past weeks, several Palestinian protesters in the militarily occupied West Bank have been killed and injured since the start of Israel's "Operation Protective Edge" in Gaza. However, it seems that, within Israel's 1948 borders, officials are – for the moment at least – committed to a more restrained approach based on proactive intimidation. This, apparently, is in order to decrease as much as possible the chances of a repetition of the October 2000 massacres, when twelve Israeli Palestinians and one Palestinian from the West Bank were killed by police during demonstrations which broke out immediately after the start of the Second Intifada.

And, doubtless, such intimidation works. Its results were reflected in the remarks made by the comrades from Nazareth during the course of Friday's solidarity meeting (see below). Beyond expressions of solidarity with the nine incarcerated, with our Palestinian comrades in Nazareth, and with the Palestinian people in general, the practical purpose of the meeting was an attempt to arrive at a plan of action for alleviating what those with whom we met see as a purposeful policy of the Israeli establishment to increasingly isolate the Palestinian citizens of the Zionist state.

When reviewing the increasing incidence of violence being perpetrated by right wing proto-fascists during the past weeks against individual Palestinians and, in particular, against Palestinians and Jewish Israeli leftists during

demonstrations against the war in Gaza, the comrades from Nazareth testified that: "We are unable to defend ourselves"... "We are entirely dependent on the police to protect us during these demonstrations" (with results that are often far from encouraging, as witnessed by July 19th's Saturday night demonstration in Haifa, as well as by earlier and subsequent demonstrations in Tel Aviv and other locations). In this spirit, a prominent female member of the reformist CPI who came from Tel Aviv noted that it was "incumbent to place full responsibility on the police for the protection, or lack thereof, of the demonstrators, Palestinian and Jewish." True, the demonstrators themselves have and do regularly delegate defensive roles to a number of young participants; but the effectiveness of such ad hoc organizing is mostly dependent on the ratio of demonstrators to counter-demonstrators (as was clearly illustrated in the Haifa march cited above), and the cooperation, or lack of it, of the police, and the actual number of officers who are assigned to accompany the demonstration. When one member of the Tel Aviv delegation asked about the possibility of organizing self-defense groups on a permanent basis, he was responded to unequivocally by a prominent CPI comrade from Nazareth: "There will be no such organization!... There must be no such organization!" The rationale which precludes any such organization, it was explained, is that the moment that such an initiative it is revealed by Israel's internal security authorities (who of course, are always watching), its members and supporters are liable to face severe charges of sedition and organizing to harm Jews.

And so, with little more than expressions of solidarity and vague, undefined plans for Jewish presence at future Palestinian demonstrations, and Palestinian presence at Jewish demonstrations, Friday's meeting ended. In light of the increased activity and organization on the part of Israeli rightist organizations to intimidate any potential protesters against the war, and Israel's Palestinians in general, organizations which apparently do not fear facing charges of sedition or organizing to physically harm Arabs or leftists, for the time being all the initiative appears to be in the hands of the right and the proto-fascists. This does not bode well for the near and intermediate future. ■



Austria: Tens of Thousands march in Solidarity with Palestine

Report with Pictures and Videos of the RKOB (Austrian section of the RCIT) on the demonstration in Vienna on 20.7.2014

On 20 July Vienna saw the biggest mass demonstration for Palestine in Austria's history. Between 20 and 30.000 people marched through the streets of Vienna and expressed their outrage about Israel's war crimes in Gaza. Most participants were Turkish migrants but many came also from the Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian, Bosnian and Albanian community.

As usual the Austrian left preferred to boycott this pro-Palestine action which reflects their capitulation to the pro-Zionist stand of the bourgeois establishment as well as amongst the top of the labor movement. It also reflects their infection of Islamophobic prejudices against Muslim migrants.

The *Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION* (RCIT-Section in Austria) and the youth organization *RED*REVOLUTION* supported the demonstration and participated with a large and militant contingent. (See pictures and videos). Many participants were interested in our publications including the new edition of our monthly paper *LIBERATION* (which has a focus on Palestine) and a new pamphlet on the Gaza war. All in all we sold more than 100 copies.

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 the demonstration speeches at the rally can be found at on the RKOB website:

<http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/bericht-gaza-demo-20-07-2014/> ■



Contingent of the RCIT's Austrian Section at the Gaza Solidarity Demonstration in Vienna on 20.7.2014

Austria: Demonstration on the Anniversary of the Raaba Massacre in Egypt

Report (with Photos and Videos) from the Austrian Section of the RCIT, 14.8.2014

About 300 people demonstrated on 14 August in the centre in Vienna on the anniversary of the Raaba Massacre in Egypt one year ago. The demonstration was organized by the Egyptian community. The *Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION* (Austrian section of the RCIT) supported the demonstration and participated with a contingent.

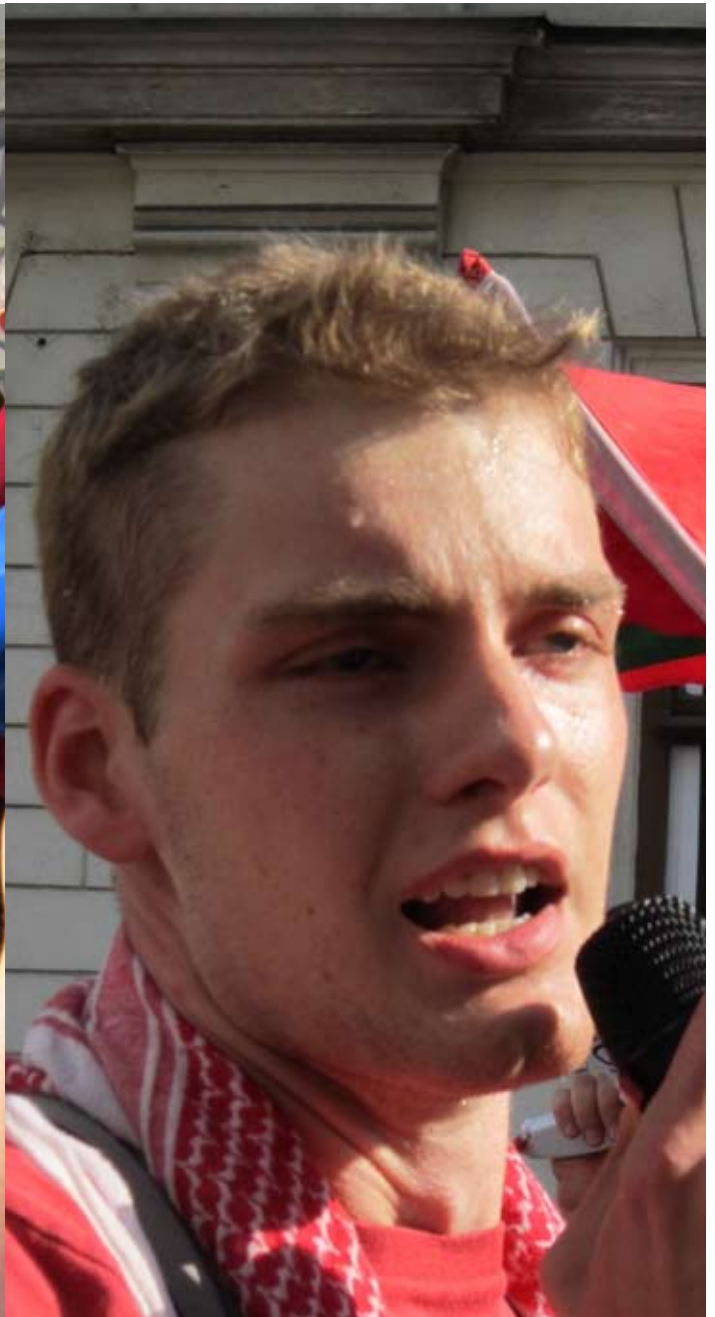
A number of videos were shown on the horrifying autocracies of the regime. Among the speakers were Marc Hangler, spokesperson of the youth organization RED*REVOLUTION, as well as Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT.

Marc Hangler emphasized the need for international solidarity with the Egyptian people in their resistance against the reactionary dictatorship of General Sisi.

Michael Pröbsting called for an uprising of the workers and peasants to bring down the regime and to take power in their own hands.

Pictures of the Demonstration as well as videos of the speeches by Marc Hangler and Michael Pröbsting can be viewed here:

<http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/schweigmarsch-%C3%A4gypten-14-08-2014/> ■



Speakers of the Austrian RCIT Section at Egypt Solidarity Demonstrations: Rebecca Stauder (left) and Marc Hangler (right)

Solidarity Rally in Austria: Down with the Dictatorship in Egypt!

Report (with Photos and Videos) from the Austrian Section of the RCIT, 3.8.2014

On 3 August, the Egyptian community staged a rally in Vienna in protest against the ongoing repression by the Egyptian military dictatorship. The Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION (Austrian section of the RCIT) supported the rally and participated with a number of activists. About 100 people joined the rally in the centre of Vienna.

We chanted numerous slogans against the dictatorship. The organizers had prepared many photos which showed the autocracies of the regime. Ibrahim Ali, leader of the Egyptian community, condemned in his speech the support of Western imperialist powers for the regime of General Sisi. He emphasized the ongoing resistance of the people in Egypt in their struggle for freedom.

Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT,

also addressed the crowd. He stressed the need to combine the struggle against the dictatorship of General Sisi with the struggle against the Zionist state. He expressed the need for international solidarity with the popular resistance both on Egypt as well as in Gaza.

We ran a book stall and many people showed interest in the publications of the Austrian RCIT section. All in all we distributed hundreds of leaflets and sold nearly 50 pamphlets and papers.

Pictures of the Rally as well as a Video of the speech by Michael Pröbsting can be viewed here:

<http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei-kundgebung-aegypten-03-08-2014/> ■



Source: <http://www.worldofmaps.net/uploads/pics/general-map-egypt.png>

USA: Stop the Police Brutality! Justice for Michael Brown!

by Marc Hangler, Youth Organization RED*REVOLUTION (Austria), 15th August 2014

Ferguson, Missouri. On the 9th of August, Saturday night Michael Brown was shot by a police officer. The black youth walked on the street, and was met by an armed officer. According to his attending friend, Dorian Johnson, and other eye witnesses, Michael had his arms up as the officer shot him several times.

The murder of Michael Brown is a case of pure racist injustice, and even more an example of how youths must fear the brutality of the police. Dorian Johnson describes the circumstances of the crime as the youths "bringing harm to nobody", while the officer shot more than 3 times. (1) Since then black youths took to the streets and clashed with police. Night by night, since then, protests were threatened by police. The demonstrators demand full clarification and a stop of police brutality. Police Chief Thomas Jackson hid the name of his killer-cop-colleague for five days and at the same time promises to be part of the solution of the case. However the United States are obviously uncomfortable with the situation, sending State Police into the city. Wednesday night in Ferguson police fired tear gas to whip black youths off the streets, who ignored their order to disperse. Obama said that "There is never an excuse for violence against police or for those who would use this tragedy as a cover for vandalism or looting." (2)

Many protestors were arrested for their actions of solidarity. The police want to criminalize the solidarity-movement of blacks, youths and progressive activists. Even SWAT-Units were present at many rallies against police brutality. Tear gas was used against the protestors, actually at the very beginning of the demonstrations.

This shows once more that the police is an armed tool of the capitalist state and can never be an instrument for a progressive change in the society. The working class and the youth can only rely on themselves and their own armed organizations.

No black youth is safe from police

This is not the first case of violence against blacks. Trayvon Martin for example was one of the previous prominent victims. We have to see that the black working class and urban poor, and black youths in particular, live a harsh and dangerous life in the US. 11.5% of all Afro-Americans are unemployed. (3) According to the *Bureau of Labor Statistics*, black youth in the USA unemployment rate is about 24.8%. (4)

The black masses – as well as the workers and poor from the Latino, white and other communities – demand jobs, affordable housing, real equality and an end of the police harassment. The capitalist system will never meet these demands. The only answer of the imperialist state is repression and state violence. Unsurprisingly, as we see currently in Ferguson, this method leads to an outrage of the oppressed.

This outrage is absolutely legitimate. But we need to go further and to change the living conditions of the working

class and fight for a socialist system. For this we need the multi-national unity of the working class, the poor and the youth. Black, Latino, White, and Asian workers and youth should fight together against the capitalist exploitation and racist and national oppression.

No Justice, no Peace!

The youth organization RED*REVOLUTION says that the protestors in Ferguson are absolutely correct to say: "No justice, no peace!" as this was correct in the case of Trayvon Martin and all the other cases of murder by the racist system. (5)

But justice will not come automatically but must be fought for. Therefore we call for:

* Immediately release of all jailed protestors! Stop the persecution of working and poor youths!

* Instead of calling for "peaceful protests", the community leaders should help to organize the resistance against the police violence!

* Build self-defense committees! Such committees should be elected in the neighborhoods and communities, and should organize the defense of blacks, youths and other oppressed against the real criminals – the police.

* No trust in any police and state investigation! For a popular tribunal elected by workers organizations, black community and neighborhood leaders, who are trusted by the black workers and poor! They should find out about the concrete circumstance of the murder. Only such a tribunal has the legitimization to decide what really happened and which penalty should follow.

* Michael Brown will not be the last of us to die by police brutality – we need to organize ourselves against the capitalist system to gain real justice and equality. We should build an international revolutionary youth organization in order to fight the problems which are the reasons for oppression and exploitation, such as racism, oppression of women, the imperialist great powers and the capitalist system. In the end only socialism can give us a real future!

We need to fight police brutality by any means necessary – this is what RED*REVOLUTION fights for! Join us!

Footnotes

(1) For the interview see: <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/08/12/us/missouri-teen-shooting/>

(2) See: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-28793865>

(3) See: <http://www.theguardian.com/money/us-money-blog/2014/jun/12/us-unemployment-rate-african-americans-resilient>

(4) See: <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/youth.nr0.htm>

(5) See: <http://www.redrevolution.at/international/solidaritaet-mit-protesten-wegen-trayvon/>

RED*REVOLUTION is the youth organization of the RKO BE-FREIUNG (Austrian section of the RCIT) ■

NEW RCIT PUBLICATIONS ON RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM!



Russia as a Great Imperialist Power

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

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Excuse: The Breakdown in the 1990s

Russia's Rise as an Economic Power

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Russia as a Great Political and Military Power

III. Rebuilding the Empire

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IV. The Distinguishing Characteristics of Russian Imperialism

V. The Arguments of Our Critics

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

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The LCFI's Schematic Understanding of Imperialism

The Great Imperialist Powers before 1914

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

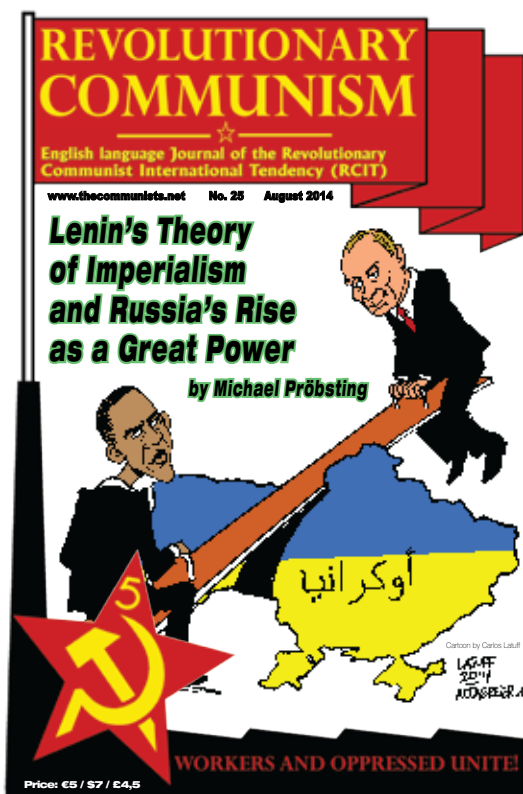
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Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power

By Michael Pröbsting, August 2014



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Can Only the Richest Countries be Imperialist?

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Are the US and British Models of Imperialism Pure Robbery?

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The Theory of the "Transitional" or "Sub-Imperialist" State

Is Inter-Imperialist Rivalry Intensifying or Minimizing?

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Excuse: Eurasianism and Putin's Bourgeois Allies in Western Europe

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Threat of Argentina's Default: Expropriate the Imperialist Robbers! Cancel all Debts!

Statement by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 5.8.2014

1. After the failure of talks between representatives of Argentina's Kirchner government and the US hedge funds *NML Capital* and *Aurelius*, South America's second largest country is in danger of defaulting. These two "vulture funds," as they are rightly dubbed in Latin America, have rejected the restructuring of debts which was accepted by 93% of the bondholders, and are demanding full payment of US\$ 1.3 billion on bonds they hold. These vultures' demands are the equivalent of 17-times (!) the sum which these hedge funds invested to buy the Argentine bonds in 2002. If the Argentine government were to agree to these demands, this precedent could trigger additional claims from other creditors – those bondholders who participated in the restructuring of most of the Argentinean debt in 2005 and 2010. Their cumulative demands would total anywhere between US\$ 4 and US\$ 15 billion. Argentina's finance minister, Axel Kicillof, argues that this in turn would threaten to unravel the entire restructuring of the country's debt, potentially unleashing claims for more than US\$ 120 billion. Given the fact that Argentina's foreign reserves currently total less than US\$ 30 billion, this would mean a total default of the country's economy. If this happens, Argentina would face yet another deep crisis with a tremendous increase of poverty and unemployment as happened when the country faced its last slump and default in 2001/02. In other words: The greedy imperialist monopolies threaten Argentina with another national catastrophe!

2. These demands are nothing but the unabashed robbery by imperialist financial speculators against the national wealth of a Latin American country! Take the following figures which demonstrate the unlimited greed of the imperialist financial monopolies: according to official statistics issued by the Kirchner government, in 2003 Argentina's debt stood at US\$ 145 billion. Since then, the country has paid its creditors more than US\$ 140 billion. Nevertheless, Argentina today still has debts totaling US\$ 210 billion, i.e., nearly 50% more than 10 years earlier!

3. These figures demonstrate, once again, that Marxists are correct in calling the system which dominates the world "imperialism." Under such a system the entire world economy functions according to the laws of capitalism – i.e., the private ownership of the means of production in which workers are exploited to increase the profit of the capitalist class. Based on this mode of production, the world is divided into two major blocs: a small number of imperialist monopolies and great powers on the one hand, and the working class and oppressed nations – constituting the huge majority of humanity – on the other. Under this system, events like the current extortion of Argentina are by no means exceptions but, rather, constitute the rule. As long as imperialism controls the world, there can *only* be the endless plunder of the peoples of the South, mass poverty, and national catastrophes. *The only way out of*

such a bleak and unacceptable fate for the mass of humanity is by smashing imperialism by means of a world socialist revolution of the working class, led by an international Leninist combat party!

4. Argentina's threat of default also illustrates how imperialism is a system whereby the monopolies and rich countries systematically appropriate a share of the surplus value created by the working class of the semi-colonial countries. This is what Marxists call "super-exploitation." These extra-profits increase the accumulated wealth of the monopoly capitalists in the imperialist metropolises and, in turn, allow them to bribe the upper strata of the domestic proletariat in their own countries. This "labor aristocracy," as Lenin termed it, constitutes the core of the reformist bureaucracy in the rich countries. Parallel to all this, the increasing poverty of the countries of the semi-colonial world forces more and more of their people to flee to the North as migrants. In the imperialist countries, these migrants are super-exploited as a cheap source of labor while simultaneously being oppressed as national minorities. These dynamics fully confirm Lenin's theory of imperialism. It is the duty of true Marxists to defend this theory against revisionist attacks which either claim that Lenin's theory is "out of date" (as, for example, claim the currents in the tradition of the late Tony Cliff, like the SWP [UK], ISO [USA], etc.), or which entirely deny or ignore its central tenets (as, for instance, do the CWI and IMT in the tradition of the late Ted Grant, Peter Taaffe, and Alan Woods).

5. Recent events have also demonstrated, once again, the bankrupt nature of pseudo-"anti-imperialist" nationalism of the bourgeoisie of the semi-colonial countries. For many years, the bourgeois-populist Peronist governments of Nestor and Cristina Fernandez Kirchner were willing to pay huge sums to the financial sharks. They signed deal after deal, hoping to somehow avoid financial strangulation. Now, after the vulture funds and imperialist financial institutions have managed to squeeze more than US\$ 140 billion from Argentina, they claim that this still isn't enough and threaten the country with a national economic catastrophe. As we Trotskyists have stressed many times: contrary to the dangerous illusions spread by Stalinists and petty-bourgeois populists, *the national bourgeoisie is incapable of putting up any serious and consistent resistance to the imperialist robbers*. It is only the working class, led by a revolutionary Bolshevik party and with the support of the popular masses, which can defeat the imperialist bourgeoisie.

6. The looming threat of default illustrates that, irrespective of its relative high level of industrialization, Argentina is still a semi-colonial country. In fact, Argentina is – as the present developments so forcefully confirm – completely dependent financially on the imperialist banks. In addition, foreign corporations control 82% of the output of the 500 largest companies in Argentina. Therefore, we

Brazil: An Analysis of Sinpeem's 2014 Elections

Report from *Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (RCIT Brazil)*, 13.8.2014

This year's Sinpeem elections were marked by widely publicized fraud. Sinpeem has more than 80,000 members, educational workers including teachers, principals, and school operational staff. Of these, at least 20,000 attended large meetings held this year during a forty-three day strike. A large proportion of those in attendance were young people who, as newcomers among the rank-and-file membership, do not have the same rights as the more senior members of the union. This deplorable lack of equality was first introduced during the administration of São Paulo mayor Marta Suplicy (from PT-Workers Party) in 2001-2004, and from then it has been in force through the administrations of Sierra (José Serra-PSDB), Gilberto Kassab (DEM), and finally to down to today's mayor Fernando Haddad (PT).

But the number of votes cast (and consequently the results of the election) do not in any way reflect the actual number of educators in São Paulo. Only 5,963 members of Sinpeem came to the polls and cast their ballot. There are two basic reasons for such a small turnout:

1. There was a tacit agreement between the mayor of São Paulo, Fernando Haddad, and the leadership of Sinpeem (Slate 01), not to grant the workers the day off to go to the polls. As a result, in comparison to the last previous elections of 2011, when nearly 40,000 members cast their votes, this year there were less than six-thousand votes.

2. The leadership of the union, Slate 01, in collusion with the Slate 02 (which in its majority is PSTU-PSOL), did not set up a sufficient number of polling stations in areas and neighborhoods where the opposition slates enjoy most support. Clearly, this was not innocent but was planned to be to the detriment of the opposition slates and to the benefit the two slates whose candidates were the current leadership of the union.

The *two* slates of the leadership (01 and 02) are really one, because in fact these two slates are not really competing

against one another, but rather depend upon and utilize each other by a process of mutual demonization. One accuses the other of "radicalism," while the other accuses its accuser of being "undemocratic." Only the latter of these accusations is really accurate. Claudio Fonseca (from the party PPS) and the Slate 01 leadership of Sinpeem do not conduct the union in a democratic fashion, as most members who have attended assemblies are readily aware. However, Slate 02, which participates in the management of Sinpeem as an "opposition" can in no way seriously be considered "radical." Rather, this slate merely pays lip service to radicalism by correctly denouncing Claudio Fonseca as authoritarian. However, when we analyzed the policies of the same currents which make up Slate 02 (PSTU-SoL) when managing other trade unions, either entirely or in part, they were found to be no less authoritarian and bureaucratic than Claudio Fonseca and management of Sinpeem. Two examples will suffice: the metalworkers union of Sao Jose dos Campo-SP directed by PSTU and the bankworkers of São Paulo directed jointly by PT and PSOL. Therefore, a member of Sinpeem who votes for Slate 02 instead of Slate 01 is merely "taking six instead of half a dozen," as a popular saying goes.

Recall that, for not going all the way in the strike of 2012, Sinpeem president, Claudio Fonseca, was nearly lynched after he ended the strike in defiance of the assembly; but also remember that he was fully supported by the members of the current "Unity of the Opposition - slate 2" in his bid to entirely dismantle the movement. If you think back, you'll remember that it was not only Claudio Fonseca who defended ending the strike, but also the current members of Slate 02. Weeks later, at a meeting of delegates from schools, when it seemed that the president would be butchered along with his board directors because of the how they ended the strike, suddenly Fonseca declared that he "did not understand the criticism against him, because

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those who recommended that he end the strike were, in fact, the members of the opposition.” He then immediately pulled out his cell phone to display the SMS he received on the evening of the fateful assembly, in which the main member of the opposition, now serving in the administration of mayor Fernando Haddad, wrote to him simply: “Claudio, we have to end this strike.” When his name was mentioned in this context, this former leader of the “opposition” lamented that a “personal SMS was revealed in such a way.” This is exactly the problem: the fact that the agreement to end the strike should have been kept secret. All of this story was recorded both by audio and video and is available to those willing to request it from the management of Sinpeem. This is the kind of “opposition” there is to the main slate of Sinpeem: a complicit opposition which gets away with its collusion because the rank-and-file simply does not remember or because they simply don’t know what’s really happening. This phoney “opposition” openly argues with Claudio Fonseca, portraying him as the “devil,” but under the table makes these kinds of agreements with him. Only a grotesque fraud like the one perpetrated in the 2014 Sinpeem elections, one which completely eliminates the right of the rank-and-file to decide the future of the union, could keep such traitors in power. The vast majority of those who went to vote were retired educators. Those who are actually still working in one or more jobs were too far away from polling stations to cast ballots. The radicalized youth who actively participates in

union meetings also did not get a chance to vote for the same reason: they could not reach the polls on time. The only possible conclusion: these elections were an unmitigated fraud from start to finish. Their illegitimate “results” do not represent the aspirations of the rank-and-file. The leadership elected in this mockery of democracy, whether from Slate 01 or Slate 02, represents no one. This “victory” by fraud, how it was conceived and coordinated, not only made inevitable the defeat of even traditional currents among the teachers, like Slate 03 (PT-CUT- current “O Trabalho”), but also gives the duplicitous “leadership” and “opposition” the opportunity to gloat about the “losers.”

Explanation of the parties cited:

PT: Workers Party, social democratic party which is ruling the country since 2003

PPS: Socialist People’s Party, ex-Stalinist reformist party

PSTU: Unified Socialist Workers’ Party, leading section of the centrist LIT which stands in the tradition of Nahuel Moreno

PSDB: Brazilian Social Democracy Party, bourgeois party and main opposition force against the PT-led government.

DEM: “Democrats”, right-wing bourgeois party

PT Current “O Trabalho”: “Labor”, section of the “Fourth International (La Verite)” which stands in the tradition of Pierre Lambert ■



Teachers at a demonstration in Sao Paulo during the long strike in 2014

Swedish police in assassination attempt - to wash the dirty linen now!

Statement by the Editor of the Blog *vansterparlan.v-blog.se* (Sweden), 24.8.2014

The police behavior towards the popular anti-racist movement has not only proved to be in no way a protection of it in the last year, but has more proven to be extremely violent against us. Now the Police have taken a further step towards escalating the violence. It is certainly no exaggeration to call what happened in Malmö on Saturday August 23 at the anti-racist counter-demonstration against the Nazi party SVP, for something else than attempted murder.

Police rode over people with police horses, they ran over a man with one of their heavy armored vehicles, they did beat young people who were already wounded and lied down, and they made brutal attacks on demonstrators with batons. The only "crime" of the demonstrators was that they chanted slogans! There are also informations that the police blocked the entrance to the emergency department at the Malmö Hospital, thus denying the injured immediate care. These were not spontaneous action by the police in a confused situation. This was clearly a deliberate strategy that police applied

This became clear from the reply of police press officer Ewa-Gun Westford to the question of a journalist:

"TT: Could the police have done something different?"

Ewa-Gun Westford: No. This is the way we work, to split a crowd with vehicles and horses." (Source: <http://www.metro.se/nyheter/flera-injured-at-nazimanifestation/Hdznhw!O49SxqdiNORQKjMComQnkW/>)

The police defend its tactics with such nonsense that there was a situation of rioting. This is a blatantly lie as one journalists of the newspaper *Aftonbladet* testified:

"I was standing right next to the event. It is a narrow street where you rode with ten horses abreast. They rode straight ahead at full gallop toward a crowd of 300-400 people. Police repeated this over and over again. It was no riot by the crowd. Some shouted slogans and a number of police officers stood in front of them to keep them away from the fence. There was no violence from the counter-demonstrators, all what happened was that they shouted." (Source: <http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article19410749.ab>)

When the police officers, i.e. those who have the monopoly of violence, have decided that it is ok "to split a crowd with vehicles and horses", that are free to "run down people with two-ton vehicles and to ride down people with ten one-ton horses", with no other rational explanation than that it's the way we work, then they have decided that it's OK to play with death! It is their goal to make people, who demonstrate against racism and Nazism, feel scared of the police. In short, the police has decided to spread pure terror! The police have now openly dropped any formal neutrality and choose to take a political stance - that is the police's main task to defend Nazism and racism!

This is nothing but a proof that even in our small country, where the state's monopoly of violence is often perceived

as impartial and where we seem to live in relatively peaceful times, that even here the police has decided to commit consciously violent attack against a growing movement of anti-racism and anti-capitalism for politically motivated reasons.

There is obviously a dirty linen that needs to be washed! Now all left-wing organizations must go out massively and demand that not only these events are investigated, but also that the entire functioning of the police organization needs to be questioned. The Left in Malmö has acted correctly and should be congratulated for publishing a powerful statement already in the evening of 23 August. In this statement they demanded an independent investigation into the events at the demonstration in Malmö.

However, we should also not delude ourselves that such an investigation could be able to remain objective. What is necessary is to have an inquiry of a mix of people who are from the workers movement and the anti-racist movement. Such an investigation must be made up of union representatives, of independent lawyers who have observed the Nazi movement and also off anti-racist journalists such as those at the magazine *Expo* and, last but not least, representatives of immigrant organizations. The investigation must be open and popular, and crucially be elected by the people of Malmö themselves.

Of course, the police officers, who were directly involved in riding down people and driving over people, should be suspended indefinitely. But not only the process of decision in the chain of command in Malmö on 23 August should be on the table; police officers must also be questioned about their political views and their personal relationship to right-wing extremist groups. In addition, the whole situation of the state repression that exists in the suburbs and poor areas must be investigated.

In addition we demand that the central leadership of the Left Party should now immediately support the Left Party Malmö's initiatives. The Party must also demand that the ambiguous clause about rioting is immediately abolished. The Left Party's and the Young Left's leadership have also to apologize to the comrades who have been expelled for their more militant anti-racism, and they should immediately be offered reinstatement in the Party and Youth League.

The party should now – along with the rest of the anti-racist movement and labor movement organizations – engage in an open debate through the formation of forums around the country, for future strategies for anti-fascism. There must also be a constructive debate on the formation of democratically elected united front self-defense groups.

Protest petition against the police violence:

http://www.skrivunder.com/anmal_polisen_23_aug_2014

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.

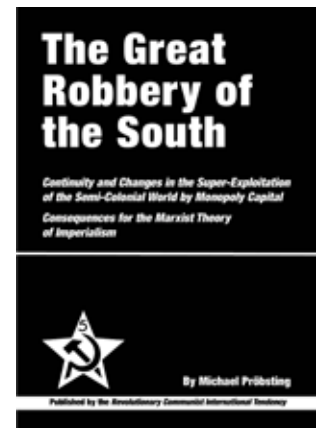
In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and 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.

The Great Robbery of the South demonstrates the important changes in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Using comprehensive material (including 139 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that never before has

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

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting argues that a correct understanding of the nature of imperialism as well as of the program of permanent revolution which includes the tactics of consistent anti-imperialism is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future.

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Look for details of the books at www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net and www.cuba-sold-out.net

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! ■*



