

# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM



English language Journal of the Revolutionary  
International Communist Tendency (RCIT)

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Issue No. 9

May 2013

**Palestine,**

**Syria,**

**Egypt,**

**Kurdistan!**

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**permanent!**

**plus: Fusion RCIT & ISL,  
MayDay Statement,  
Cyprus, Greece, USA**

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# Revolutionary Communism

No. 9, May 2013

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Published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)*. The RCIT has sections in Pakistan (*Revolutionary Workers Organisation, RWO*), Sri Lanka (*United Lankan Workers Party, ULWP*), Israel/Occupied Palestine (*Internationalist Socialist League, ISL*), USA (*Revolutionary Workers Collective, RWC*) and Austria (*Revolutionary Communist Organisation for Liberation, RKOB*)

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We welcome our readers to issue number 9 of the RCIT's English language journal *Revolutionary Communism*. In this issue we announce the fusion of the RCIT and the *Internationalist Socialist League* (Israel/Occupied Palestine). This fusion is the result of a process of discussion and practical collaboration as well as a visit of a representative of the RCIT's International Secretariat to Israel/Occupied Palestine. As our Declaration of Fusion elaborates we have achieved a broad range of agreements both on programmatic issues as well as on questions of party-building methods. This fusion will not only strengthen the revolutionary forces world-wide. It also represents a step forward to build a revolutionary party in a country which is a key both for the Arab Revolution as well as for imperialism.

Consequently a central issue of this journal is the explosive development of the class struggle in Israel/Occupied Palestine and the whole Middle East. The Arab Revolution is by far the most important single class struggle event in the new revolutionary historic period which opened in 2008. We therefore publish a number of statements and articles on this issue, mostly written by the ISL and comrade *Yossi Schwartz*, a Jewish anti-Zionist Trotskyist in Israel for more than four decades and a leading member of the ISL.

In statements on the Land Day and the Nakba Day as well as several articles we outline the close connection of the issue of national liberation of Palestine and the need for socialist revolution and working class power. Understanding this connection is a key for the application of Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution. It is the only way to avoid two traps for the working class struggle. One danger is reformist capitulation to Zionism – as the Stalinist Rakah/Hadash Party or the Israeli section of the centrist CWI (*Maavak Sotzyalisti*) do as they support the Two-State-Slogan (a mini-Palestine state beside powerful Israel). Another danger is the illusionary perspective of a single state on the whole of Palestine on a capitalist basis.

The ISL and the RCIT are fighting for a program which rejects both misleading perspectives. We support the right of return for all Palestinian refugees to their homeland and the replacement of the Israeli state by a single Republic from the River to the Sea. Such a Republic will be democratic and multinational and it can become such only if it is a Workers and Fallahin (Peasants in Arabic) Republic.

It is in this context that we reprint in our section "*From the Archives of Marxism*" a letter from *Leon Trotsky* to South African comrades in April 1935. In this letter Trotsky takes the example of the Apartheid state South Africa and shows the way to combine the tasks of the democratic revolution – in particular the national liberation and the agrarian question – with the goal of socialist revolution.

In other articles we deal with the perspective of the class struggle in Egypt and Syria. We show that the working class must not put any trust in the bourgeois Islamist forces which are prepared to collaborate with the imperialist powers. While it will necessary to apply the united front tactics towards Islamists where they represent sectors of the masses who are fighting against imperialism and reactionary dictators, we call for the independent organization and mobilization of the working class with the perspective of socialist revolution.

Another important question is the threat of a sell-out of the Kurdish national liberation struggle. The PKK leadership

seems to be prepared to sign a rotten agreement with the bourgeois Islamist government of Erdogan's AKP. This would represent a kind of Kurdish version of the treacherous Oslo agreement which Arafat and the PLO leadership agreed with the Zionist state in 1993.

The revolutionary struggle in the Middle East is a central component of the working class against imperialist domination. Every single struggle in individual countries must be linked with the perspective to smash the imperialist monopolies and Great Powers which are plundering and dominating the semi-colonial world. In this context we want to draw our reader's attention to a new book which the RCIT has published in February 2013. It is 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 the 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. More details of the book and how to order it can be seen on page 41 in this journal.

Another central issue of this journal is the development of the class struggle in Europe. Comrade *Nina Gunić* writes about the heroic struggle of the migrants in Greece and elaborates the revolutionary program of struggle against racism.

We also reprint the RCIT and ISL statement on the draconic EU-Troika plans against the small island Cyprus. We show that the reformist AKEL – an ex-Stalinist party allied with the European Left Party – collaborated with the International Monetary Fund when it was in government until a few months ago and supported key laws which the parliament in Cyprus voted on to serve the Troika's dictates. The working class must break with such lackeys of imperialism and build its own, independent and revolutionary workers party.

An article about the reactionary mobilizations against the rights of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community in France shows that the working class movement must support the democratic rights of all oppressed layers.

Finally we reprint a study which comrade *Michael Pröbsting* wrote about the inner contradictions of the EU project of imperialist unification of Europe. This article was originally published in 2004 but its fundamental analysis remains highly contemporary.

We also print two articles on important events in the USA. Comrade *Adam Beltz* reports about the strike of the teachers in Strongsville. He shows the pathetic role of the union bureaucracy and outlines central slogans for the strike to win.

We also reprint a MayDay statement from the *Communist Workers Group* (USA) on the Boston bombing which elaborates a correct position in this event and denounces the hypocritical stand of the bourgeois media when much bigger catastrophes for the working class take place (like the explosion of a fertilizer plant in West, Texas, which killed 15 people or the factory complex collapse in Dhaka, Bangladesh, which killed at least 350 garment workers).

30<sup>th</sup> April 2013

Editorial Board of the Journal *Revolutionary Communism*

# Workers and Oppressed of the World, Unite in the Struggle for Liberation!

## May Day 2013 Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

**T**he Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) sends its May Day greetings to all fighters for the liberation of the working class and the oppressed people around the world. We call them to join us in our struggle to build new revolutionary parties and a new Workers International. Such a World Party of Socialist Revolution can only be born in the class battles against the capitalist monopolies and imperialist powers.

To achieve this, Revolutionaries must fight against the official leaderships – the treacherous labor bureaucrats, Social Democracy, Stalinists, petit-bourgeois Nationalists and Islamists – because they consciously or unconsciously mislead the workers and oppressed. However, in order to replace these misleaderships, revolutionaries must fight *inside* the mass movements and apply the united front tactic instead of purely commenting on the failures of these struggles from outside.

Revolutionaries need to spread a program of struggle for working class power among the masses and its vanguard:

\* *Support the Revolution in Syria! Down with the Assad-Regime! For International Solidarity Brigades!*

\* *Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, and Libya: Down with the pro-imperialist Islamist regimes! Workers, Peasants and Poor, Prepare for the Second Revolution!*

\* *Smash the imperialist Apartheid State Israel! Support the Palestinian Resistance – Forward to the Third Intifada!*

\* *Down with imperialist aggression and wars! In Afghanistan, Mali, Somalia, Iran, North Korea: Defeat the imperialist NATO forces and their local allies! Defend those resisting the imperialist invaders! No political support for nationalist, Islamist or Stalinist forces!*

\* *Support the independent trade unions and workers strikes in China! Equal Rights for all citizens, irrespective in which province they work and live! Down with the Stalinist-Capitalist Dictatorship! National Self-Determination for Tibet and East-Turkmenistan!*

\* *East Asia: Down with the expansionist plans of US, Japanese and Chinese imperialism! In all possible conflicts between these Great Powers we say: The Main Enemy is at Home!*

\* *Support the struggles of the workers and oppressed people like in Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka) and Balochistan (Pakistan)!*

\* *Russia: Down with the Putin regime! Defend the struggle for democratic rights without any political support for the bourgeois-liberal forces! Equal rights for Migrants! National Self-determination for the Caucasian people!*

\* *South Africa: Support the militant miners and their struggle for trade unions which are independent of the treacherous ANC/CPSA government! South African troops – Out of the Central African Republic!*

\* *Down with the reactionary Constitution in Zimbabwe imposed by the coalition government of ZANU-PF and MDC! For a revolutionary Constitutional Assembly based on Workers and Peasants Councils!*

\* *Support the workers struggles in Latin America against wage cuts and mass lay-offs! No support for the bourgeois governments of Kirchner and Rouseff!*

\* *Expropriate the multinational corporations from US, EU and*

*China! Defend Argentina against British imperialism and kick Britain out of the Malvinas!*

\* *Defend and extent the social and democratic gains in Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia! No political support for the Bolivarian popular front governments! But defend them against right-wing coup d'états and imperialist intervention!*

\* *Europe: Down with the reactionary austerity policy! Cancel all Debts! Expropriate the Banks and Corporations! For General Strikes – nationally and European-wide – to defend Jobs, Wages and Savings!*

\* *Support the workers and popular struggles in Greece, Cyprus and Bulgaria against the imperialist plundering! Exit the EU and fight for a Workers Government!*

\* *Smash the imperialist EU by Socialist Revolution! For the United Socialist States of Europe!*

\* *Workers, Black People and Migrants in the US: Fight for the Independence of the Trade Unions, the Black and Migrant Organizations from the capitalist Democratic Party!*

\* *Oppressed all over the world: Fight against any form of discrimination of the rights of women, black people and all national minorities, migrants, the youth and LGBT!*

\* *Environment: Fight for a Workers Emergency Plan to save the planet! Nationalize all polluting industries under workers control! Convert the Energy and Transport System and for a Global Phasing Out of Fossil Fuels and Nuclear Energy Production connected to a Public Employment Programme!*

The RCIT calls revolutionary liberation fighters to advance the independent organization of the workers and oppressed. At the same time they should link all these struggles with the perspective for working class independence and the socialist revolution.

\* *Purge the Trade Unions from the Bureaucrats! For a Rank & File Movement!*

\* *For revolutionary movements of women, migrants and youth! For the right to caucus for the oppressed in the mass organizations of workers and its movements!*

\* *Build Committees and Action Councils of the Workers, Peasant and Poor to organize the struggle!*

\* *For armed popular militias!*

\* *Expropriate the capitalist class! Nationalize the large enterprises and banks under workers control!*

\* *For a Workers Government allied with the Peasants and Urban Poor and based on local Councils and Militias!*

\* *Fight for new Workers Parties and for a Fifth Workers International based on a revolutionary Program!*

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency is an international combat organization for the liberation of the working class and the oppressed. It has sections in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Israel/Occupied Palestine, USA and Austria. The RCIT is based on the theory and practice of the revolutionary workers movement which is associated with the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Join us!

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party! ■

## Declaration of Fusion between the RCIT and the Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine)

1. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and the *Internationalist Socialist League* (ISL, Israel/Occupied Palestine) declare that they are fusing their forces to build a joint international organization in order to advance the struggle for a new World Party of Socialist Revolution – the revolutionary Fifth Workers International. As a result the ISL becomes the section of the RCIT in Israel/Occupied Palestine and will elect a representative for the RCIT's International Executive Committee.

2. The RCIT was founded in April 2012 with sections in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, USA and Austria. Before this it's founding cadres were mostly leading members of the *League for the Fifth International* and were expelled or resigned because of their opposition struggle against the centrist degeneration. The ISL fought for many years in Israel/Occupied Palestine a fearless, revolutionary struggle against imperialism, Zionism and for the national liberation of the Palestinian people. They developed towards revolutionary communism through their experience in the struggle against the centrists of the *International Marxist Tendency* of Alan Woods as well as the US-American group *League for a Revolutionary Party*.

3. We fuse our forces on the programmatic and organizational heritage and experience of the revolutionary workers movement: the First International of Marx and Engels, the Second International before 1914 and in particular the struggle of the Bolsheviks, the Third International up to its Stalinist degeneration in 1924 and from then on the Left Opposition and later the Fourth International led by Leon Trotsky. However the centrist degeneration of the Fourth International in 1948-52 – expressed in particular in their leaders capitulation towards Tito's Stalinism, the Popular Front in the Bolivian Revolution in 1952 and Zionism in the 1948 war – led to a break in the revolutionary continuity.

4. Furthermore we fuse our forces on the basis of the RCIT's program "*The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto*" as the international program to fight for a new revolutionary leadership in the present period. In addition we agree on the programmatic conclusions of the ISL which it published in its statements on the Land Day, the Nakba Day as well as in its Draft *Action Program for National Liberation and Socialist Revolution in Palestine*. Furthermore we have developed programmatic agreement on a number of important issues of the current international class struggle which found expression in numerous articles and resolutions (see on this the websites of the two organizations as well as the RCIT's English-language journal *Revolutionary Communism*.)

5. We know that an indispensable element in the struggle for building a new World Party of Socialist Revolution is the consistent struggle against the various misleaderships of the masses – reformism, petty-bourgeois nationalism, populism and Islamism. In addition Bolshevik-Communists have to fight against the centrists and left-reformists which spread anti-Marxists strategy and tactics in the name of Marxism. Marxism is Bolshevism

applied to the condition of the present period or it is no Marxism.

6. We agree in our understanding of the importance of building revolutionary pre-party formations on a national as well as international scale based on the development and application of the principles of Bolshevism. Against the Anti-Leninist trend of Liquidationism which is currently so fashionable amongst the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the centrist left, we emphasize the necessity of building vanguard organizations and parties which fight for a revolutionary program amongst the workers and oppressed and which are based on the principles of Democratic Centralism. We agree on the importance of building such communist parties as well as pre-party organizations which orientate towards and which are formed from the middle of the lower and middle strata of the working class and the oppressed. We reject the orientation of the majority of the centrist organizations toward the middle class intelligentsia as well as the labor bureaucracy and aristocracy.

7. We agree in our understanding of applying the Bolshevik methods in the early stages of party building. We recognize the importance of the unity of theory and practice, of propaganda and exemplary mass work, of polemics and united front work.

8. We see the fusion of the RCIT and ISL as an important contribution to advance the struggle for the revolutionary Fifth Workers International. Such a fusion of authentic revolutionary forces is of particularly urgency given the explosive character of the present historic period. This period which opened in 2008 has a revolutionary character, i.e. the contradictions and the struggles between the capitalists and the working class, between the imperialist states and the semi-colonial people as well as the rivalry between the Great Powers reach such a sharpness that they will result repeatedly in wars and (pre-)revolutionary situations. In such a historic period it is of particularly urgency to build a stronger, united international revolutionary combat organization which orientates to the new, militant and growing layers of the working class instead of the old, agonizing sectors of the reformist or centrist left and their basis, the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the labor aristocracy. Forward to the revolutionary Fifth Workers International! Join the RCIT!

RCIT and ISL on 19.4.2013 ■



## The Nakba Day 2013

*Statement of the Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine) and the RCIT, 5.4.2013*

“My story is no different from that of many other Palestinian young people who were born and have lived their whole lives under Israeli occupation. At 17, I was arrested for the first time, and jailed for two years. I was arrested again in my early 20s, at the height of the second intifada in Ramallah, during an Israeli invasion of numerous cities in the West Bank – what Israel called Operation Defensive Shield. I was sentenced to 30 years in prison on charges relating to my resistance to the occupation”

(A letter from Samer Issawi March 3, 2013)

This year we mark the Nakba Day with the demand: “Free Samer Issawi, Free all Palestinian political prisoners!”. The imprisonment of our children, brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents, for resisting the occupation and the oppression is a direct continuation of the ethnic cleansing of 1947-8. Those, who expelled 900,000 Palestinians in the Nakba, to establish the Israeli racist state, have continued this crime with the imprisonment of 650,000 Palestinians since June 1967. Those who imprison the Palestinian people for resisting the oppression torture them in jails and let them die of cancer without medical treatment.

The story of Maisara Abu Hamdiyeh, who was serving a life sentence in Israeli jail, and who died of throat cancer on Tuesday, because of a very late diagnosis and lack of proper medical treatment is not an exception but another crime committed by the Zionist state. The Israeli authorities claim they informed Abu Hamdiyeh, 64 years old, of his illness in February. Yet he was hospitalized only on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012, two months after Israel claims he was diagnosed with cancer! Furthermore, prisoner’s rights groups say the diagnosis occurred already in August 2012. His lawyers and relatives report that Israeli doctors ran biopsies on him after he repeatedly complained for months of throat pains. The doctors of the prisons who did not diagnose on time nor treated Maisara Abu Hamdiyeh for six long months are the same doctors who approve the isolation of Palestinian prisoners for months and years. They are the same doctors who have seen the torture of prisoners and kept quiet. They are doctors who are part of the oppressive machine used by the Zionist apartheid state to try to break the will power of the Palestinians to resist the stealing of the lands, houses and all the other cruel forms of daily oppression.

According to a report by Amira Hass in Haaretz April 4, 2013 the Israel security forces use systematic torture when they investigate Palestinian detainees even though these means are in violation of the ruling on the Israeli Supreme Court of 1999. The prison doctors collaborate with these methods. Since 2001 700 Palestinian prisoners submitted complaints to the Ministry of Justice against their torture but the Ministry has ignored all the complaints.

However, in spite of the very powerful killing machine which the Zionist ruling class – backed by the other imperialists – have built, and in spite of the ugly role of the Palestinian Authority, that tries its best to prevent the Palestinian masses from struggling, they can not break the growing resistance and a new popular intifada is only a

question of time.

To win the anti imperialist, anti Zionist struggle it is necessary to analyze and learn all the lessons of the previous intifadas. The lessons of the 1936-9, the lessons of 1987-1993, and the lessons of the last intifada that began in 2000.

The lesson of the heroic struggle of 1936-9 is that while the workers and the peasants are revolutionaries, the big landlords are too afraid of the masses to provide a revolutionary leadership. Another lesson is that the rulers of the semi-colonial Arab countries prefer to work with and for the imperialists than to lead a democratic revolution. The third lesson we can learn from the 1936-9 uprising is that the Communist party which was born as a revolutionary working class party in the early 1920s became a reformist one already in 1936 because instead of struggling for workers-led revolution supported by the peasants and the lower middle class, it supported politically the big landlords. Without a revolutionary working class leadership the great energy of the rebelling masses is wasted and thus the class enemy wins.

The lesson of the 1987-1993 uprising is that the masses uniting in struggle have such a great power that the imperialist military machine is unable to end the struggle. For this reason the imperialist used the Oslo Accord to create illusion in an imperialist scheme. This treacherous Oslo Accord demonstrated that bourgeois (Fatah) and the radical petit-bourgeois left fronts – like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine – do not have the program, theory and method to lead the masses to a victory. Instead they all capitulated to the imperialists and accepted the Oslo agreement – the device the imperialist used to end the uprising. The lesson of the Intifada that began in 2000 is that individual military actions – even the most courageous – are not a substitute to the revolutionary uprising of the masses.

If we will have to sum up all these lessons than what is necessary is for the workers to lead a revolution supported by the peasants, the poor, the small business people, the oppressed women and youth. For the workers to lead such a revolution a working class revolutionary leadership is necessary.

A Palestinian Intifada as part of the revolutionary uprising in the region can win as part of a socialist revolution in the entire region and as part of the world socialist revolution. 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.

We call to mobilize the Palestinian masses and those Jews who support them on the following demands:

- \* Release all Palestinian political prisoners!
- \* Support the right of the return of the Palestinian refugees!
- \* Stop the trial against the people of Shefa Amr who defended the city against fascist murdering attack! ■

## Victory! Israel was forced to release Sammer Issawi

By Yossi Schwartz, *International Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 24.4.2013

Issawi was originally arrested in 2002, for holding a rifle without a license. He was sentenced to 30 years in prison. He was released in October 2011 as part of the Gilad Shalit prisoner exchange. Israel however has never intended to respect this agreement and in its attempt to teach the Palestinians who is the master it re-arrested Issawi, along many others, who were released in the exchange deal. Brother Sammer was arrested just months after he was released and the Zionist state, accused him of violating his terms of release by traveling outside his home village of Issawiyeh. The intention of the Zionist state was to force him to serve the full 30 years as part of the lesson that the oppressed cannot win against Israel.

But the Israeli state was unable to break the will of Sammer Issawi who went on hunger strike for 265 days. Out of fear that the death of the Palestinian political prisoners will ignite a new uprising-Intifada, Israel was forced to agree to release Sammer Issawi, the freedom fighter.

Issawi is the third hunger striker Israel was forced to release in the past three months. Among them Ayman Sharawneh, who was sentenced last month to 10 years in the Gaza Strip in lieu of prison time. (See Jason Ditz: Israel Sentences Hunger Striker to Ten Years in Gaza Strip. Striker Signs Deal With Israeli Officials in Hospital, March 17, 2013, <http://news.antiwar.com/2013/03/17/israel-sentences-hunger-striker-to-ten-years-in-gaza-strip>)

The deals reflect growing fear in Israel that the deaths of such hunger strikers could spark a new popular Intifada. In the occupied West Bank, which is already on edge over the detainee's medical abuse and deaths that occur in the Israeli prisons. This fear is even stronger in light of the fact the Palestinian authority, that is very similar to the old regime the Arab revolution fight against and that serve Israel as a police force against the Palestinians is in a process of collapsing.

The Israeli government fears have increased after the death of the prisoner Arafat Jaradat in Megiddo Prison and the confrontations that broke out afterward, as well as the death of another prisoner Maissara Abu Hamdiyeh, who died from cancer in a clear case of medical negligence of the Prison Service.

Issawi's deal restricts his freedom of movement. Once he is released, he will be sentenced to stay in his small village for the rest of his life. If he ever leaves, whether to go to the occupied West Bank, the Gaza Strip, or abroad, he would face another 12 and a half years in prison as punishment if Israel the Apartheid state will survive so long.

It is not clear whether brother Sammer Issawi will survive the very long hunger strike. But even if he will die he won against the Zionist tyranny and so are the Palestinian masses and all of the supporters of the Palestinian struggle around the world who demand the release of all the Palestinian political prisoners. It is a victory even if small because the Palestinian masses are learning that the struggle can lead to results. Israel lost because it is forced to release Sammer Issawi against its intention. This victory is another step in the coming Intifada we support.

To win the Intifada a revolutionary working class leadership is needed with a revolutionary perspective. The perspective is the mass struggle led by the working class with the support of the unemployed, fallahins, small business owners, oppressed women and youth, for a democratic Palestinian state from the river to the sea that in its class content will be a workers state. The Jewish masses who will accept it will lose their privileges but will win security and equal civil rights. The Jewish workers who will join the revolution will be part of the new ruling class in the worker state from the river to the sea. Israel is not only the oppressor of the Palestinians and the Arab masses in the region but a death trap for the Jewish masses.

For this reasons the *International Socialist League* in Israel/Occupied Palestine demands:

**Free all Palestinian political prisoners!**

**Fight for the right of the return of all Palestinian refugees!**

**One democratic state from the river to the sea!**

**For a multi-national working class government supported by the fallahins and the Palestinian refugees, small business owners, oppressed women and youth! For a Workers and Fallahins Republic!**

**Free Red Palestine! ■**



Two anti-working class Politicians: Chavez and Iran's Ahmadinejad

## What is the meaning of the Zionist's Offensive against the Haredi Jews?

### The Most Right Wing Government in the History of Israel plans to divert the Anger from the Capitalist Class to the Arabs and the Ultra Orthodox

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 25.3.2013

One of the most rotten political blocks in Israel is the block of the settler's party led by Benet's *The Jewish Home*, that openly calls for the transfer of the Palestinians and the Secular racist party of Yair Lapid *There is a future*. Many people have commented on the Anti-Palestinian outlook that is common to these two parties. Yet their hatred of the Jewish Ultra Orthodox – the Haredim – is striking as well.

In the following article we deal with the growing tensions between the Zionist state and the minority of ultra-orthodox Jews, the history of Zionist collaboration with the Nazis and the consequences for revolutionary Marxists. We outline how we – the *Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine)* – apply our revolutionary program, which includes the Anti-Zionist perspective of a Palestinian multi-national Workers State from the River to the Sea, to the growing conflict between the Israeli state and the Haredim Jews.

*“The army draft decree is comparable to a time when Jews are forced to give up their religion”*

Yair Lapid and Naftali Bennett, respectively, have refused to join the government unless Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu accepts their stance and pushes through legislating mandating Haredi conscription.

Israel's leading newspaper, Haaretz, commented: *“They are achieving the opposite of what they intended: The Haredim are becoming more extreme in their positions, more insular and less willing to consider a compromise. (...) The ultra-Orthodox newspaper Yated Neeman wrote: ‘The army draft decree is comparable to a time when Jews are forced to give up their religion, and at such a time, one must be willing to die even over [a religious principle as seemingly insignificant as] a shoelace. Therefore, there is no room for any compromise or concessions on religious principles,’ stated the headline of last Friday's edition, which quoted Rabbi Baruch Dov Povarsky, dean of the Ponevezh Yeshiva.*

*In the article itself, Povarsky is quoted as saying: “These are times of trouble for the Jewish people. We face a terrible decree imposed by the wicked ones of Israel, the likes of which we have never seen, a decree against the study of Torah. In the malice of their hearts, they wish to uproot everything.”*

*The editorial lays out the newspaper's hard line. ‘There is no room for compromise, no room for even minimal harm to those who study Torah, of any age, any situation and particularly the young generation ....’*

*This well-timed campaign conducted via party newspapers by the leaders of the Eda Haredit - the umbrella group of the more extreme factions in the ultra-Orthodox community - is the worst possible scenario for the future integration of young Haredim into the army, higher education and the labor market.” (Nati Tucker: Lapid, Bennett campaign to ‘share the burden’ em-*

*boldening Haredi, Mar 6, 2013, <http://www.haaretz.com/business/lapid-bennett-campaign-to-share-the-burden-emboldening-haredi-hardliners.premium-1.507567>)*

Yet Haaretz is the one that plays the naïve. The intention of Lapid and Bennet has never been to force the young Haredim to serve in the Zionist army, nor do they want the Palestinians citizens of Israel to serve in the Zionist army. What they want is to divert the anger of the expected new Israeli protest movement, into racist hate of the Palestinians and the Jewish Ultra Orthodox. The election campaign of these two parties could be taken from the pages of any anti-Jewish scripts, for example from the protocol of Elders of Zion the anti-Semite product of the Russian Tsar.

#### Racism and Anti-Semitism

From the years 1825-1855, Russian Jews were subjected to a number of repressive laws during the regime of Czar Nikolai I. The harshest of these was the *“Cantonist”* law, in which Jewish boys were required to serve in the Russian army. The Tsar did not need the Jewish soldiers. What he needed was to turn the struggle against his tyranny into hate against the Jews who according to the Anti-Semite propaganda did not share equally the burden of defending holy mother Russia from its enemies. This is the same ugly game Bennet and Lapid are playing now in Israel.

Racism, including Anti-Semitism, is an old device that has been used many times by the bourgeois to turn a possible or even actual class struggle into an orgy of chauvinism. While racism is as old as class society (Plato in the Republic for example justified slavery by the nature of the slave to serve his master), in modern time it was used for the first time by the capitalist class in the accumulation of primitive capital. Among other means the capitalists used slaves and justified it by various racist ideologies. The more seculars did so by referring to social Darwinism and the church by stating that the slaves do not have souls. The latter quoted for this purpose the bible Genesis 9: *“And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard: And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.*

*And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.*

*And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.*

*God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of*



*Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant”.*

The Black Africans that were treated as non-human were according to the church serving the slave masters children of Shem and Canaan.

Thus the message of the most right wing capitalist government in the history of Israel is: *“Do not fight the capitalists, fight the Palestinians and the Haredim”.*

Many people on the left – at least outside Israel – understand that Zionism is racism against the Palestinians, Arabs or Muslims in general. However, many of them have failed to see that Zionism is also an Anti-Semite enemy of the Jewish masses. This aspect of Zionism is revealed now by the Anti-Semite attack on the Jewish ultra orthodox

### The Haredim in Israel

Once a tiny minority, ultra-Orthodox Jews—also known as *Haredim*—now represents a fast growing minority. They total between 700,000 and one million people out of 6 million Israeli Jews. In other words, they make up more than 10 percent of Israel’s Jewish population and 21 percent of all primary-school students. With the community’s fertility rate hovering at more than three times that of other Israeli Jews, Zionist demographers project that by 2034, about one in five Israeli Jews will be ultra-Orthodox.

The ultra-Orthodox Jews are the traditional religious Jews of East Europe. They *“have not accepted the Zionist definition of the Jews as a nation in search of a homeland, and have remained faithful to the ancient definition of Jews as a religious community waiting for a messiah. In May 1912, some 200 Orthodox leaders from Germany and Eastern Europe met in Katowitz (Katowice) to start Orthodoxy’s first organized response to Zionism, Agudat Israel, which still exists today as an anti-Zionist movement in Israel and as a lobby elsewhere. The ideologue of the movement was Nathan Birnbaum, a brilliant intellectual who collaborated with Theodor Herzl in the early days of political Zionism. He coined the term “Zionism,” and then became convinced that the secular definition of the Jews as a nation was inadequate, that secularization would lead to the disappearance*

*of the Jewish people. Orthodoxy had to take a firm stand against Zionism, in the form of a political organization. Agudat Israel was Europe-oriented, and its center between the two World Wars was in Poland, where about one third of the Polish Jews were its supporters. It had elected representatives in the Polish parliament in the 1930s, and its delegates have appeared before international bodies, including the League of Nations and the United Nations. Historically, Agudat Israel has been opposed to the idea of a Jewish state, but the Holocaust deprived the movement of most of its constituency in Eastern Europe, leaving them more of a minority, less anti-Zionist and ready to accept the reality of Zionist success. (Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi: Israel’s Ultra-Orthodox. A Jewish Ghetto Within the Zionist State; in Middle East Research and Information Project, MER No. 179 (1992), <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer179/israels-ultra-orthodox>)*

Prior to 1948 the Haredim opposed the Zionist goal of a Zionist state. On June 30, 1924, according to Israeli journalists Shlomo Nakdimon and Shaul Mayzlish, Dutch Jew Jacob Israël de Haan was assassinated by Avraham Tehomi on the orders of Haganah leader Yitzhak Ben-Zvi for his anti-Zionist political activities and contacts with Arab leader (Shlomo Nakdimon; Shaul Mayzlish (1985) (in Hebrew). *Deh Han : ha-retsah ha-politi ha-rishon be-Erets Yisra’el / De Haan: The first political assassination in Palestine* (1st ed.). Tel Aviv: Modan Press).

The Zionists mainstream, even though from the very beginning were seculars, they needed the religious outlook of a particular stream – the religious nationalists, or the Orthodox as they are called in Israel. For the Secular Zionists it is essential to have a state religion that can be used to justify the colonization of Palestine. The Boars in South Africa used the Old Testament in the same way. This branch of Zionist-Judaism is not the traditional Jewish Orthodoxy. It is a religion created by the Zionist movement that is closer to fascism than to the Judaism of the traditional East European Jews prior to the Jewish Holocaust. The Nazis who collaborated with the Zionists as we shall show later in this article, destroyed the Socialist Anti-Zionists and the



Heroic Jewish Partisans in Bunker in Warsaw Ghetto (Photo from Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation [jewishpartisans.blogspot.co.at](http://jewishpartisans.blogspot.co.at))

religious Anti-Zionists.

But the Zionists wanted to co-opt the Haredim as well. This could be beneficial for them because it could be used to hide the hate of the Zionists to the Jewish masses. The occupation of 1967 gave the Zionists the opportunity to form a close alliance with most of the Haredim. The Zionists based this alliance with the Haredim on the oppression of the Palestinians. The Haredim were allowed to steal Palestinians lands and settle on these lands as if they were almost good as the Zionists.

Since 1967 most Haredim parties have participated in the robbery of the West Bank and have their own settlements. Almost 30% of all West Bank settlers are now Haredi. According to Ynet Government transfers to the settlements in the West Bank 2009 were three times higher than grants given to local authorities within Green Line, Adva Center says. State responsible for 50% of building starts in settlements, compared to only 18% within Israel. According to the Adva Center report, in 2009 the State transferred NIS 2.1 billion (about \$570 million) to the local authorities. An average of NIS 303 (\$83) per capita was transferred to each local authority within the Green Line, while settlements received an average of NIS 951 (\$260) per capita. The average in Palestinian communities in Israel stands at NIS 776 (\$212) per capita. The government's balance grants are given to the Jewish settlements in the West Bank in accordance with the local authority's economic situation, which affects its ability to earn an income. The independent income of local authorities in the 1967 occupied territories in 2009 stood at NIS 2,523 (\$690) per capita, less than half the income per capita in cities belonging to the „15 well-established cities“ forum, which do not receive any balancing grants and fund all services from their income. The large gaps in the local authorities' income also stem from their residents' socioeconomic status, but also from the scope of aid they receive from the government, which makes it unnecessary to collect taxes and impose fees and fines. The low income of local authorities in the settlements can be ascribed to the increasing growth in the population of the ultra-Orthodox cities, Modiin Illit and Beitar Illit, whose population made up 28% of the settler population at the end of 2009. (See Avital Lahav Report: Investment in settlements higher 18.9.2011, Ynet, [www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4123735,00.html](http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4123735,00.html))

### Zionist Hatred against the Haredi Jews

The world economic crisis and the fear of the Zionist capitalists of higher struggles of Jewish workers and the lower middle class is behind the current cracks in the Zionist fence from a wall to wall.

For years the Ultra Orthodox Jews in Israel were encouraged to study in the religious schools where students were poisoned with racist hate of Arabs. As result most ultra-Orthodox Jews lack the skills to work in a modern economy, having studied little or no math and science beyond primary school (their curriculum focuses almost entirely on religious texts such as the Torah and Talmud). As a result, more than 60 percent live below the poverty line, compared with 12 percent among non-Haredi Jews and 30% among the Palestinians citizens of Israel.

Today, like most Israeli Jews, most Haredim tend to be in support of the oppression of the Palestinians, citing God's

covenant with Abraham granting Jews the land of Israel. However, the fact that the Haredim settlements in the 1967 stolen lands cost more than other settlements and that most Haredim do not serve in the Zionist army has made the Haredim the second most hated target, immediately after the Palestinians, for the Zionists, secular or religious.

The hate directed against the Haredim is not merely a matter of theology or of vastly different dress and customs. That would not prove sufficient to provoke the strong reaction against the Haredim that has emerged over the past several months. The motive for the Haredi bashing is that Israelis – religious, traditional, secular and haredi-light (pro-Zionists) – feel that the Haredim are supported by the general public while contributing next to nothing to the general good and welfare of society. Since the nature of the Israeli society is settler colonialism the hate toward the Haredim is based on the feeling that the Haredim do not contribute enough to the land stealing and to the physical oppression of the Palestinians. The Zionists demand of the leaders of the Haredim to force the young Haredim to serve in the Zionist army or at least to do national service stints – in hospitals, nursing homes, schools, shelters and other welfare institutions. That would not only be a symbolic gesture of political support for the Zionist state but could also release other young Jews for military service.

The Haredim try to avert the wave of hate against them by telling the Zionists that the Haredim contributes to the so called “demographic solution” by making many Jewish children and for this it is in the interest of the Zionists to beef up the grant to Haredi families, so that Jewish kids wouldn't have to go to sleep hungry. They also emphasize that the Haredim are Israeli society's leading philanthropists. Yad Sarah, Yad Eliezer, Zaka, Ezer Mitziyon, Hatzala, and Chai Lifeline are all haredi initiatives and they serve everyone. They say that the Haredim are the guardians of Judaism classical culture, of Rashi and the Rambam. They put forward arguments like that the Haredim respect the elder, they don't abort their Down Syndrome babies or that at any given moment of the day, thousands of haredim are praying for all Jews, including the secular ones, even for Jews who hate haredim.

These arguments do not convince the Zionists. It is popular to hate the Haredim and it is easy to identify the male Haredim as they are wearing the traditional garb of white shirts and black suits with typical wide brim black hats. The mainstream mass media is full of stories about the fanatical haredim. They report about their destructive protests in reaction to every perceived breach of their iron-clad principles. In the last year we read many stories about the segregation of women who are forced to sit in separate part of the busses serving the Haredim. The same reporters ignore of course the worse discrimination of the Palestinian men or women.

The Haredim are called draft dodgers, even when in reality growing number of Haredim do serve in the Zionist army in special units. They are called leeches, who don't work, even though they are doing all the small business in Meah Shearim, Geula, Bnei Brak, Kiryat Sefer, Beitar Elite, Ramat bet Shemesh. Many of the women Haredim work outside the house as workers.

Yes, the Haredim are reactionaries who try to live the lives of the Jews in the East European *shtetl*. A style of Life that does not exist anymore and among other reason that the

*shtetls* do not exist is the Jewish holocaust that destroyed the lives of million Jews many of them Haredim. The Zionists have used this tragedy to justify their own crimes against the Palestinians. A tragedy the Zionist have used to receive many billions of dollars and German marks as if the Zionist state is the representative of the millions of Jews who were perished under the Nazis, when in reality most of those Jews were either religious anti Zionists or socialist anti Zionists.

In the circumstance in Israel of today with the conflict between the Zionists and the heirs of the populist "Agudat Israel", we are likely to learn more about the betrayal of the Jewish masses by the Zionists.

### Zionist collaboration with the Nazis

The simple truth is that Jews who fought the Nazis did not receive one bullet from the Zionist colonialists in Palestine who produced weapons and ammunition to be used for the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians. The real role of the Zionists in the 1930s, who collaborated with the Nazis until the beginning of World War II, was to apply pressure to close the gates in the West before the Jewish refugees because the Zionist leaders were afraid that opening the gates before the Jewish masses will damage their Zionist colonialist project.

Lenni Brener – an expert on the suppressed history of the Zionists in the inaugural meeting of Jews against Zionism (18 June 2003) said among other things:

*"... in June of 1933 the Zionist Federation sent a secret document to the Nazis which was not published till 1963: '...Our acknowledgment of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities. Precisely because we do not wish to falsify these fundamentals, because we, too, are against mixed marriage and are for maintaining the purity of the Jewish group. For its practical aims, Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration even of a government fundamentally hostile to Jews, because in dealing with the Jewish question no sentimentalities are involved but a real problem whose solution interests all peoples, and at the present moment especially the German people. The realisation of Zionism could only be hurt by resentment of Jews abroad against the German development. Boycott propaganda – such as is currently being carried on against Germany in many ways – is in essence UN-Zionist, because Zionism wants not to do battle but to convince and to build ... Our observations, presented herewith, rest on the conviction that, in solving the Jewish problem according to its own lights, the German Government will have full understanding for a candid and clear Jewish posture that harmonizes with the interests of the state...'*

*By August of 1933 the Zionist Federation worked out a deal with the Nazis called Ha'avara (means the transfer). Any German - Jew or Gentile it didn't matter - going out of the country with money in 1933 which is the depth of the depression, got nicked for 40% - in other words you lost 40% of your money - no one is letting money go out of their country in the middle of the depression. What the Zionists and the Nazis did was to work out a deal where by if a Jew gave let us say 20,000 marks to the German government, the German government would send 18,000 marks of let us say irrigation pipes to Palestine. The Zionists would then sell them there and give the Jew when he arrived from Germany 17,000 marks. Now that's still a lot better than losing your 40%. The problem was from the Zionist perspective they had a*

*minuscule colony in 1933-39 in other words they were 12% of the population in 33 and about 24% by 1939 - that's still very small. So they began to actually sell German goods all over the middle-east, the even tried to sell them here [in the UK]!*

*To sum up the official policy of the World Zionist Organization - by 1937 the Haganah which later became the Israeli army sent a man by the name of Polkes to Berlin to negotiate with the Nazis. Now we know this because the Nazis being good German bureaucrats wrote down the report and put it in the files and after the war it got discovered by the Americans. And the guy who wrote the report was none other than Eichmann. So he's describing Polkes – (the archetype of Jonathan Jay Pollard of today, YS)*

*'Polkes is a national-Zionist He is against all Jews who are opposed to the erection of a Jewish state in Palestine. As a Haganah man he fights against Communism and all aims of Arab-British friendship ... He noted that the Haganah's goal is to reach, as soon as possible, a Jewish majority in Palestine. Therefore he worked, as this objective required, with or against the British Intelligence Service, the Sureté Generale, with England and Italy ... He declared himself willing to work for Germany in the form of providing intelligence as long as this does not oppose his own political goals. Among other things he would support German foreign policy in the Near East. He would try to find oil sources for the German Reich without affecting British spheres of interest if the German monetary regulations were eased for Jewish emigrants to Palestine.'*

*So he goes to Berlin and he invites Eichmann to come to Palestine, which Eichmann does. The British however realised that there is something wrong with this guy [Eichmann] who claims to be a correspondent and kicked him out [of Palestine] and he went to Cairo where he met Polkes again. Then again we have Eichmann's report of what Polkes told him:*

*'In Jewish national circles people are very pleased with the radical German policies since the strengthens Jewish population in Palestine would be so far increased thereby that in the foreseeable future the Jews could be reckoned upon numerical superiority over the Palestinians.'*

*The upshot of this was that after W.W.II Eichmann as we all know was in hiding in Argentina before the Israelis caught him, but what most people don't know is that he was actually interviewed in Argentina by a Dutch Nazi journalist and when he [Eichmann] was caught he [journalist] took the tapes to Life magazine which at that time was the leading magazine in the United States with a circulation of about 5 million a month. And they ran the tapes of Eichmann. In the tapes we find this:*

*'In 1937 when I had been struggling with Hebrew for two and a half years I has a chance to take a trip to Palestine. We were most interested in the Palestine immigration and I wanted to find out at what point the Jewish State in Palestine might be set up. Unfortunately Palestine was then in turmoil and the British turned down by application. I did see enough to be very impressed with what the Jewish colonists were building up their land. I admired their desperate will to live, the more so since I myself was an idealist. In the years that followed I often said to Jews whom I had dealing with that had I been a Jew I would have been a fanatical Zionist - I could not imagine being anything else, in fact I would have been the most ardent Zionist imaginable.'*

*Jabotinsky is the founder of the Zionist revisionist movement which is the ideological heart of the Likud party. He personally had lived in Italy for three years. He began to realize that the British were just using the Zionists - sort of like they use the Protestants in Northern Ireland so he began to look for another*

mandatory to take over - it had to be a rival to Britain. So sure enough he began to orient towards Mussolini and eventually Mussolini set up a squadron of Betar - -the youth group of the Zionist revisionists at Mussolini's neighbourhood academy. From their [Zionist] publication in Italy at the time:

'...this year there are forty nine cadets - our human material is extremely intelligent, the majority are university students and thirty of them belong to fascist university youth...'

In other words they were members of the Italian fascist movement - they weren't just pro-Mussolini - they joined his movement. All of them became founders of the Israeli navy - it was founded by members of the Italian fascist party!

In 1940 Abraham Stern, who later founded the Stern gang, sent a document to the nazis, Again it was found by the allies in the German Embassy in Turkey after the war:

The National Military Organization(NMO), which is well-acquainted with the goodwill of the German Reich government and its authorities towards Zionist activity inside Germany and towards Zionist emigration plans, is of the opinion that:

'1. Common interests could exist between the establishment of a New Order in Europe in conformity with the German concept, and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people as they are embodied by the NMO.

2. Cooperation between the new Germany and a renewed volkish-national Hebrum would be possible and

3. The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis, and bound by a treaty with the German Reich, would be in the interest of a maintained and strengthened future German position of power in the Near East.

Proceeding from these considerations, the NMO in Palestine, under the condition the above-mentioned national aspirations of the Israeli freedom movement are recognised on the side of the German Reich, offers to actively take part in the war on Germany's side.'

In Europe they hung you for that, in Israel they elected Yitzhak Shamir who was one of the three who took over the Stern Gang after the British killed him- they elected him Prime Minister and he was Prime Minister for 7 years, You know if you think about Kurt Waldeim for example and all the ferocity that came out against him - Israel had a wanna-be nazi prime minister..." (See Lenni Brenner: Zionism, Racism and the Jews, Speech at the inaugural meeting of Jews against Zionism, 18 June 2003, <http://www.inminds.co.uk/jews-against-zionism.html>)

At the same conference, Roland Rance - who was a socialist activist in Israeli, Palestinian and British politics for many years - said in his concluding remarks:

"For many of us the reason that we are adamantly opposed to Zionism is because yes its committing crimes against the Palestinian people, yes because its condemning Jews in Israel to a life of insecurity and danger, and yes because the Zionist movement ultimately said that Jewish life outside Palestine is not worth savings - the first president of the state of Israel Chaim Weisman referred to the Jews of Europe as human dust not worth saving. For many of us the reason for our adamant opposition to Zionism is not only though it is as well seeing what it is doing to the Palestinians and seeing that there cannot be any solution, any just solution, any lasting solution in the middle-east that doesn't undo the wrong that has been done by the Zionist movement for Palestinians, but also because we say if there is again an up surge of hatred against Jews, the Zionists will not be the ones to protect us - they will be the ones to betray us. And for me certainly its an absolute fundamental for my whole political existence that Zionism is not just something I am opposed to - it

is my enemy. This is part of the reason why we are taking steps to establish an organisation Jews Against Zionism." (Roland Rance: Zionism is Against Jews, <http://www.inminds.co.uk/jews-against-zionism.html>)

No other than Ben Gurion in a speech he made to Mapai's central committee on December 7, 1938 followed Britain's decision to deny entrance into Palestine of 10,000 German Jewish orphans in the wake of Kristallnacht, instead offering them asylum within Great Britain said:

"If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half by transporting to Eretz Yisrael [the Land of Israel], then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the People of Israel."

The Zionists to justify this anti-Semite remark argue that "this was almost a year before the Nazis launched World War II and several years before the Final Solution (to annihilate the Jews) was methodically implemented. While Ben Gurion believed that Germany's anti-Jewish policies would necessitate creating a safe haven for numerous Jewish refugees that no other country was willing to accept, he had no way of predicting the enormity of what was to follow" (Ben Gurion and the Holocaust, <http://liberology.wordpress.com/2012/08/04/fake-zionist-quotes-1-ben-gurion-and-the-german-children-1938>)

This is a very poor justification. Basically the Zionists do not deny what they have hid for years that they collaborated with the Nazis. But do they seriously want to deny that it was possible to know prior to 1942 that the Nazi will kill the Jews?!

Yet on March 22, 1933, the Nazis opened Dachau concentration camp near Munich, to be followed by Buchenwald near Weimar in central Germany, Sachsenhausen near Berlin in northern Germany, and Ravensbrück.

The Dachau concentration camp was the first regular concentration camp established by the National Socialist (Nazi) government. Heinrich Himmler, in his capacity as police president of Munich, officially described the camp as "the first concentration camp for political prisoners." During the first year, the camp held about 4,800 prisoners. Initially the internees consisted primarily of German Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, and other political opponents of the Nazi regime among them Jews. In early 1937, the SS, using prisoner labor, initiated construction of a large complex of buildings on the grounds of the original camp. Prisoners were forced to do this work, starting with the destruction of the old munitions factory, under terrible conditions. The construction was officially completed in mid-August 1938 and thousands of Jews were sent to Dachau where they were perished.

It is a lies that it was impossible prior to 1942 to know that the Nazis would murder millions of Jews.

Nobody had seen as clearly as Trotsky did the horrible possibility of the Holocaust. Already in 1938 he predicted the fascist threat of the "physical extermination of the Jews": "Now it is the turn of France. The victory of fascism in this country would signify a vast strengthening of reaction, and a monstrous growth of violent anti-semitism in all the world, above all in the United States. The number of countries which expel the Jews grows without cease. The number of countries able to accept them decreases. At the same time the exacerbation of the struggle intensifies. It is possible to imagine without difficulty what awaits the Jews at the mere outbreak of the future world war. But even without war the next development of world

reaction signifies with certainty the physical extermination of the Jews." (Leon Trotsky: Appeal to American Jews Menaced by Fascism and Anti-Semitism, in Leon Trotsky: On the Jewish Question, p. 29. Emphasis in the original)

In the face of Nazi mass murder Trotsky favoured the migration of the Jews from Europe while opposing the Zionist reactionary project. He warned in 1940:

*"The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people. Interested in winning the sympathies of the Arabs who are more numerous than the Jews, the British government has sharply altered its policy toward the Jews, and has actually renounced its promise to help them found their "own home" in a foreign land. The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system."* (Leon Trotsky: Fragment, in On the Jewish Question, p.12. For Trotsky's attitude to Birobidjan cf. Leon Trotsky: Reply to a Question about Birobidjan, in: On the Jewish Question, pp. 18-19)

Not only Trotsky knew it. The following is a translation from Yiddish of Jabotinsky's speech in Tisha B'ev, Oct. 24, 1938, Warsaw, Poland. *"It is already three years that I am calling upon you, Polish Jewry, who are the crown of World Jewry. I continue to warn you incessantly that a catastrophe is coming closer, I became gray and old in these days, my heart bleeds, that you dear brothers and sisters, do not see the volcano which will soon begin to spit its all consuming lava. I see that you are not seeing this because you are immersed and sunk in your daily worries. Today, however, I demand from you trust. You were convinced already that my prognoses have already proved to be right. If you think differently, then drive me out of your midst. However, if you do believe me, then listen to me in this 12th hour: In the name of G-D!! Let anyone of you save himself as long as there is still time, and time there is very little. (...) And what else would I like to say to you on this day of Tisha B'ev: Whoever of you will escape from the catastrophe, he or she will live to see the exalted moment of a great Jewish Wedding: The rebirth and the rise of a Jewish state, I don't know if I will be privileged to see it: my son will! I believe in this as I am sure that tomorrow morning the sun will rise."* (Gad Nahshon: Did Ze'ev Jabotinsky Forecast the Coming of the Holocaust? <http://www.jewishpost.com/archives/news/did-zeev-jabotinsky-forecast-the-coming-of-the-holocaust.html>)

### Neturei Karta

Only a small stream of Haredim known as Neturei Karta ("Guardians of the City") has remained faithful to the traditional Jewish religion which is Anti-Zionist. The members of this stream call for the dismantling of the State of Israel, in the belief that Jews are forbidden to have their own state until the coming of the Jewish Messiah. This belief made them a target for the racist hate of the Zionists.

A few years ago in a conference in Iran they participated they wrote:

*"We affirmed the reality of the mass murder of Jews during the Second World War. And we were not the only speakers there who did so. But (also of enormous significance) we told those assembled that the reality of the Holocaust should not be used as a pretext to strip the Palestinian people, either as individuals or*

*collectively, of their property and land.*

*It is our Torah based obligation to constantly declare before all humanity that the deeds done to the Palestinian people throughout the last century and continuing to this day are unconscionable. Our experience has shown that the fulfillment of this obligation yields only positive results.*

*Further, it is our assumption that the approach of Zionism has not lessened the Jewish-Gentile antagonism but has exacerbated it. The trail of suffering created by this movement stretches back over the decades and continues to the present.*

*These tragedies should come as no surprise to anyone since the Torah expressly forbids the desire or the implementation of any Jewish sovereignty over the Holy Land."* (Neturei Karta: Why We Went to Iran, <http://www.nkusa.org/activities/Statements/20070402IranWhycfm.cfm>)

A Paper delivered by G. J. Neuberger, a member of Neturei Karta, at the Tripoli Conference on Zionism and Racism states among other things:

*"Apart from the Zionists, the only ones who consistently considered the Jews a race were the Nazis. And they only served to prove the stupidity and irrationality of racism. There was no way to prove racially whether a Mrs. Muller or a Mr. Meyer were Jews or Aryans. The only way to decide whether a person was Jewish was to trace the religious affiliation of the parents or grandparents. So much for this racial nonsense. (...)*

*The infamous founder of political Zionism, may his name be cursed, who only discovered his own Jewishness because of anti-Semitism displayed at the Dreyfus trial in France, proposed various solutions to what he called the "Jewish problem." At one point he proposed to resettle the Jews in Uganda. At another he proposed to convert them to Catholicism. He finally hit on the idea of a Judenstaat, an exclusive Jewish state. Thus from its very beginning Zionism was a result of Anti-Semitism and indeed is completely compatible with it, because Zionists and anti-Semites had (and have) a common goal: To bring all Jews from their places of domicile to the Zionist state, thus uprooting Jewish communities that had existed for hundreds and even thousands of years. Loyalty to the Zionist state was substituted for loyalty to G-d, and the state was made into the modern "golden calf". Belief in the Torah and fulfillment of religious obligations in Zionist eyes became a private matter and not a duty for every Jew or for the Jewish people. The Zionists made divine law subject to party or parliamentary votes, and they set their own standards of conduct and ethics. (...)*

*The love of the land and the Jewish longing for a return to it and for the coming of the Messiah have been exploited innumerable times during the past 2,000 years. Zionism has had many precursors and each has been a curse for the Jews. Individuals who proclaimed themselves the Messiah and messianic movements have sprung up from time to time, from the Roman era through the Middle Ages and down to the modern Zionists. Many of these pseudo-Messiahs posed as rabbis or as national leaders, though some of them eventually professed other faiths; many temporarily - some for longer periods - succeeded in misleading Jews, rabbis, and entire Jewish communities. All were in due course exposed and recognized as frauds, and those who had set their hope on them found only disappointment and all too often disaster.*

*(...) Agudath Israel gradually began to weaken and to compromise. During the Nazi period, it entered into deals and arrangements with the Zionists, despite the fact that its fundamental aim had been to combat Zionism. After the Zionist state was established, Agudath Israel broke off with its past, participated in the*

Zionist government on the cabinet level and elected Agudists to the Zionist parliament. Still professing a nominal anti-Zionism, Agudath Israel established a network of "independent" schools in the Holy Land, but today the overwhelming part of the budget of these schools comes from the Zionist government. In view of these developments, those Jews who wanted to continue the fight against Zionism without any compromise left Agudath Israel and constituted themselves as the Neturei Karta, an Aramaic phrase meaning "Guardians of the City," i.e. the city of Jerusalem. The Neturei Karta in turn became a worldwide movement, known in some places as "Friends of Jerusalem." The greatest leader of the Neturei Karta was Rabbi Amram Blau, an inspired and dedicated leader whose compassion equaled his courage. He could not keep silent in the face of injustice, immorality, or hypocrisy. He was beloved by Jews and respected by Christians and Muslims. Unceasingly Rabbi Blau denounced the establishment of a Jewish state before the coming of the Messiah as an act of infamy and blasphemy. Under his leadership, the Neturei Karta declared year after year that they did not recognize the legitimacy of the Zionist state or the validity of its laws. (...)

It must be stated explicitly that while not all Jews are Zionists, not all Zionists are Jews. The motives of some of these non-Jewish Zionists, e.g. Lord Balfour and General Smuts, are at least open to question. From the beginning of the Zionist movement, some of the most articulate and fervent Zionists have been Christian clergymen, especially "fundamentalists," who hail Zionism as an important "religious" movement and welcome it as a fulfillment of prophecy. They also, and significantly, serve the cause of Zionism. (G. Neuberger: The Difference between Judaism and Zionism, <http://www.jewsnotzionists.org/differencejudzion.html>)

### Where are the Haredim going?

Now with the most racist government in the history of Israel and the appearance of cracks in the unholy alliance between the Zionists and the Haredim, the Haredim may be pushed in the direction of Neturei Karta.

It is hard to know how far this conflict between the racist Zionists and the Ultraorthodox will develop. One thing is almost certain: we will see much more of the anti-Semite side of the Zionists.

Which position should revolutionary Marxists take in this conflict? We from the *Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine)* fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by a socialist society. Such a perspective naturally includes the consistent internationalist struggle against any form of national oppression as well as against religious discrimination. We therefore fight – together with our comrades in the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* – for the defeat of the Zionist oppression, for the full right to return for all Palestinians to their homeland and for the creation of a single Palestinian multinational workers and peasant's republic from the river to the sea. In such a state the Israeli Jewish workers and the migrant workers who will join the Palestinian-led workers will be part of the new ruling class in the Palestinian workers state from the river to the sea. The Jewish masses who accept the loss of the Apartheid privileges can live together in peace without discrimination.

From such a proletarian anti-Zionist perspective, the growing conflict between the Israeli state and the Haredim

Jews is of major importance. It would be utterly wrong to trivialize this conflict as simply one between two reactionary camps. Surely, the world outlook of the Ultraorthodox Jews is socially very backward. No doubt, the political positions of sects like Neturei Karta are obscure and reactionary in many aspects. Even more, a significant part of the Haredim Jews has been won since the early 1980s for the ultra-reactionary settlement projects in the West Banks.

However, these factors make a possible rift between the Haredim Jews and the Zionist state particularly important. Revolutionary Marxists have an interest in weakening the Zionist state. If there is a camp amongst the Israeli Jews who do not want to join the Zionist army and who are moving into opposition against the right-wing government, this obviously improves the conditions for the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people.

The ISL defends the democratic right of the orthodox Jews not to serve in the army. We oppose any sanctions against them. We take this position both for principled reasons – we support the right of religious minorities to refuse serving in the army – as well for tactical reasons, i.e. it weakens the human basis for the Zionist army.

The progressive potential of the rift between the Zionist state and the Haredi Jews became obvious in the past weeks. Prominent spokespersons of the Haredi Jews now call for a definite break of the Ultraorthodox Jews with the political right and the settler movement. Some even go so far to call for a boycott of settlement products! (See Adiv Sterman: Ultra-Orthodox pundits urge boycott of settlement products. Haredi radio commentators tell listeners to take revenge on religious Zionists for their insistence on a universal draft law; March 5, 2013, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/ultra-orthodox-call-to-boycott-settlement-products/>)

These are without doubt positive and interesting developments. The task of revolutionary Marxists is to deepen the rift between the Haredim Jews and the Zionist State. They have to show the Jewish masses that the Zionists are a class enemy. The Zionist state is a racist death trap for the Jewish masses as well. It is clear that the Palestinians do not have any problem with the Ultra Orthodox the kind of Neturei Karta, and it is in the interest of the working class to stand against the Zionist Anti-Semite racists. Revolutionaries must explain to the Haredim Jews that they must break completely break with the Zionist state and solidarize with the Palestinian's liberation struggle.

The socialist revolution will separate between state and religion. Religion, or atheism from the perspective of a workers state is a personal matter and under a workers state all believers or non believers will be granted the right to believe or not to believe. One of the crimes of the Stalinist counter revolutionaries was their attempt to eradicate religion by force. While education in a workers state will be based on science and the revolutionary party will spread propaganda based on dialectical materialism and atheism, no person will be discriminated because of his or her religion or will be told how to dress. Workers who are religious but defend the revolution will be allowed into the revolutionary party. Religion cannot disappear by laws and police. Humanity will stop believe only when the entire population will know that they control society and nature for the benefit of the human race. ■

## Egypt: Free Post Said 21

By Yossi Schwartz (ISL: Occupied Palestine/Israel), April 2013

On Saturday, 9 March, 2013, an Egyptian court approved the death sentences previously handed down to 21 defendants in the Port Said soccer riot case and sentenced more than 20 others to prison terms. At the same time, the organizer of the massacre, former Port Said security chief Major General Essam Samak, was sentenced to 15 years in prison - a sentence which will surely be overturned or shortened in the near future. At least seven other security officers responsible for the massacre were among those acquitted of all charges.

Comrades, brothers and sisters, we must prevent the execution of the 21 brothers which the reactionary pro-imperialist regime in Egypt intends to murder in cold blood. It is necessary to organize worldwide protests against the Morsi government with the demand: Free the 21!

Who are these brothers and why does the Morsi government seek their execution? According to Sarah Mousa, a reporter from Al Jazeera:

*"Over a year ago, the Suez Canal city of Port Said was thrust into the centre of Egypt's ongoing revolution... thugs, armed with knives and batons, attacked Ultras Ahly club members, throwing them off bleachers and mercilessly beating them. Fans ran frantically for the exit, only to find that stadium doors had been locked. The sparse security present stood idly, while the Port Said governor, a regular attendee of local matches, was nowhere in sight. For approximately two hours, the nation watched on their television screens as over 70 Ahly fans were killed in the stadium. The Ultras Ahly members had been the most active and vocal opponents of the SCAF junta; SCAF's message, that resistance would not be tolerated, was clear to all. Official discourse insisted that the incident could be blamed on Al-Masry team fans or Port Said locals."* (Sarah Mousa: Port Said: New centre for Egypt's revolution, 6.2.2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/02/20132572953689159.html>)

Following the massacre in the stadium, Field Marshal Mohamed Tantawi urged the Egyptian population to kill the Ultras: *"Why are the Egyptian people silent? They must do something."*

The Muslim Brotherhood claims that the Port Said Stadium massacre was carried out by a mysterious third party, foreigners or revolutionaries. In reality, the thugs were similar to the tugs on the camels. During the Russian revolution, these types were called *"the Black Hundreds"* - the predecessors of the Italian fascists and German Nazis, among others.

Today, Port Said is again at the center of Egypt's revolution, as the 21 - mainly Ultras members and young students - are set to be executed. Morsi, in the meantime, has called to respect the court's decision. This verdict is part of the counter-revolution of the capitalist ruling class which Morsi and the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood serve. Morsi, subservient to the imperialist powers, is trying to kill the revolution to secure a loan promised to him by the IMF.

Several trade-union leaders have already called for the judge who presided over the trial of the 21 to be dismissed,

or for an apology for the violence from the president. Instead of useless talk by the union bureaucracy, workers in the trade unions and in the left groups in Egypt should demand from their leaders to organize an open-ended general strike until the 21 are released. To this end, action committees should be created inside and outside the labor movement.

However, the only way for the masses to achieve their democratic rights is for the working class to lead the struggle for democracy in Egypt. As the experience of the Morsi government shows, the Egyptian capitalists are completely incapable of consistently opposing imperialism, and will invariably sacrifice the interests of the masses to secure their class privileges and power.

The independence of the working class means no political support for the National Salvation Front. The last thing that the bourgeois politicians of this front, which includes Hamdeen Sabahi, Amr Moussa, Abdul Ghan and Mohammed al-Baradei, want, is a workers revolution. To the trade unions and those left groups which tail the bourgeois politicians we say: break from the bourgeoisie and fight for the workers! The burning task is to build a Bolshevik type revolutionary party in Egypt, fighting not only for the democratic demands but for a socialist revolution. We offer the following demands for a mass movement of the workers:

**Expropriate the foreign imperialist companies, the army generals and businesses under democratic control of the workers!**

**Coordinate the activity of the masses through workers', peasants and soldiers' committees!**

**Organize self-defense groups for the demonstrators and for the strike!**

**For a workers' government, supported by the peasants and the poor!**

**Bring down Morsi's capitalist pro-imperialist government!**

However, we believe that these demands can only be won through a socialist revolution which will overthrow Egyptian capitalism and replace it with a state ruled by the Egyptian working class, serving the interests of the masses:

**For a workers' state in Egypt!**

**For a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!**

**For a New Communist Fifth International! ■**



# Land Day 2013: From a Symbolic Struggle to a Real Struggle

*Statement of the Internationalist Socialist League (ISL), supported by the RCIT*

**M**arch 30th - Land Day, has become a symbol of struggle for the Palestinian masses, citizens of the Zionist apartheid state, against expropriation and oppression. Now, we must think of a way to turn a symbolic struggle into a real mass struggle converging into the entire Palestinian people's struggle in the entire territory currently ruled by an apartheid state spanning from the river Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea.

While we commemorate this day in relative comfort in Nazareth, the Palestinian youth of the West Bank is risking lives in a struggle against oppression by Israeli soldiers and settlers. This heroic struggle faces the massive military power of Israel, supported by Obama as well as other imperialists. Even the collaboration of the Palestinian Authority can no longer prevent the eruption of a new popular intifada. The PA isn't any different from the despotic regimes of Mubarak and Bin Ali, which explains its fear of a "Palestinian Revolution".

The third intifada will be victorious only should it implement the lessons of the previous two - it must include all the oppressed sections of the Palestinian society: workers, peasants, small business owners, women and youth, unemployed and also Jewish supporters, who understand that the only way out of the Zionist hell-on-earth (with the Palestinian bourgeoisie as its accomplice) is through a revolutionary Palestinian struggle.

Inside Israel we must call upon the High Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel and say: "Stop sitting on your bottoms and settle for a symbolic protest, mobilize the masses in a real struggle!" What is a real struggle? One that begins from a regional standpoint and ties the Palestinian struggle to the Arab revolution, while acknowledging the working class as the only social element that can lead it to victory.

## **The lessons of the Arab Revolution**

The Arab Revolution erupted as a result of the 2008 crisis, the deepest capitalist global crisis since 1929. This crisis is a direct consequence of the stranglehold capitalist monopolies have over the bourgeois controlled means of production. These monopolies employ a massive social labor force, while the ownership of capital is concentrated in the hands of a small bunch of ruling families. The inability of the capitalists in imperialist countries to develop the means of production, as a result of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, forces the bourgeoisie to cover losses by extracting funds from the pockets of its working masses, lower middle class and poor.

Instead of investing in the development of the means of production, the capitalists spent their massive profits on wasteful consumption, gambling in the stock-market, and of course, highly developed military means of oppression. Additionally, an attempt at maintaining profits is done through military campaigns against oppressed nations which happen to sit upon natural resources the imperialists covet, such as Afghanistan and Mali. In places they cannot afford to launch such campaigns, warmongering

threats are used (especially against North Korea and Iran) expecting these governments to fold and consent to replenish out of their own pockets, and on the expense of their own masses, the empty debt-ridden bank accounts of the imperialists.

Against this attack stand the working masses and oppressed of different countries: the working class, peasants and lower middle class of the Arab countries; India, 100 million workers went on strike last month for the third time; Greece, Britain and other European countries; and also the very recent revolutionary struggle which erupted in Bulgaria.

This attack by the capitalists and the retaliation of the rising tide of struggle by the workers and oppressed masses reveals the reality of our epoch - an epoch of revolutions, counter-revolutions and imperialist wars. A socialist revolution is not only possible in such an epoch, but essential. Failing to accomplish such a revolution would result in bloody repressive regimes and even fascist regimes which would put at risk the very existence of mankind through devastating wars and environmental destruction.

The Arab revolution erupted in 2011 in the form of mass democratic struggles against pro-imperialist despotic regimes in Tunisia and Libya, and from there it has spread to Egypt until finally reaching Syria on March 15th that year. In recent months the revolution entered its second phase. The first phase contained naive illusions in the role of opposition parties which took power through general elections, such as alNahda in Tunisia and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Now, the second phase contains the accumulated experience and realization that these parties are in fact pro-imperialist leaderships which block the masses' road to democracy.

A victorious Arab Revolution requires a distinctly different leadership. Experience shows that petty-bourgeois or bourgeois leaderships, whether secular or religious, are unable to successfully stand up to imperialist control. A victorious struggle for democratic rights, in this epoch requires a victorious revolutionary socialist one. Only under revolutionary working class leadership it is possible to unite the masses from all ethnic and religious backgrounds: to unite peasants, small business owners, women and youth who suffer from oppression, especially under capitalism, in support of the working class, the consistent revolutionary class, the only one that can bring about an alternative to the decaying capitalist mode of production.

This alternative will begin with the transformation of the economy into production for the needs of the masses instead of the profit interests of the capitalist. This economy will be controlled democratically by the workers themselves. This transformation is conditioned by the victory of the working class at the head of the armed masses who will overthrow the oppressive mechanisms of the bourgeoisie (military, police, prisons and courts) and establish a mechanism ruled by the workers and their allies in a real majority rule. This mechanism will take the form of local councils (soviets) of workers and peasants which vote and elect representatives to regional councils and so on - while



the executive committee of the highest council will serve as the government. The rule of the councils will be defended by the armed forces of the masses themselves instead of the standing army of the bourgeois tradition.

### Our Position on Syria

As revolutionaries we support the armed struggle against Assad's regime, even while being controlled by the Islamists. We do so without giving them - pro-capitalists behind an Islamic veil - even a single ounce of political support. To us, only the working class can bring about a solution. Unfortunately for the masses in Syria, while the workers participate in the revolution against Assad's bloody dictatorial regime as individuals the working class as a class is still held captive by the Baath party through the state-controlled trade-unions. This situation is the fault of the Stalinists of both communist parties in Syria that continue to support the Baathist front instead of the independence of the working class. A revolutionary organization must be established in Syria for victory to be achieved. Independence of the working class from the ruling class on a revolutionary program should take first priority.

### The Struggle for Democratic Rights and the Perspective of the Permanent Revolution

In Palestine the struggle for democratic rights can be victorious only when the Palestinian working class, joined by some of the Jewish workers who will disconnect themselves from Zionism, as well as immigrant workers, will stand at the head of the mass struggle for the democratic rights, which would only be implemented through a vic-

torious socialist revolution. This is the perspective of the Permanent Revolution of Leon Trotsky. The struggle for a Palestinian republic, in terms of its national character, from the river to the sea, can only be victorious when consciously transforming into a struggle for a workers' and peasants' state from the river to the sea. It can only come out victorious when linked to the revolutionary struggle in the entire region.

We are willing to unite in action (while maintaining full freedom of speech and criticism) with any organization or individual who supports one or more of the following demands:

- \* *Free all the Palestinian Political Prisoners!*
- \* *Down with the Trial against the Shfa'amr Youths!*
- \* *Down with Forced Judaisation of Palestinian Neighborhoods, House Demolitions and Ethnic Cleansing!*
- \* *Down with All 60 Racist Laws Published by Adalah Center!*
- \* *For the Complete Right of Return to All Palestinian Refugees to their Homeland!*
- \* *For a Network of Defense Committees to defend Palestinians and Immigrants against Pogroms and Zionist Lynch Mobs!*
- \* *For a Network of Democratic Action Committees in the Neighborhoods, Cities, Villages, Workplaces and Institutions of Education!*
- \* *For a Democratic State from the River to the Sea!*
- \* *For a Workers and Peasants Government from the River to the Sea!*
- \* *For a Palestinian Workers' State from the River to the Sea -*
- \* *For a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!*
- \* *For a New Communist International - the 5th International! ■*



More than 7.000 Palestinians demonstrated close to Haifa on Nakba Day 2013

## Land Day in Palestine

*Report by Yossi Schwartz from the Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine)*

The Arab Jewish revolutionary ISL participated in the land day in the town of Sakhnin, distributing hundreds of leaflets in Hebrew and Arabic calling for one democratic Palestinian state from the river to the sea that will be one multinational workers state from the river to the sea. In the leaflet we explained as well the revolutionary program for Syria. For a working class revolution but at the same time siding with the forces fighting Assad bloody regime, including the Islamists that dominate the opposition without giving them any political support. The leaflet called as well for unity in action of the working class and the masses around different demands including a Palestinian democratic state from the river to the sea and multinational working class supported by the peasants republic from the river to the sea and ended with a call for the Fifth International.

We raised demands like free all political prisoners, and a Workers and Falahin (peasants in Arabic) government from the river to the sea. Our leaflets were well received. Many came to ask for them and people took them home to show other people. At the same time the leaflets of the CWI group Maavak socialisti that called for two states solution could be seen everywhere on the street. At one point I gave out a leaflet to a young man and he instead of reading it crumbled it. I told him that he behaves like a Zionists. Six people around me shouted at him and demanded that he apologized and asked for leaflets. In various places I made small speeches about the need for a workers led revolution with the support of the oppressed masses. I met people whom I did not see for many years who told me that they feel the force of the struggle that force them to become more active.

The Land Day this year was a Palestinian national protest from the river to the sea. The biggest rally on Land Day took place in the Galilee town of Sakhnin. In remembrance, Palestinians plant trees on land Israel threatened to expropriate in 1976 to reaffirm their ties to the land. Between 20,000-30,000 took part in the event in Sakhnin which is near to Haifa in the North of the country.

The mayor in a speech called on Hamas and the PA to unite to achieve a mini state. The crowd did not pay much attention to his speech. In the demonstration the supporters of the Stalinists CP and their front Hadash came with the flag of Assad's Syria and attacked the Al Jazeera TV crew for taking position against Assad. The civil war in Syria has split the Palestinians. Even the CP itself speaks in two voices, while part of the CP supports Assad the other part oppose him and look to the imperialists for a solution. The more left leaning among the Palestinians oppose Assad the butcher and any imperialist intervention. We debated with some young activists that support Assad showing them the history of the regime during the civil war in Lebanon when it stood with Israel against the left, and in Iraq when the regime stood with the US-Imperialism.

In the South thousands marched in an unrecognized Palestinian village. In Israel there are some dozens of villages that the Israeli state does not recognize and does not provide municipal services.

Demonstrations took place in the West Bank to the north and south of Jerusalem. Israeli security forces fired rubber bullets, tear gas and stun grenades to break up groups of Palestinian at gates leading into the Old City. A Reuters reporter saw two men being carried away injured after scuffles at Jerusalem's Lions' Gate, while police said they had made several arrests at the nearby Damascus Gate.

In Gaza, dozens of Palestinians held a Land Day procession east of Rafah in the southern part of the Hamas-ruled territory. The protesters reported that the Israeli soldiers fired tear gas canisters in their direction from the other side of the border and used live fire. One person was moderately injured from the gunfire.

Irina Galushko, a reporter for Russia Today, reported from Qalandia checkpoint on the road connecting Jerusalem and Ramallah:

*"The Palestinians are showing no signs of giving up at all, the land day demonstrations have actually been a tradition since 1976, when they occurred for the first time, 6 Palestinians were killed in a confrontation with Israeli police and Israeli armed forces. And it has been happening every year as it has been happening today."*

A column of protesters formed in the West Bank and marched towards Qalandia. The demonstrators carried Palestinian flags and pictures of Palestinian prisoners, one of whom, Samer Issawi, is currently in hospital due to his deteriorating health conditions after having been on hunger strike for over 250 days since August 2012 in protest for his release.

The Israeli army wrote on Twitter that Palestinian protesters threw stones at Israeli settlers vehicles traveling on south-north Route 60, which passes through the West Bank; Israeli Troops patrolling the border between Israel and the Gaza strip used live fire to disperse protesters who came close to the fence.

Protesters gathered in Israel's neighboring countries on Friday for demonstrations marking the 36th annual Land Day, including in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

The demonstration in Jordan attracted up to 15,000 people, according to AFP. The demonstration was attended by members from the Muslim Brotherhood and anti-Zionist ultra-orthodox Jews.

Hundreds of people gathered at Lebanon's Beaufort Castle near the border with Israel on Friday to take part in Land Day demonstrations in site of the attempt of the security forces of Lebanese forces to prevent them from reaching the border with Israel. Authorities in Lebanon claimed they are acting to prevent a repeat of last year's Nakba Day protests, in which at least 10 people were killed near the border with Israel by the Israeli army, and erected checkpoints on roads in Lebanon's south to prevent demonstrators from encroaching on the border.

The rally attracted people of all ages to the scenic fortress, where Lebanese security forces had erected a barbed wire fence on the southern side of the hill to contain protesters, the Lebanese English-Language *The Daily Star* reported. About 200 foreign activists, including two US rabbis, arrived at Beaufort Castle to join the rally, according to

the *Star*. Protesters in Lebanon faced the Lebanese security forces who tried to prevent them from demonstrating against Israel using the excuse that the army attempts to prevent a repeat of fatal protests that occurred along the border with Israel last year.

In Egypt, meanwhile, activists said Egyptian security forces prevented mass protests from taking place, while organizers from another Cairo-based group called off a demonstration due to the political situation in Egypt, Al Jazeera reported according to pro-Palestinian activists.

Gamal Abdel Salaam, a leading organizer in the Al-Quds Committee in Egypt, told Al Jazeera that Egyptian

security forces prevented a march from Cairo University in Giza to the grounds of the Great Pyramids, despite the organization receiving approval “*from all sides.*”

Another activist and director of the Center for Palestine Studies in Cairo, Ibrahim Al-Darawi, told Al Jazeera that a massive demonstration from the Al Azhar Mosque was called off due to Egypt’s “*internal situation... and political tensions at the current time.*”

Abdel Salaam insisted that despite calling off his organization’s march, his group would continue to work “*for the sake of Jerusalem and address attempts by the Israeli occupation to Judaize [the city].*” ■

## Land Day in Palestine: Solidarity Rally in Austria on 30.3.

*Report from the RKOB (Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency)*

On 30<sup>th</sup> March 2013 the activists of the *Revolutionary Communist Organization for Liberation* (RKOB) organized a rally in the center of the 10<sup>th</sup> district of Vienna – the biggest working class district of the city – in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance. On the anniversary of Land Day speeches were held and leaflets distributed with the slogans: “*Free and democratic Palestine! For a third Intifada!*” as well as “*Smash the Apartheid state Israel and replace it with a Workers and Peasants Republic in Palestine from the River to the Sea!*”

We distributed the statement of our comrades from the *Internationalist Socialist League* (ISL) in Israel/Occupied Palestine “*Land Day 2013: From a Symbolic Struggle to a Real Struggle*” (see [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/land-day-2013](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/land-day-2013)) in German and Arab language. The RCIT supports this statement and collaborates closely with the ISL comrades.

The interest from the ordinary people living in this district (which has a big proportion of migrants) was very high. Many of them bought newspapers, gave donations, took leaflets and discussed with the activists about Palestine. Also dozens of them filled out contact formulas and showed interest to participate in activities of the RKOB. A Turkish migrant woman of 38 years, mother of five children, for example, spoke long with us about the situation of migrants, took several publications and encouraged us to continue our struggle. Some took our flags and joined our rally for the whole period.

Several times, groups of young migrants stopped at our stall and expressed their support for the liberation struggle in Palestine. Many also saw the connection between the imperialist oppression of the people in the South and the national oppression of migrants in the Western world.

Our enemies also showed some interest in the RKOB rally. Three people from the Zionist milieu of the so-called “*Anti-Germans*” observed our rally and recorded the speeches. They hope to accumulate material to bring charges in the future against RKOB comrades as they did already in the past against our comrades Michael Pröbsting and Johannes Wiener.

Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*, stated in his speeches in German and English that we support the resistance of the Palestinian fighters like Samer Al-Issawi who is imprisoned and in hunger strike. He expressed

the RCIT’s support for the right of Millions of Palestinian refugees to return back to their homeland and the need to fight for a free, democratic and socialist Palestine. Comrade Pröbsting saluted also the liberation fighters in Syria, who are participating in the revolutionary struggle against Assad’s regime.

Johannes Wiener, National Secretary of the RKOB, said in his speech that the fight for freedom in Palestine has to be combined with the struggle of all oppressed internationally. He made clear that the oppression of the immigrants in Austria as well as in other countries shows that there exist a ruling class who has interest to pay less to women, immigrants, the youth for the same work in order to get higher profits. This capitalist class, comrade Wiener points out, has to be defeated by our class – not only in Palestine but worldwide.

Nina Gunić, International Women’s Secretary said in her speech that a new Palestine must be build on the basis of a socialist Workers and Peasants Republic of all Palestinians and all Jews who are willing to live together in peace and equality. She pointed out that such a free and democratic Palestine can not be build with reactionary settlers who are not willing to give the homeland of the Palestinians back to the refugees. A revolutionary struggle must therefore focus on the smashing of the Apartheid state Israel and be combined with the ongoing revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya and the whole region.

We stand for a new, a Third Intifada! Let us turn the anniversary of Land Day in future to real struggles for democracy and peace, for a free and socialist Palestine

You can see photos and video clips from our Rally at the YouTube Channel of the RCIT at [www.thecommunists.net/multimedia-1/land-day-rally-30-3-pictures-and-videos/](http://www.thecommunists.net/multimedia-1/land-day-rally-30-3-pictures-and-videos/) ■



# Turkey, Syria and Egypt: No Political Support for Bourgeois Forces Secular or Islamists Our Disagreement With Free Haifa

By Yossi Schwartz (ISL: Occupied Palestine/Israel), supported by the RCIT

Turkey under the Islamist government is playing an important role in the imperialist strategy in the region in this period of the Arab revolution. Since the beginning of the Arab revolution in Syria in 2011 the US and other imperialists have been seeking a policy of breaking Syria from Iran. Such a schism between Damascus and Tehran would change the Middle East's strategic balance in favor of the US and Israel. The reconciliation between the government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party's (AKP) and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) is related to the new role Turkey is playing in relations to Iran.

## Turkey's ruling class motives behind their "Oslo Agreement" with the PKK

The AKP government wants to pacify the Kurdish liberation struggle which plays a major role in Turkey since at least three decades. The Kurdish people in Turkey – numbering, according to different estimations, between 18-25 million people or 25-30% of Turkey's population – are historically severely oppressed by the Turkish state and desire to achieve national self-determination. However their justified liberation struggle has been led by the PKK which is a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement. The AKP tries to finish the Kurdish struggle and in this it gets the help of the treacherous leadership of the PKK around Abdullah Ocalan.

Such a pacification would not only remove temporarily an important element of political instability in Turkey, but would also enable the Turkish ruling class to intervene more effectively in the region the Islamic government of Turkey is promising a Kurdish autonomy for the disarming of the Kurdish guerrilla forces.

*"On March 30 — Speaking on CNN Türk on Friday night Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said PKK militants withdrawing from Turkey will have to lay down their arms before crossing the border. This, he added, to prevent further confrontation. Erdoğan added that "perhaps these militants will go to Iraq, perhaps to Syria, or perhaps to Europe, particularly the Scandinavian countries. I cannot know that. What's important to me is peace in my country. The thing I know is that when they go, the atmosphere of my country will change when we realize the economic boom in the east of the country brings to mind the Oslo's accord."* (www.ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2013/3/turkey4630.htm, 30 Mar 2013)

Further details on this truce between the Turkish government and the PKK are given by the Çandar of Lebanese Almonitor which seems reasonable:

*"The PKK's escalation of armed struggle had coincided with the declaration of a cease-fire between Iran and the Party of Free Life of Kurdistan (PJAK), the Iranian Kurdish wing of the PKK, in August 2011. PJAK fighters are now waiting in their trenches in the Kandil Mountains. Both the PJAK of Iran and the PYD of*

*Syria are under the PKK's rule with its supreme leader Abdullah Ocalan.*

*Therefore, the question to be asked is whether what is perceived as "peace" in Turkey is actually an armistice between Turkey and the PKK that will have the PJAK initiate action against Tehran and the PYD against Damascus, or whether Erdogan will not be satisfied until the full decommissioning of the PKK which would substantially signify the "ultimate peace."* ([Cengiz Çandar for Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse](#), posted on April 7, 2013)

## Imperialist powers move to isolate Iran

In addition the aim of this Turkish-Kurdish "Oslo Accord", is to achieve the imperialist policy of breaking Syria from Iran. A move that the Iranian government is very worried of it. Iran has accused Barack Obama of playing "a new game" to isolate Tehran after he brokered reconciliation between Turkey and Israel last week. On this point writes the Australian newspaper *The Times*:

*The Iranian government was caught off guard by the US President's diplomatic coup on Friday, when Israel and Turkey agreed to restore diplomatic ties after a three-year dispute. It provides a platform for greater co-operation on Syria, where Iran is propping up the Assad regime with cash and weapons.*

*Turkey is a key player in the effort to overthrow the Syrian President, and Israel could now be drawn closer into the loose coalition of powers seeking to depose Iran's closest ally in the Middle East.*

*Voicing Tehran's concerns, General Masoud Jazayeri, the deputy head of Iran's armed forces, denounced Mr Obama's initiative as "a US game to undermine the anti-Israel resistance". Attacking Turkey as a US stooge, he said Washington was seeking to usurp Iran's place in the Muslim world and corrupt the purity of Islam with an "American Islam". Tehran's discomfort will be viewed with some satisfaction in the White House as Mr Obama returned home yesterday following his first visit to Israel last week.* (The Times, March 26, 2013)

## No to a Turkey-PKK "Oslo Agreement"! No imperialist war against Iran!

As revolutionary Marxists we support the Syrian masses against Assad bloody regime and for this reason we approve of Turkey sending weapons to the rebels. At the same time we oppose Iran military support for the dictator. We oppose the new Oslo agreement that – like the Israeli-Palestinian accord in 1993 serves Israel and the other imperialists against the Palestinian masses – serves Turkey to continue the oppression of the Kurdish masses.

We also oppose the economic and military isolation of Iran and the imperialist policy that Turkey supports of breaking the Iranian-Syria military front against Israel and the other imperialists. In the case of an imperialist war against

Iran we do not politically support Iran's bourgeois-Islamist regime. However the interest of the international working class is to side militarily with Iran because the worse enemy is the imperialists who want to rob Iran of its oil and if they will defeat Iran the imperialists will install their own bloody dictator.

**Free Haifa adapts to bourgeois Islamism of Turkey's AKP ...**

This is very different policy than *Free Haifa* that supports politically and not only military the Islamist forces, and also supports the Turkish-Kurds Oslo accord as well. Namely the imperialist policy of breaking the Iran-Syria military alliance.

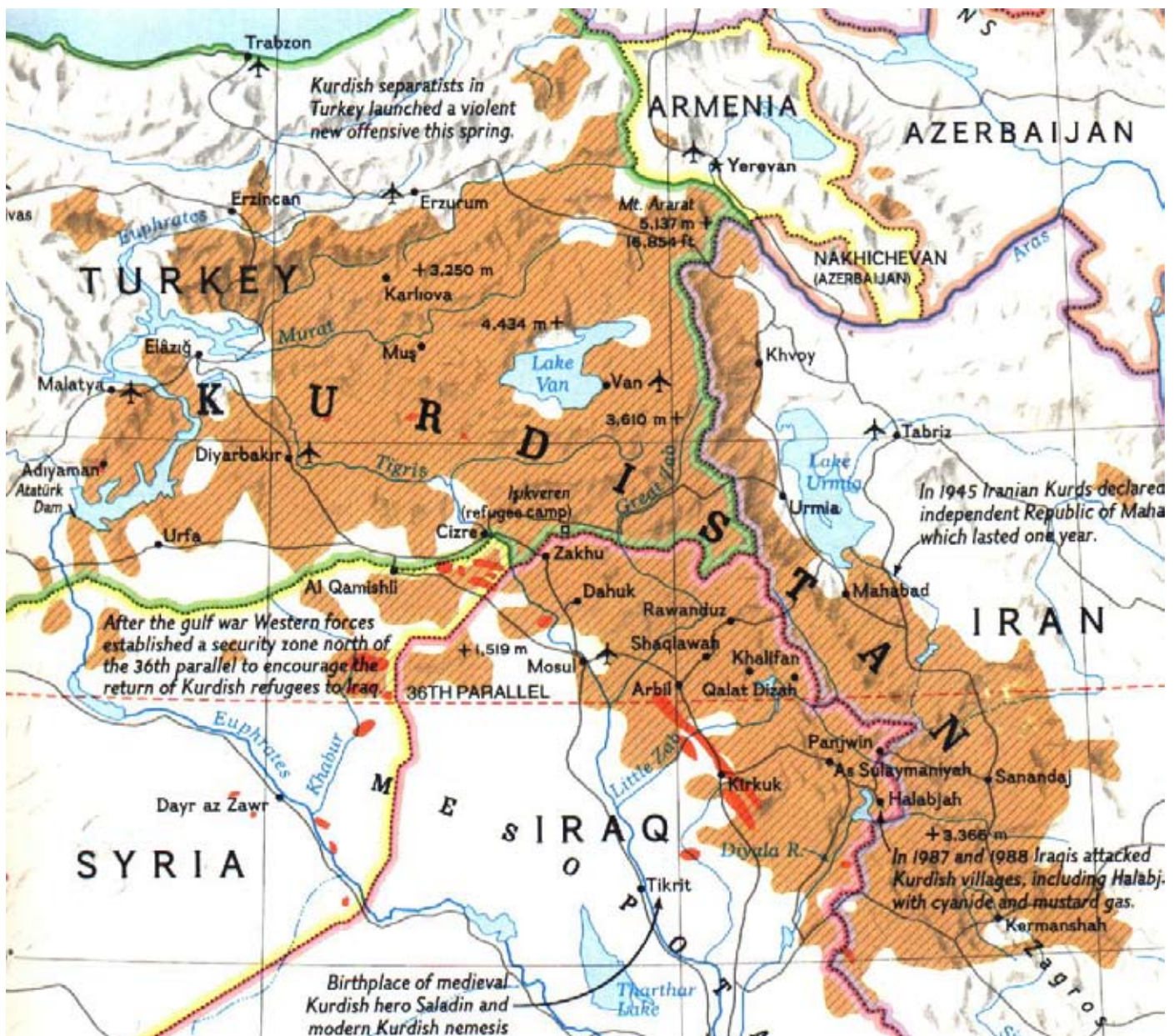
On February 22, 2013 on the Web pages of Free Haifa we find a position of political support for the Turkish government under the title: "Mabrook to our Kurdish and Turkish sisters and brothers for the Ceasefire!"

*It is a rare moment that we, in war torn Palestine, demonstrate to express international solidarity. But when, in 1999, Abdullah*

*Ocalan was expelled from Syria under Turkish pressure and arrested in Kenya, after an international man-hunt in which Israel played important role, we in Abna Al-Balad prepared the hard to make PKK flag, collected our comrades from Haifa and the Galilee and went to demonstrate in front of the Turkish embassy in Tel Aviv. ....The Kurdish people shared with the Palestinians the fate of a people whose very existence was denied, whose identity and national expression were criminalized and persecuted. Kurds and Palestinians were training and fighting side by side – and the Left PKK was admired by the Palestinian Left.*

*When the Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP), led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, came to power in 2002, it was not clear whether they want or can bring any real change. In ten years in power they changed many things: Turning Turkey from a conveyor of imperialist policies to a local power, developing the local economy, promoting democracy by cutting the straight jacket of army control.*

*But it was clear that there can't be real democracy in Turkey without recognition of the Kurdish people and their legitimate rights. And it was clear that there can't be any progress toward conciliation with the Kurds as long as Turkey is basically con-*



Kurdish areas in the Middle East

trolled by the military establishment, as the war against the Kurds served so well its interest to enslave all the people in Turkey....

Now, as the Arab Spring marches on from its initial festive two months to more than two years of prolonged bloody struggles, we have a lot to learn from the Kurdish struggle for liberation and from Turkey's struggle for democracy. You need a lot of dedication, courage, patience and wisdom to win – but first you should “put your eyes upon the price” and stick to your principles in spite of all the hardships and apparently insurmountable obstacles” (Free Haifa: Mabrook to our Kurdish and Turkish sisters and brothers for the Ceasefire!, 22.3.2013, <http://freehaifa.wordpress.com/2013/03/22/mabrook-to-our-kurdish-and-turkish-sisters-and-brothers-for-the-ceasefire/>)

This is political support for the capitalist oppressive government of Turkey and for the oppression of the Kurds and denial of their right of self determination in a free and red Kurdistan that can be formed only with the victory of a socialist revolution because the Kurds are divided among different capitalist states that oppose the right of self determination for the Kurds. By supporting this accord that is essentially not different from the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo accord, *Free Haifa* stands also with the imperialist's policy of isolating Iran.

#### ... as well as to bourgeois Islamism of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood

Turkey and Syria are not the only places where *Free Haifa* is supporting politically the Islamists. This is also the case in Egypt where *Free Haifa* supports politically Morsi and the Moslem Brotherhood on the ground that Morsi is a defender of the revolution against the army and the elements of the old regime.

On this *Free Haifa* wrote:

“When president Morsi was elected I wrote [a special post to welcome his elections](#). I called on all the forces of the Egyptian revolution to work together to dismantle the old order and build a new system that will serve the Egyptian people. ....

The final result was the sum of their collective efforts. On one side Morsi's “power grab” prevented the Judiciary from blocking the writing of the new constitution and throwing Egypt back to lack of any legitimate system. On the other side the street protests forced Morsi to give up his extra powers. The result was that all agreed to take part in the referendum about the proposed constitution.

The second and last round of vote in the referendum about Egypt's proposed constitution will be held tomorrow, Saturday, 22.12.2012. I don't know what will be the results of this referendum, but I can already say that the winners in the referendum are the Egyptian people.

If the majority votes to accept the proposed constitution, Egypt will have its first democratic constitution, won by revolutionary struggle and approved by democratic vote. It will establish the free Egyptian people as the source of legitimacy. Any deficiency in the constitution should later be amended by the same Egyptian people.

On the other side, if the constitution will be rejected it will also mean that the Egyptian people are exercising their right to decide their fate. They will continue their struggle for a better constitution, government, economic order and society.

With all the harsh words and violent eruptions of the last period

in Egypt, I would suggest that we all take some historic perspective by comparing Egypt's revolution to its predecessors like France 1789-99, Russia 1917 and Iran 1979. Two years on into these revolutions there was a bloody struggle that will make our Egyptian conflict look like a friendly conversation.” (Free Haifa: Supporting the Egyptian Referendum..., 22.12.2012, <http://freehaifa.wordpress.com/2012/12/22/supporting-the-egyptian-referendum/>)

Thus for *Free Haifa* supporting Morsi's constitution was a victory for the revolution. This is political support for the Moslem Brotherhood. The interest of the revolutionary masses was to oppose Morsi's Constituent Assembly by a revolutionary Constituent Assembly while at the same time forming workers and peasant soviets to prepare the working class led revolution.

#### Right and wrong historical analogies

*Free Haifa* is right of course to compare the Egyptian revolution to the French and the Russian revolution. However we should ask what is the role of the Moslem Brotherhood and to whom can we compare them in the French and Russian revolutions.

The Moslem Brotherhood comparable party in the French revolution was the constitutional Monarchists that stood against the revolutionary Jacobins in the same way Morsi stands today against the Egyptian workers peasants and poor. Of course revolutionaries socialist do not support politically the Salvation Front because we fight for a working class led revolution. In the case of the Russian revolution the counterpart to Morsi was the bourgeois Cadet party that had to be removed by the workers led revolution. Even if *Free Haifa* believe that the counter part was Kerensky it does not justify giving Morsi political support. The Bolsheviks defended Kerensky government against actual Kornilov coup d'état without giving Kornilov any political support. In addition it must be said that the army works with Morsi and does not organize at this time any coup against Morsi.

The history of this region knows other cases that left wing forces support politically the bourgeois and petit bourgeois forces. This happened in Palestine in 1936-9 uprising when the Palestinian Communist Party (PKP) supported politically the reactionary Islamist Mufti of Jerusalem instead of fighting for working class led revolution.

The other known time was in Iran where the left supported the Islamists. In the first case the British-Zionists were able to defeat the Palestinian uprising because of lack of a revolutionary leadership as the Mufti and the Arabs kings were afraid of losing control over the uprising. In the second case when the Islamists came to power in Iran in 1979, they killed the left in the following years. This is the result of the popular front politics of the reformists and nationalists with their theory of two stage revolution. In reality the first stage is politically supporting the anti working class forces and the second stage is the destruction of the revolutionary movement.

While revolutionaries are looking for a united front with *Free Haifa*, we also say clearly: It is necessary for *Free Haifa* to break with its reformist and nationalist tradition in order to play a revolutionary role in the coming Third Intifada. ■

## The reconciliation between Israel and Turkey is aimed against Syria, Iran and the Palestinians!

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 25.3.2013

Obama's visit to Israel is part of the US strategy against the Arab Revolution in Syria, Egypt, and Tunisia and at the same time the plundering of Iran's oil. He came to Israel to build and reinforce the military alliance between Israel, Turkey and Jordan.

The news agency *The Associated Press* reports about the discussions amongst the imperialists leading circles to intervene in Syria in order to contain the Revolution in Syria from spreading to the whole region:

*The top U.S. military commander in Europe said Tuesday that NATO is conducting contingency planning for possible military involvement in Syria and American forces would be prepared if called upon by the United Nations and member countries.*

*The Syrian civil war marked an ignominious two-year milestone this week with no sign that President Bashar Assad is close to giving up power. Adm. James Stavridis, commander of U.S. European Command, told a Senate panel that the United States is "looking at a variety of operations."*

*"We are prepared if called upon to be engaged," Stavridis told the Senate Armed Services Committee.*

*Stavridis, who is retiring soon, also said the option of assisting the opposition forces in Syria in ways that would break the deadlock are being actively explored by NATO members. A resolution from the U.N. Security Council and agreement among the alliance's 28 members would be required before NATO assumes a military role in Syria, he said.*

*"The Syrian situation continues to become worse and worse and worse - 70,000 killed, a million refugees pushed out of the country, probably 2.5 million internally displaced (people)," Stavridis said. "No end in sight to a vicious civil war."*

*The commander said discussions within the NATO member countries have focused on imposing a no-fly zone, providing lethal support to the Syrian opposition forces and imposing arms embargoes.*

*Armed Services Chairman Carl Levin, D-Mich., asked whether there is any consideration of targeting Syria's air defenses. Stavridis simply said yes. (CBC News: NATO planning for possible Syria missions, official says, March 19, 2013, [http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202\\_162-57575123/nato-planning-for-possible-syria-missions-official-says/](http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57575123/nato-planning-for-possible-syria-missions-official-says/))*

*The Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine) and our comrades in the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) support the mass revolutionary movement against Assad even when it is led by the Islamists, armed by Saudi Arabia and Qatar. At the same time we oppose any imperialist military intervention and those who calls for such imperialist intervention. In a case of an imperialist intervention we will call on the masses to fight in two fronts. One against Assad and the other one against the imperialists.*

### US imperialism tries to rebuild the reactionary alliance of Turkey and Israel

To free the hands of the Israeli army Obama has to get the support of the Palestinian Authority (PA). Thus he pushes Abu Mazen to further subordinate to Israel and to return to the so called "peace negotiations". This explains why Barack Obama has urged the PA to drop the demand for a freeze in Israeli settlement building as a precondition for "peace"



Contingent of RKOB and the youth organization RED REVOLUTION at a Palestine Solidarity Demonstration in Vienna on 19.11.2012

talks. Obama declared that he is committed to a two-state solution, but said at the same time that both sides may have to "push through" disagreements. In simple words that Israel will be allowed to expand the settlements and the PA will continue to repress the opposition to the Zionist repression and land grabbing and give up even on token resistance.

Obama has a long record of opposing even the mini Palestinian state, the caricature of the right of self determination of the Palestinians. In 2011, Obama declared that any peace agreement must take into account Israel's security needs and cannot be imposed from the outside. In other words: if the PA is dreaming of even a mini state on the borders of 1967', the US opposes it as the settlements are security needs of Israel.

When the United Nations General Assembly granted the Palestinians non-member observer status in November 2012, President Obama and his administration stood up against the resolution and made said that the recognition of the Palestinian status was detrimental to peace. US Ambassador to the United Nations Susan stated: "*we will continue to oppose firmly any and all unilateral actions in international bodies or treaties that circumvent or prejudice the very outcomes that can only be negotiated, including Palestinian statehood.*" (Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Susan E. Rice, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Following UN General Assembly Vote on Palestinian Observer State Status Resolution, November 29, 2012, <http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/201226.htm>)

Many Palestinians understand that Obama is the supporter of the Zionists and an enemy of the Palestinians. The Palestinians do not trust Abu Mazen. As a gesture that reflects the feeling of most Palestinians militants fired rockets into Israel from Gaza during Obama visit.

Under Obama's pressure Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu apologized to Turkey's leader for a deadly 2010 raid on a Turkish ship. This is a step to improve the relations between US imperialism and its allies and servants aimed against Syria, Iran and the Palestinians.

Israel Prime Minister Netanyahu has been seeking a war against Iran for long time. However Israel does not dare to go to a war against Iran by itself and so far the US has been very reluctant to go to another war. The US is a decaying power that cannot play anymore the world super cop. Already in Libya the US played a minor role and in Mali even smaller role.

The reconciliation between Israel and Turkey open a new option before Israel to join forces with Turkey, Jordan, Saudi Arabia to intervene military in Syria, to attack Iran and the Palestinians.

### **Öcalan betrays the Kurdish Liberation Struggle**

To free the hands of the Turkish army, the Turkish capitalists need a cease fire with the oppressed Kurds. The jailed Kurdish guerrillas' leader, Abdullah Öcalan, has used the Kurdish new year celebrations to call a ceasefire in the 30-year war with the Turkish state in the biggest boost to an incipient peace process in years.

"*The weapons should fall silent, politics should speak,*" said a statement on 21.3. from Öcalan broadcast on Kurdish TV, as hundreds of thousands of Kurds thronged the streets of the south-eastern city of Diyarbakir, their capital, for the

Newroz New Year celebrations.

The Öcalan statement added that the estimated 3,500 PKK fighters inside Turkey should leave the country for their strongholds in the Qandil Mountains of northern Iraq. "*This is not the end. This is the beginning of a period,*" said the declaration.

The PKK released eight Turkish hostages who had been held captive in northern Iraq for up to two years. Sadullah Ergin, the Turkish justice minister, told reporters on Monday that he expected all three steps to be successfully completed by the end of 2013. If the PKK heed their leader's call, the entire organisation's estimated 3,500 fighters based in Turkey will have withdrawn by August.

Öcalan stressed in his peace roadmap that the Kurds do not demand a separate independent state, but only judicial changes that would guarantee Turkey's Kurdish population cultural rights.

In simple words the PKK leadership has betrayed the struggle of the Kurds by giving up on the right of self determination of the Kurds who are dividing in different countries and have the right to a Kurdish republic.

### **The working class led by a revolutionary party must take power!**

Once again it is clear that whether in the struggle of the Palestinians or the Kurds for self determination, the bourgeois and petit bourgeois forces can not lead to a victory and they will capitulate to the imperialists.

To win the struggle against the imperialist butchers and their servants the working class, the only consistent revolutionary class – the proletariat – must lead the struggle at the head of the suffering masses. For the working class to be able to lead the masses a revolutionary Bolshevik party must be formed. A party that will fight for the right of self determination for the Palestinians and the Kurds, using working class revolutionary methods that will lead to a socialist federation of the Middle East which will include Socialist Kurdistan in all the regions the Kurds are majority and a Palestinian workers state from the river to the sea.

At this point it is necessary to expose the imperialist plans and mobilize the workers and the masses against these plans. However if Israel, Turkey Jordan and other servants of the imperialists will attack Iran it will be necessary to stand with Iran in the war without giving the regime any political support and for the workers and the masses to take power as soon as possible in order to defeat the imperialists. In the countries that will attack Iran the workers should do everything possible to sabotage the war efforts of the Imperialists and their servants.

*Throw the imperialists out of the Middle East: Hands of Iran and Syria!*

*Victory to the Syrian Revolution: For a Workers and Peasant Republic based on Councils and Militias of the Masses!*

*For the right of self determination of the Palestinians from the river to the sea!*

*For a Workers and Falahain government by the Palestinians with the support of Jewish and immigrant workers from the River to the Sea!*

*For the right of self determination of the Kurdish nation!*

**For a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!**

**For the Fifth Workers International! ■**



# Solidarity with the Hunger Strike in Greece! Forward to a Revolutionary Migrant Movement!

**Activists of the Workers Movement: Force the Trade Unions, SYRIZA and KKE  
to support the Migrants Demands!**

*By Nina Gunić, April 2013*

**H**undreds of migrants are in hunger strike in Athens since 6th April this year. In addition to the hunger strikers in Greece's capital city, migrants in several reception centers in the whole country are joining the strike. One can say that up to 2.000 migrants are actually on hunger strike. They are not mainly demanding the right to stay but rather to have the right to pass through Greece and to stay in another country in Europe. Greece is the main route for migrants to enter the European Union. Out of 11.5 million people living in Greece, about 1.2 million are migrants. 90% of the flow of migrants coming into the EU passes through Greece. They are often attacked by police forces as well as fascist thugs, mainly organized by the Golden Dawn or their sympathizers.

Since several months the Greek government built "reception centers" which are nothing else but prisons for the migrants. The facilities are very poor and lots of migrants are put together on small place. The capitalist government keeps them isolated and then deport them back to their homeland or another country outside the EU under police control. This procedure happens without any sort of trial, any sort of hearing in front of a judge not to mention any jurors. Although a bourgeois court would not change the situation for most of the migrants compared to now it shows nevertheless that even the minimal elements of "democracy" which one can find in the capitalist system are not open for migrants. We don't even have the possibility get the illusion of a "democracy" as the capitalist system shows his face very open and aggressive towards us and our rights.

Two years ago there was as well a hunger strike of about 300 migrants in Greece, mainly coming from Northern Africa. Their strike took place at the same time as the first wave of revolutionary situations occurred in the Arab world. Many migrants who are working and living in Greece for more than seven years are now threatened with deportation. The Greek ruling class tries to justify this move with the explanation of the deep economical crisis. In such a situation, they say, Greece has to get rid of the migrants. They attack the poorest of our class brothers and sisters, the migrants without any papers to stay.

It becomes obvious how ridiculous their arguments are if one looks to the reality: the real problems are the super-rich in Greece and the other capitalist parasites. The 900 families, who run merchant freight, control 15% of this sector worldwide. 20 Billion Euros are recorded as money, which were openly transferred out of Greece by the super-rich since the crisis hit the country in late 2009. The amount of unrecorded wealth that was brought away from the tax authorities is of course much higher. The ruling class attacked the migrants living under the worst conditions whilst the super-rich are saving their billions of Euro. Furthermore the ship-owners are not paying any taxes for their profits and the volume of their tax-free earn-

ings reached officially 112 billion Euros! Let us recall that at the same time when Greece's public debt stood at 280 billion. The wealth of only the 12 most super rich families in Greece add up to about 13 billion Euros. This shows once more the absurdity of the capitalist logic and the need to smash the capitalist system.

As in many other capitalist countries, migrants form an essential part of the working class – in particular its lower strata. In their huge majority they are nationally oppressed and super-exploited. They are discriminated in their citizen rights, their right to use their mother language in public administration and education, they get lower wages for the same amount of work and are discriminated in their access to social service and pensions. This is why any attempt of migrants to resist and fight for their rights must be supported. This is why the RCIT calls for a revolutionary migrant movement.

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* demands:

*\* Open the borders for all migrants and give them immediate possibility to pass through the country or to stay as long as they want with all democratic rights!*

*\* Full and immediate citizenship for all illegal migrants without any bureaucratic obstacles!*

*\* Stop any deportation! Dissolve all deportation camps and all reception centers!*

*\* Equal pay for equal work for all migrants, as well as for women, youth and other oppressed!*

*\* For the abolition of the official state languages! Equal treatment and equal supply of languages of migrants in the schools, courts, public administration and in the media! Free and voluntary offer for all to learn the languages of other national groups in the country!*

*\* For the building of armed self-defense units from the migrants and the workers movement against the attacks of the fascists of Golden Dawn and others!*

*\* Immediate expropriation of the nearly fully tax-free super-rich families!*

*\* Forward to an indefinite general strike! The one and two-days strikes are not sufficient to shatter the ruling class!*

*\* For the building of action committees and strike councils to build for and coordinate during an indefinite general strike! Forward to the building of armed militias to be ready to defend the strike against any attacks of the ruling class which will come as sure as sparks fly upwards! Forward to a workers government in order to expropriate the capitalist class and to open the road towards socialism! This can only be reached via the armed uprising, i.e. the socialist revolution!*

*\* For the building of a revolutionary migrant movement! For the right of caucus for migrants in the unions and the organizations of the workers' movement!*

It is most urgent that activists of the workers movement mobilize for the support of the migrants. In addition to

solidarity demonstrations and other actions, they should organize pressure on the bureaucratic leaderships of the trade unions and the two main bourgeois workers parties – SYRIZA and KKE – to organize actions in solidarity with the migrants. It is a shame that these reformist forces – which are dominated by the labor bureaucracy and the small aristocratic upper layer of the working class – ignore the migrant's demands and adapt in one way or another to Greek chauvinism.

We demand from the leaderships of SYRIZA, the KKE and all trade unions to mobilize the workers for the fight to implement these demands! If you present yourselves as representatives of our class, than prove it in reality by your deeds!

As revolutionary communists we know that to fulfill all these demands we need to challenge and overthrow the bureaucratic leaderships of the trade unions and the bourgeois workers parties in Greece like SYRIZA and the KKE (whose trade union faction is called PAME).

The task of both Greek and migrant revolutionaries is to fight for such a perspective amongst the migrant as well as the workers movements. Revolutionaries should unite in an

authentic revolutionary communist organization in order to advance the struggle to build a new revolutionary workers party! Such a party would lead the fight of our class consistently against the class enemy and its reformist lackeys at the top of the workers movement!

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## Cyprus: General Strike against EU Diktat and Austerity Plans! Down with EU-Colonialism! Workers in Cyprus: Exit the EU, expropriate the banks and corporations and fight for a workers government!

*Resolution by the RCIT and the ISL (Israel/Occupied Palestine), 28.3.2013*

1. The recent EU/IMF bailout agreement with Cypriot government is nothing but an imperialist program of financial enslavement of the working people of Cyprus. Its immediate consequences are mass sackings of thousands of workers, privatizations and the de facto confiscation of pension and provident funds. It will deepen the capitalist crisis in the country and throw huge masses into poverty. It shows once more that the European Union and the Eurogroup are nothing but imperialist instruments. The Cypriot working class must mobilize for a General Strike against the bailout agreement and its consequences. They must fight for a program of expropriation of the banks, corporations and super-rich. The European workers movement must mobilize in solidarity with the people in Cyprus and fight against the Troika diktat!

2. The bailout agreement implies draconic measures for the Mediterranean island and the mass of its 880.000 citizens. It will lead to the immediate shutdown of its second biggest bank – the *Popular Bank of Cyprus*, known as *Laiki*. The bank's 8.000 employees are threatened with sacking. Similarly the country's biggest bank – the *Bank of Cyprus* – will see massive restructuring which threatens the jobs of many of its 11.000 bank workers. In addition, the state will sale all three Cypriot banks' operations in Greece. In addition, experts estimate that many middle class people with a deposit of more than 100.000 Euro will lose about 30-40% of their savings. Furthermore and mostly ignored by the bourgeois media is the fact that the pension and provident funds will also be massively affected by this anti-people conspiracy of the Troika/Government. This is because the so called *Deposit Protection Scheme* does not cover deposits held by legal entities, such as provident and pension funds, funds

held by semi-governmental organizations and municipalities and other collective investment schemes. Finally, the conservative government of President Nicos Anastasiades already announces that "*difficult times are ahead of us*", which means nothing but more austerity, higher unemployment and privatizations for the Cypriot working class.

3. As usual the bourgeois politicians, business leaders and their corrupted "experts" claim that Cyprus "*lived above its means*". This is the typical and cynical lie of people who are much richer than we – the working people – have ever been. Surely, the small class of Cypriot super-rich as well as the Russian, British and other European Oligarchs profited from the country's blown up banking system. It is well known that many Western and Eastern corporations utilized Cyprus as a tax haven. However, these oligarchs always find a way to avoid paying the costs of the crisis. According to a report of Germany's leading conservative newspaper "*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*" from 24.3.2013, billions of Euro were transferred out of the country in the days and weeks before the bailout agreement!

4. As a matter of fact, Cyprus is just the next imploding element in an ever weakening capitalist chain. Similar like Portugal, Ireland, Greece, Spain and Italy – which were forced to sign draconic austerity measures in the last three years – Cyprus is a victim of the Great Recession of capitalism. The country faces a massive de-accumulation of capital. In the last years its investments declined by minus -9.7% (2009), -4.9% (2010), -13.1% (2011), -22.3% (2012) and this de-accumulation is predicted to continue by -23.7% (2013) and -11.6% (2014)! The government's indebtedness to financial capital grew dramatically from 48.9% (2008) to 96.7% (2013) of the country's annual output (measured in GDP).

As a result official unemployment exploded from 5.5% (2009) to 12.1% (2012).

5. The simple truth is that Cyprus is a small, semi-colonial country. It was a colony of the Ottoman Empire for three centuries and became a British colony in 1878. Cyprus occupation by British imperialism lasted till 1960. Since then it had been formally independent but in fact it is dominated and exploited by imperialist monopolies and Great Powers. EU and Russian imperialists used the country as a tax haven, now they condemn it for this and subjugate them to a draconic austerity program. This shows once more that the European Union is an imperialist alliance dominated by the monopolies and the Great Powers. They oppress and exploit the poorer, semi-colonial countries of which Cyprus is just the latest victim. The imperialist European Union must be smashed and replaced by the *United Socialist States of Europe*. In semi-colonial countries like Cyprus the working class should call for the *exit from the EU* – as part of the anti-imperialist struggle – and combine such a perspective with the struggle for a *workers government*.

6. The reformist *AKEL* – an ex-Stalinist bourgeois workers party which is affiliated with the *European Left Party* – plays a particular shameful role. It's then General Secretary, Dimitris Christofias, was elected President of Cyprus in February 2008 and kept this position till last month. The *AKEL* government – despite its formal communist credentials – administered for five years Cyprus crisis-ridden capitalism in service of the domestic and foreign monopoly capitalists. It didn't take a single measure to expropriate these oligarchs, to nationalize the banking system or to issue a public works program in order to liquidate the dramatically increasing unemployment and to avoid the present financial collapse.

7. Even now, as an opposition party, the *AKEL* leadership continues to demonstrate its loyalty to the capitalists system. In the decisive vote on the banking restructuring program on 22.3., its deputies in parliament failed to vote against this bill. Their abstention saved the Troika/government austerity plan to close *Laika*, "restructure" the *Bank of Cyprus*, sack thousands of banking workers and endanger the pension and provident funds. The *AKEL*'s 19 deputies could have stopped this draconic attack if they – and the 5 social democratic *EDEK* deputies – would have voted against this bill. In a public statement, *AKEL* leaders justified their betrayal as a "position of responsibility". They stated: "*Wanting to express on the one hand our disagreement with the Government's handling and the proposals that were put forth before us extortionately, but also on the other hand not to lead the country into bankruptcy and weaken the negotiating position of the President we abstained on the specific bill.*" (Press Office C.C. of *AKEL*, Cyprus, *Akel on Yesterday's Decision* by the House of Representatives for the Resolution of the Banking Sector, 23rd March 2013, <http://www.solidnet.org/cyprus-akel/3693-akel-cyprus-akel-on-yesterdays-decision-by-the-house-of-representatives-for-the-resolution-of-the-banking-sector-en>) This shows once more that the reformist labor bureaucracy – irrespective if it wears a social-democratic or a Stalinist coat – is inextricably linked with the capitalist system.

8. All over the world, socialists must welcome the spontaneous wave of mass protests which has erupted in the Cyprus. Since days hundreds and thousands of workers – in particular members of the banking union *ETVK* –, pensioners as well as school and university students dem-

onstrate in the streets of Nicosia. The protesters – many with Cypriot flags in their hands – shout "*Hands off Provident Funds*" and "*Provident Funds belong to our Children*". They hold placards demanding "*EU: Hands off Cyprus!*" and "*Troika Out!*". A graffiti scribbled in red on the building adjacent to parliament read "*they invest, they lose, they lend out (and) you pay*". Another one talked of "*robbers in a suit*". Last week the protests even forced the parliament to reject the initial agreement and not a single deputy dared to vote in favor of the agreement!

9. How can the workers, pensioners and youth win against the Troika/government assault? The *RCIT* and the *ISL* consider it as the central task of the hour to organize an indefinite *GENERAL STRIKE* including the *OCCUPATION* of banks, central squares and government buildings. Only such a drastic measure of resistance can stop the draconic attacks! Many banking workers already call their union to organize a strike. Workers must tell the *AKEL* leadership that their demand for a referendum on the bailout agreement is useless since it will take time and the government and the capitalist media will use this time to manipulate the people and create a sense of accomplished facts which supposedly cannot be changed anymore.

10. The trade union as well as the *AKEL* leadership will only organize protest reluctantly, if at all. Therefore it is decisive to build local *ACTION COMMITTEES* in the trade unions, enterprises, banks, schools and neighborhoods. These Action Committees must elect delegates and coordinate themselves on national level. For a *NATIONAL CONFERENCE* of delegates of Action Committees! These rank and file committees must pressurize the union leadership to organize a general strike. But if these bureaucrats fail to do so, the workers should go ahead without them.

11. Banking workers should use their skills and knowledge to *OPEN THE BANK ACCOUNTS* and inform the public about the hidden wealth as well as the secret financial transfers of the oligarchs.

12. The *RCIT* and the *ISL* say that the central demands of the struggle today are:

\* *Down with the Troika/government bailout agreement!*

\* *No closures, no sackings! Nationalize the banking sector and centralize them to a single state bank under workers control!*

\* *Hands off the pension and provident funds!*

\* *Expropriate the wealth of the domestic and foreign super-rich!*

The struggle for such immediate demands have to combined with the following perspective

\* *Expropriate the capitalists! For a Workers Government based on Councils and armed militias!*

\* *Down with EU-Colonialism! For Cyprus' Exit of the EU!*

13. The European workers movement must rally to support the Cypriot brothers and sisters. For *solidarity actions!* For *mass mobilizations in the whole of Europe against the Troika diktat!* Smash the imperialist European Union – For the *United Socialist States of Europe*.

14. The working class in Cyprus has been terrible sold out by the labor bureaucracy of *AKEL* and the trade unions. Similarly the workers movement in the whole of Europe suffers from the repeatedly betrayal by the social democratic and (ex-)Stalinist bureaucrats. This is why building authentic *revolutionary workers parties* and a *Fifth Workers International* based on a communist programme is the major task ahead of all revolutionary workers and youth. The *RCIT* and the *ISL* are dedicated to this task. Join us to meet this challenge! ■

# Fight the Discrimination against the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community

## Reactionary Forces mobilize in France against legislation of same sex marriage

*Resolution by the ISL (Israel/Occupied Palestine) and the RCIT, 28.3.2013*

Since 2008 we live in the midst of the worst economic crisis of the world capitalist system which takes place within the historical decay of the capitalist system. The masses are seeking a way out of the crisis. In the case of France Hollande's Socialist Party and its allies were elected with high expectations by the workers and lower classes voters that this government will find solutions to the woes of the rotten economic capitalist system. This of course was an illusion, that will be corrected by the masses who will learn from their own experience.

### The "Socialist" Government and the unemployment in France

Unemployment in France stood in March 2008 at 7.5% and has grown since then. It has reached 10.6% in the fourth quarter of 2012 from 10.3% in the third quarter of 2012. Historically, from 1996 until 2012, France Unemployment Rate averaged 9.46%, reaching an all time high of 11.2% in March of 1997 and a low of 7.5% in March of 2008. In France, the unemployment rate measures the number of people actively looking for a job as a percentage of the labor force. Unemployment Rate in France is reported by the INSEE. As an appendix to this statement readers can find a chart with historical data for France Unemployment Rate.

The social imperialist government of Hollande, that mistakenly thought that an imperialist war against Mali will increase its popularity, is unable to find any solution to the economic crisis. This is because the crisis of the system is rooted in the power of the monopolies and the falling rate of profit. No bourgeois party and no bourgeois workers party – like the French Socialist party – that protects the capitalists can do much about it. The only solution to the economic crisis is the overthrow of the capitalist relations of production that suffocate the further development of the forces of production. For this a working class at the head of the suffering masses socialist revolution is needed and the Socialist party is a counter revolutionary party, not a revolutionary workers party.

When Hollande "socialist" party took office in May 2012, most voters supported the idea of gay marriage and few expected any bashing of gays and Lesbians. Yet the failure of the reformist counter revolutionary "socialist" government, to take any measure to curve rising unemployment – for example by public work with equal pay under workers control, or shorter working week without any cuts in pay and social benefits – have given the reactionaries new ammunition which they use against the gays and Lesbians. The reactionaries need in situations like today a scapegoat that can be Moslems, or Gays and Lesbians, to divert the anger of the masses away from the capitalist class. In the past it the scapegoat were the Jews. August Babel – the historic leader of the German workers movement before 1914

– is on record for saying that "*Anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools*". Today Islamophobia and homophobia have replaced Anti-Semitism in the arsenal of the reactionaries.

### The Reactionary Attacks

The pro-capitalist reactionaries who do not have any program capable of dealing with the rising unemployment, demagogically raises the slogan: "*Work not Gay's marriage*" as if the economic crisis can be solved by discrimination against Gays and Lesbians or if the conservative and reactionaries have a better program than the Socialist party to deal with the rising unemployment!

Gays and Lesbians are not a class with a different mode of production than the capitalist. All classes have members who are Gays and Lesbians. Discrimination against Gays and Lesbians will not disappear with the legalization of the same sex marriage or the legalization of Surrogacy (which exists in countries like Israel but not in France). Like many other issue in this society the legislation of Surrogacy is beneficial in particular to middle and upper class couples, and it has a strong element of exploitation of women from the lower classes mainly in poor countries.

However, to reactionary protests against the legalization of Surrogacy in the imperialist states is part of their agenda of discrimination against the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community (LGBT). The question of surrogate mothers is not essentially different from any aspect of exploitation and super-exploitation of women. Marxists do not tell women "*Do not work for the capitalists or for a middle class family*" as they do not tell the workers in the semi colonies: "*Do not work for the imperialists*". They rather say: "*work and fight for a socialist revolution - that will expropriate the factories, without compensation under workers control*". This will end the exploitation. Workers revolution will put an end to exploitation of surrogate mothers as well. For now, until the revolution in a case of a conflict between the surrogate mother and the buyers – for example in a case the surrogate mother changes her mind and wants to keep the child – we stand of course with the surrogate mother.

The legislation of the same sex marriage allows middle class Gay and Lesbians couple in the imperialist states to live the life of a "normal family". As Jean-Jacques Urvoas, the Socialist Party president of the parliamentary law commission, stated in an interview in *Le Monde* (15 January 2013): "*It is mistaken to accuse us of attacking the family when what we want is to make all families secure.*" (Quoted in *Le Bolchévique* No. 203 March 2013, published by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the ICL)

The *French Communist Party* (PCF) – which is supporting the imperialist war on Mali – is in opposition to surrogate parenthood. Surrogate parenthood currently carries a fine of 45,000 Euros and a three-year prison sentence. It was

strongly denounced by Justice Minister Christiane Taubira and Marie-Georges Buffet (PCF) during the parliamentary debates on gay marriage.

Surrogate parenthood is also attacked by feminists in the *New Anticapitalist Party* (NPA). These NPA feminists argue that it commercializes women's bodies: "*Giving power to a third party over a woman's pregnancy is a threat to the right to abortion. Moreover, the ability to alienate her body by a contract opens the door to the legalization of prostitution*" (Alexandra Kleber and Léa Guichard: *La gestation pour autrui: ventre à louer?* in: *Tout Est à Nous! La Revue* magazine, April 2011, [http://www.npa2009.org/content/la-gestation-pour-autrui%E2%80%89-ventre-%C3%A0-louer%E2%80%89;our translation](http://www.npa2009.org/content/la-gestation-pour-autrui%E2%80%89-ventre-%C3%A0-louer%E2%80%89;our%20translation))

### LGBT in Israel

In Israel the Zionist state is propagandizing the rights of the LGBT as supposedly a proof that Israel is a true and only democracy in the Middle East.

The racist nature of the Zionist state was revealed when on June 10, 2011, a couple of one Jewish man and one Catholic man immigrated to Israel. ("*made Aliyah*" as the Zionist call it). This couple was the first same-sex, opposite religion married couple to request joint Aliyah Status, although opposite sex married couples of opposite religions receive joint Aliyah as a matter of course. The Jewish man quickly received citizenship but the decision of citizenship for his husband was delayed by the Ministry of the Interior despite the clause in the law saying the spouse of the Jewish immigrant must also be granted citizenship. On August 10, 2011, the Ministry of the Interior granted citizenship to the non-Jewish husband as required by the *Law of Return*. (See on this Ilan Lior: *Israel refuses citizenship for gay man married to Jewish immigrant. The Law of Return is being put to the test by couple from United States*, Haaretz 28.6.2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/israel-refuses-citizenship-for-gay-man-married-to-jewish-immigrant-1.369936> and Raphael Ahren: *Ministry grants citizenship to gay spouse of immigrant. But questions remain whether move sets precedent*, Haaretz 2.9.2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/anglo-file/ministry-grants-citizenship-to-gay-spouse-of-immigrant-1.382066>) This case reveals the full essence of racist Zionism: Look what is their attitude toward non-Arab Christians and toward Palestinians whether of the same sex or the opposite sex. The Palestinian citizen of Israel cannot bring his/her spouse from the West Bank or Gaza to Israel. On January 12 2012 the Israeli Supreme Court guided by Israeli racism upheld the law banning Palestinian family unification (Tomer Zarchin, Jack Houry and Jonathan Lis: *Supreme Court upholds ban on Palestinians living with Israeli spouses*, Haaretz 12.1.2012, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/supreme-court-upholds-ban-on-palestinians-living-with-israeli-spouses-1.406812>)

### Equal right to be cannon fodder

Given the background of the new historic period of capitalist crisis, the rivalry between the ruling classes around the world – and in particular between the Great Powers – is rising. As a result, they need a broader pool to recruit new soldiers. Therefore it is very important for the imperialists

to recruit Gays and Lesbians to their armies and Israel can provide a very clear example to this interest. Today 4 of the 5 members of the UN Security Council (United States, United Kingdom, France, and Russia), the Republic of China (Taiwan), Australia, Israel, South Africa, Argentina, and all NATO members excluding Turkey enlist gays and Lesbians. This is one important factor what is behind the move to legitimize same sex marriage.

In Israel since 1993 homosexuals have been allowed to serve openly in the military, including special units. This is a change compared to the initial policy, which tended to view homosexuality as a mental illness. Until 1993 the commanders had to report to the military psychiatric department about homosexual soldiers, despite the fact that psychological and psychiatric organizations in Israel and worldwide had, since the 1970s, stopped viewing homosexuality as a mental illness. In 1993, the Israeli Parliament revised the military rules so that gay, lesbian and bisexual Israelis can serve – at least officially – openly and on an equal footing with their heterosexual counterparts.

Similarly in France homosexuals are allowed to serve openly. *The Independent* wrote on this in 5 May 2000:

"*France's Armed forces accept homosexuals into its ranks provided they do not attempt to "convert" others. A defence ministry spokesman was quoted: "We have no intention of introducing recruiting criteria that would take into account the personal practices of individuals."* (Quoted in [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sexual\\_orientation\\_and\\_military\\_service](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sexual_orientation_and_military_service))

In France and other imperialist states the need of the ruling class for educated middle class gays and Lesbians changed their attitude to the service of homosexual in the army. In the case of Israel the ruling class decides that gays and Lesbian can be trusted to oppress the Palestinians like any other good Zionist.

### Discrimination in the Workplace

Discrimination against working class Lesbians and gays, many of them do not dare to come out of the cupboard, is hardly effected by the offered legislation. Homosexual and transgender individuals continue to face widespread discrimination in the workplace. *The Williams Institute on Sexual Orientation Law and Public Policy* aggregated a number of surveys to determine the extent to which gay and transgender workers experience discrimination and harassment in the workplace. (See *Bias: Consistent Evidence of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Discrimination*, June 2007, <http://www2.law.ucla.edu/williamsinstitute/publications/Bias%20in%20the%20Workplace.pdf>)

Their findings illustrate that discrimination and harassment are pervasive:

- \* 15% to 43% of gay and transgender workers have experienced some form of discrimination on the job.

- \* 8% to 17% of gay and transgender workers report being passed over for a job or fired because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.

- \* 10% to 28% received a negative performance evaluation or were passed over for a promotion because they were gay or transgender.

- \* 7% to 41% of gay and transgender workers were verbally or physically abused or had their workplace vandalized. Straight coworkers also attest to the presence of discrimination and harassment against LGBT workers. The Wil-

liams Institute’s report found that 12% to 30% of straight workers witnessed discrimination in the workforce based on sexual orientation.

Controlled experiments have found consistent evidence of workplace discrimination as well. When researchers send two sets of matched resumes to major employers and one indicates the applicant is gay, employers warmly receive “gay” resumes far less often than “straight” resumes. Seven out of eight of these studies confirmed the existence of antigay employment discrimination.

Transgender individuals encounter workplace discrimination and harassment at even higher rates than gays and lesbians. The *National Center for Transgender Equality* and the *National Gay and Lesbian Task Force* released a comprehensive study on transgender discrimination that revealed near universal problems at the workplace:

\* 90% of transgender individuals have encountered some form of harassment or mistreatment on the job.

\* 47% of workers have experienced an adverse job outcome because they are transgender. This includes:

\* 44% who were passed over for a job

\* 23% who were denied a promotion

\* And 26% who were fired because they were transgender (See Jaime M. Grant, Lisa A. Mottet, Justin Tanis: *Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey, 2011*, pp. 51-53, [http://www.thetaskforce.org/downloads/reports/reports/ntds\\_full.pdf](http://www.thetaskforce.org/downloads/reports/reports/ntds_full.pdf))

Discrimination and especially in places of work whether because of gender, color of the skin, ethnic background, nationality or sexual ordination is very beneficial for the capitalists as it save them money because of unequal pay, and it serves them politically as it helps them to divide the workers.

### Our Program

The ISL and the RCIT fight for the unity of the masses, led by the working class. Such a unity can only be built on the basis of equality and the struggle against any form of discrimination based on gender, age, nationality or sexual ordination. Discrimination of one sector of the working class

and oppressed masses is an attack on all of us. It must be therefore rejected by all of us!

We therefore oppose any discrimination against LBGT. We call on the working class in France and other parts of the world to defeat the reactionary mobilization of the right wing against the LGBT as an attack against the unity of the working class and the struggle against the capitalist system.

Those who whip up incitement against people with a non-heterosexual orientation are bourgeois forces, media and religious institutions. They fear a threat to the institution of the family. For the same reason, they also suppress the free sexual development of young people through laws that allow them sexual contact only above a certain age.

It is the social relations of oppression against women, young people and people with a non-heterosexual sexual orientation, which open the doors for violence and abuse. Characteristically, most of these abuses take place in relationships that are characterised by clear hierarchical relationships (e-g. family, church, orphanages, prison). Therefore, the Bolshevik-Communists advocate the abolition of all forms of oppression of sexuality and the greatest possible protection against all forms of violence and abuse.

The ISL and the RCIT fight for:

\* *An end to the paternalism by the state and religious institutions: everyone should be able to realise his or her sexuality without coercion and regulations, as long as this takes place with the mutual consent of the partners.*

\* *For wide-ranging possibilities to obtain high-quality and free contraceptives in pharmacies, at jobs and training sites!*

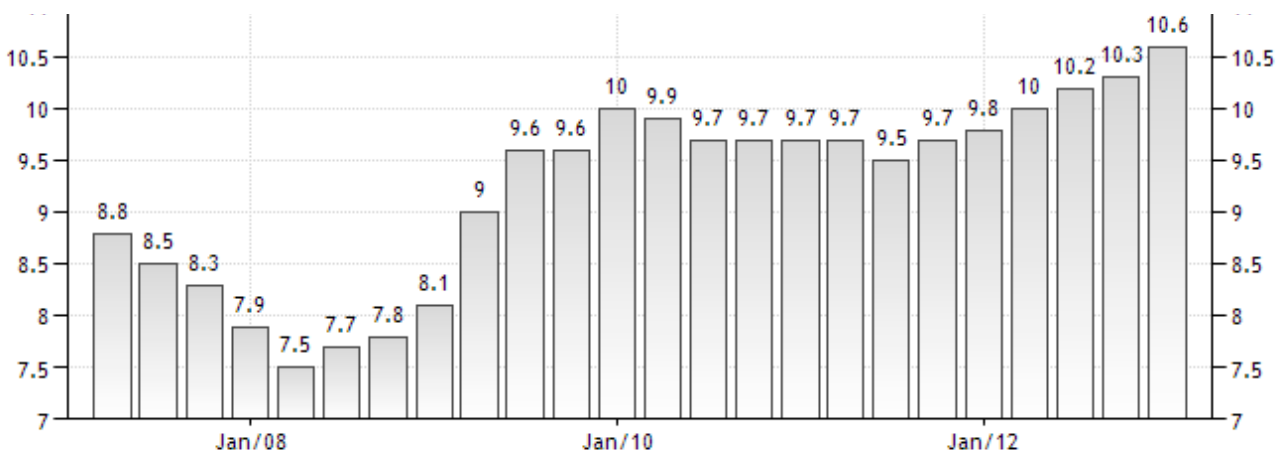
\* *Complete equality for lesbian, gay and transgender people in the marriage law, right to have children, the public showing of their affection, etc.!*

\* *No criminalisation of the sexuality of young people by statutory age restrictions! However, we are in favour of strict laws against rape and domestic violence, to protect children from abuse. Domestic violence perpetrators should be held accountable by neighbourhood and school committees.*

*For a world Socialist revolution!*

*For a New Communist International-the Fifth International! ■*

### Figure 1. France: Unemployment Rate 2007-2013 (%):



## Americanise or bust

### Contradictions and challenges of the imperialist project of European unification

By Michael Pröbsting

**N**ote by the Editor: The following document is a slightly abridged translation of a German-language pamphlet which comrade Michael Pröbsting wrote in 2004. It was first published as a pamphlet of the Austrian section of the League for the Fifth International (LFI). It was republished in the German-language Journal of the LFI "Revolutionärer Marxismus" No.35 in 2005. It was translated and published in the same year in "Fifth International" Vol.1, No.2 (the English-language journal of the LFI).

We republish the article because it provides an overview of the strategic problems of EU imperialism. While a number of figures are out of date, the fundamental tendencies described in this study remain relevant.

Comrade Pröbsting – a member of the international leadership of the LFI – was expelled from this organization in April 2011 together with other leading comrades a few weeks after they formed a faction in opposition against the increasing centrist degeneration of the LFI. The expelled comrades built immediately after their expulsion a new organization and founded together with sister organizations in Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the USA the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) in April 2012.

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The United States rules the world economically, politically and militarily. Michael Pröbsting analyses the pressure on the European imperialist powers to form a bloc to challenge US supremacy. Europe is "broadening"; but can it "deepen"?

The most fundamental feature of the capitalist world economy today is its tendency towards stagnation, a function of the over-production of capital and commodities and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

Over the past two decades, a relentless neo-liberal offensive (drastic attacks on the working class and the marginalisation of the semi-colonies) and a number of technological revolutions have not been enough to infuse capitalism with a new growth dynamic. Quite the opposite: capital-

ism in its present stage, globalisation, is characterised by a tendency to stagnate.

While annual world output, measured in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), grew by 4.9 per cent between 1950-1973, on average, it slowed down to 3.0 per cent between 1973-1992 and 2.7 per cent between 1992-2001. (2)

The same development can be observed in the imperialist world. (see table 2)

In the past two decades, the accumulation of capital has remained depressed, never regaining the heights of the 1950s and 1960s and dropping very sharply at the turn of the century. In the USA, non-financial corporations suffered a clear decline in the accumulation of capital. During the 1960s and 1970s, the growth of the stock of fixed capital fluctuated between 3 and 4 per cent; since the 1980s, it has declined to around 1.5 per cent and lower still at the end of the century. (See figure 1)

This is not an exceptional US phenomenon; it can also be observed in imperialist Europe. In a recent paper, the French Marxist economists, Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy, showed a similar decline of capital accumulation in France (See Figure 2):

*"The size of the fall is already large in the US. In France, it was even more spectacular. Both the profit rate in this measure and the rate of accumulation fell from 8% in 1960 to 1 or 2%, or less, just after 2000. The structural wave of unemployment in France originated from this collapse of investment."* 4 As a result the parasitic (i.e. non-productive, speculative) characteristics of imperialism have grown to extraordinary proportions." (5)

This contradicts the widespread opinion among left-wing (and bourgeois) academics that European capitalism is fundamentally different from its North American counterpart (the "Rhine", versus the "Anglo-Saxon", model). While the latter is said to be speculative, parasitic and debt-ridden, the former is seen as productive and healthy.

In fact, while there obviously are differences between the US/British economies on the one hand and the French/German economy on the other, the similarities are far more important. For example, in both the US and France, the

**Table 1: Growth rates of World Gross Domestic Product per head (in %) (1)**

1960-1969:	+3.7%
1970-1979:	+2.1%
1980-1989:	+1.3%
1990-1999:	+1.1%
2000-2003:	+1.0%

**Table 2: Average annual GDP growth and GDP growth per head 1973-2003 in the imperialist world (in percent) (3)**

	Euro Zone	USA	Japan
GDP Growth 1973-1990	2,3	3,0	3,8
GDP Growth 1990-2003	2,1	3,2	1,1
GDP Growth per head 1973-1990	2,0	1,8	3,0
GDP Growth per head 1990-2003	1,7	1,6	0,9

share of profits distributed as dividends to shareholders has risen to 90-100 per cent i.e. the share of retained profits is getting close to zero! Another element of this growing parasitism is the exploding indebtedness, not only of the state but also of companies and consumers. (7)

### Falling behind the USA

While this fundamental trend on both sides of the Atlantic has to be taken into account, it is equally important to see the strengthening of US capital compared to its European competitor during the past decade. Let us first look at some basic facts. While the European Union had a bigger population than the United States even before the new clutch of members joined in 2004, it was still economically weaker (See Table 3 and 4).

As one can see from these numbers, the United States is not only economically bigger than an enlarged European Union but also possesses a much more productive economy. In the year 2001 - i.e. when the US was in full recession - its GDP per capita was 40 per cent higher than that of the 15 EU states. This advantage will become substantially bigger now the 10 new states have joined the EU this year since their industrial development is far behind the imperialist economies of Western Europe.

US dominance is even more impressive among the biggest 100 multi-nationals. Fifty-seven are of US origin, only 30

from Europe. Of the top 10, only the eighth and ninth are European (BP and Shell). Of the top 1,000, 488 are based in the US, only 273 in EU countries (among them 77 British, 48 French and 35 German). (10)

EU companies have fallen further behind during the last decade. As one can see from table 2, while GDP growth in the Eurozone was 2.3 per cent (1973-1990) and 2.1 per cent (1990-2003) it was 3.0 per cent and 3.2 per cent respectively for the USA.

Also, US firms exploited their workers more than their EU counterparts in the 1990s as evidenced in the greater productivity performance. (see table 5)

Another indicator is the rising share of US firms in world trade while, at the same time, the share claimed by EU rivals fell away. In 1991, the EU had a 15 per cent share of world exports and 17 per cent of world imports. By 2001, this share had declined to 14.8 and 15 per cent respectively. For the US, the corresponding figures are 14.7 per cent (exports) and 12.5 per cent (imports) in 1991 and 19 and 12.3 per cent in 2001. (12)

### A second look at the US economic advantage

However, to find out why Europe lags behind economically it is necessary to look more deeply. We have shown that US imperialism is not only economically more productive than the EU but that its output also grew more in

**Figure 1. Ratios of net savings and net fixed investment to NDP (%): total US economy (4)**



*Fixed investment is that of enterprises (private domestic, fixed, non-residential investment), and savings are the excess of domestic income over all other expenses.*

*Source: NIPA (BEA); Flow of Funds (Federal Reserve).*



the 1990s.

So, for example, US GDP per head is 40 per cent higher than that of the 15 EU states. But, if one looks at the productivity per hour worked, the picture looks very different. Eurozone's GDP per hour is 96 per cent of the US level. The picture becomes even clearer when it comes to individual nations. (see table 6)

In the rate of growth of GDP per hour worked, while the US caught up to a certain degree in the 1990s, Europe still grew faster. (see table 7)

A study by Credit Suisse First Boston showed that real annual Net Domestic Product, per hour, grew between 1992-2002 in the USA by 1.1 per cent on average but by 1.4 per cent in the Eurozone. (15)

What we can see is that European capital is clearly not behind the US in terms of efficient use of the labour time of its workers. But - and this is a very big "but", the US bosses have succeeded in massively increasing the extensive use of labour.

### Higher rate of exploitation in the USA

In short, US workers are forced to work many more hours than their EU brothers and sisters and more of the available workforce is actually employed than in Europe.

First, the number of working hours. In 2000, US workers spent 1,877 hours at work, compared to 1,480 for German workers (i.e. 22 per cent less), 1,562 for French (17 per cent less), 1,634 for Italians, and 1,708 for British. In nearly all imperialist countries, workers have been able to cut their annual hours at work over the last 25 years; but not in the USA. Between 1979 and 1999, the average US worker's working year lengthened by 50 hours or nearly 3 per cent. In the same period, the average German working year shrank by 12 percent. As the left-wing US economist Richard B. Du Boff notes: "*In fact the average worker in the US now spends more time working than he or she did in 1950.*" (16)

But the individual worker in the US not only works more hours. He or she is also paid less than in the past. Between 1973 and 1999, real hourly wages for US workers - particularly thanks to the massive growth of low-wage, service sector jobs - declined by more than 15 per cent. (17)

In the manufacturing sector, real hourly wages rose between 1984 and 1999 by a meagre 8 per cent, while in Germany they grew, in the same period, by more than one-third! As Robert Brenner noted: "*Even by 2000, real hourly wages for production and non-supervisory workers were still palpably below, and the poverty rate above, their 1973 bests.*" (18)

Indeed, by 2001, average weekly earnings of production or non-supervisory workers on private non-farm payrolls (in 1982 constant dollars) had regressed to their 1962 level.

Added to this is the lack of a government-backed social welfare system in the USA. While most of Europe - despite all the counter-reforms of recent years - still has viable state pension provision, health care and unemployment benefit, this can hardly be said about the USA. For example, in the United States the bottom half of the labour force does not have a retirement plan. (19)

In short, the American bourgeoisie managed to enact a historic re-distribution of income from wages to profits. In the period 1947-1979, growth in family income was relatively similar for all groups of the population at between 94 and 120 per cent. However, in the period 1977-1994, and even more in the late 1990s, family income declined for the majority but grew dramatically for the richest one per cent (up 72 per cent!). Today, the richest one per cent owns 40 per cent of wealth, a share which was higher at only one other time since the first world war - 1929. (20)

Furthermore, the US bourgeoisie has succeeded in forcing workers to take whatever job they are offered and to go into retirement later. "*Between 1973 and 1998, the percentage of the American population in employment rose from 41 percent to 49 percent. But in Germany and France the percentage fell, ending up at 44 and 39 percent.*" (21)

To put it in Marxist terms the US bourgeoisie might not have succeeded in raising the relative surplus value more than its European counterpart but it was able to weaken the working class so much that it could raise the absolute surplus value much more.

In addition to this, every year, the United States, as the richest power in the world, succeeds in attracting millions and millions of new, often young, immigrants, unsure of their status, devoid of unions and ripe for super-exploitation. While 10.9 million immigrants entered Western Eu-

**Table 3: Population and GDP; USA und EU-15 in the year 2000 (8)**

	USA	EU-15 (EU-25)
Population (in millions)	282	388 (455)
GDP (2002, in billions US-Dollar)	9.837,4	7.874,8
GDP per head (in US-Dollar)	34.900	20.800

**Table 4: Share of World Population and GDP; USA und EU-15 (9)**

	USA	EU-15 (EU-25)
Share of World Population	5%	6% (7,4%)
Share of World GDP (in US-Dollar)	31,2%	25%

rope between 1974-1998, the figure was 16.7 million immigrants for the USA - a country with a substantially smaller population. So, while in 1970 4.8 per cent of US residents were foreign-born, this share had increased to 9.7 per cent by 1999.

In addition, one has to take into account the enormous demographic advantage of the United States. Because it is country of high immigration, it has a younger population than Europe. In the Eurozone, 16.5 per cent of its population was aged 65 or more in 2000; but the share of this age group was only 12.5 per cent in the United States. According to forecasts, the employable population of the EU will decline by 5 per cent in the next 25 years.

Finally, the class struggle is also a factor. While, between 1992-2001, US workers went on strike for fewer than 50 days per 1,000 employees, this figure was between 80 and 120 days in Denmark, Italy, Finland, Ireland and France and 271 days in Spain. On average, workers in the EU went on strike 150 per cent more than their US brothers and sisters.

Added to this is the much greater organisational strength of the European workers' movement. Of course, in Europe, the organisational strength of the unions varies from country to country and one has to take into account that the formal numbers of union membership do not tell one

everything about the fighting capacity of the workers' movement. In Spain and France, in the 1990s, for example, union density was only 13.5 per cent and 12.2 per cent respectively but both countries possessed a very militant working class.

It is telling that, despite the decline of union membership in the last 25 years, more than 30 per cent of European workers are still members of unions while in the USA the figure is only 13.4 per cent and, in the private sector, it is only 9.4 per cent, the worst rate since 1902. (22)

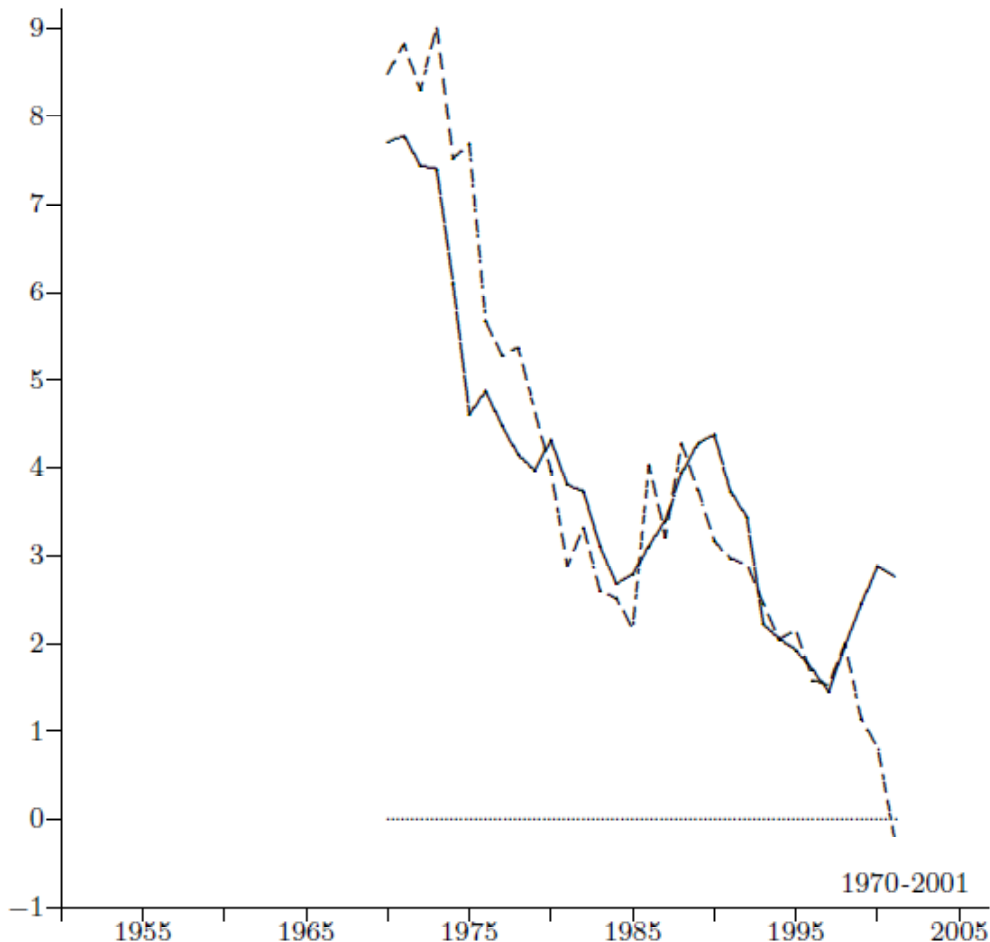
In the words of a leading British pro-imperialist ideologist, the historian Niall Ferguson, the advantage for the US bourgeoisie compared to the European bosses lies in the following:

*"... the real reason that the American economy has surged ahead of its European competitors in the past two decades [...] is simply that Americans work more. Europeans take longer holidays and retire earlier; and many more European workers are either unemployed or on strike."* (23)

**The formation of the European Union as an economic bloc**

In many ways "Europe" is an abstraction when we compare it as an entity with the United States. In reality, Euro-

**Figure 2. Rate of retained profits and accumulation rate (%): France, non-financial corporations (6)**



Accumulation rate: (—); Rate of retained profits: (---)

pean capital is not a homogenous bloc - not politically, not militarily and not even fully economically.

At first sight, integration of the EU 15 as an economic bloc has developed slower than globalisation worldwide. The EU has expanded its trade with the rest of the world faster than its internal trade between member states. Intra-EU trade as a share of the whole EU trade has decreased from 64.0 per cent in 1995 to 61.6 per cent in 2002 in exports. It's a similar picture for imports. (24) However, if one looks at the direction of external EU trade it becomes clear that more than 15 per cent of the extra-EU exports and 13 per cent of extra-EU imports respectively went to, or came from, the 10 EU candidate countries which joined this year. Therefore, this extra-EU trade has to be seen in reality as part of the process of EU integration.

Having said this, it also has to be noted that EU exports to the United States have increased in the last decade although imports have declined: From a share of 21.2 per cent of extra-EU exports (1990) to 24.3 per cent (2001) while slightly decreasing its share of extra-EU imports from 20.8 per cent (1990) to 19 per cent in extra-EU imports (2001). (25) Russia and China have also gained in importance as trading partners for European capital – particularly its strongest nation, Germany.

**The challenge of unifying imperialist Europe**

To understand the kind of attacks the European working class will face in the coming period it is essential to grasp the challenges facing the bosses. Against a background of economic stagnation, competition between multinational firms increases massively. This leads to the need for stronger political and military ties between national governments and "their" monopolies.

The USA has been by far the most successful capitalist power - the undisputed world's leading power. And it has succeeded in putting other imperialist states "on rations", to use Trotsky's phrase. The US subordinates its rivals or makes their opposition more or less irrelevant, as could be seen in their Afghanistan and Iraq wars.

However, the situation cannot remain completely static. American power seems to be unsurpassable at a military level and it is also a superpower in the world economy but Europe cannot afford to let matters rest there. As a result, Europe's leading powers, Germany and France, are collaborating to turn the EU into an alternative superpower, one

independent of the USA. Along this road, however, they are forced to make repeated compromises with Washington as well as with reluctant or oppositional states inside the EU.

The central, strategic task of the European bourgeoisie is, therefore, to take forward the formation of the EU as a strong challenger to the US empire on the world stage. For this it has to make a qualitative step forward towards a more economically competitive, politically unified and militarily independent (from the USA) entity that is capable of challenging the US empire.

**Defeating the working class**

The most important task for the European bourgeoisie in reaching this goal is to defeat the working class. European capital has to raise the rate of exploitation of labour substantially if it is to out compete the US giants. It has to emulate the enormous successes Reagan, Clinton and Bush Senior had in the 1980s and 1990s. This is not to deny the, often successful, neo-liberal attacks of the European bourgeoisie so far. But they fell far short of what would be necessary to catch up with the US.

So the central task of the European bourgeoisie is to lower labour costs drastically, extend the working week and working lifetime, and make workers work harder while at work. This implies several attacks. First, wage levels will have to be pegged; second, the costs of providing social welfare (i.e. unemployment benefits, pensions, health insurance) which are substantially born by employers or the state in much of Europe, will have to be ditched or the costs of maintaining them shifted onto the working class. Since Europe is the continent with the best organised and, in this sense, most powerful working class movement, the bosses will not be able to erode wage levels and social gains without substantially weakening the organised workers' movement, particularly the trade unions.

**Creating a pan-European capital**

Substantially raising the rate of exploitation is the essential pre-condition for any strengthening of the European bourgeoisie on the economic, political and military field. But it is only a pre-condition, not sufficient in itself.

As we have shown above, European monopoly capital is far behind its US competitor in the world arena. True,

**Table 5: Average annual Growth rates of labor productivity (GDP/worker) in percent; USA and Euro Zone 1969-2000 (11)**

	1969-79	1979-90	1990-2000
USA	1,3	1,15	1,8
Euro Zone	3,2	1,9	1,6

**Table 6: GDP per working hour as a share of the US level 2001 (13)**

Belgium	107
France	106
Germany*	96
Italy	84
UK	82

\*Germany includes the less productive Eastern regions; Western Germany itself would be more productive than the USA

there has been a significant process of centralisation and concentration of capital in Europe. As a result, the monopolies increased their weight in the EU. Furthermore, German and French corporations have grown at the expense of the British and Italians. Together, the German and French monopolies make up for more than 58 per cent of the turnover of the top 100 corporations. (26)

However, European capital is still much weaker than US and this is because there is still no pan-European capital. Capital is still defined as "German", "French" and so on rather than "European".

We identified this problem for the European bourgeoisie in the early 1990s. (27) Since then there has been no general progress. The partial exception is the European air and defence industry where the imperialist states have agreed to cooperate and together built the Airbus, Eurofighter and other projects.

This points to an important conclusion. The process of European unification cannot be a "spontaneous" process - either on the political or on the economic level. Left to the market there will be no spontaneous emergence of a pan-European capital. We do not live in a period of rising capitalism where nation states are formed and capital first and foremost expands with them. We live in the era of globalisation and neo-liberalism. Left to the market, the process of Europeanisation of capital would be constantly disrupted and negated by mergers and acquisitions carried out by Japanese or US companies.

Today, in the imperialist epoch, under the conditions of global capitalism with its enormous competition and rivalry, any organic formation of trans-national capital is an illusion. Let's not forget: the most multinational capital blocs are those of the leading world powers - the Americans and, on a smaller scale, the British, as the former leading world power, who were able to open the markets with their huge combined economic, political and military power. Such a process is impossible inside the European union. No power is strong enough to enforce its will and subordinate the others.

So, European unification and the creation of pan-European capital have to be the result of a conscious intervention by a pan-European imperialist state apparatus. However, that, too, has first to be created and since, unlike any other state, it will not be the political instrument of an already existing ruling class, rooted in a national society, its creation can only result from the conscious decision of the existing imperialist states within the EU. That requires at least the major powers to each accept that its own interest lies in ceding power to the higher, pan-European body. Only the certainty that the alternative would be economic ruin could force them to this decision and, thus, it is pre-

cisely the overwhelming superiority of the US, by comparison with any individual European power, which is the principal unifying force in European politics.

The need for a unified political EU state apparatus becomes even more evident if one looks at the meagre role Europe plays in world politics, not to mention its inability to play any role as a world policeman or to impose its interests around the globe.

#### Formation of an imperialist EU state apparatus – the new Constitution

For all these reasons, the more far-sighted of the European ruling classes are forced to try to create a unified European state apparatus, to lead the EU as an alternative superpower, and to push through their attacks on the working class. The draft constitution is a central tool for laying the framework for the coming bosses' attacks.

The draft constitution makes clear that neo-liberal doctrine is the economic policy framework of the EU: "*Member States and the Union shall act in accordance with the principle of an open market economy with free competition.*" (28)

It forms the legal basis for a European state structure above the national states. It leaves no doubt as to where power will lie in future. Article 1.10 reads: "*The Constitution and the law adopted by the institutions of the Union exercising the competences that have been conferred on it shall have primacy over the law of the Member States.*"

All the national legislatures and constitutions, all the national labour codes, collective bargaining agreements etc. would therefore be subordinated to EU directives.

In addition, every member state will be bound by any international agreement signed by the European Union with the International Monetary Fund or the World Trade Organisation: "*The Union is granted a judicial personality*" (article I-6.)

And again in article 1-9 and 1-10 the constitution declares as one of its "*fundamental principles*", the "*principle of subsidiarity*" which means not that measures will be enacted at the lowest level of the political structure commensurate with their purpose but that: "*The Member States take all general or particular measures to ensure the execution of the obligations brought about by the Constitution or resulting from the Union's Institutions' acts*".

Now, what lies within the competence of the EU and what is in the competence of the national member states? The draft Constitution defines what is called "*exclusive competence*" for which only the EU "can make laws and adopt acts that are judicially binding, Member States being able to do so by themselves only if so empowered by the Union for the implementation of acts adopted by the Union" (ar-

**Table 7: Annual average Growth of labor prouctivity in the economic sector (in percent); USA and Eurozone 1973-2003 (14)**

	USA	EU-15 (EU-25)
	<i>Eurozone</i>	<i>USA</i>
Productivity per hour 1973-1990	2,9	1,2
Productivity per hour 1990-2003	2,0	1,8

title I-11) This concerns “the monetary policy for the Member States which have adopted the euro, common commercial policy, customs union, the conservation of marine biological resources under the common fisheries policy.” and “concluding an international agreement” (article I-12)

Then there is the category of “shared competence” for which “Member States exercise their competence which does not refer to areas referred to in articles 12 and 16”. These concern “internal market, the area of freedom, security and justice, agriculture and fisheries excluding the conservation of the marine biological resources, transports and transeuropean networks, energy, social policy defined in part III, economic, social and territorial cohesion, environment, consumer protection, common safety concerns in public health matters” (article I-13)

Add to this the EU task of “coordination of social and employment policy” and foreign policy and defence: “The Union’s competence in matters of common foreign and security policy and all questions relating to the Union’s security including the progressive framing of a common defence policy which might lead to a common defence. Member States shall actively and unreservedly support the Union’s foreign and security policy in a spirit of loyalty (...) They shall refrain from actions contrary to the Union’s intents or likely to impair its effectiveness” (article I - 15)

What remain as competence areas for members states are, we quote article I-5, the “State’s fundamental functions, essentially those for ensuring the territorial integrity of the state, for maintaining public order and safeguarding internal security”. In other words, national states would shrink to the sole function of domestic repression.

The breakdown, in December 2003, of the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) was caused by differences about the share of seats in the Council of Ministers. This deflected public attention from the much more fundamental policy coup. We are not dealing with a simple transfer of political power from national states to a new European state structure. The draft constitution represents de facto a “supranational Bonapartist project”.

The new power centre of the EU state apparatus is to be the European Commission (EC): “European laws and European framework laws shall be adopted on the Commission’s proposal, jointly by the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers.” (Article I-33) Article I-25 makes it explicit: “A Union legislative act can be adopted only on the basis of a Commission proposal.”

To be absolutely clear: it is the European Commission and no one else which is to be empowered to present draft legislation to the European Parliament. This makes the power of this parliament closer to that of the Russian Duma under the Czar than to a modern bourgeois parliament. The only exception to this is that, “If they gather one million signatures from different countries, the citizens of the Union will have the right to ask the Commission to write a European bill.”!

In effect this means that, with the new constitution, there will be a massive concentration of power in the European Commission. The European “Parliament” then only has the right to agree or disagree with it. However, here again, one has to take into account the general framework of the constitution which has already established the framework for a neo-liberal and militaristic policy.

Now, how is this EC established? “The European Council (...) shall put to the European Parliament its proposed candidate for presidency of the Commission. This candidate shall be elected by

the European parliament by a majority of its members.” (Article I-26). Then the president of the Commission appoints 13 commissioners, chosen from a list of 75 devised by the Member States as well as other commissioners.

Under whose control will the European Commission be? The draft constitution is unambiguous: “In carrying out its responsibilities, the Commission shall be completely independent. In the discharge of their duties, the European Commissioners and Commission shall neither seek nor take instructions from any government or other body.” (Article I-25). While “the European parliament can adopt a censorship motion of the Commission” for such a motion to be adopted “the motion of censure [must be] carried by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast” (article III-243)

So, in effect, the new Constitution creates an imperialist EU state apparatus on the basis of bourgeois parliamentarism but with a strong Bonapartist element in the form of the European Commission.

While the Constitution and the new EU structures will not entirely overcome the national states. Inside the Commission, the Council and the parliament there will still be a tug-of-war over national interests but it represents, nevertheless, a substantial step forward in the formation of a supra-national European state apparatus.

### To beat America, Europe has to act like America

A similar fundamental change can be observed in the field of foreign and military policy. Chirac and Schröder opposed the Iraq war not for altruistic reasons but because it increased the power of US imperialism. Indeed, Europe’s ruling classes clearly see its role not as a regional player which can rely on the USA as a world policeman but as an independent global player.

The fight against terrorism is the ideal pretext for this. The new world view of Europe’s rulers becomes evident in a speech the EU High Representative, Javier Solana, gave in January 2004:

“Responsibility has a global dimension too. Terrorist and criminal networks have a global reach. We can only tackle them effectively if we think, and act, globally. Most of the heroin sold in Europe originates in Afghanistan. Our internal and external security needs are indissolubly connected. If we want to protect our citizens at home, we have to be prepared to act effectively abroad. Prevention is at the heart of our approach.” (29)

Speaking against the unilateralism of the Bush administration in diplomatic terms he said: “I believe that our future security will depend more, not less, on an effective multilateral system, a rule-based international order and well-functioning international institutions. Multilateralism is not an instrument of the weak. It is an instrument of the wise.”

So it is no surprise that, for example, the new security doctrine of France reserved the right of the former colonial empire to exercise “pre-emptive strikes” if necessary. The influential German conservative think tank “Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung” recently published a document with the telling title “Pre-emptive Strikes” arguing the need to recognise that new threats demand a new military doctrine in the form of “pre-emptive strikes”. (30)

However, to become a power of a similar size to the USA, Europe needs to overhaul its military policy. While the USA spends more than 4 per cent of its GDP on “defence” the EU only spends 1.5 per cent of a smaller GDP. It also

lacks the necessary professional forces, equipment and legitimising doctrines. In addition, there is much more opposition from the working class and the youth to military adventures.

The new constitution itself is clear in strengthening the military role and capabilities of the EU. Militaristic armament becomes a constitutional foundation of the Union: *"The Member States shall undertake progressively to improve their military capabilities."* (Article I-40) Clearly one has to expect in the coming years a combination of massive cuts in social services and a massive rise in military expenditures.

Furthermore, the draft constitution empowers the EU to *"enforce interventions in the context of crisis management"* It allows for military interventions in third states to *"fight terrorism"*. And it allows for the use of the European forces inside the union if the *"interests and values of the union are in danger"* (!) (Article 1-40)

As in many other areas, neither the European, nor any national, parliament has any decisive say in the military interventions of the European Union. The decisions are made by the Council of Ministers.

The EU was even more explicit in its resolution at the Athens summit in summer 2003. There it adopted a new military doctrine which allows the European version of a *"pre-emptive strike"* strategy.

The constitution also envisages a centralisation of military efforts. Concretely, it wants to establish a Defence Agency to ensure more co-ordinated defence investment and research and development efforts.

However, the draft constitution itself represents a compromise between the German-French bloc and the pro-Atlantic forces on the question of European military independence from the United States. It explicitly situates the EU's common defence policy within NATO but, at the same time, allows individual states to form separate military bodies. It is clear that Germany and France are determined to push forward the formation of an independent European military policy. The creation of an intervention force of 60,000 soldiers that can be put into the field within 60 days was a first step in this direction. And the ARTEMIS operation in the Congo was a test of operational capacity.

Part of this re-orientation is the abolition of the conscription system in most European countries and the build up of a professional force. Naturally, such a force would be better trained and motivated for interventions in wars abroad.

Europe's ruling classes have understood that if Europe wants to beat America it has to become like it and massively build up its armed forces, restructure them into forces ready to be sent into wars, reorganise its defence industry and embrace the policy of *"pre-emptive strikes"*.

### The meaning of the Eastern enlargement

Another important project of European imperialism is its Eastern enlargement. Until now, nearly all EU member states have been imperialist nations. This is about to change dramatically. All the 10 new states are of a semi-colonial character, i.e. while they are formally independent as states they are economically and, therefore, in the end also politically, dependent on the bigger imperialist powers.

For Europe's imperialist bourgeoisie, Eastern enlargement offers an important opportunity. Here it has unlimited access to a cheap labour force. This means that, on the one hand, it can transfer production and service facilities from the Western to the much cheaper Eastern part of the Union. If one looks at table 8, which shows that the differences in hourly labour costs between the West and the East of the Union are between 600-1000 per cent, the significance of this option is immediately apparent!

In Bulgaria and Romania - two further applicant countries - the labour costs are substantially lower even than the central European states.

Furthermore, the enlargement creates the possibility of massive import of Eastern European immigrants for limited periods. This is an urgent need given the fact that the domestic EU labour force will shrink by 5 per cent over the next 25 years. As a consequence, an EU study advised that the Union will need 50-70 million immigrants over the next 50 years.

If, in addition to all this, one takes into account the massive setbacks for the Eastern European working class as a result of the collapse of the degenerated workers' states in 1989-91, and the enormous ideological consequences which still have not entirely disappeared, the East is in effect the perfect semi-colonial hinterland for imperialist Europe.

Of course there are also dangers combined with this. On one hand, as the latest Roma revolts in Slovakia have shown, poor societies are cheap for exploitation but also pregnant with violent uprisings. In addition, we have seen in recent years a certain revival of the Eastern European

**Table 8: Labor Costs per hour in the semi-colonial countries joining the EU in 2004 (except Malta), in Euro (31)**

EU-15	22.21	Poland	4.48
		Czech Republic	3.90
		Slovakia	3.06
Estonia	3.03	Hungary	3.83
Latvia	2.42	Slovenia	8.98
Lithuania	2.71	Cyprus	10.74

workers' movement and an increase in the number of strikes and demonstrations.

The social chauvinist labour bureaucracy and right-wing populist forces will also oppose an unlimited transfer of Eastern European workers into the West. It is likely that Brussels will have to make some compromises as it already has with the seven year transition period for immigration from Eastern Europe into the West.

### **Core Europe and the American Empire as a stumbling bloc**

The whole history of capitalism shows that alliances among states can only be built if there is a clear leading force. This is even more true if this alliance is to go further and result in a new supra-state structure. This explains the slow development of EU integration, already underway for five decades.

To put it bluntly: imperialist Europe will be unified around Germany and France or it will not be unified at all. These are the strongest and most European powers. While Britain is the third strongest power - at least economically if not militarily - its ruling class is deeply split over the future of Britain in Europe.

An important sector, the City and the big multi-nationals like BP or Shell, have interests in regions of the world where the EU has no influence but the US has a lot. This sector, therefore, favours an alliance with the USA rather than with Germany and France. As long as the British bourgeoisie has not resolved this split the British bourgeoisie can slow down the integration process but not become a driving, leading force.

But the problem of leadership is not only the lack of "natural" dominance of the Germans and French. It is increased by the active and conscious intervention of US imperialism. The USA has a natural interest in deepening divisions inside the EU and, as was stated in Bush's National Security Strategy in 2002, preventing the EU from becoming a challenge to its imperial interests. The deep division inside the EU over the Iraq war and the participation in the subsequent occupation have underscored this.

The Madrid train bombings triggered a political earthquake in Spain. The defeat of Bush's Spanish poodle Aznar and the election of a pro-European Socialist Party government could speed up the adoption of the new constitution. But it is too early to say if this will open a lasting re-orientation of the Spanish bourgeoisie away from Washington and towards Berlin and Paris.

In the end, the strategic question is simple: Has the US empire enough plunder to share with other junior imperialist allies? Is US imperialism in a position to deliver more to Italian, Spanish or British capital than a unified EU could give them, with its vast internal market and the promise of a unified foreign policy?

What are the key issues that will decide the fate of the project to unify Europe into a coherent imperialist bloc?

- The degree of success of the European rulers against their working class (privatisation, flexibilisation of the labour market, attacks of pension, health and other social services, and a general weakening of the unions and the reformist forces);
- The character of the coming European constitution and if it allows for the necessary degree of centralisation, i.e.

clear domination by the big powers (mainly the Franco-German bloc) over the rest;

- Related to this the question of how much the Franco-German bloc succeeds in re-integrating (i.e. subordinating) the "new Europe", i.e. Spain, Italy and new Eastern European EU-member states;

In the end, these are all questions which cannot be decided in advance but which will be decided in the arena of worldwide struggles between the classes. The EU bourgeoisie has to, and will, attack the working class on a massive scale. As we have stated repeatedly, raising the rate of exploitation is the condition sine qua non for any successful imperialist project for the EU as a global challenger to US imperialism.

These attacks can be expected to create mass struggles, even pre-revolutionary crises. Indeed, to reverse these processes fundamentally would necessitate a major upheaval of class struggle including challenging the existing political powers i.e. a full-blown revolutionary situation. Yet a terrible crisis of leadership exists in the workers' movement. Its right-wing leaders are permeated with neo-liberal prejudices, while the left-reformists and centrists lack courage and clear ideas on how to defeat the rightist traitors in our midst. Above all, we lack a strong revolutionary party. Correcting these defects in the near future is a difficult task, but far from impossible.

A huge wave of resistance to the coming attacks can derail the centralising plans of our rulers. Similarly, one must not underestimate the degree of intra-imperialist conflict inside the European Union, particularly between Germany-France on the one hand and Italy, Spain and Britain (with its own internal divisions) on the other.

We can state the following "law": The more successful the European bourgeoisie is in attacking and defeating the working class, the easier the creation of a unified European imperialist bloc and state structure (under a Franco-German leadership) will be for them. Equally, if the working class resistance is too strong, and attempts to raise the rate of exploitation sufficiently fail, then subsequent attempts by the Franco-German bloc to subordinate the rest will also fail. From this flows the strategic importance of the German and French working classes since they are situated in the heart of the European beast.

Slowing down the integration process could lead to the formation of a "two-speed Europe", i.e. a differentiation inside the EU with the formation of a "core Europe" around France and Germany. The other imperialist powers like Britain, Spain and Italy would in this case rally as junior powers around the United States.

It goes without saying that these are the two poles of the range of possible outcomes. There are many possible shades in between and it has to be born in mind that European unification is likely to be a process that will see both leaps forward and setbacks.

Similarly, the relationship between the USA and Europe will be characterised by conflicts and manoeuvres but not open clashes. The EU is simply too weak to entertain open war. The stronger the ruling class gets inside the Union, at the cost of its working class, the more self-confident it will be towards Washington. Another factor in this equation is the future of the national liberation struggles, particularly of the Iraqi and the Palestinian people. The more blows the US and its Zionist ally receive on this front the more

the EU will distance itself from the "greedy and arrogant Yankee".

Various developments in the relationship between US and European imperialism are possible. However, for the next few years, the hegemony of US imperialism will be unchallenged. True, there are enormous contradictions and difficulties for US imperialism but they are a result of the general crisis of global capitalism and, therefore, they do not only affect the USA but also all other capitalist powers.

To be in a position to challenge the USA, the European bourgeoisies have to smash their working classes and go ahead with their unification project. If the European bosses fail, an imperialist Europe in agony lies ahead, like the declining British empire in the 1950s and 1960s.

In short, Europe's rulers have to challenge the United States if they desire a greater share of world plunder but they can only do this by becoming more like their rival, "Americanise - or fail", those are the alternatives.

However, Europe's rulers face a stiffer challenge than their US counterparts did because they face a much stronger and more politicised working class and anti-capitalist movement and they do not possess either an already unified state apparatus or a real supra-national capital.

Whatever the outcome, one thing is clear: Europe will undergo major transformations in the years ahead. One way or another, Europe will look very different 10 years from now. We are entering a period of major class struggles, full of dangers, certainly, but also opportunities. The LFI is ready to meet them.

## Footnotes

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- (4) See Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy, *The Economics of U.S. Imperialism at the Turn of the 21st Century*, [www.cepremap.ens.fr/~levy/biblioa.htm](http://www.cepremap.ens.fr/~levy/biblioa.htm)
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(22) Danielle Checchi and Claudio Lucifora: *Unions and Labour Market institutions in Europe* (2002), S. 379; <http://www.ires.ucl.ac.be/IRESnet/Research/Axe4/Checchi.pdf>; Figures for USA: <http://www.jil.go.jp/english/estat/eshuyo/200312/e0702.htm>, <http://www.demographia.com/lm-unn99.htm>

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# Announcement of a new Book 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.

#### 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). He is the *International Secretary* of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*.

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.

You can view more details of the book as well as excerpts at the special website which we have created for this book:

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## 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*



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

# Which way forward for the Strongsville Teachers Strike?

By Adam Beltz (*Revolutionary Workers Collective, RCIT-Section in the USA*), 26.4.2013

For the past 8 weeks 383 teachers in the Cleveland, Ohio suburb of Strongsville, have been on strike. The strike began on March 4th as talks between the Strongsville Education Association (SEA), which is the teachers' union, and the Strongsville Board of Education (BOE) over a new contract had broken down. The two sides had been negotiating terms for the new contract as the last one expired in June 2012.

## Teachers say "Enough is Enough!"

The strike is not about the teachers trying to win a larger raise than what is proposed. In fact the opposite is the case. The teachers are fighting to stop the large concessions on both compensation and working conditions that are being imposed on them. The teachers had accepted concessions with their last contracts, and were still prepared to accept some minor concessions in the new contract, but the teachers had finally had enough. While stating that they are still ready to negotiate the terms of the contract and are willing to make some concessions, they have drawn a line. They will not again accept large concessions imposed on them by the BOE. The teachers say that they gave concessions in good faith for the last contracts, yet the BOE had not followed through on its part of the previous deals.

One specific issue that is important to the Strongsville teachers is their loss of planning time that they previously had. In the last contract, the teachers accepted the loss of some planning time as a concession to help make up a shortfall of money that the School District had. The Board said that if teachers took up some additional non-teaching jobs the Board would be able to cut some support staff and save money. The teachers took on various extra work such as cafeteria duty, hall duty, and basic administrative work. The time had to come from somewhere and this necessitated a loss in time that the teachers had to prepare lessons, tutor students, meet with parents, etc. While the teachers did give up their planning time and did take on the extra duties the BOE did not follow through with its end of the bargain. It did not cut the support staff to save money resulting in the teachers having less time for their teaching work, while the support staff remained. Obviously socialist oppose any cuts for any members of the staff. But the whole development showed that the BOE just wanted to attack the teacher's rights. Clearly the teachers were fleeced into taking on a larger workload and into giving up time to focus on their job-teaching the students of Strongsville. The teachers demand a restoration of their planning periods.

Another demand the teachers are sticking to is a contractual limit to class sizes. According to the SEA "A survey of Strongsville High School students just last year established class size as one of their greatest concerns about school. Students indicated that they felt lost, ignored, and invisible in large classes. Smaller classes, they said, were easier to learn in because students were more comfort-

able and more likely to get the attention and time of the teacher." Clearly without a contractual limit more and more students can be added to the classrooms. This allows the schools to save money by putting the extra work and stress on the teachers, who in this instance have already lost their planning time in lieu of non-teaching duties. The teachers are fighting to not only defend their working conditions, but for the right of the students to receive a quality education. Anyone can see that as class sizes increase the quality of education will be reduced.

## Bosses attack Workers all over the country

We can already see a clear picture forming here of what is going on in Strongsville, a picture that represents the worsening of working conditions for teachers. This is not limited to Strongsville. Strongsville teachers aren't just some isolated cranks. The financial meltdown has resulted cuts in education spending across the country. The Strongsville teachers represent the select few, joining the teachers of Chicago, who have chosen to stand up against the encroachment on their work, the increasing expectation of more work with less pay.

Contrary to what most people would expect, the teachers of Strongsville are not even demanding pay raises. They are demanding that they do not receive another pay cut. In fact, the teachers of Strongsville are prepared to pay more for their health benefits than they previously have. This is another trend that is occurring across the country, and not just to teachers as the attack on the working class continues. Year after year workers are seeing their healthcare contributions and deductibles rise. According to CNN, "The share of Americans with deductibles greater than \$1,000 more than tripled between 2003 and 2012." (1)

## Scabs and Police

Instead of meeting the minimal demands of the teachers, instead of truly caring about the education of the students in Strongsville, the BOE hired Huffmaster, a "strike security firm" to bring in substitute teachers, i.e., scabs. The BOE is paying about \$200,000 per week (according to a SEA flyer) for substitutes that do not have the training and experience of the striking teachers, which ultimately results in the students receiving a sub-par education.

The police immediately made clear whose side they are on with the arrest on both March 6th and March 7th of teachers who were trying to stop the replacement teachers arriving at school. (2) They sent this message loud and clear just 2 days after the beginning of the strike.

Where have the teachers received any support? One could expect that they would be receiving strong support from the National Education Association and the Ohio Education Association to which they are affiliated. Yet one is hard pressed to find any information on the struggle being fought by the members of the SEA. No call for support,

solidarity, donations. No publicity for why the teachers are on strike. The NEA's website does not have one mention of the strike anywhere in their entire site. While the OHA shows its support by merely linking other news articles about the strike in their "Ohio Education in the News" page. The news about the strike, or rather links to news about the strike can be found mixed in with all other news headlines referring to education in Ohio in any capacity.

**With friends like these.....**

What about the other unions that could be throwing their support behind the strikers? The strikers have received support from their brother and sister unions in the form of a rally that occurred on April 13th in Strongsville. Representatives from 15 unions across Northeast Ohio came out to show support and solidarity for the striking teachers. (3)

The 45 minute rally itself was rather unimpressive. Various union bureaucrats used the microphone to call for solidarity with the strikers. An all too vague solidarity. Nowhere did they call for ways for people to help the strikers. Nowhere did they call for any solidarity strikes or other actions. It is quite easy to call for solidarity when it requires nothing other than saying a few words. And of course nowhere was any linking up of the strike to a larger political picture made. With the exception of when SEA President Tracy Linscott said "This is what democracy looks like", referring to the show of support by the people attending the rally. However, we would say that a few hundred people showing support at a rally for other workers who are getting beat down by capitalism is what "bourgeois democracy looks like".

However that is about all one can see as far as support and solidarity goes from the unions. Even prior to the rally the unions did not have any publicity or mention of the upcoming rally posted anywhere on their websites for people to see. Is that what solidarity looks like to the bureaucratic unions?

With the support that the 383 teachers have been receiving from their affiliated Education Associations and from the rest of the Unions one can really see the resolve and

strength that these 383 teachers have shown.

**Solidarity!**

Unfortunately, not all members of the working class see their interests represented by the Strongsville teachers. There are those who see the Strongsville teachers picketing and think to themselves that the teachers, who possibly make more than they do, already have it easy. That the teachers have no right to go on strike as some of them can make \$80,000+ per year. That the teachers are holding the students hostage and they are hurting the students for their own greed. Nothing could be further from the truth! The fight of the Strongsville teachers to stop the attacks on their working conditions represents the interests of all members of the working class. The workers must look at the Strongsville teachers' fight as their own fight. The workers must come to the aid of the teachers. Every fight won by the workers strengthens the entire working class. Their fight is our fight.

We call for all rank and file union members (NEA, ALF-CIO, UAW, etc) to take immediate action to force the bureaucratic union leadership to support the Strongsville teachers in real actions up to and including sympathy strikes, not just a few supportive words here and there.

We call for all non-unionized workers to support the strikers in all and every way they can up to and including joining the SEA on the picket lines, donating food and money to the strike fund, sympathy strikes, etc.

We call workers, students and their parents to organize in solidarity committees to rally support for the striking teachers!

Victory to Strongsville Teachers Strike!

**Footnotes**

- (1) <http://money.cnn.com/2013/04/26/news/economy/health-care-cost/index.html>
- (2) <http://www.inquisitr.com/563362/two-teachers-arrested-in-ohio-strike/>
- (3) [http://www.cleveland.com/strongsville/index.ssf/2013/04/unions\\_show\\_solidarity\\_with\\_st.html](http://www.cleveland.com/strongsville/index.ssf/2013/04/unions_show_solidarity_with_st.html) ■

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## Workers Memorial Day & May Day in USA: First we mourn then we fight!

by Communist Workers Group (USA), April 28, 2013

### Note from the Editorial Board:

In the following we republish a statement from the *Communist Workers Group (USA)*. The CWG is part of the Liaison Committee of Communists, together with the Communist Workers' Group (USA) and the Revolutionary Workers' Group (Zimbabwe). Irrespective of political differences between the RCIT and these comrades we think that this statement formulates a correct position on the Boston bombing as well as on the capitalists onslaught against the working class.

\* \* \*

In the wake of the Boston Marathon bombings that killed 3 people and injured 282 on April 15th, the capitalist press has been whipped into an anti-Muslim frenzy of the by now usual sort. We have no idea what happened in Boston. What really happened? We notice the official story is not finding any greater ready acceptance than the official 9/11 story did. This terrible act was allegedly carried out by two Muslim brothers whose family originally emigrated from Chechnya. Just as after 9/11, this incident is being used to whip up anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant hysteria and will be used as an excuse to further the U.S. government's "war on terror" and erode democratic rights. The bombing will doubtless be exploited for all its worth to free the funding for the homeland security racket from the effects of the sequester.

The people of Boston and surrounding towns were subjected to Gestapo style dragnets while the FBI and Russian intelligence agencies played at finger pointing at each other for their information trading screw-ups. The police and federal agents turned Boston into a police state in the aftermath of the bombings. Calls from the right wing media for more surveillance and the use of inner city drones echo Obama's stepped up police state tactics. Following Clintons "Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996," Bush/Cheney's "Patriot Act" and Obama's use of the FBI to coordinate dismantling of the OCCUPY movement, the hounding to death of internet activist Aaron Schwartz and the ongoing terror in the black and brown community were every 28 hours racist killer cops murder a black, brown or immigrant person, often by shooting the unarmed person in the back; indicates a trend toward the rise of a Bonapartist dictatorship under the guise of democracy—supported by the workers' very own rotten leadership in the AFL-CIO and Change to Win(lose!) Coalition.

On April 17th, two days later, in West, Texas, a fertilizer plant explosion killed 15 people, including nine first responders, injured as many as 180, and 60 were still missing as of the 26th. The blast destroyed or damaged 150 buildings. The fire spread to 25 square blocks and one side of West has ceased to exist. The explosion was registered as a 2.1-magnitude earthquake by the United States Geological Survey. Occupational Safety & Health Administration

(OSHA) last inspected the plant 28 years ago and "found five 'serious' violations, including ones involving improper storage and handling of anhydrous ammonia and improper respiratory protection for workers. The agency imposed a \$30 penalty on the company (NYT Apr 18)." This company was fined last June for violations involving anhydrous ammonia by the federal Department of Transportation's Pipeline and Hazardous Materials Safety Administration.

Of course the criminally negligent homicides of workers by the profit-driven bosses are downplayed, as they don't serve the class interests of the bourgeois media. In the "free market" capitalist economy workers daily face injury and death on the job. Texas is a "right to work" state, where you work the number of hours the boss demands or someone else has your job. This makes accidents happen in plants that are as good as unregulated and where the only law is profit. In right-to-work states, wages are low and attract the untrained and those who are or will be alienated. Just the kind of folks bosses want handling dangerous and explosive chemicals. Judging by the facts you would have to conclude that these conditions and employees are just what these non-union employers wish to have.

On April 25th, 350 garment workers were killed (with at least that many missing) in Dhaka, Bangladesh as a factory complex collapsed. Capitalist terrorists (line supervisors) forced workers to enter the building despite the visible cracks that raised workers' fears for their safety. This following a spate of deadly sweat shop fires in Bangladesh last year where capitalist terrorists locked doors and windows, forcing dozens to jump to their deaths or incinerate where they fell. The April 25th building collapse resulted in mass demonstrations of workers who burned two of the bosses' factories to the ground on April 26th. Yet in Bangladesh burning the factories will not end the capitalist wage slavery and terror. Only expropriation of big capital and the running of production under workers control can end their reign of terror! This is the task of the international working class, for which our class requires our own revolutionary international to unite all workers and bury the capitalist mode of production.

That the West, Texas disaster was not a Bhopal is only due to the lower population density in West. And meanwhile Bhopal has had another disaster of its own. A hospital has collapsed, killing hundreds of hospital workers and patients and trapping hundreds more. Expect to see casualties from all over the world in this hospital collapse, as the impossible prices of medical procedures has given rise to "medical tourism," during this world crisis of the capitalist system.

It is also rather ironic that West is just north of Waco, the same area where, in 1993, a religious sect, the Branch Davidians were targeted by President Clinton's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In a true case of U.S. state terrorism, 83 Branch Davidians were killed by the government after

a 51 day siege.

From a Marxist standpoint, the Boston bombings are horrible acts of terrorism that targeted the working class as much as anyone or anything else. Marxists oppose individual acts of terrorism as a method of political struggle, even when directed against legitimate bourgeois targets or politicians. We are for politically organizing the working class to collectively abolish this barbaric and truly criminal system of capitalism once and for all; this we maintain requires a high level of independent working class self organization. As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1911:

*"...In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission...."*

*...If we oppose terrorist acts, it is only because individual revenge does not satisfy us. The account we have to settle with the capitalist system is too great to be presented to some functionary called a minister. To learn to see all the crimes against humanity, all the indignities to which the human body and spirit are subjected, as the twisted outgrowths and expressions of the existing social system, in order to direct all our energies into a*

*collective struggle against this system—that is the direction in which the burning desire for revenge can find its highest moral satisfaction."* (*Why Marxists Oppose Individual Terrorism, November 1911*)

These three events come on the eve of Workers Memorial Day, April 28th, and International Workers Day, May 1st. Workers must not let the lessons of these events go unheeded. Our struggle must not be limited to raising the minimum wage to a poverty wage of \$15 per hour or to getting more OSHA inspectors. Capitalism has proven itself unreformable; it must be buried. The capitalist politicians are debating ending the 40 hour work week and ending overtime after 40 hours! **This is their idea of reform!** We have to finish with them and their parties and their state. We have a world to win and we have nothing to lose but our chains!

For an economy where production and distribution are planned and controlled by the workers deputies!

Build a Revolutionary Workers International! Abolish all anti-immigrant laws!

For Workers Power! Forward to a workers government based on workers councils! ■



Nurses on Strike in the USA: This is the way to fight against the capitalist's attack!

## Greetings to the 3rd Congress of the Tendencia Piquetera Revolucionaria (Argentina)

*Letter from the RCIT and the ISL, 29.3.2013*

Dear comrades,

From Pakistan, Sri Lanka, USA, Austria and Israel/Occupied Palestine we send our revolutionary greetings to your 3rd Congress. As you are aware your congress takes place in an important conjuncture of the new historic revolutionary period which opened in 2008. The political and economic crisis of capitalism deepens and the class struggle intensifies. But at the same time the crisis of the working class's leadership deepens too. If the working class does not overcome this crisis in time – i.e. if it does not constitute new revolutionary workers parties as well as an International – it will suffer a series of defeats.

To address this crisis of leadership, revolutionaries must take energetic steps now to build an international communist organization based on an active orientation towards the class struggle and a program which is based on the method of Trotsky's "Transitional Program" of 1938 but applied to the conditions of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We have elaborated our understanding of the revolutionary program which the international working class needs to meet the challenges of the present historic period in the RCIT's "The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto". (which is online at [www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto](http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto)) In our recently adopted document "The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists" we try to identify the most important issues of the international class struggle as well as the central programmatic and organizational tasks for revolutionaries (this document is online at [www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013)). Since we consider an international program and perspective as the essential basis for any internationalist revolutionary organization we would appreciate if you could

send us your respective documents. This would enable us to better follow your political development and open the possibility for a dialogue between revolutionaries – something which we consider as centrally important today.

One of the important issues today is the question of the Workers Government as you rightly point out in your journal *TPR Internacional*. It seems decisive for us to emphasize the idea which the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky and later the Fourth International considered raised: We demand from the reformist or centrist workers organizations (trade unions, parties) to break with the Popular Front and form a government without the bourgeois forces. This is – as Lenin and Trotsky pointed out – an application of the united front tactic. Similarly revolutionaries would put concrete demands to such a "Bourgeois Workers Government" and at the same time warn against any illusions in the reformists to implement consistently such a program. They must rather warn the workers of the inevitable betrayal of these reformists. Such a tactic might be particularly important in countries like Greece where illusion are high in the left-reformist SYRIZA party.

The Workers Government which revolutionaries propose is of course not a reformist one but one which bases itself on the organs of working class power (Action Councils of the Masses, armed militias).

Dear comrades, we leave it with these short remarks. We hope to have the opportunity to engage in a dialogue with you in the future and wish you the best for your congress.

Bolshevik Greetings,  
Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)  
Yossi Schwartz (for the ISL) ■

## No War against North Korea!

### Call for Protests on the Day when a War starts

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 6.4.2013*

The threat of war is rising again in East Asia! The presence of tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers and modern weapons on the Korean Peninsula as well as the provocative military exercises by the U.S. and its allies close to North Korea, can easily lead to a military confrontation.

We have not the slightest political sympathy for the bureaucratic dictatorship of Kim Jong-Un in North Korea. But it is not North Korea that for decades stationed its army close to the U.S. and held military exercises, but vice versa. It is not North Korea, which has led war on American soil in 1950-53, but vice versa. It is not North Korea that has about 8,000 nuclear warheads ready for use and has already dropped nuclear bombs twice, but it is

the USA. And it's not North Korea that began in the last decades numerous wars and invaded Vietnam, Grenada, Afghanistan, Iraq, etc., but the USA!

That is why we say: *U.S. and allies - Hands off North Korea! Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from East Asia!*

The RCIT calls on all progressive organizations and individuals to enter the streets in the event of a war against North Korea and to organize spontaneous protest demonstrations.

Read the Resolution of the RCIT "New Imperialist Threats in East Asia: Hands off North Korea!" at [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/defend-north-korea](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/defend-north-korea) ■

# From the Archives of Marxism

## Leon Trotsky: On the South African Theses (1935)

### Introduction from the Editorial Board:

**I**The following article has been written by Leon Trotsky in April 1935. It outlines the connection of the tasks of the democratic revolution – in particular the national liberation and the agrarian question – with the goal of socialist revolution. Trotsky, who was together with Lenin the most important leader of the Russian Revolution 1917 and later the central figure of the Fourth International, elaborates the strategy of Permanent Revolution. He shows that democratic tasks like the national liberation are essential for the revolutionary struggle. Trotsky's positive reference to the slogan of a "Black Republic" showed his determination to integrate the tasks of national liberation into the revolutionary program. At the same time he emphasized that all these democratic tasks can only be finally achieved if the working class takes power and carries through the socialist revolution. His thoughts are of particular relevance for the program of the Palestine Revolution today.

Trotsky's Letter to South African comrades was published under the title "The Agrarian and National Questions. Remarks on the Draft Theses of the Workers Party of South Africa". We took the document from the Marxist Internet Archive <http://marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1935/04/wpsa.htm>

\* \* \*

The theses are clearly written on the basis of a serious study of both the economic and political conditions of South Africa, as well as the literature of Marxism and Leninism, particularly that of the Bolshevik-Leninists. A serious scientific approach to all questions is one of the most important conditions for the success of a revolutionary organization.

The example of our South African friends again confirms the fact that in the present epoch only the Bolshevik-Leninists, that is, the consistent proletarian revolutionaries, take a serious attitude to theory, analyze the realities and are learning themselves before they teach others. The Stalinist bureaucracy has long ago substituted a combination of ignorance and impudence for Marxism.

In the following lines I wish to make certain remarks in regard to the draft these that will serve as a program for the Workers Party of South Africa. Under no circumstances do I make these remarks in opposition to the text of the theses. I am too insufficiently acquainted with the South African conditions to pretend to a full, conclusive opinion on a series of practical questions.

Only in certain places am I obliged to express my disagreement with certain aspects of the draft theses. But here also, insofar as I can judge from afar, we have no differences in principles with the authors of the theses. It is rather a matter of certain polemical exaggerations arising from the struggle with the pernicious national policy of Stalinism. But it is in the interest of the cause not to smooth over even slight inaccuracies in presentation but, on the contrary, to

expose them for open deliberations in order to arrive at the most clear and blameless text. Such is the aim of the following lines dictated by the desire to give some assistance to our South African Bolshevik-Leninists in this great and responsible work to which they have set themselves.

The South African possessions of Great Britain form a dominion only from the point of view of the white minority. From the point of view of the black majority, South Africa is a slave colony.

No social upheaval (in the first instance, an agrarian revolution) is thinkable with the retention of British imperialism in the South African dominion. The overthrow of British imperialism in South Africa is just as indispensable for the triumph of socialism in South Africa as it is for Great Britain itself.

If, as it is possible to assume, the revolution will start first in Great Britain, the less support the British bourgeoisie will find in the colonies and dominions, including so important a possession as South Africa, the quicker will be their defeat at home. The struggle for the expulsion of British imperialism, its tools and agents thus enters as an indispensable part of the program of the South African proletarian party.

The overthrow of the hegemony of British imperialism in South Africa can come about as the result of a military defeat of Great Britain and the disintegration of the empire. In this case, the South African whites could still, for a certain period- hardly a considerable one- retain their domination over the blacks.

Another possibility, which in practice could be connected with the first, is a revolution in Great Britain and her possessions. Three-quarters of the population of South Africa (almost six million of the almost eight million total) is composed of non-Europeans. A victorious revolution is unthinkable without the awakening of the native masses. In its turn, that will give them what they are so lacking today- confidence in their strength, a heightened personal consciousness, a cultural growth.

Under these conditions, the South African republic will emerge first of all as a "black" republic; this does not exclude, of course, either full equality for the whites or brotherly relations between the two races- depending mainly on the conduct of the whites. But it is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.

Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change the relation not only between the classes but also between the races and will assure the blacks that place in the state that correctly corresponds to their numbers, thus far will the social revolution in South Africa also have a national character.

We have not the slightest reason to close our eyes this side of the question or to diminish its significance. On the contrary, the proletarian party should in words and in deeds

openly and boldly take the solution of the national (racial) problem in its hands.

Nevertheless, the proletarian party can and must solve the national problem by its own methods.

The historical weapon of national liberation can be only the class struggle. The Comintern, beginning in 1924, transformed the program of national liberation of colonial people into an empty democratic abstraction that is elevated above the reality of class relations. In the struggle against national oppression, different classes liberate themselves (temporarily) from material interests and become simple "anti-imperialist" forces.

In order that these spiritual "forces" bravely fulfill the task assigned to them by the Comintern, they are promised, as a reward, a spiritual "national-democratic" state- with the unavoidable references to Lenin's formula: "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

The theses point out that in 1917 Lenin openly and once and for all discarded the formula of "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" as a necessary condition for the solution of the agrarian question. This is entirely correct.

But to avoid misunderstanding, it should be added: (a) Lenin always spoke about a revolutionary bourgeois democratic dictatorship and not a spiritual "people's" state; (b) in the struggle for a bourgeois democratic dictatorship, he did not offer a bloc of all "anticzarist forces" but carried out an independent class policy of the proletariat.

An "anticzarist" bloc was the idea of the Russian Social Revolutionaries and the Left Cadets, that is, the parties of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Against these parties the Bolsheviks always waged an irreconcilable struggle.

When the theses say that the slogan of a "black republic" is equally harmful for the revolutionary cause as is the slogan of a "South Africa for the whites", then we cannot agree with the form of the statement. Whereas in the latter there is the case of supporting complete oppression, in the former there is the case of taking the first steps toward liberation.

We must accept decisively and without any reservations the complete and unconditional right of the blacks to independence. Only on the basis of a mutual struggle against the domination of the white exploiters can the solidarity of black and white toilers be cultivated and strengthened.

It is possible that after victory the blacks will find it unnecessary to form a separate black state in South Africa. Certainly we will not force them to establish a separate state. But let them make this decision freely, on the basis of their own experiences, and not forced by the sjambok [whip] of the white oppressors. The proletarian revolutionaries must never forget the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination, including full separation, and the duty of the proletariat to defend this right with arms in hand, if necessary.

The theses quite correctly underline the fact that the solution to the national question in Russia was brought about by the October Revolution. National democratic movements by themselves were powerless to cope with the national oppression of czarism. Only because of the fact that the movements of the oppressed nationalities, as well as the agrarian movement of the peasantry, gave the proletariat the possibility of seizing power and establishing its dictatorship did the national question as well as the agrar-

ian find a bold and decisive solution.

But the very conjuncture of the national movements with struggle of the proletariat for power was made politically possible only thanks to the fact that the Bolsheviks during the whole of their history carried on an irreconcilable struggle with the Great Russian oppressors, supporting always and without reservations the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination, including separation from Russia.

The policy of Lenin in regard to the oppressed nations did not, however, have anything in common with the policy of the epigones. The Bolshevik Party defended the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination with the methods of the proletarian class struggle, entirely rejecting the charlatan "anti-imperialist" blocs with the petty-bourgeois "national" parties of czarist Russia (the Polish Socialist Party, Dashnaki in Armenia, the Ukrainian nationalist, the Jewish Zionists, etc. etc.).

The Bolsheviks have always mercilessly unmasked these parties, as well as the Russian Social Revolutionaries, their vacillations and adventurism, but especially their ideological lie of being above the class struggle. Lenin did not stop his intransigent criticism even when circumstances forced upon him this or that episodic, strictly practical, agreement with them.

There could be no question of any permanent alliance with the under the banner of "anticzarism". Only thanks to this irreconcilable class policy was bolshevism able to succeed in the time of the revolution to throw aside the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, the national petty-bourgeois parties and gather around the proletariat the masses of peasantry and oppressed nationalities.

"We must not," say the theses, "compete with the African National Congress in nationalist slogans in order to win the native masses." The idea is in itself correct, but it requires concrete amplification. Being insufficiently acquainted with the concrete activities of the National Congress, I can only outline our policy concerning it on the basis of analogies, stating beforehand my readiness to supplement my recommendations with all necessary modifications.

1. The Bolshevik-Leninists put themselves in defense of the Congress, as it is, in all cases when it is being attacked by the white oppressors and their chauvinistic agents in the ranks of the workers organizations.

2. The Bolshevik-Leninists place the progressive over the reactionary tendencies in the program of the Congress

3. The Bolshevik-Leninists unmask before the native masses the inability of the Congress to achieve the realization of even its own demands, because of its superficial, conciliatory policy. In contradistinction to the Congress, the Bolshevik-Leninists develop a program of revolutionary class struggle.

4. Separate episodic agreements with the Congress, if they are forced by circumstances, are permissible only within the framework of strictly defined practical tasks, with the retention of full and complete independence of our organization and freedom of political criticism. 7.

The theses bring out as the main political slogan not a "national democratic state" but a South Africa "October". The theses prove, and prove convincingly:

- a. that the national and agrarian questions in south Africa coincide in their bases;
- b. that both these questions can be solved only in a revo-



lutionary way;

c. that the revolutionary solution to these questions leads inevitably to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which guides the native peasant masses; and,

d. that the dictatorship of the proletariat will open an era of a soviet regime and socialist reconstruction. This conclusion is the cornerstone of the whole structure of the program. Here we are in complete agreement.

But the masses must be brought to this general "strategic" formula through the medium of a series of tactical slogans. It is possible to work out these slogans, at every given stage, only on the basis of an analysis of the concrete circumstances of the life and struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry and the whole internal and international situation. Without going deeply into this matter, I would like briefly to deal with the fundamental relations of the national and agrarian slogans.

The theses several times underline that the agrarian and not the national demands must be put in the first place. This is a very important question that deserves serious attention. To push aside or to weaken the national slogans with the object of not antagonizing the white chauvinists in the ranks of the working class would be, of course, criminal opportunism, which is absolutely alien to the authors and supporters of the theses. This flows quite clearly from the text of the theses, which permeated with the spirit of revolutionary internationalism.

The theses admirably say of those "socialists" who are fighting for the privileges of the whites that "we must recognize them as the greatest enemies of the revolution". Thus we must seek another explanation, which is briefly indicated in the text itself: the backward native peasant masses directly feel the agrarian oppression much more than they do the national oppression.

It is quite possible. The majority of the natives are peasants; the bulk of the land is in the hands of a white minority. The Russian peasants during their struggle for land put their faith in the czar for a long time and stubbornly refused to draw political conclusions.

From the revolutionary intelligentsia's traditional slogan, "Land and Liberty", the peasantry for a long time only accepts the first part. It required decades of agrarian unrest and the influence and action of the town workers to enable the peasantry to connect both slogans.

The poor enslaved Bantu hardly entertains more hope in the British king of in MacDonald. But this extreme political backwardness is also expressed in his lack of national self-consciousness. At the same time, he feels very sharply the land and fiscal bondage. Given the conditions, propaganda can and must first of all flow from the slogans of the agrarian revolution, in order that, step by step, on the basis of the experience of the struggle, the peasantry may be brought to the necessary political and national conclusions.

If these hypothetical considerations are correct, then we are concerned not with the program itself but rather with the ways and means of carrying the program to the consciousness of the native masses.

Considering the small numbers of revolutionary cadres and the extreme diffusion of the peasantry, it will be possible to influence the peasantry, at least in the immediate future, mainly, if not exclusively, through the medium of the advanced workers. Therefore, it is of the utmost im-

portance to train advanced workers in the spirit of a clear understanding of the significance of the agrarian revolution for the historical fate of South Africa.

The proletariat of the country consists of backward black pariahs and a privileged, arrogant caste of whites. In this lies the greatest difficulty of the whole situation. As the theses correctly state, the economic convulsions of rotting capitalism must strongly shake the old barriers and facilitate the work of revolutionary coalescence.

In any case, the worst crime on the part of revolutionaries would be to give the smallest concessions to the privileges and prejudices of the whites. Whoever gives his little finger to the devil of chauvinism is lost.

The revolutionary party must put before every white worker the following alternative: either with British imperialism and with the white bourgeoisie of South Africa or with the black workers and peasants against the white feudalists and slave owners and their agents in the ranks of the working class.

The overthrow of British domination over the black population of South Africa will not, of course, mean an economic and cultural break with the previous mother country, if the latter will liberate itself from the oppression of its imperialist plunderers. A Soviet England will be able to exercise a powerful economic and cultural influence on South Africa through the medium of those whites who in deed, in actual struggle, have bound up their fate with that of the present colonial slaves. This influence will be based not on domination but on proletarian mutual cooperation.

But more important in all probability will be the influence that a Soviet South Africa will exercise over the whole of the black continent. To help the Negroes catch up with the white race, in order to ascend hand in hand with them to new cultural heights, this will be one of the grand and noble tasks of a victorious socialism.

In conclusion, I want to say a few words on the question of a legal and illegal organization, concerning the constitution of the party.

The theses correctly underline the inseparable connection between organizations and revolutionary tasks, supplementing the legal apparatus with an illegal one. Nobody, of course, is proposing to create an illegal apparatus for such functions, as in the given conditions, can be executed by legal ones.

But in the conditions of an approaching political crisis, there must be created special illegal nuclei of the party apparatus, which will develop as need arises. A certain part and, by the way, a very important part of the work cannot under any circumstances be carried out openly, that is, before the eyes of the class enemies.

Nevertheless, for the given period, the most important form of the illegal or semilegal work of revolutionaries is the work in the mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions. The leaders of the trade unions are the unofficial police of capitalism; they conduct a merciless struggle against revolutionaries.

We must have the ability to work in mass organizations and avoid falling under the blows of the reactionary apparatus. This is a very important- for the given period, the most important- part of illegal work. A revolutionary group in a trade union that has learned in practice all the necessary rules of conspiracy will be able to transform its work to an illegal status when circumstances require this.

# 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 led 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 led 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 5<sup>th</sup> Workers International on a revolutionary basis!  
Join the RCIT!

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





