

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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

www.thecommunists.net

Issue No. 7

March 2013

***In Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia:
Fight Imperialism, Zionism
and Arab Dictators!***

***For Workers and
Peasants Republics!***

***plus: Theses on Islamism,
Trotsky Speech (1924)***

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED UNITE!

Price: €5 / \$7 / £4,5

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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), USA (Revolutionary Workers Collective, RWC) and Austria (Revolutionary Communist Organisation for Liberation, RKOB)

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We present herewith the seventh issue of the RCIT's English language journal *Revolutionary Communism*. There has been a delay since the publication of the last issue in November 2012. The reason for this has been the priority we gave to finalizing and publishing our new book on imperialism and the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world called *THE GREAT ROBBERY OF THE SOUTH* (more on this below). For this reason we are now publishing two issues of *Revolutionary Communism* with only a short interval.

These two issues are thematically divided. The issue in front of you focuses on the revolutionary liberation struggle in Palestine and Syria. These countries are without doubt two key areas of the international class struggle. Syria is the country where the Arab Revolution has – for the second time after Libya – reached the level of a civil war. In several articles we outline the revolutionary position of support for the ongoing democratic revolution in Syria with the goal to advance it towards the creation of workers, peasants and poor councils which should overthrow the reactionary Assad dictatorship and replace it with a revolutionary workers government with the support of the peasants and poor. At the same time there must be no political support for the bourgeois forces inside the rebel movement – neither for the pro-imperialist current at the top of the SNC nor for the Islamist *al-Nusra* current. We report both about international solidarity activities in which the RCIT is involved as well as about the heroic struggle of the *Sevian al-Laith Brigade* (Brigade Leon Sedov) which we have received from the *Fracción Leninista Trotskista Internacional*. The RCIT is collaborating with the FLTI – despite a number of political differences – in the *International Committee in Defense of the Syria Masses*.

Another focus is Palestine where the heroic people in Gaza have successfully thrown back another attempt of the Zionist state to smash the resistance in November 2012. However the revolutionary liberation struggle for the Palestinians' right of national self-determination is not limited to Gaza. Amongst the Palestinians in the West Bank – particularly the youth – there is a growing militancy. This is also true for the Palestinians inside the 1967-occupied Palestine (i.e. the state of Israel). All this steadfastness of the Palestinian resistance finds its expression in the heroic struggle of Samer al-Issawi and many other prisoners who fight under the worst possible circumstances for their freedom.

The RCIT calls for the destruction of the Israeli Apartheid state. We fight together with the Internationalist Socialist League (Israel / Occupied Palestine) for a revolutionary programme. We stand for the defeat of 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. We publish in this issue a number of statements and reports both from the RCIT as well as from the ISL. The RCIT is in a process of discussion and collaboration with the ISL in order to clarify both agreements and disagreements.

We also publish in this issue *Theses on Islamism*. This lengthy document was written by Michael Pröbsting and

Simon Hardy and adopted at a congress of the League for the Fifth International in January 2011. These theses give an overview of the various shades of Islamism, relates them to their class bases and outlines a revolutionary strategy for fighting against its increasing influence.

Finally we reprint a speech of Leon Trotsky which he gave in 1924. In this speech the leader of the Russian Revolution as well as of the Third and Fourth Internationals elaborates key elements of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. This theory is of burning importance for the international class struggle today. It is the basis for the revolutionary struggle both in the imperialist and in the semi-colonial world.

We conclude our editorial by drawing our reader's attention to a new book which the RCIT has published in February 2013. As mentioned above the book 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.

We recommend our readers to read, study and discuss this book. (Details to order it can be seen on page 30 in this journal). *THE GREAT ROBBERY OF THE SOUTH* is an important contribution to the development of the Marxist theory of Imperialism. Comrade Pröbsting analyzes the conditions of modern capitalism and the changes in the super-exploitation and oppression of the so-called Third World by the imperialist monopolies and Great Powers. He analyzes in detail the various forms of super-exploitation as well as the emergence of Chinese imperialism. Pröbsting outlines the revolutionary principles on imperialist wars as it was elaborated by the Marxist classics and develops their application to present-day conditions. He also defends the Marxist position against the various forms of centrist and left-reformist deviations.

In 1937, Leon Trotsky wrote an article on the ninetieth anniversary of the famous *Communist Manifesto*. He emphasized the importance of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed masses in the colonial and semi-colonial world. His conclusions are even more valid today:

"The questions of revolutionary strategy in colonial and semi-colonial countries are therefore not touched upon at all by the Manifesto. Yet these questions demand an independent solution. For example, it is quite self-evident that while the "national fatherland" has become the most baneful historical brake in advanced capitalist countries, it still remains a relatively progressive factor in backward countries compelled to struggle for an independent existence. 'The Communists,' declares the Manifesto, 'everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.' The movement of the coloured races against their imperialist oppressors is one of the most important and powerful movements against the existing order and therefore calls for the complete, unconditional, and unlimited support on the part of the proletariat of the white race. The credit for developing revolutionary strategy for oppressed nationalities belongs primarily to Lenin." (Leon Trotsky: *Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto* (1937); in: *Trotsky Writings 1937-38*, p. 25)

18th March 2013

Editorial Board of the Journal *Revolutionary Communism*

Victory to the Revolution in Syria!

Down with the dog Assad! All Power to the Workers and Peasants! For the Socialist Revolution in Maghreb and Mashreq!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), January 2013

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency supports the Revolution of the Workers and Peasants in Syria. We stand for:

- * Down with the dictatorship of the dog Assad and the rich elite!
- * For the formation of action councils and armed militias of the workers and peasants which should coordinate nation-wide!
- * For a workers government allied with the peasants and urban poor and based on local councils and militias!
- * No trust in the bourgeois leaders of the official opposition! They are connected with the governments of the USA, EU, Saudi-Arabia, Turkey and Qatar and have many former members of the Assad regime in their ranks! Workers and Peasants: Trust only in your own strength, your own organizations and your own militias!
- * No to any imperialist intervention in Syria! NATO troops - Out of Afghanistan and Mali! Solidarity with the anti-imperialist resistance!
- * For joint struggle of the Workers, Peasants and Poor in Maghreb and Mashreq! Spread the Revolution! For a Socialist Federation of Workers- and Peasants-Republics in Maghreb and Mashreq!
- * International Solidarity with the Struggle of the Syrian

masses! For an international solidarity campaign by the workers movement!

* Build a revolutionary combat party of the workers! For the 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 national sections in various countries. 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!

For these goals the RCIT fights together with the comrades from the *Fracción Leninista Trotskista Internacional* (FLTI) and from the Brigade Sevian al-Laith (Brigade León Sedov) in Syria in the *International Committee in Defense of the Syrian Masses*.

No future without socialism!

No socialism without a revolution!

No revolution without a revolutionary party! ■



Contingent of the RKOB at the Demonstration "Freedom for Syria!" on 15.3.2013 in Austria

Austria: Demonstration in Solidarity with the Revolution in Syria on 15.3.2013

Report from the RKOB (Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency), 15.3.2013

300 people demonstrated on 15.3. in Vienna (Austria) in solidarity with the Syrian Revolution. The demonstration was organized by the *Austrian Co-ordination Council for the Support of the Syrian Revolution*, the *Muslim Youth of Austria*, the *Revolutionary Communist Organization for Liberation (RKOB)* and other organizations. We marched to the place of the Austrian Prime Minister where the final rally was held. Speeches were delivered by a representative of the Syrian Community, the Arab minority in Iran and the RKOB.

The RKOB participated with a militant and well-organized contingent with dozens of activists. We expressed our internationalist solidarity with the Syrian Revolution. We distributed leaflets in German and Turkish language, which contained the main demands of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* – the RKOB is the RCIT's Austrian section.

At the final rally Michael Pröbsting, who is the International Secretary of the RCIT, spoke as the representative of the RKOB. He called the international workers movement to support the liberation struggle in Syria and to send them medicine, clothes and weapons. He condemned

imperialist Russia and China for their support for the Assad regime. Comrade Pröbsting also condemned US and EU imperialism for their support for Israel. He sent greetings to the *Brigade Leon Sedov* and other armed militias of the Syrian liberation struggle. He also expressed his solidarity with the Palestinian freedom fighter Samer al-Issawi who is on hunger strike. Michael Pröbsting demanded the immediate release of al-Issawi as well as all 10.000 Palestinian prisoners in Israel.

Finally he called for the combination of the Syrian Revolution and the liberation struggle in Palestine: "Today Damascus – tomorrow Jerusalem!" He stated the position of the RCIT that Freedom in Syria, Palestine and all other countries can only be achieved if the workers and peasants conquer power.

Pictures of the demonstration as well as a video of the speech of Michael Pröbsting can be viewed at the RKOB website at <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-und-bilder-syriendemo-15-maerz-2013>. A video of the German language speech with English language subtitles will be published soon. ■



Syria: Report from the Sevian al-Laith Brigade (Brigade Leon Sedov)

Report from the Fracción Leninista Trotskista Internacional, 18.12.2012

Thousands of anti-imperialist workers and exploited, mainly youth, from the entire region went to fight against the genocide of the dog Bashar Al-Assad, the fighters of the Brigade Sevian al-Laith and the Internationalist Volunteer Worker Committee went to fight to Syria. They got into the fight shoulder by shoulder with their class brothers who fight against Bashar Al Assad and its genocide army. When they reached the place the genocide against the masses was developing.

The view was shocked: the restless bombs and the murderous troops of the army have already destroyed hundreds of worker neighborhoods and full cities. Hundreds of thousands of exploited were put under the terrible conditions of sufferings and misery.

The jackal Al Assad does the "dirty work" on behalf of the imperialist powers. The planes and helicopters fully armed were their precious weapon. The resistance and the mass organizations in the Coordination Committees had not a single ground-to-air missile when the uprising started.

Here in the battle field was clear that they fight with knives, rifles and with the weapons from the soldiers who broke with the army of Al Assad to fight with their class brothers, the exploited of the entire Syria.

The comrades reached the bloody Syria, the one of the millions of uprising workers and exploited who were left alone by the Union bureaucracies and the social imperialist parties who pose to be for the revolution in order to betray it every day.

However, from the same rubble spread by the blood of thousands of martyrs, the masses continued and continue fighting, this time in a resistance phase. The isolation of their fight and the thousands of treasons prevent that the international uprising process in Syria ends up in success, which could make to roll Al Assad's head as it was done before with Qadafy.

An example of that was the treason as the Communist Party who agreed in the provinces who rules with the murderous Al Assad. As we saw then and we could check in the battle field, it is clearer for the fighter vanguard the terrible role of the "opposition" bourgeoisie and the FSA and its coward generals, who try to destroy the mass self organization bodies, as it is the Coordination Committee, to control militarily the armed masses and used them to negotiate an order way out of the genocide regime of Al Assad. All this was done to expose and left isolated, so it can be slaughter, the best of the Syrian revolutionary vanguard and the anti imperialist fighters who went to fight. Fighting shoulder by shoulder with this heroic resistance of the exploited, the comrades of the Brigade Sevian al-Laith gave and are giving their lives to defeat the tyrant Bashar and its allies, the imperialist vultures, to end with this genocide and for the success of the Socialist revolution so there are bread, work, freedom and dignity for all the exploited ones.

In order to carry on this revolutionary aim, the fighters of the Brigade Sevian al-Laith reached Syria with a clear

program: "to win the war against Al Assad and the murderous troops of the army and for the success of the revolution, it is necessary to expropriate without payment all the factories and the assets of imperialism and their junior partner of the Syrian bourgeoisie, and place them under worker control to conquer bread and hit the bosses where it most hurts: in their pocket and private property".

The internationalist fighters got into fighting for the self organization of the workers, soldiers and poor peasants so they decide on the war and the fight. The ones who die in the battle field can decide. Thus, they launched mass self-organization and self-determination bodies in war, so there are no place for the generals and officer of the FSA passed at last moment to control from inside the mass civil war.

They arrived at the uprising Syria with great courage, as a result of their convictions, knowing what thousands of workers and exploited from the entire region go to fight against the dog Bashar, knowing that we are in the presence of a single and only revolution in the entire North of Africa and Middle East. This revolution will win with the Palestinian flag waving in Jerusalem, over the destruction of the Zionist State of Israel.

This is what the entire reformist left currents wants to cover and on behalf of "socialism" decided to siege the great Syrian revolution. It was these leaderships, servants of the bourgeoisie, the ones that slander the revolutionary masses accusing them to be "ground-troops of imperialism" or looked to the other side while Al Assad slaughter mercilessly, killing thousands of exploited.

For that reason, the Brigade Sevian al-Laith from first day stood up, as revolutionary slogan to lead the fight to break this siege that all the treacherous leaderships put at world level, supporting the murderous arm of Bashar. The comrades are the advanced ones of the movement that was set up passing huge obstacles, in dozens of countries with the aim to destroy the terrible siege imposed by these leaderships who have their hands with blood stain.

They are part of the International Committee in support of the Syrian masses which is flesh and blood of the thousands of workers that despite and against all the union bureaucracies and the reformist left won the streets in the entire world against the genocide Al Assad.

The Sevian al-Laith Brigade enters the combat in the battlefield

On how the generals of the Free Syrian Army gets travestied to disorganized the internationalist combatants

Defending these fighting banners from the core of the revolutionary Syrian masses, comrades of the Brigade Sevian al-Laith knew perfectly with whom not to be in the battlefield to confront truly the murder Al-Assad, and in which barricade not to be placed, that is, in the barricade of the ex-assadists of the Free Syrian Army (FSA) that have been playing a role in favor of the masses' enemies.

The combatants of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith knew that all those generals were with Bashar and were obliged to break with that genocide army and pretend they passed on the revolution side because the base soldiers disobeyed any order and unified with their weapons to the insurgent Syrian masses.

They only "pretended" to be "revolutionary" but they only tried- and even try- to control, isolate and mislead the revolutionary masses for them not to defeat the repressive apparatus of Bashar and thus, they could pact from behind masses' backs an ordered way-out, that is, of Al Assad and a transitional government to expropriate the revolution and masses' blood.

These generals are loyal servants of the Syrian National Council (SNC), these gathering of coward bosses hidden in five-star hotels with a lot of time for cameras and television of the international press, openly servants of imperialism and its political regimes and socio-economic systems. The thousands of fighters that arrived in Syria did not trust, and don't have any illusion in the SNC and its speech of "democracy" and "freedom". Their objective was crystal clear: defeat the dog Al-Assad and take again the revolutionary offensive road of Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt...and for their fight not to be expropriated by the generals who have a lot of "stars" on their lapels but they don't fire any bullet against the true occupation troop on account of imperialism, that is, the murderous Al-Assad army.

Having it clear, the internationalist fighters could quickly know those with more experience in the place, in the war against Bashar. But they realized that those brave fighters did not have a clear view on "who was who" in the battlefield.

One of these groups invited the Brigades' comrades to fight together with them. But something sounded wrong: this brigade seemed to be of the FSA due to his name. Facing this, the Brigade Sevan al-Laith asked the commandant of the group if they were of the FSA and he responded determinedly: "NOOO!!! *We are religious fighters*".

Religious fighters!?!? Justly, that was and is the banner under which they chose to fight the thousands of internationalist fighters that reached Syria and did not trust the SNC.

But, what does "religious fighter" really mean?...quickly the internationalist fighters could prove it taking part of the battle with the group previously mentioned. This experience made in the same battlefield showed the huge traps and deceits where the heroic Syrian masses permanently were led. It is showed how the boss politicians, the sold out Stalinist leaderships, etc. made the impossible for the resistance not to win yet.

The first operation was a disaster. The road was eternal. The comings and goings were infinite. The attack to the enemy was totally non-coordinate and the moment of the withdrawal never was announced. Thus, the Brigade Sevan al-Laith together with a handful of fighters were left alone for two hours under the risk of being trapped like hostages or executed in a sudden assault of the enemy. The worst thing was that when the Syrian fighters were asked to which group they belong they responded and swore they were soldiers of the FSA.

But how? Their commandant had said the contrary! Why would he lie? Very grateful for being alive since they were left abandoned on their own, the comrades went to the

meeting point where they expected to settle account with the commandant.

Once there, excuse after excuse, the shameless commandant tried to hide the lie. At that moment it was clear why he acted in that way: he was one of the ex-assadist generals of the FSA. But they had to mask themselves as "religious fighters" before the eyes of the internationalist fighters that massively were arriving at Syria to fight for the revolution and did not want to fight under the orders of the FSA's generals since internationally it was known very well who they were and his past together with Bashar.

Thus, these generals masked themselves as "jihadistas" naming some brigades with Islamic names to be able to content and gather under their command the internationalist combatants arriving to the battlefield, mostly Muslims.

The experience of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith with the true jihadist groups in the battlefield.

The coward FSA's generals continue their counterrevolutionary action against the militant vanguard

In the battlefield, in this civil war, the true jihadist groups were also fighting, most of them gather anti-imperialist fighters. The purpose of these groups' leaderships is to install an "Islamic government". According to them, this government will bring the solution to the Syrian People's sufferings and thus the revolution's demands will be solved. Moreover, they vindicate firmly anti-U.S., his culture and policy and raise the banners of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestine like symbols of resistance to the Yankee kingdom and remembering the battles carried out at the "beginning of Islam".

The combatants of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith knew to understand such contradiction in the exploited's conscience. The most anti-imperialist and relentlessly vanguard leading a just war was on the road to surpass these limits but on their own experience.

As correspondent, I have seen the internationalist fighters fight side by side masses against the murder Al-Assad but also explain patiently that the only government that really can resolve the masses' demands will be a government of the workers, exploited and their fighting organizations of the North of Africa and Middle East able to guarantee bread, work expropriating bosses and the imperialism all around the region.

But this can only be propelled from the struggle, from the same barricades and trenches of the anti-imperialist fighters and exploited Syrian masses.

Thus, to accompany this experience of struggle and mass self-organization, they decided to join the combat of such anti-imperialist group. Inside it there are full of brave and ferocious fighters for the victory of the revolution and for solving the masses' demands. This is the contradictory conscience of the fighting vanguard in Syria...they fight for bread, hate imperialism and as regards their struggle, conscience and action they are million times more ahead-"these backward masses" as the reformists like to say-than all the general staffs of the left lackey of imperialism in the planet.

Thus, Brigade Sevan al-Laith returned to the battlefield. But every worker that gave their life fighting against the dog Bashar found the main obstacle that the resistance en-

countered to advance to reach the victory: the FSA's generals that were focused on follow each brigade where they went trying to send them to suicidal missions.

Thus, that's the second reason why the Syrian revolution hasn't won yet together with the isolation the treacherous leaders imposed on them, that is, the "Trojan Horse" of the FSA's generals inside it. Many may wonder why these FSA's generals are acquiring weight in such fight now in his phase of resistance. This is because none organization of the European working class sent brigades to fight in the class war in Syria.

None worker brigades from the French, English, Greek trade unions have come as they did so during the Spain Civil war in the 30s... today it would have changed radically the situation of the Syrian working class and exploited and prevented the manipulation of the exploited's civil war against Al-Assad on the part of the bourgeoisie.

Surely this left lackey of imperialism will be sorry for the "backward conscience" of the masses fighting Al-Assad that according to them it would be the cause that allow the FSA manipulates. But the cause of it is their treason dividing the European and international working class from those who fight a heroic war against the exploiters in Syria. Many of these currents like the English SWP and his international current the IST lead or have influence on the Egyptian trade unions. We have seen masses demonstrating from Tharir square to the Syrian embassies at the war cry: "*Al-Assad guards the borders of Zionism*" but we haven't seen the leaders and unions led by them sending combatants, food, money, medicine, etc. to dispute the war leadership to the bourgeoisie in the civil war against Al-Assad.

Thus, these FSA generals know very well how to try to break the fighting moral of the militia-men. One of the so many lies is to say "we need you with us to fight in a city that is nearly liberated, in a 60%, 70% or maybe 80%". This filled of joy the different brigades after a year and a half of genocide, tiredness and massacre with the Al-Assad army armed to the teeth. But the FSA generals encouraged them to go to the battle while ordering the withdrawal to their own soldiers.

Therefore, the brave brigades stayed alone, isolated in the battlefield as cannon flesh to be massacred by the *kalb* Al-Assad army. And if even under such conditions the brigades achieved any victory, the coward rats of the FSA took all the credit for the victory and the military booty and supplies handled only by the generals and they don't let any soldier touch it.

As generals of the "opponent" bourgeoisie, they fear much more that masses get armed and self-organized like in Libya than the own Al-Assad with whom they seek a pact of transition towards "democracy" and to prevent that the exploiters' state can be dislocated by the revolutionary victory.

One of the so many traps they tried to impose on Brigade Sevan al-Laith was to tell them: "we besieged a small town of *basharist* soldiers; we have a great quantity of weapons, artillery, and infantry, we need a group like yours to assault, it is clear, after using all our potential". Believing that the dog's army was out of supplies, eroded and decreased, the brigade was ready to assault. But at the moment of action it was witnessed how the FSA generals put away all their armament and since their deployment resulted less

harmful than a rain, while they gave the order "now, enter now" they left them alone again in the vanguard before basharist forces not decreased at all. Understanding this play, the comrades decided not to advance till the FSA ends up using all his armament.

But their plan was carefully thought: instead of using all the artillery, these coward men "sent" their troops to make believe combatants they would carry out the assault. They advanced 100 meters and the group of combatants unified them. But at the 200 meters, the group was alone again since all the FSA troops refolded and abandoned the battlefield because the order given by the generals was to retreat. When the group reached the battle front saw that the dog Bashar army instead of being eroded without supply was very well armed, strengthened. For these Al-Assad generals' responsibility disguised as FSA, two new martyrs shed their blood and four were injured.

After this event, the jihadist group's leader gave the preventive order that if in any future operation the same could happen again, they must shoot any member of the FSA who contradict the battle plan agreed previously since it was already clear that the plan was always changed to leave fighters at the mercy of the basharist army. In fact, the leader added "your enemy now is the FSA". However, the comrades of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith could know that this question was not welcome among all the leadership of the group. Few days after, the leaders was accused falsely of misappropriation of funds. With this excuse he was removed from their post. It was proved the collaborationism between the jihadist groups' leaders and the high command of the FSA.

The current fight of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith so that the revolution against imperialism and all their lackeys win

The Brigade Sevan al-Laith as all the fighters of the uprising working class and exploited needed to overpass all type of traps from the generals of the FSA (today they are disguised with other names) in order to fight against the murderous army of Bashar. These are the generals who are preparing to expropriate the revolution.

For that reason the fighters of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith fight decisively these generals and the pirates of the SNC who have the support of the governments of the imperialist powers, from the Arab countries and other nations that call themselves "friends of Syria". They are the same governments that supported Al Assad so he can smash the revolution. So far the revolution, after using Bashar so he can make the "dirty work", he is being left aside and has agreed an order plan to take him out of power. For that reason all this bandits declared that "*Bashar opposition is the one that has to rule the legitimate government of Syria*".

Having this aim, the fighters of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith denounced: the generals of the FSA are in a hurry to get territory specially fighting "easy" fights. This is because when the army of the dog was strong, it was not the generals of the FSA the ones that fought them against. It was the Syrian masses and the internationalist fighters who did it. When the FSA saw that the exploited were going to success, quickly they send their troops to fight under their command, so that they could expropriate the success of the armed masses and in this way make them believe that

it was thank to them.

Thus, while the resistance gave their lives in the battle field, where the blood of thousands of workers and internationalist martyrs was spread, without any help from the generals of the FSA, they claimed from the beginning that they had ground-to-air missile SAM7 preparing to smash Bashar's plane. With this, they tried to hack mail the Brigade Sevan al-Laith and all the militant groups so they stayed with them, as they have heavy weapons that they said they received it from Libya. But these were never used against Bashar planes which fully bombed the entire Syria leaving in ruins everything.

When they could not hide anymore that they have those missiles, these generals gave excuses of all kind why they were not used saying that "we kept them for Palestine or when the situation get worse and they would be more necessary".

It was when they were giving the ok from their imperialist chief, they start showing the weapons to move forward in the plan to defeat the revolution.

In this way, the generals of the FSA were moving and wining territory, getting more international acknowledge while they declared they have already prepared the transition.

Even in this situation in Syria there are many workers and youth fighting for the real revolution, without being under the control of the generals of the FSA. This is the case of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith and thousands of internationalist fighters.

For that reason from Obama to the generals of the FSA, going through all the representatives of the "Syria friends" declared openly the presence of "terrorist organizations enemies of the freedom" in Syria. They referred to the brigades. With this slanders seek to isolate the masses and prepare the conditions as soon as they take the legacy of Bashar, they would be shooting against the fighters as Al Assad used to do it and continues doing it.

If this does not success, NATO is settled in Turkey in the borders with Syria with high tech weapons to be used against the masses when it is necessary.

The ones that pose as "friends of the revolution", champions of the freedom and democracy" are in reality the grave digger of the revolutions. They came to steal the fight of the Syrian masses and the internationalist who were fighting. They also come to smash the ones that Bashar could not kill. This is possible so far because, due to the actions of the union bureaucracies and the worker aristocracy of the world and their social-imperialist parties. They have fenced the Syrian revolution. They support the expropriator governments, posed as "democratic" and their fake anti democratic "Constituent Assembly", in order to take away from the masses their fight for bread and against imperialism, this is the fight for the worker revolution which started in Tunisia and today has reached Gaza.

The uprising process which split the Syrian army, that set up the Coordination Committees with workers, peasants and soldiers some months ago have moved back. So far there are exploited who fight against the hunger and the genocide in Syria and the entire Middle East the resistance is alive.

For that reason the fighters of the Brigade Sevan al-Laith keep fighting today more than ever, with it organization, with the best of the vanguard and the Syrian masses. Knowing that in order to fight against and defeat Al Assad it is necessary to fight for the masses break with the generals of the FSA, the SNC and all their friends. Their fight is for all the honest revolutionary fighters, from Syria or other countries, who are fighting for the success of the revolution, do not keep under the commands of the generals of the FSA, break with them and unified their forces against Bashar and take in their hands the fight for the success of the revolution in the entire North of Africa and Middle East. ■



Two of the Martyrs of the Brigade Leon Sedov which is fighting for working class power in Syria

New Wave of Israeli terror against Gaza: Support the Palestinian Resistance! Defeat the Zionist killing machine!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 15.11.2012

1. The Israeli state has again launched on 14th November a murderous wave of airstrikes and rocket attacks against the Palestinian people in Gaza. In the first 24 hours they have already killed at least 15 Palestinians – including several children and a pregnant woman – and injured more than 150. These numbers are rising every hour. Among the dead is also Ahmed al-Jabari, head of Ezzedine al-Qassam Brigades (Hamas' military wing).

2. This is just the latest round of killing and oppression against the Palestinian people. Remember the war which Israel launched against the Gaza in December 2008 and January 2009 when it slaughtered 1.400 people! In fact the whole history of Zionism and of Israel since its foundation in 1948 is marked by oppression and expulsion of the Palestinian people. Israel is a capitalist Apartheid state which systematically oppresses the Palestinians.

3. While the Israeli state is the killer, it couldn't do this dirty job without the decades-long support from Western imperialism. It could not even exist without the massive military and financial aid, which it receives every year from the Western Great Powers (e.g. Israel is the No. 1 among the recipients of U.S. foreign aid). Israel gets this support because it is a colonial settler-state which acts as a watchdog of the US and European imperialist interests in the Middle East.

4. The international workers movement and all pro-

gressive organizations must rally to the support of the Palestinian people who heroically defend themselves against the Israeli killing machine. We need solidarity actions all over the world – demonstrations, strikes, direct actions against Israeli and US symbols, boycott actions etc. The RCIT calls for:

* *Defend Gaza! Victory to the Palestinian resistance! Defeat the Israeli aggression!*

* *Egypt must immediately open the border to Gaza! It must terminate all relations with Israel, including its ongoing gas deliveries to Israel.*

* *For unconditional material and military support for the Palestinian people and the armed resistance to fight the Israeli army!*

* *Transport workers: Stop all deliveries to Israel! Trade unions and all progressive organizations must support the ongoing global boycott campaign against Israel! Shut down the Israeli embassies all over the world! The racist trade union in Israel "Histadrut" should be expelled from the "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions". For international trade union support for the Palestinian unions and for anti-Zionist workers organizations inside Israel! Progressive academic organizations should break off contact with Zionist institutions in Israel. At the same time they should expand cooperation with Palestinian and Jewish anti-Zionist forces.*

* *Unite the Arab Revolution with a renewed Intifada in Palestine! For committees and councils of action in enterprises and*

RKOB: Reports from Gaza Solidarity Demonstrations

Rally in Vienna on 16.11.2012

The first rally in solidarity with the Palestinian people in Gaza was a full success, despite the fact that it had to be organized in 24 hours. 400 demonstrators – most of them migrants from Arab countries and Turkey – gathered at the Stephansplatz in Vienna on Friday, 16 November 2012. In numerous chants demonstrators condemned the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people in Gaza.

Johannes Wiener, spokesman for the *Revolutionary Communist Organization for Liberation* (RKOB, Austrian section of the RCIT), said in his speech that in this war we stand unambiguously on the side of the Palestinian resistance: "We stand for the victory of Gaza and for the defeat of Israel!"

Paula Abrams-Hourani, spokeswoman for the "Women in Black" and "critical Jewish voices" condemned the Israeli attack in strong terms.

A number of other speakers, including representatives of the Palestinian, Syrian and the Turkish community as well as the AIK and "Left turn" called for solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The rally was chaired by Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT). Pröbsting announced the next

demonstration on Monday, 19th November.

On Saturday, 17 November, a RKOB public meeting will take place in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance where we will also discuss the next actions.

The demonstrations was reported in several bourgeois papers including the widest read newspaper in Vienna "HEUTE", which is a free tabloid, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/art23652,826047>)

Pictures and videos of the rally can be viewed on the RKOB website www.rkob.net ■



Contingent of the RKOB at the Gaza Solidarity Demo on 23.11.2012

towns to organize such an Intifada from below.

** Israeli worker, Activists of the "tent city" movement: Raise your voice and demonstrate in protest against the aggression of "your" government! Israeli soldiers: Do everything possible to sabotage these war crimes!*

** Support the Syrian Revolution against the reactionary Assad dictatorship!*

** Down with the sanctions against Iran! Defend Iran against imperialist and Israeli war-mongering!*

5. The RCIT supports the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. That is why in the struggle between the Palestinians and the Israeli state we are on the side of the former - despite our absolute rejection of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces at the forefront of these struggles (like Hamas). All Palestinians must have the right to return to their homeland. Likewise, the land grab must be reversed and the Palestinians must get their land returned. The return of the displaced people of course means that the Palestinians will constitute the majority of the population.

6. We therefore reject the existence of a Jewish state in Palestine because it can only exist as long as the expulsion of the Palestinians continues to exist. We reject a "two-state solution". This would deny the Palestinians the right of return. Likewise, a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza would be reduced to a Bantustan, a dependent de-facto colony of the much richer and more powerful Israel. The State of Israel must be destroyed and be replaced by a *secular, Arab-Jewish workers' republic in the whole of Palestine*. In such a state, the Palestinians and the Jews, who accept the elimination of the privileges of the apartheid state of Israel, can live together equally and peacefully. We

combine this perspective with the struggle for a *socialist federation of the people in the Middle East*.

7. The RCIT condemns all those reformist forces (like most left-wing social democrats and ex-Stalinist parties) which criticize equally Israel and "terrorist organizations" like Hamas, which defend the right of existence for Israel (including centrists like the CWI) or which refuse to support the Palestinian resistance because it is led by petty-bourgeois Islamist forces like Hamas (including many other centrist groups based in the Western world like the IMT or the British AWL). Of course, revolutionary socialists don't share an inch of the political goals of the petty-bourgeois leaderships of Hamas. However only a fool or a servant of imperialism can deny that this is a war between an oppressor state (Israel) and an oppressed people - the Palestinians! The Palestinians fight for their right to live and exist! Any left-wing organization which stands aside in this war, which refuses to support the struggle of the Palestinian resistance under its existing leadership against the Israeli aggression, under the pretext of secular democracy or socialism, betrays exactly such democratic and socialist principles!

8. While we support the heroic struggle of the Palestinian fighters of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other resistance organizations, we warn against any illusion in the petty-bourgeois leaderships of these organizations. The working class in Palestine and internationally need their independent fighting party for socialism. Forward in building a revolutionary workers party as part of a Fifth International based on a revolutionary program! Long live international solidarity! ■

which took place in Austria in November 2012

Demonstration in Vienna on 19.12.2012

The Revolutionary Communist Organization for the Liberation (RKOB) - together with the youth organization RED*REVOLUTION - called for a demonstration on 19.11.2012 in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance. Already three days before, there was a demonstration in which both organizations had played a central role.

On Monday, 19.11., we met on Stephansplatz in the centre of Vienna at 4pm despite the rain, to show their solidarity with the oppressed Palestinians. After a rally with a number of speeches at the beginning, about 150 people marched in a militant spirit to the U.S. Embassy. We chanted slogans like "Let Gaza live!" "Freedom for Palestine", "Down, down Israel!", "Palestine will be free - From the River to the Sea!" "Intifada", "One solution, Revolution!" and other slogans.

Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, stressed the complicity of the imperialist powers - especially the U.S. and the EU - in the oppression of Palestinians. He emphasized the importance of an international campaign against the imperialist propaganda and the oppressor state Israel.

Johannes Wiener and Nina Gunić, spokespersons of the

RKOB, as well as organizers of the aid campaign "We are all Gaza!", stressed the importance of direct aid to our Palestinian brothers and sisters.

The spokesman for the youth organization RED*REVOLUTION, Marc Hangler, condemned Israel's actions sharply and emphasized its character as an apartheid state. Together with Maja Borisavljevic he called for an immediate end to attacks on Gaza and for the prevention of imminent ground offensive by Israel. Moreover Souha Khamini, an activist in the solidarity movement with Gaza, and Mohamed Aburous, spokesman for the campaign "Gaza must live" expressed in speeches their solidarity with Gaza.

This demonstration was a further important step in the solidarity work with Palestine. It was also an important action to support the creation of solidarity committees with Gaza as part of the "We are all Gaza!" campaign.

A preparatory meeting of the campaign as well as the preparation for the creation of various committees will take place on 21.11. The demonstrations of 16.11. and on 19.11. were excellent, but they can only be a beginning! Shoulder to shoulder with our brothers and sisters in Palestine! Long live international solidarity!

Pictures and videos of the demonstration at 19.11. can be viewed on the RKOB website www.rkob.net ■

Gaza Solidarity in Austria: Report of the Demonstration on 23.11.2012

RKOB, Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 25.11.2012

About 400-500 people joined a demonstration on 23.11. against the Israeli war of terror in Gaza. Several organizations of the Muslim migrant community as well as the campaign "Gaza must live" and the RKOB (Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency) called for the demonstration. In addition also a number of activists from the Syrian opposition against the Assad dictatorship joined the demonstration.

The RKOB had a militant and lively contingent of about 60-70 activists. We raised slogans in German, Arabic and Turkish language in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance and against the Zionist oppressor state. Our internationalism was well reflected also by the fact that activists from Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Austria, Bosnia, Serbia, Somalia, Kurdistan, Egypt, Poland and other countries participated in our contingent. The RKOB was the most active left-wing force in all actions since the Gaza war started. (at the same time we also want to mention the valuable contribution of the comrades from the Anti-imperialist Camp).

Michael Pröbsting, representative of RKOB, stressed in his speech at the closing rally the need for a determined and resolute struggle for the freedom of Palestine. He stressed the importance of the resistance of the Palestinian people in Gaza. It is used worldwide as a symbol of the struggle against oppression. Oppression and exploitation of the working people takes place not only in Palestine but also in other countries including Austria. It is therefore decisive to build a massive and determined resistance to fight for our rights.

The reformist and centrist Austrian workers movement and left were largely absent. They ignored not only the demonstration on 23.11. but all (!) solidarity actions since the beginning of the war. This is not accidentally but reflects the massive strength of Zionist positions in the official labour movement. In particular social democracy has a significant pro-Israeli wing. The leadership of the Communist Party has also moved towards Zionism in the past decade. CP leader Walter Baier accused our comrade

Pröbsting in 2006 in an article in the main bourgeois daily paper "Die Presse" of "Anti-Semitism" because we reject the existence of the Israeli state! The centrist left finally does not want to isolate themselves from the reformist milieu or is simply full of aristocratic prejudices for the migrants and oppressed people so they ignore this issue. A weakness of the demonstration was the failure of a significant part of the Muslim community leaderships to mobilize. They hesitated to mobilize from the beginning. Only after several days of war they agreed to call for a demonstration and they did do so only because of the massive pressure of many ordinary Muslim migrants. When the ceasefire was agreed – which took place a day after the community leaders announced the demonstration – the pressure from the rank and file lessened a bit so many leaders felt released from the obligation to mobilize. As a result we didn't see several thousands of migrants on the streets – as it was the case during the war in 2008/09 or during the Mavi Marmara crisis in June 2010 – but only several hundreds.

This reflects the petty-bourgeois character of the Muslim community leaderships. They wish to avoid mass mobilizations in order to prevent a radicalization of the rank and file and to prevent that they come into contact with people like us "the communists".

This was particularly the case this time where the RKOB could – through its active and very visible intervention from the first day of the war – build a prestige, profile and contacts with many migrants. As a result a sector of the community leadership wiped up anti-communist prejudices and slander amongst their supporters against us. So at the demonstration hard-core supporters of these petty-bourgeois leaders tried to harass a number of Muslims who are sympathetic to our participation and activities in the Gaza solidarity movement. Some even tried to destroy our flags. Naturally we reacted in an organized and determined way. We are glad that many brothers and sisters from the Muslim community opposed the destructive intervention from these petty-bourgeois forces and helped us to stop this. We denounce the behavior of this sector of the community leadership as divisive and reactionary.

In order to beat the Israeli oppression we don't need communalist backward isolation of migrants but the unity in struggle of the oppressed.

Pictures and videos of the rally can be viewed on the RKOB website:

<http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-und-bilder-gaza-23-nov-2012/>

We refer those who are interested to a video from the Egyptian video producer Khaled Hamdoun. It gives a good impression of the Gaza solidarity rally on 18.11.2012 and includes also interviews with two leaders of the RKOB:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RGdT6905vT8&feature=colike> ■



Austria: Pro-Israeli War-Mongers try to throw 20-year old Palestine Solidarity Activist into Prison

RKOB spokesperson Johannes Wiener is accused of „sedition“ because of a Pro-Palestine speech during the Gaza War

Statement of the RKOB, Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 13.12.2012

20-year old Palestine Solidarity Activist and RKOB spokesperson Johannes Wiener has been accused of „sedition“ and must appear soon at the “Federal Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution and Counter-Terrorism” in Vienna (this is the long name for the Secret Police in Austria). His crime: He held a speech in solidarity with the Palestine Resistance at a mass rally on 16.11.2012 during the recent Gaza War. As a result comrade Wiener faces the threat of up to two years in prison. His militant speech has caused some public attention and was already viewed 6.500 times since then. It has been published as a video both on the RKOB website as well as of the bourgeois daily paper HEUTE. (1)

The accusation of „sedition“ is nothing but an attempt to criminalize a long-standing socialist and anti-imperialist position: to stand in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance and to characterize Israel as an Apartheid state. Those, who dare to speak out the truth, should be sentenced, fined or even put in prison. Such an attempt to criminalize even the public expression of this position is unique in Austria.

The file has been charged most likely by pro-Israeli war monger circles. Those forces have already in the past weeks agitated massively against the RKOB and Johannes Wiener because of his speech. They organized a rally in Vienna on 21.11. called “Solidarity with Israel – Free Gaza from Hamas!”. Amongst the organizers and speakers at this rally were former leftist (extreme Zionist so-called “Anti-Germans”) who lecture at the university, fundamentalist sects like the “Christens for Israel”, various religious-Zionist sects, the Israeli ambassador, as well as the youth organization of the Green Party and the university student group of the Communist Party (which is part of the European Left Party). (2)

As a side note we shall mention that the racist right wing party FPÖ also expressed their solidarity with Israel during the recent Gaza war. (3) And these right forces also harassed the RKOB last year and filed a charge against us (albeit without success). (4)

These pro-Israeli war mongers hate us since years because of our solidarity activities for the Palestine resistance and against the imperialist wars in the Middle East. They even call us “Anti-Semitic”! In 2006 they took our comrade Michael Pröbsting – today the International Secretary of the RCIT – to the court and got him sentenced. Now they try the same with our 20-year old comrade Johannes Wiener. The RKOB and Johannes Wiener have become now again the target of the pro-Israeli war mongers, because we played an active and leading role in the solidarity activities during the recent Gaza War. (5) Together with many pro-Palestinian activists we have been repeatedly on the street campaigning. We have expressed openly in leaflets, meetings and speeches what we are standing for: (6)

** Defend Gaza! Solidarity with the Palestinian resistance! Defeat the Israeli aggression!*

** No to the Apartheid state Israel! For a socialist state in the whole of Palestine in which Arabs and Jews can live together as equals and peacefully!*

Now the Zionist forces want to criminalize this position. They want to hurt us politically and finically. They want to discourage others to join the socialist struggle for the liberation of Palestine! We must stop them! Whether you fully share our point of view or not – it is now important to join forces against the criminalization of anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist position!

We demand: Drop immediately the charges against the pro-Palestine activist Johannes Wiener!

(1) The speech can be seen at <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-gaza-16-nov-2012>, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/art23652,826047>, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/sts23561,9345>

(2) The complete list of the mobilizing forces and speakers can be found at the website of the organizers <http://freegazafromhamas.wordpress.com/2012/11/17/kundgebung-solidaritat-mit-israel-befreit-gaza-von-der-hamas/>

(3) See Michael Pröbsting: FPÖ-Führer Strache und „Antinationaler“ Stephan Grigat unterstützen Israels Terrorkrieg gegen den Gaza, 18.11.2012, www.rkob.net/international/nordafrika-und-der-arabische-raum/gaza-fp%C3%B6-antinationale,

(4) See: Im linken Eck sprießen die gewaltbereiten Gruppen, <http://www.unzensuriert.at/Tags/RKOB>

(5) See on this various reports by the RKOB which have been translated into English:

** Gaza Solidarity in Austria: report of the first rally and plans for next actions*, 16.12.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/report-gaza-rally-16-11>, Pictures: <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/bilder-gaza-16-nov-2012/>, Videos: <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-gaza-16-nov-2012/>

** Successful demonstration in Vienna in solidarity with Gaza!*, 19.11.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/report-gaza-demo-19-11>, Pictures: <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/bilder-gaza-19-nov-2012/>, Videos: <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-gaza-19-nov-2012/>

** Gaza Solidarity in Austria: report of the demonstration on 23.11.* <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/report-gaza-demo-23-11-2012>, Video and Pictures: <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-und-bilder-gaza-23-nov-2012/>

There are also some more additional reports on the RKOB website in German language.

(6) RCIT: New Wave of Israeli terror against Gaza: Support the Palestinian Resistance! Defeat the Zionist killing machine! Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 15.11.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/defend-gaza>; See also an article of the RKOB about the situation in Palestine after the ceasefire by Johannes Wiener: Nach dem Waffenstillstand im Gaza: Friede in Palästina? 22.11.2012, <http://www.rkob.net/international/nordafrika-und-der-arabische-raum/gaza-friede> ■

Austria: Israelite Cultus Community attempts to criminalize partisanship for the Palestinian Resistance!

Charge of "Sedition" against RKOB Spokesperson and Palestine Solidarity Activist Johannes Wiener is a Pretext for Attack on Freedom of Expression

Statement of the RKOB, Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, (RCIT), 20.12.2012

As we reported, the 20-year old RKOB spokesman and Palestine solidarity activist Johannes Wiener has been charged of "sedition" because of his pro-Palestinian speech at a Gaza demonstration on 16.11.2012 in Austria. (1) In case he gets convicted by court, our comrade Johannes Wiener is threatened with up to two years in jail. We have now been informed about the exact content of the charge against Johannes Wiener.

Who is behind the charge? The charge of "sedition" has been issued by the Israelite Cultus Community (IKG). In addition they initiated together with well-known pro-Zionist groups a coordinated lobbying campaign whereby the President, the Chancellor and the Home Secretary were targeted with countless emails with an appeal that the state apparatus finally intervenes against RKOB spokesman Johannes Wiener.

The coordinated campaign of these pro-Zionist circles against our comrade Johannes Wiener is no coincidence. The Israelite Cultus Community and their warmonger friends have organized – during the Gaza war – a rally in Vienna on 21.11.2012. This rally was called "Solidarity with Israel - Free Gaza from Hamas" at which the participants cheered the Israeli bombing of and the blockade against the Gaza.

What is the exact content of the charge of „Sedition“?

The charge against Johannes Wiener is an attempt of the pro-Israeli warmongers to criminalize anything that can be interpreted as an open partisanship for the Palestin-

ian resistance. Concretely, Israelite Cultus Community sees "sedition" in the following statements of Johannes Wiener in his speech at the Palestine Solidarity rally on 16.11.2012:

* *The repeated chanting of the slogan "INTIFADA" as well as the expression of support for the Intifada of the Palestinian people.*

* *The expression of support for the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli state, both in its unarmed and its armed form.*

* *The call for the destruction ("extinction") of the State of Israel and for the existence of a single state in all of Palestine from the River to the Sea.*

The real meaning of this charge is that this a fundamental attack on the basic democratic rights of freedom of expression! Would the Israelite Cultus Community succeed with this in the court and get Johannes Wiener and his positions sentenced, it would mean that pro-Palestinian activists in Austria have less freedom of expression than Jewish-Israeli activists in Israel itself who are in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance!

Our decades-long tradition of Anti-Imperialism in Word and Deed

The RKOB and its predecessor organizations have never made any secret of their positions. Since the beginning of our existence in the 1980s, we called for the unconditional support of the Palestinian resistance – armed and unarmed – and we defended the Intifada. (2) We have always rejected terrorist attacks on civilians. (3) We have called

Statements in Solidarity with RCIT-Activist Johannes Wiener

Below we give the names of organizations and activists who published statements in solidarity with RCIT Activist Johannes Wiener when he was charged with „sedition“ because of his Pro-Palestine Speech at a Gaza demonstration in Austria on 16.11.2012. The statement can be read in full on the RCIT website www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/solidarity-with-johannes-wiener. We thank all organizations and individual activists who showed their internationalist solidarity!

We give the names of organizations and activists in alphabetic order.

Arbeiter*innenstandpunkt (Austrian Section of the LFI)
Comité Communiste Internationaliste (trotskyste) (France)
Collectif Révolution Permanente (CoReP – Austria, France, Peru)
Corriente Obrera Revolucionaria (Chile, Argentina)
Fracción Leninista Trotskista Internacional (FLTI, Sections in Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Lybia, Peru,

Syria, Venezuela, Zimbabwe)

Gruppe Klassenkampf (CoReP, Austria):

Humanist Workers for Revolutionary Socialism (USA)

Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine)

Isci Cephesi (Workers Front, Turkey)

Joao Evangelista (Trade Union delegate in the Municipal teacher's union of the City of São Paulo, Brazil, <http://elmundosocialista.blogspot.com.br>)

John Leslie, Philadelphia Against War, USA (personal capacity)

Kollektiv Yakov Perelman (Spain)

League for the Revolutionary Party (USA)

Liaison Committee of Communists (Aotearoa/New Zealand, USA, Zimbabwe)

Maide Aybala Petek (Migrant student from Turkey, living in Austria)

OKDE (Organization of Communists – Internationalists, Greece)

Shmuel Yerushalmi (Israel)

Workers International Vanguard Party (South Africa) ■

for the destruction of the Apartheid state Israel and for its replacement by a single socialist state in all of Palestine, which would allow the return of the 7.5 million Palestinian refugees, and in which Arabs and Jews could live on an equal basis. (4) We always combined this with a sharp rejection of any form of anti-Semitism – a position which we proved in practice by our participation in numerous anti-fascist and anti-racist actions. (5)

During the U.S. occupation wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the Israeli terrorist war against Hezbollah in Lebanon in 2006 and against the Gaza 2008/10, and in November 2012, we called for the following positions on the basis of our communist, anti-imperialist program: (6)

** For unconditional support for the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples!*

** For the defeat of the imperialist troops and an end to occupation!*

** For the military victory of the resistance movements, but no support for the program of the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois movements at the head of the resistance!*

** For a socialist perspective of the workers and peasants power in the oppressed countries!*

** For the destruction of Israel and its replacement with a single socialist state from the river to the sea, in which Palestinians and Jews live together on an equal basis!*

We advocated these positions via militant contingents and speeches on numerous demonstrations, at many public meetings as well as in our publications. Our program and our positions are not a secret, but have always been public and transparent for everyone. (7)

Our organization has proven for more than two decades that it is anti-imperialist in word and deed. We are proud of this. For that we are hated by the friends of the American and Israeli war on terror. For that they have dragged our comrade Michael Pröbsting to the court and slandered him in 2006. For that they now want to drag our comrade Johannes Wiener to the court and – if they succeed – send him to jail.



Johannes Wiener: National Secretary of the RKOB

International Solidarity Movement against Zionism – including in Israel

The socialist solidarity with the Palestinian resistance and the rejection of the Apartheid state of Israel has a long history and represents a broad international movement. This movement exists in many countries. It is independent of skin color, nationality or religious affiliation. It finds expression in the fact that already within a few days, a number of socialist organizations from Israel, South Africa, Latin America, Libya, Syria, the USA, Western Europe, New Zealand etc have expressed their solidarity with our comrades Johannes Wiener. (8)

This solidarity with the Palestinian resistance and the rejection of the Apartheid state Israel finds also support by an undoubtedly small minority within Israel. We have published on our website messages from Jewish-Israeli activists in solidarity with Johannes Wiener. (9) These groups of Jewish activists in Israel are part of a global solidarity movement that advocates the destruction of Israel and its replacement with a joint Palestinian-Jewish state. (10)

The attack by the Israelite Cultus Community, the pro-Israeli war mongers and the right-wing rabble-rouser (including a brothel owner) must be stopped!

The Israelite Cultus Community wants to destroy a right which has been exercised for decades: until now, socialist activists could freely express their solidarity with the Palestinian resistance publicly. Equally they could call for the abolition of the Apartheid state Israel. If the Israelite Cultus Community succeeds with its attempt to sentence Johannes Wiener, this will no longer be possible.

* The Israelite Cultus Community wants to ban public support for the Intifada at demonstrations in Austria.

* The Israelite Cultus Community wants to ban the expression of solidarity with the Palestinian resistance in its unarmed and armed form in speeches at demonstrations in Austria.

* And the Israelite Cultus Community wants to prohibit the advocacy of the abolition of the Apartheid state Israel and its replacement by a single socialist state in all of Palestine.

This is not surprising. In fact the Israelite Cultus Community acts currently as a henchman of the Apartheid state Israel. They organize rallies to cheer the Israeli bombing and the hunger blockade against the Palestinian people in Gaza.

But their state is in a crisis. As the Israeli Marxist Yossi Schwartz emphasize in an upcoming interview on our website, Israel has lost its last four wars. They had to withdraw from Lebanon in 2000, they lost the war against Hezbollah in 2006 and they failed to smash the Palestinian Resistance and Hamas in Gaza in 2008/09 and in November 2012. The Arab Revolution since 2011 has removed a number of dictatorships which loyally served US and EU imperialism and guaranteed a stable regional order from which Israel profited.

Against the background of this crisis, the ruling class in Israel increasingly panics. The permanent threats of war against Iran are an expression of this. The attempt of the Israelite Cultus Community to silence pro-Palestinian solidarity activists in Austria is another expression of the in-

creasing panic amongst the Zionist circles.

It is not surprising that the Israelite Cultus Community finds support amongst the right-wing, racist forces. HC Strache, the leader of the main extreme right-wing opposition party, immediately declared his solidarity with Israel when the Gaza war started. (11) Equally various right-wing, racists, pro-Zionist Internet blogs welcome the charge against Johannes Wiener. The Israelite Cultus Community finds a characteristic public supporter in the person of Mister Erich Reder, who is – according to many reports in the Internet – a well-known brothel owner and a tax evading political buffoon who shows uninhibited rants of hate against “nigger”, “Green and left-wing fascists”, „criminal Asylum seekers“ and now also against Johannes Wiener and the RKOB. (12)

Strengthened by such “moral authorities”, the Israelite Cultus Community wages a war against us in order to silence Johannes Wiener and pro-Palestine solidarity activists.

No Pasaran!

We demand:

Drop immediately the charges against the pro-Palestine activist Johannes Wiener!

No Criminalization of the Solidarity with the Palestinian Resistance!

Footnotes

(1) See Austria: Pro-Israeli War-Mongers try to throw 20-year old Palestine Solidarity Activist into Prison. RKOB spokesperson Johannes Wiener is accused of „sedition“ because of a Pro-Palestine speech during the Gaza War, Statement of the RKOB, Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 13.12.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/no-to-criminalization-of-rcit-activist>. The speech can be seen at <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-gaza-16-nov-2012>, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/art23652,826047>, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/sts23561,9345>

(2) An overview on our position on Israel and Zionism is given in: After the storming of the Israeli embassy in Cairo: The struggle against the Israeli Apartheid State is an integral part of the Arab Revolution! Resolution of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation for Liberation (RKOB), 15.9.2011, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/israel-and-arab-revolution>. See also (in German language) Michael Pröbsting: Israel, Zionismus und Antisemitismus (2006), <http://www.rkob.net/marxistische-theorie/politischer-charakter-antinationale>.

(3) See e.g. Johannes Wiener: Nach dem Waffenstillstand im Gaza: Friede in Palästina?, 22.11.2012, <http://www.rkob.net/international/nordafrika-und-der-arabische-raum/gaza-friede>

(4) On the number of Palestinian refugees see Yasser Shalabi: Palestinian Population, Movement and Statistics. Birzeit University Working Paper 2011/6, Position Papers Module (2011)

(5) See e.g. (in German language): Kampf dem Antisemitismus!, in: ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt Nr. 112 (2001), <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/ast112antisemitismus.html>, Erfolgreiche Anti-Nazi-Demo im Mai 2002, in: ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt Nr. 120 (2002) <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/ast120nazis.html>; Erfolgreiche antifaschistische Demonstration am 8. Mai 2005, <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/rn156.html#1>; SchülerInnenparlament Wien unterstützt antirassistische Initiative von ASt und REVOLUTION! Demonstration gegen Rassismus am 4.3.2006! <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/rn196.html#1>; Michael Pröbsting: Faschismus – Was er ist und wie wir ihn bekämpfen (2005 bzw. 2011), Vorwort der RKOB zur Neuauflage der Faschismus-Broschüre 2011, <http://www.rkob.net/inland/faschismus-bekaempfen>; Johannes Wiener: WKR Ball verhindern! Keine Feier den Rechtsradikalen!, Jänner 2012, <http://www.rkob.net/inland/no-wkr>; Erfolgreiche Demonstration gegen den WKR Ball, [aktiv-bei/no-wkr-2012, Marc Venzl: Damals wie heute: Kein Fussbreit den Faschisten! Nicht nur am 8.Mai gilt: Aktiver Anti-Faschismus in der Tat! <http://www.rkob.net/inland/aktiv-gegen-faschismus/8-mai-antifa>](http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind/rkob-</p>
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(6) Siehe dazu u.a. Michael Pröbsting: Am Beispiel des Iraks: Anti-Imperialistische Strategie und Taktik, ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt (Oktober 1990); Workers Power (Britain): Working class action to defeat imperialism Victory to Iraq! (1991), <http://www.fifthinternational.org/content/working-class-action-defeat-imperialism-victory-iraq>; Michael Pröbsting: Kampf dem Imperialismus! Verteidigt den Irak!, in: ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt Nr. 32 (Januar 1991); Michael Pröbsting: Stoppt den imperialistischen Massenmord!, in: ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt Nr. 33 (Februar 1991); Workers Power (Britain): Questions & Answers on the Afghan war (2001), <http://www.fifthinternational.org/content/qa-afghan-war>; Michael Pröbsting: Nieder mit dem US/NATO-Krieg! Verteidigt Afghanistan! in: ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt Nr. 116 (Januar 2001), <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/ast116afghanistan.html>; Michael Pröbsting: Die Lehren aus dem imperialistischen Sieg im Afghanistan-Krieg, in: ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt Nr. 118 (Januar 2002), <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/ast118afghanistan1.html>; Michael Pröbsting: Fragen und Antworten vor dem Irak-Krieg: Wo stehen wir? <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/ast125irak1.html>; Workers Power (Britain): Iraq: resistance grows to occupation (2003), <http://www.fifthinternational.org/content/iraq-resistance-grows-occupation>; Michael Pröbsting: Krieg den Kriegstreibern!, in: ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt Nr. 126 (March 2003) <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/rn67.html>; Michael Pröbsting: Der israelische Terrorkrieg gegen das libanesische und palästinensische Volk, in: ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt Nr. 144 (August 2006), <http://arbeiterinnenstandpunkt.net/alt/rn221.html#2>; Michael Pröbsting: Der Libanon-Krieg und die Linke: Pazifistische Linke als verkleidete Diener des Imperialismus, in: Revolutionärer Marxismus Nr. 36 (2006), <http://www.arbeitermacht.de/rm/rm36/libanon.htm>; Michael Pröbsting: Solidarität mit dem palästinensischen Widerstand, in: BEFREIUNG Nr. 172 (Januar 2009); Nina Gunić: Islamismus – Was sind seine Ziele und was ist unsere Haltung?, in: BEFREIUNG Nr. 173 (Februar 2009); Michael Pröbsting: Palästina: Solidarität und Widerstand, in: BEFREIUNG Nr. 188 (June 2010); RCIT: New Wave of Israeli Terror against Gaza: Support the Palestinian Resistance! Defeat the Zionist killing machine! Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 15.11.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/defend-gaza>

(7) See e.g. RCIT: The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto, www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto/revolutionary-struggle-for-democracy

(8) See the regularly updated list of solidarity messages on our website <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/solidarity-with-johannes-wiener>

(9) See the regularly updated list of solidarity messages from Israel on our website <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/antizionist-solidarity-from-israel>

(10) See e.g. the statement from the Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine): “The Zionist State Tries to Break Gaza Again – and Fails Again” on our website at <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/isl-statement-on-gaza-war> respective on the ISL website at <http://www.theisleague.com/gaza-war-2012-english.php>

(11) See Strache: Israel handelt in Notwehr, 2012-11-16, <http://www.fpoe.at/news/detail/news/strache-israel-handelt-in-not-1/>

(12) Siehe e.g. the blog of Mister Erich Reder: „Öffentlicher Aufruf zum Völkermord“, http://www.erstaunlich.at/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2212:oeffentlicher-aufruf-zum-voelkermord&catid=1:erstaunliches and „Öffentlicher Aufruf zum Völkermord - TEIL 2. Katzenjammer und Wehklagen bei der RKOB“, http://www.erstaunlich.at/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2243:oeffentlicher-aufruf-zum-voelkermord-teil-2&catid=1:erstaunliches. On the brothel and other activities of Mister Reder see e.g. „Rotlicht in Wien und der Welt. Erich Reder zahlt 150 Euro nicht“, 10. Juni 2009, <http://rotlichtwien.wordpress.com/2009/06/10/erich-reder-zahlt-150-euro-nicht> or <http://warteschlange.twoday.net/stories/6056187>. Another enthusiastic report on the charge against Johannes Wiener can be found at <http://pi.gerhardmarold.com> ■

Victory! Charge against Johannes Wiener has been dropped!

Austria: Israelite Cultus Community suffers defeat in its attack on Free Speech and Palestine Solidarity

Statement of the RKOB, Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, (RCIT), 10.1.2013

The public prosecution department of Vienna informed us on 8th January that the charge against 20-year old RKOB spokesman and Palestine solidarity activist Johannes Wiener has been dropped. As we reported, comrade Wiener has been charged of "sedition" because of his pro-Palestinian speech at a Gaza demonstration on 16.11.2012 in Austria. (1) In case of conviction by court, our comrade Johannes Wiener would have been threatened with up to two years in jail.

The end of this charge against Johannes Wiener is a big success. It is a success not only for the RKOB but for the whole Palestine solidarity movement. The pro-Israeli war mongers wanted to use our comrade as a warning. They wanted to criminalize anything that can be interpreted as an open partisanship for the Palestinian resistance. As we reported, the Israelite Cultus Community sees "sedition" in the following statements of Johannes Wiener in his speech at the Palestine Solidarity rally on 16.11.2012:

* *The repeated chanting of the slogan "INTIFADA" as well as the expression of support for the Intifada of the Palestinian people.*

* *The expression of support for the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli state, both in its unarmed and its armed form.*

* *The call for the destruction ("extinction") of the State of Israel and for the existence of a single state in all of Palestine from the River to the Sea.*

As the RKOB already said in its statements, this charge was a fundamental attack on the basic democratic rights of free speech! This attack was part of the imperialist and Zionist persecution of anti-imperialist resistance. The friends of Apartheid-Israel and US imperialism wage war not only in Palestine, Afghanistan and other countries. They also wage a global political campaign against the anti-imperialist resistance. The denouncement of resistance organizations as "terrorist organizations" – like the Palestinian PFLP, Hamas, the Kurdish PKK, DHKC in Turkey, the Tamil LTTE etc. – by the European Union and the US is part of an international class struggle from above, in the interest of monopoly capital. It is the same with the persecution of the US soldier Bradley Manning because of his supposed leaking of secret information's on the US imperialist wars to Wikileaks. And now, they wanted to continue this reactionary crusade against Johannes Wiener and the RKOB in Austria.

The solidarity with the anti-imperialist resistance is part of the international class struggle from below, of which the RKOB and the RCIT are part of.

The fact that we have major political differences with the organizations mentioned above and that we consider them as petty-bourgeois-nationalist, Islamist or Stalinist does not alter the fact that they are part of national liberation movements and that we are in solidarity with them against the repression. For us as revolutionary communists, the anti-imperialist struggle is part of the socialist liberation struggle of the working class and the oppressed. (2)

The reactionary war mongers have suffered a defeat for now – also thanks to the broad solidarity campaign. All in all, organizations and activists from more than 20 countries (including Israel) have expressed their solidarity with Johannes Wiener. (3) We want to express many thanks to all of them! The success of the Austrian and international solidarity campaign for Johannes Wiener is a success for the whole anti-imperialist resistance.

However, it would be wrong to imagine it is all over now. The fact that the Israelite Cultus Community and other friends of Israel dared to wage such an attack against free speech shows, what this people are prepared to do in their fanatical support for state terrorism. After suffering a defeat in their first attempt, they will certainly wage more attempts to intimidate and to silence the Palestine solidarity movement. In Palestine and other countries, the ruling class of Israel has shown that it uses all possible means to eliminate their enemies.

That's why the solidarity campaign for Johannes Wiener was important. We had a success for now. We are now stronger to face the next attacks of the Israelite Cultus Community which acts as a foreign arm of Apartheid-Israel. We fight since years and decades against imperialism and capitalism and will not be intimidated by such pathetic attempts to criminalize us. The class struggle continues!

Long live international solidarity! Long live the Palestinian liberation struggle!

Forward in the struggle for socialism!

Unity – Struggle – Victory!

Footnotes:

(1) See "Austria: Israelite Cultus Community attempts to criminalize partisanship for the Palestinian Resistance! Charge of "Sedition" against RKOB Spokesperson and Palestine Solidarity Activist Johannes Wiener is a Pretext for Attack on Freedom of Expression", Statement of the RKOB, 20.12.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/no-criminalization-of-solidarity-with-palestine>; "Austria: Pro-Israeli War-Mongers try to throw 20-year old Palestine Solidarity Activist into Prison. RKOB spokesperson Johannes Wiener is accused of „sedition" because of a Pro-Palestine speech during the Gaza War", Statement of the RKOB, Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 13.12.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/no-to-criminalization-of-rcit-activist>. The speech can be seen at <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-gaza-16-nov-2012>, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/art23652,826047>, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/sts23561,9345>

(2) An overview on our position on Israel and Zionism is given in footnote 2 in the previous article.

(3) See the list of solidarity messages on our website <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/solidarity-with-johannes-wiener> as well as the list of solidarity messages from Israel <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/antizionist-solidarity-from-israel> ■

Release Samer al-Isawi! Release All Palestinian Political Prisoners!

Leaflet from the Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine), February 2013

We, members of the Internationalist Socialist League, denounce all forms of oppression against the Palestinian people, whether in the territories Israel occupied in 1948, or the ones in 1967. We recognize the right of the Palestinian people to struggle against occupation and oppression in all territories controlled by Israel - a Zionist-imperialist Apartheid state.

According to the information we managed to gather online, Samer allsawi was arrested in 2000 for firearm possession, without any proof he had had any intention to use it, and was sentenced to 30 years in prison. He was released during the prisoner exchange deal for Gilad Shalit. However, shortly later he was arrested again for trying to reach the city of Ramallah and allegedly breaking his terms of parole. The military court, which is nothing but a pathetic excuse for any type of institution of justice, sentenced him for 20 more years in prison.

Samer went on a hunger strike protesting his arrest which has recently reached its 180th day. Needless to say that he is now facing a serious threat to his life. This draconian sentence is particularly shameless when in the background the Palestinian people as a whole is being systematically oppressed by Israel. It is amazingly legal under the "Emergency Regulations (1945)" that Israel inherited from the British imperialists. Dov Joseph, Israel's 1st Minister of Justice, labeled them as worse than Nazi law. On top of these regulations the military decrees of the occupying army were installed in 1967.

The struggle to release Samer allsawi and all the other political prisoners, is being waged in a time of one of the deepest crises in capitalist history, which serves as evidence for its rapid decay. Imperialism responds by attempting to impose upon the working masses and even the petit-bourgeoisie (called "the middle class" by the media) the full price of the crisis, and at the same time launching attacks against various oppressed nations to forcefully obtain control over their natural resources such as oil, gold and Uranium. The struggle among the imperialists over resources and super-exploited labor, could even lead to a 3rd world war.

That is why we witness war after war waged by the imperialist against African nations (Mali being a current example), as well as Middle Eastern (Libya) and Asian (Afghanistan) nations, under the guise of "War Against Terror." However, these onslaughts are not left unanswered. The working class and oppressed peoples respond to the deepening exploitation and mass murder by raising their level of struggle in many countries around the world.

Serious historians could point to the similarity between current events and the period between World War I and World War 2. If the working class today had had a revolutionary leadership, like Lenin and Trotsky, we would have been living in a socialist society by now. A good example for the lack of such leadership is Stalinism itself, which became increasingly corrupt until becoming yet another imperialist force on the eve of World War 2. Among its

notable betrayals is the military and political support it granted to the establishment of the Zionist state.

The crisis coupled with the severe attack on the, already low, living standards of the working masses, fuels the revolutionary struggle in the Arab world - in Egypt against the new dictator Mursi, and in Syria against the murderous Assad regime. The partials and democratic demands the working class and the peasants are raising cannot be attained without the working class leading the masses replacing the bourgeoisie and smashing its state apparatus - military and police. These state are serving imperialism and should be replaced by workers' states - the transitional phase between capitalism and socialism.

The fact that Mubarak's dictatorship was replaced by Mursi's proves what we have been claiming all along. That is also why we do not trust the National Salvation Front in Egypt which is headed by a bourgeois leadership, as well as remnants of Mubarak's regime such as Muhammad al-Baradei and Amr Musa. Without a revolutionary leadership of the working class, a dictatorship will be replaced by a dictatorship and nothing will change.

To us, those who live under the rule of Zionist Apartheid, have a special interest in the victory of the regional revolutions. These revolutions may not only liberate the region from imperialist control, but also ignite the spark of a revolutionary fire which could spread to the working class all around the world. When proven beyond any reasonable doubt that dictatorships could be overthrown, especially the ones that for decades had been considered as "islands of stability", as in Syria and Egypt, the working masses all around the world would come the conclusion that their own oppressors are not invincible, even if overthrowing them will not prove to be a particularly easy task.

Victorious revolutions, based on the working class and the poor masses, will also ensure the downfall of the Zionist Apartheid regime. This regime is not only dangerous to the Palestinians and Arabs of the region, but also serves as a death-trap to the Israeli Jews themselves. Israel is backed by the rest of the imperialists and is therefore able to defeat weak pro-imperialist regimes who fear the possibility of arming the masses. However, under revolutionary leadership, these countries would mobilize and arm the working and poor masses to defend the revolution and to liberate the region.

While we are demonstration for the release of Samer allsawi and all the other Palestinian political prisoners, Netanyahu is actively supporting an apartheid state and seeks coalition with the religious pro-apartheid right wing party "The Jewish Home", and also include, as a fig-leaf, Yair Lapid who is most popular among the Zionist middle class.

At the same time, and not surprisingly, the PA, Israel's servant in the west-bank, declares its willingness to enter negotiations with this government. This is yet another proof of the treacherous nature of the bourgeoisie, even of oppressed nations, which always ends up collaborating with

the oppressors. If Israel had let it, Hamas would have also agreed to the same type of collaboration, as it did during the popular Intifada, and gladly so, much like Mursi. The only working class in the region which consistently possesses revolutionary interests is the Arab one. The fires of class struggle will forge the revolutionary consciousness and with it revolutionary parties, without which imperialism and its collaborators will remain victorious, history will keep repeating itself.

So what are you suggesting?! We are often asked, and answer without flinching: we support the establishment of a Palestinian workers state from the river to the sea, in a socialist federation of the Middle East. This solution will also liberate the Israeli Jewish workers from their role as thugs for imperialism, which they perform only because of the privileges awarded to them in return on the expense of the Palestinian masses.

Only victorious revolutions would weaken the Zionist grip over the Israeli working class. How do we know?! We

are often asked, and our answer is: we know this because only after the October revolution in 1917 did history recall the transformation of Zionist colonialist Jewish workers in Palestine into anti-Zionist communist revolutionaries who established the Communist Party of Palestine. As many of its counterparts around the world, this party also decayed under the influence of Stalinism. Today it supports the PA and continues to babble about the “peace process” and “two states for two peoples”, and usually deep theoretical and political problems which lead to counter-revolutionary positions, have symptoms in the form of organizational corruption and degeneration.

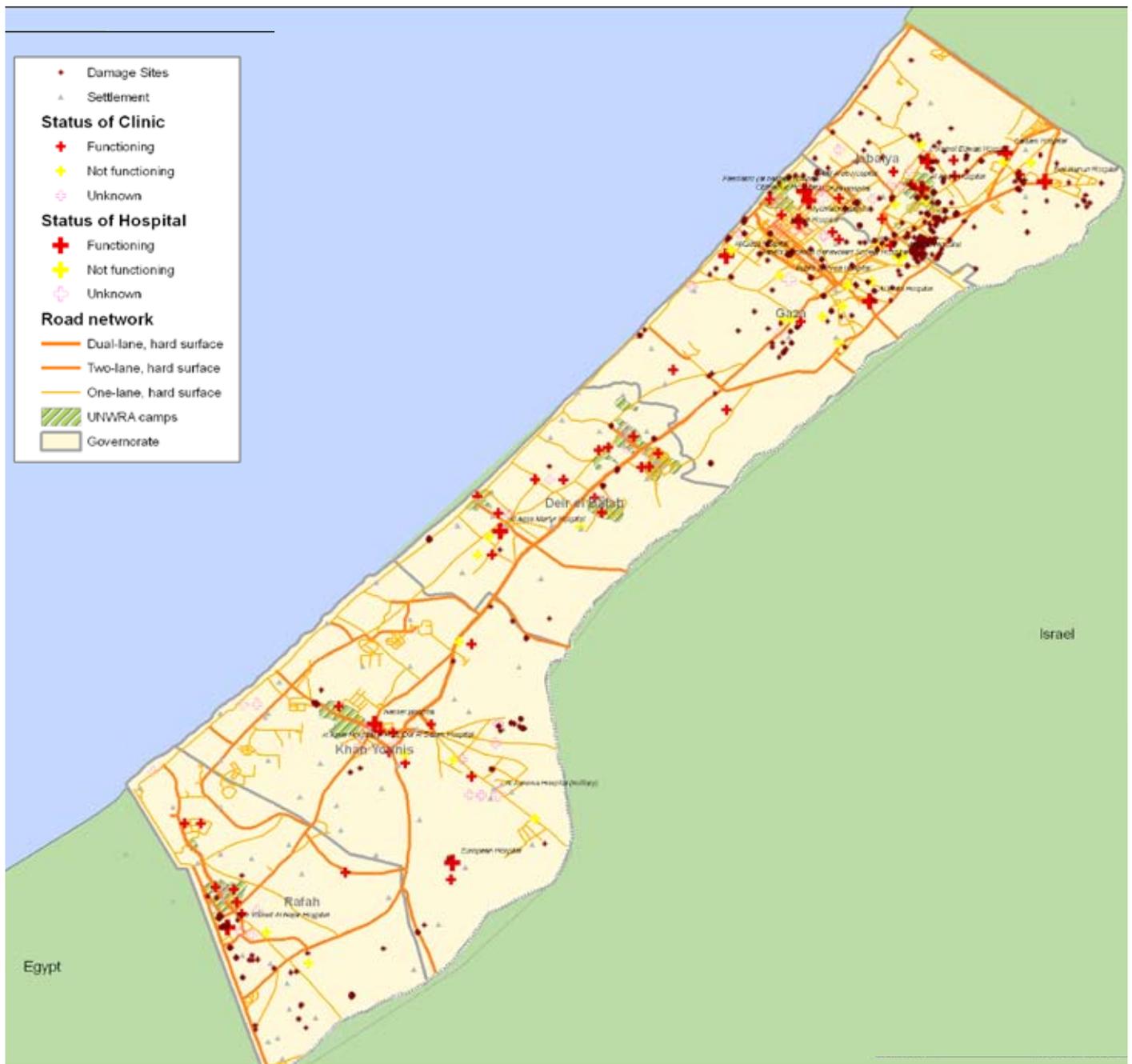
Release Samer alIsawi!

Release All Palestinian Political Prisoners!

For the return of the refugees!

For the Establishment of a Constituent Assembly of All Residents of Palestine and the Refugees!

For a Palestinian Workers State from the River to the Sea in a Socialist Federation of the Middle East! ■



Gaza Strip: An Open Air Prison House built by the racist Apartheid State Israel

Protests in Israel against Murder of Palestinians

Report by Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine), 20.2.2013

Today the *Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine)* participated in a demonstration that demand to stop the prosecution of the Palestinians citizens of Israel who are charged with the execution of the terrorist in act of self defense the extreme right wing racist activist Eden Natan-Zada, who in army uniform murdered in cold blood with an M16, a rifle provided to him by the Israeli army, four Palestinians and injured nine others from Shefa-Amr on August 4, 2005 on a bus occupied by Palestinian civilians.

The four victims were Hazar Turki and Dina Turki, two sisters in their early twenties, and two men, Michel Bahus (the driver) and Nader Hayek; all were Palestinians citizens of Israel.

The Israeli state has declared of course that he was a deserter from the army. However his mother stated after his death that prior to the shooting she alerted the Israeli army and other security services that her son was still in possession of his military-issued weapon. 'We told everyone, that he could do something with his gun. We begged them to take away his gun. He also asked them to take his gun. The army destroyed my child. The army destroyed my life.' According to the *New Republic*, 'an army Psychiatrist warned that he wasn't fit for weapons or uniform, but his professional judgment was ignored as the approval by a panel of medical experts was not "swift in assessment"' (Israel responds to Israeli terrorism, *The New Republic*, 10 July 2005, Source Wikipedia). He was seen many times in the Tapuah (Appale) settlement, and the army did not bother to arrest him. The former chief of staff of the army 'speculated that the statement of the mother was made to have a chance to win damages in court for neglect by the army of the welfare of her son

Ten months after the attack, Israeli authorities detained seven Arabs suspected of killing Natan-Zada.

In March 2010, a lawyer representing some of the suspects discovered security forces aerial footage of the scene prior to, during and after Natan-Zada's attack and after the killing of Natan-Zada and accused the Israeli government of prior knowledge of Natan-Zada's intentions. (See Khoury, Jack (2009-03-18). "Government knew of Jewish terrorist's plan to open fire on Shfaram bus". *HaAretz*. Retrieved 2009-03-18)

The Prime Minister of Israel at that time the butcher Ariel Sharon who will be remembered for his part in assisting the massacre in the refugee camps Sabara and Shaitla stated the usual cover up: In all these cases that Jewish terrorist murder Arabs: "A reprehensible act by a bloodthirsty Jewish terrorist," and "a deliberate attempt to harm the fabric of relations among all Israeli citizens."

Palestinian Member of Knesset Mohamad Barakeh a member of Hadash – the Israeli front for the Communist Party – stated the clear truth of the matter: "Normally when someone stops a terrorist from continuing to kill he is considered a hero, but in this case it is the heroes who are sitting on the defense stand".

Israel has a long record of not be able for one reason or another to find right wing Zionist terrorists who murder

Palestinians. Even in the few cases that they are found and the court sentence them to prisons to many years according to the criminal code of Israel, they are pardoned and released shortly after.

Just to give a few examples:

The *Jewish Underground* was a racist far right organization made of Zionist settlers from the West Bank and the Golan, occupied by Israel in 1967. They were prominent members of the settler's political movement *Gush Emunim* that was financed by the Israeli state.

In 1980, the terrorist underground carried out a series of car bomb attacks against Palestinian officials. As a result of these attacks, Basam Shakra, the mayor of Nablus lost both of his legs and Karim Khalaf the mayor of Rammalah lost one of his legs. On hearing the news, co-founder of Gush Emunim, rabbi Durkaman exclaimed, citing the Song of Debora of the Bible "Thus may all Israel's enemies perish!"

The police and the Secret Service for some reasons were "unable" to find them.

In 1983, three of its members entered the Islamic College of Hebron, spraying bullets and tossing a hand grenade.

They murdered three students and wounded thirty-three.

On 27 April 1984, they put explosives in Arab buses traveling in the vicinity of Jerusalem. There was a danger that if they explode, not only Arabs but Jews could be killed as well. This time the police arrived on time, prevented the explosion and arrested 15 of them. A week later security forces raided the settlement of Kiryat Arba, and found a cache of weapons and explosives linked to the explosive plus the plan to bomb. More arrests were followed.

On 27 April 1984, the Shien Biet agents arrested 15 people with ties to Gush Emunim. The suspects were taken into custody immediately after placing bombs under six Arab-owned buses in Jerusalem. The arrests followed an extensive two year investigation led by the head of the Serious Crimes Division and employing ninety policemen. The bombs were set to detonate on Friday afternoon as Muslim worshipers returned home from celebrating Isra and Miraj.

Twenty-five of the arrested Gush Emunim members were tried on charges of plot to destroy the Dome of the Rock, the 1983 attack on the Islamic College, the attempted assassination of West Bank mayors, the aborted bus attacks and a few other incidents. Three of the murderers, Menachem Livni, Shaul Nir and Uzi Sharbav, were sentenced to life in prison

Their sentences commuted three times by then President Chaim Herzog and they were released after serving less than seven years. On their 1990 release the three were hailed as "heroes" by leaders of the Gush Emunim movement.

Lately Israel paid according to Ma'an news service the settler Menachem Livni 1.3 million shekels' for damage to West Bank land.

"TEL AVIV, Israel (Ma'an) Israel has given a settler convicted of anti-Palestinian attacks over 1.3 million shekels in compensation for damages to Palestinian land in the West Bank, Israeli media reported Wednesday..."

Lioni lives in the Kiryat Arba settlement in Hebron, and farms land in the West Bank village of Bani Naim. He does not have any legal ownership of the land that simply was stolen by force, Local Palestinians have attacked the land, and Lioni has been awarded around 1,327,123 shekels (\$360,600) in damages by the Israeli Tax Authority, the Israeli daily Haaretz reported. Israeli soldiers protect Lioni when he works on the Palestinian land, Haaretz said.

He is now suing Israel for failing to investigate his complaints to police, and seeking further payment, the report said." (Published in TEL AVIV, Israel (Ma'an)Wednesday 13/02/2013) Yisrael Lederman, an army trained reservist, shot and killed a Palestinian civilian in East Jerusalem. He was released after serving only two years of his twenty-year prison sentence.

The founders of the Israeli state committed 30-40 massacres in 1947-8 in order to force the Palestinians to flee from Palestine. However the massacres of Palestinians did not stop in 1948.

In the Palestinian village of Kfar Qusim on October 29, 1956: A massacre of 49 Palestinians was carried out by the Israeli Border Police, including 6 women and 23 children aged 8-17.

The head of the Border police Shadmi ordered his troops to impose a curfew in the late afternoon when many of the people were working and in school. The commander of the regiment asked him but what will happen and he replied in Arabic: "God will have mercy on them".

The border policemen who were involved in the shooting

were brought to trial and found guilty and sentenced to prison terms. The Israeli court found that the command to kill civilians was "blatantly illegal". Two officers were sentenced to 17 and 15 years imprisonment, later reduced to 5 years, and served a short term. Shadmi got a fine of ten Agurot (25 cents).

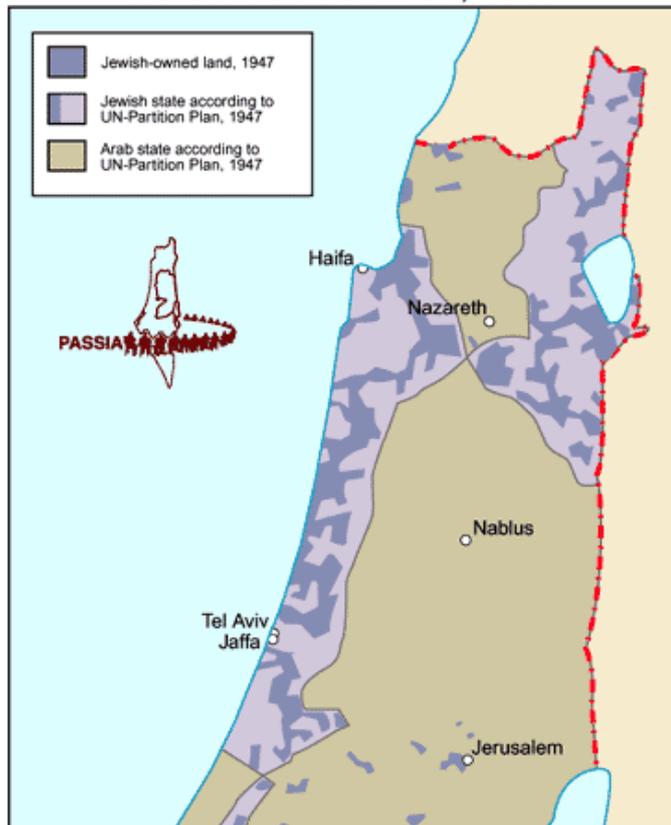
On March 30, in response to the government of Israel that announced a plan to expropriate thousands of dunams of Palestinian land for "security and settlement purposes", a general strike of the Palestinian citizens of Israel and marches were organized in Arab towns. The army and the police opened fire and killed six Palestinians citizens of Israel, one hundred were wounded, and hundreds of others arrested. Since then every year the Palestinians and the few Jewish supporters commemorate Land Day on March 30.

At the beginning of October 2000 13 Palestinians citizens of Israel were killed and hundreds injured in Israel by alive ammunition shot by the Israeli police. The Palestinians protested in solidarity with the Second Intifada.

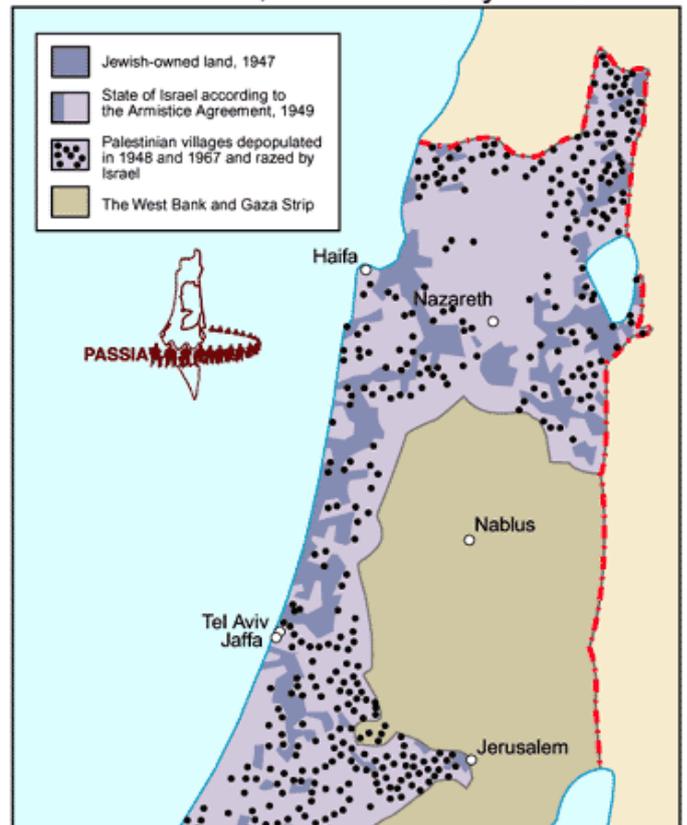
In the demonstration today about two hundred people participated, all of them from Shafa Amar and Hiafa. No Arab Member of Parliament showed up. Our leaflet was read and people took it home to show others. In the leaflet we called for mass mobilization to end the trial and charge the police as the real culprits.

We will translate to English the leaflet we distributed this morning near the Haifa court today. ■

Landownership in Palestine and the UN Partition Plan, 1947



Palestinian Villages Depopulated in 1948 and 1967, and Razed by Israel



Is a New Palestinian Popular Uprising Erupting?

Report by Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine), 27.2.2013

Masked Palestinian gunmen fired in the air on Monday as thousands marched at the West Bank funeral of Arafat Jaradat, a Palestinian prisoner whose death in an Israeli jail, almost certainly caused by torture.

Aljazeera reports: "Six days after Arafat Jaradat was arrested by the Israeli army and the Shin Bet, he was dead. Between the date of his arrest - February 18 - and the day of his death - February 23 - his lawyer Kamil Sabbagh met with Arafat only once: in front of a military judge at the Shin Bet's Kishon interrogation facility.

Sabbagh reported that when he saw Jaradat, the man was terrified. Arafat told his lawyer that he was in acute pain from being beaten and forced to sit in stress positions with his hands bound behind his back.

When it announced his death, Israeli Prison Service claimed Arafat - who leaves a pregnant widow and two children - died from cardiac arrest. However, the subsequent autopsy found no blood clot in his heart. In fact, the autopsy concluded that Arafat, who turned 30 this year, was in fine cardiovascular health.

What the final autopsy did find, however, was that Jaradat had been pummelled by repeated blows to his chest and body and had sustained a total of six broken bones in his spine, arms and legs; his lips lacerated; his face badly bruised.

The ordeal that Arafat suffered before he died at the hands of Israel's Shin Bet is common to many Palestinians that pass through Israel's prisons. According to the prisoners' rights organisation Addameer, since 1967, a total of 72 Palestinians have been killed as a result of torture and 53 due to medical neglect. Less than a month before Jaradat was killed, Ashraf Abu Dhra died while in Israeli custody in a case that Addameer argues was a direct result of medical neglect". (Charlotte Silver: How Israel legitimises torturing Palestinians to death, Aljazeera, February 25, 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/02/201322511744515745.html>)

Israel officially sanctions torture

Israeli tortures enjoy the protection of the Israeli states including the Israeli courts. This is the class nature the Israeli imperialist apartheid state. Between 2001 and 2011 700 hundreds Palestinians lodged complaints with the State Attorney's Office but not a single one has been criminally investigated.

Bana Shoughry-Badarne, an attorney and the Legal Director of the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, wrote in Adalah's 2012 publication, *On Torture*: "The GSS's ("General Security Service") impunity is absolute."

Israel's High Court has been shielding the Shin Bet, and thus enabling widespread and lethal torture.

The former president of the Israeli Supreme Court, Aaron Barak, said openly that there is no legal prohibition on the execution of targeted killings, both by the laws of the State of Israel and according to international law. The writer of this article demanded in one of his appearances before the Supreme Court of the Judges to look with their own eyes and see the clear signs of tortures. However, the judges

refused to look.

In August of 2012, Israel's High Court rejected the petitions submitted by Israeli human rights organization *Adalah*, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, and *Public Committee Against Torture in Israel* (PCATI) to demand that Israeli attorney general, Yehuda Weinstein, carry out criminal investigations into each allegation of torture by the Shin Bet.

In May 2009, even the *United Nations Convention against Torture* (UNCAT) condemned Israel for exempting the Shin Bet's interrogations from audio and video recording, noting that such oversight is an essential preventative measure to curtail torture. Yet despite this admonition, in 2012 the racist Zionist parliament, the Knesset, extended the exemption for another three years.

The official position of the Israeli state is that protecting the crimes committed by the Israeli army and the GSS is in the interests of "national security", and for this reason its interrogation techniques cannot not be made public.

Even the Zionist liberal daily Haaretz wrote: "After Palestinian dies in Shin Bet hands, time to question the interrogators. For years, Palestinian detainees and prisoners have complained about sleep deprivation, painful and prolonged handcuffing, humiliation, beatings and medical neglect. By international standards, this is torture." (Amira Hass: After Palestinian dies in Shin Bet hands, time to question the interrogators, Feb.25, 2013, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/after-palestinian-dies-in-shin-bet-hands-time-to-question-the-interrogators.premium-1.505533>)

The self-proclaimed Arab friends of the Palestinians who try to sabotage the struggle

The murder of Arafat by torture is answered by thousands of Palestinians, already unified in solidarity with the heroic struggle waged by Palestinian hunger striking prisoners. At least 300 prisoners are on hunger strike. Thousands of Palestinians are demonstrating in the streets of Gaza and demonstrations take place in the West Bank as well. The Zionist army fired and wounds two Palestinian teens in West Bank. The Israeli imperialist army used Ruger metal bullets to disperse West Bank demonstration after funeral of detainee Arafat Jaradat.

A Qassam rocket was fired from the Gaza Strip into southern Israel on Tuesday, for the first time since the last criminal attacked on Gaza ended last November. The *Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade* claimed responsibility for the rocket, calling it revenge for the death of Arafat Jaradat. Under the Egyptian-mediated cease-fire that ended the attack because of the ruling classes in Israel and Egypt were afraid of a new Intifada. Israel agreed to refrain from any military operations in the Gaza Strip and from assassinations of senior leaders there. Hamas agreed to refrain from launching rockets at Israel or firing along the border. This however has not prevented Israel from torturing to death Palestinians in the Israeli Jails. Nor to defend the settles armed militia who act in the service of the apartheid state.

In an effort to cut down on arms smuggling into the Gaza Strip, the Egyptian bourgeois army defending the Egyptian capitalists and collaborating with the imperialists, instead of sending arms to the Palestinian resistance, has been flooding the tunnels between the coastal strip. Mubarak or Mursi are essentially the same.

According to a report by the Palestinian news agency *Ma'an* the Palestinian Authority instead of organizing the masses in the West Bank is trying to end the justified rage. Palestinian bourgeois President Mahmoud Abbas reportedly met Monday evening with Palestinian security chiefs in Ramallah and instructed them to enforce calm in the West Bank. However the Palestinian police have thus far refused to disperse protests.

According to Haaretz: *"A well-informed Palestinian source told Haaretz on Monday evening that the Palestinian leadership is not seeking a frontal confrontation that would destroy the Palestinian Authority's institutions. But no one can guarantee that the events won't spin out of control, he added, asserting that Israel and the Palestinian protesters are the ones setting the pace."* (Jack Khoury and Barak Ravid: Abbas to Palestinian Authority security officials: Don't get drawn into Israeli violence, Feb.26, 2013, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/abbas-to-palestinian-authority-security-officials-don-t-get-drawn-into-israeli-violence-1.505800>)

The Palestinians have the right to ask Mr. Abbas: Who needs your institutions that act in the service of Israel?! You have declared many times that you will lead us to freedom and instead you led us to hell.

U.S imperialism – the self declared champion of human rights, while in reality the worst enemy of the working class and the masses and a close ally of the Israeli apartheid state – is preparing Obama's visit to Israel to embrace Netanyahu. Of course, it does not blame the Israeli state of another murder. Instead it issued a statement saying: *"We made it clear to the Israelis and the Palestinians that both [sides] can take steps to calm things in the field and prevent incidents that would just pour more fuel on the fire."*

Time for Solidarity Actions!

So far the Palestinians parties in Israel have not organized any protests in solidarity with the demonstrators in the West Bank and Gaza.

This is the time to organize large demonstrations of all of those who claim to defend the Palestinians in this country and in the world with concrete demands like:

- * Free all the Palestinian political prisoners!
- * General strike of all the Palestinians!
- * Prosecute the Shin Bet's officers for murder!
- * Struggle for the return of the Palestinians refugees!

For a Palestinian workers state from the river to the sea!

We in the *Internationalist Socialist League* (ISL) understand that as long as Israel exists, the oppression, the theft, the tortures, the murders will continue. Only the struggle for a democratic state in its form, from the river to the sea will end the Apartheid state.

History has shown that the nonsense of a mini state – a Bantustan in the West-Bank and Gaza – is no more than a screen smoke that allows Israel to continue to steal the land water, torturing and killing and to divide the Pales-

tinian nation The UN and the other imperialists that back Israel have not and will not force Israel to give up on any stolen land. Israel is a front line imperialist state for the robbers. The only power that can end this Apartheid state is the organized power of the Palestinians workers in alliance with the peasants, radical youth, the poor and the small business people that are collapsing in this worst global capitalist crisis since 1929. This struggle is part of the struggle of the Arab workers and the masses in many Arab dictatorial bourgeois states like Egypt and Syria. It is the same struggle of the workers in Greece and in India. Together the mass struggle of the region will end the Apartheid state.

We also understand that when the workers at the head of the masses will conquer the power, the democratic state in its contents will be only a workers state from the river to the sea. The workers, supported by the peasants, the youth, the unemployed, the poor in power, will not divide this county again. This is the real reason why the reformists do not struggle for one democratic state. They are afraid of a working class revolution. They feel in their bones that such one state will be a transitional state to socialism. Soviet Stalinism was not socialism it was the counter revolutionary force against socialism that destroyed the workers state and among other crimes assisted the birth of the Zionist state.

For this reason we also offer the perspective of the struggle for a Palestinian workers and peasants government!

Israel is not only an apartheid state against the Palestinians but a death trap for the Jews. The revolutionary victories may split a section of the Jewish workers that today are Zionists, and allow them to join the revolutionary struggle. This happened indeed – and for the only time – after the Bolshevik revolution. The Communist party – the P.K.P – emerged as a revolutionary workers party. But with the degeneration of the Communist International under Stalin it was transformed by 1935 into a reformist party as it is today.

Since the Israeli Apartheid state rules over Palestinian majority, the national character of the state will be Palestinian. The Israeli Jewish masses that will want to live in this state will enjoy equal civil rights. Those Jewish workers, who will join the revolution, will be part of the new ruling class. *The only solution is working class led a socialist revolution!*

For a Palestinian workers state from the river to the sea!

For a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!

For a Revolutionary Workers Party as part of a new Communist International! ■



Israel: Fight against Zionist racism and fascism

By Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (Israel/Occupied Palestine), 5.3.2013

The racist Israeli state has launched two Palestinians-only bus lines in the 1967 occupied West Bank. *Haaretz* daily reported that the Zionist Transport Ministry opened the lines on Monday, to be used by Palestinian super exploited workers travelling between the West Bank and Israel, after the far right settlers complained that Palestinians on mixed buses were a security risk.

Even Jessica Montell, director of the liberal B'Tselem human right organization, stated on the army radio today: "Creating separate bus lines for Israeli Jews and Palestinians is a revolting plan. This is simply racism. Such a plan cannot be justified with claims of security needs or overcrowding." (Israel launches segregated bus service, 4.3.2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/03/20133414315434321.html>)

This policy is implemented under the pressure of the Jewish settler's in the West Bank. The Zionist Transport Ministry calls this racist policy: "An improvement in service". The Ministry said that the two new lines would "improve public transport services for Palestinian workers entering Israel" and replace pirate buses charging them "exorbitant prices". The Ministry also said that "Furthermore, the Ministry of Transport is not authorized to prevent any passenger from using public transport services." In support of this open racist policy, police spokesman Mickey Rosenfeld said all Palestinians returning to the West Bank would be searched for stolen property, describing this as a routine Israeli precaution.

This outrageous separation of the buses demonstrates again that the Zionists invented their own special language, the kind that George Orwell already described in his famous book 1984.

"War is peace.

Freedom is slavery.

Ignorance is strength."

Like the US racist "Jim Crow" system

If Israel reminds some Americans the racist policies in the US known as "Jim Crow", they are not mistaken. The Jim Crow laws were state and local laws in the United States enacted between 1876 and 1965. They mandated racial segregation in all public facilities in Southern states of the former Confederacy, with, starting in 1890, a "separate but equal" status for African Americans. The racist policy systematized economic, educational and social discriminations. However this did not happen only in the Southern states. In the Northern states segregation existed in housing enforced by covenants, bank lending practices, and job discrimination, including discriminatory policies of the trade union bureaucracy.

The US is still a racist state which is clear for anyone who study the discrimination of black men and even more so against black women in places of work, health or the number of blacks in prisons. In addition there is the enormous super exploitation of migrant workers as well as the abuses of them by the police. However, even in the US, the Ministry of Transport will not dare to declare that blacks have to travel in separate buses because of security rea-

sons. State-sponsored school segregation was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

However this equality can be found only in the constitution and not in everyday life and even this reform was achieved in hard struggles of a mass movement known as the civil right movement. This is because of its middle class leadership which limited the movement to a reform while the capitalist foundation that generates racism has remained. How deep is the racism of American ruling class we can learn by observing both capitalist parties the Democrats and the Republican that during the presidential elections accused each other for not supporting the Israeli Apartheid enough. Only the working class in the US fighting alongside with the immigrant workers for equal rights for the immigrant workers as part of the struggle for the socialist revolution will end the racism of American imperialism. For this to happen a revolutionary socialist leadership of the most advance workers must be formed in the fire of the class struggle.

Fascist tradition of Zionist racism

The statement of the Israeli Transport Ministry is not different from the racist supporter of the *Beitar Jerusalem* football team, the same team Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu supports, that at the end of last month chanted during a game against *Umm al-Fahm*, a Palestinian town in the lands Israel stolen in 1947-48: "The Temple Mount (occupied in 1967) is in our hands" The fans of the team from Umm al-Fahm properly replied to them in Hebrew: "With blood and fire, we will liberate Palestine". The New York time (January 30) that reported this event, told its readers:

"The angry, defiant exchanges that punctuated Tuesday night's unusually tense game here came amid intense protests by Beitar Jerusalem supporters over the team owner's plans to recruit two Muslim players from Chechnya (Zaur Sadayev and Dzhabrail Kadiyev). Some young men had unfurled a banner at the previous game declaring "Beitar pure forever," which reminded many here of Nazi Germany's purging of Jews from athletics in 1933 and prompted statewide discussion about racism on and off the field".

Beitar was founded in 1936 as a sport team of the political "Revisionists" movement Beitar that was modeled after the "Black Shirts" of Mussolini. Many of the players belonged to the right wing terrorist organizations before 1948.

Lenny Brenner who documented the history of the "revisionists" in his book the "Iron Wall" wrote:

"Up to 1933, a number of members from the national-messianist wing of Revisionism were inspired by the fascist movement of Benito Mussolini. Abba Ahimeir was attracted to fascism for its staunch anti-communism and its focus on rebuilding the glory of the past, which national-messianists such as Uri Zvi Greenberg felt had much connection to their view of what the Revisionist movement should be.

Abba Ahimeir's ideology was based in Oswald Spengler's monumental study on the decline of the West, but his Zionist orientation caused him to adapt its ultimate conclusions. Achimeir's

basic assumption was that liberal bourgeois European culture was degenerate, and deeply eroded from within by an excess of liberalism and individualism. Socialism and communism were portrayed as "over civilized" ideologies. Fascism on the other hand, like Zionism, was a return to the roots of the national culture and the historical past. According to Achimeir, Italian Fascism was not anti-Semitic or anti-Zionist, whereas communist ideology and praxis were intrinsically so."

It is very common for the fans of Beitar Jerusalem to chant "Death to the Arabs", "Death to Mohammed" and "I hate all the Arabs" at Palestinian players. They are inspired by the Knesset's racist laws and rhetoric. Some liberal Journalists refer to Benito Netanyahu because of the history of the "Revisionists" that the Likud party is its continuation, and for using similar rhetoric as Benito Mussolini.

Netanyahu would be remembered among other things for his speech in the UN on September 23, 2011 when in his speech calling the other imperialist states to act against Iran, among other things he said: "In my office in Jerusalem, there's an ancient seal. It's a signet ring of a Jewish official from the time of the Bible. The seal was found right next to the Western Wall, and it dates back 2,700 years, to the time of King Hezekiah. Now, there's a name of the Jewish official inscribed on the ring in Hebrew. His name was Netanyahu". No one doubt of course that Jews lived in Palestine 2,700 years ago but the connection between the Jews of today and the ancient kingdoms Judah and Israel based on slavery, that was common mode of production at that age, has to do with the Zionist settler colonialist movement that established capitalist Israel, by the ethnic cleansing of 1947-48, the Nakba, as much as the modern Italian nation has to do with the ancient Romans that Mussolini claimed they were the same. There is a strong connection between Netanyahu's statement in the UN and the overt racism of the fans of Beitar.

Following the racist outburst against Zaur Sadayev and Dzhabrail Kadiyev, the manger of the football team Eli Cohen, stated: "There is a difference and it makes a difference between an Arab Muslim and a European Muslim." (American Peace Now: News Nosh 01.27.13)

Hypercritical protest

What a twisted racist logic so common in Israel, that leads to an absurd hierarchy of acceptability for races and religions! The idea of distinguishing between these two groups only placates the racist fans and only amplifies the racist nature of the Israeli state.

The last time Beitar Jerusalem signed a Muslim player was in 2005. Nigerian-born defender Ibrahim Nadallah could not finish an entire season on the Beitar roster. He found the constant stream of racism, prejudice, and incitement intolerable and he left.

In a response to the signing of Zaur Sadayev and Dzhabrail Kadiyev, Beitar's fans showed up to Teddy's Field on for their game against Bnei Yehuda to protest. One particularly large poster of the fans read, "Beitar will always be pure".

Deputy Prime Minister Moshe Yaalon a former head of the Zionist army said: "I was shocked by the racism displayed in the Beitar Jerusalem stands yesterday against having Muslim or Arab players on the team". Really? The government of which Yaalon is a member steals more and more land from the Palestinians in the West Bank and passed many dis-

criminatory legislation targeted at the Palestinian citizens of Israel! The fans of Beitar see the relationship between legislation banning the commemoration of the Nakba or removing 70,000 Bedouin Arabs from their homes in the Naqab and they are encouraged. In the past few months alone, Palestinians citizens of Israel have been physically assaulted in the streets of Jerusalem, had their holiday decorations vandalized, have been subject to racial profiling on Tel Aviv's beaches, and have been refused entry into Haifa nightclubs.

One year ago roughly 300 Beitar fans attacked Palestinian workers while chanting racist fight songs in the food court on the second floor. According to the mall's CCTV footage and eyewitness accounts, the fans rioted for approximately 40 minutes chanting "Death to Arabs!" and "Muhammad is dead!" before police and mall security guards stopped them. None of these right wing Zionists has been brought to trial. The supporters of Beitar know that they are protected by the Zionist state. The Israeli governments' actions through the entire history of Israel fuel the racism that it is rooted in the nature of the Israeli state as a capitalist-imperialist colonialist settler's state. Needless to say even if these racists are arrested and are brought to trial and sent to jail they are freed after a short time.

P.T. Karolyi, from the Arab Association for Human Rights, reported recently in an article about the connection between the politicians and the football fans racism: "Ami Kaufman grappled with this comparison in +972 Magazine. He quotes a friend, 'Is there really a difference between a politician who doesn't want Arabs on his team, to fans who don't want Muslims on theirs'?" (P.T. Karolyi, Arab Association for Human Rights, 30.1.2013 <http://arabhra.wordpress.com/author/pkarolyi12>)

The mass media in Israel is citing the recent election results and the ostensible victory of bourgeois "centrist" Yair Lapid as a proof that not all the Zionist politicians are racists. However Lapid has a similar racist perspective toward the Palestinians. He was quoted recently stating that he would never join a coalition with the "Zoabiz". He invoked Haneen Zoabi's name whom he called "the most hated woman in Israel" for participating in MV *Mavi Marmara*, that was attacked by the Israeli army for trying to break the siege on Gaza. He is a partner to a political block with the open racist party "The Jewish Home". He was elected by many who participated in the protest movement against the decay of the living conditions of the Jewish citizens of Israel while ignoring the oppressed and discriminated Palestinians.

Racist Street attacks on Arabs

During Purim holiday this year, Hassan Ausruf, suffering severe injuries, was hospitalized at the Department of Ophthalmology at the Tel Aviv Sourasky Medical Center. Ausruf required dozens of stitches, and surgery to save his eye, which suffered severe damage from the beating.

"Hassan was brutally attacked by a group of some 20 young Jewish racists on the city's seafont promenade early Sunday morning for no other reason than being an Arab." (Al monitor <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/03/israel-2013-between-price-tag-and-light-tag.html>)

Four youths were arrested Monday morning in Tiberias on suspicion that they were part of a group that last week

attacked a Hassan Ausruf, municipal worker on a boardwalk in Tel Aviv.

Meanwhile Monday, police in Jerusalem said they had arrested two teenage girls in connection with last week's apparent assault on an Arab woman at a station of the capital's light rail, bringing the total number of arrests in the case to three.

The girls were released on bail and ordered to stay away from Jerusalem for 45 days.

During the deliberation, a police representative asserted that the attack was motivated by racist intent.

"The defendants asked the plaintiff if she was an Arab, and when she responded in the affirmative, they attacked her, spat on her and called her an Arab bitch," (The Time of Israel, March 4, 2013). Their lawyer stated to the Israeli mass media that this one girl attacked the group that was forced to defend itself.

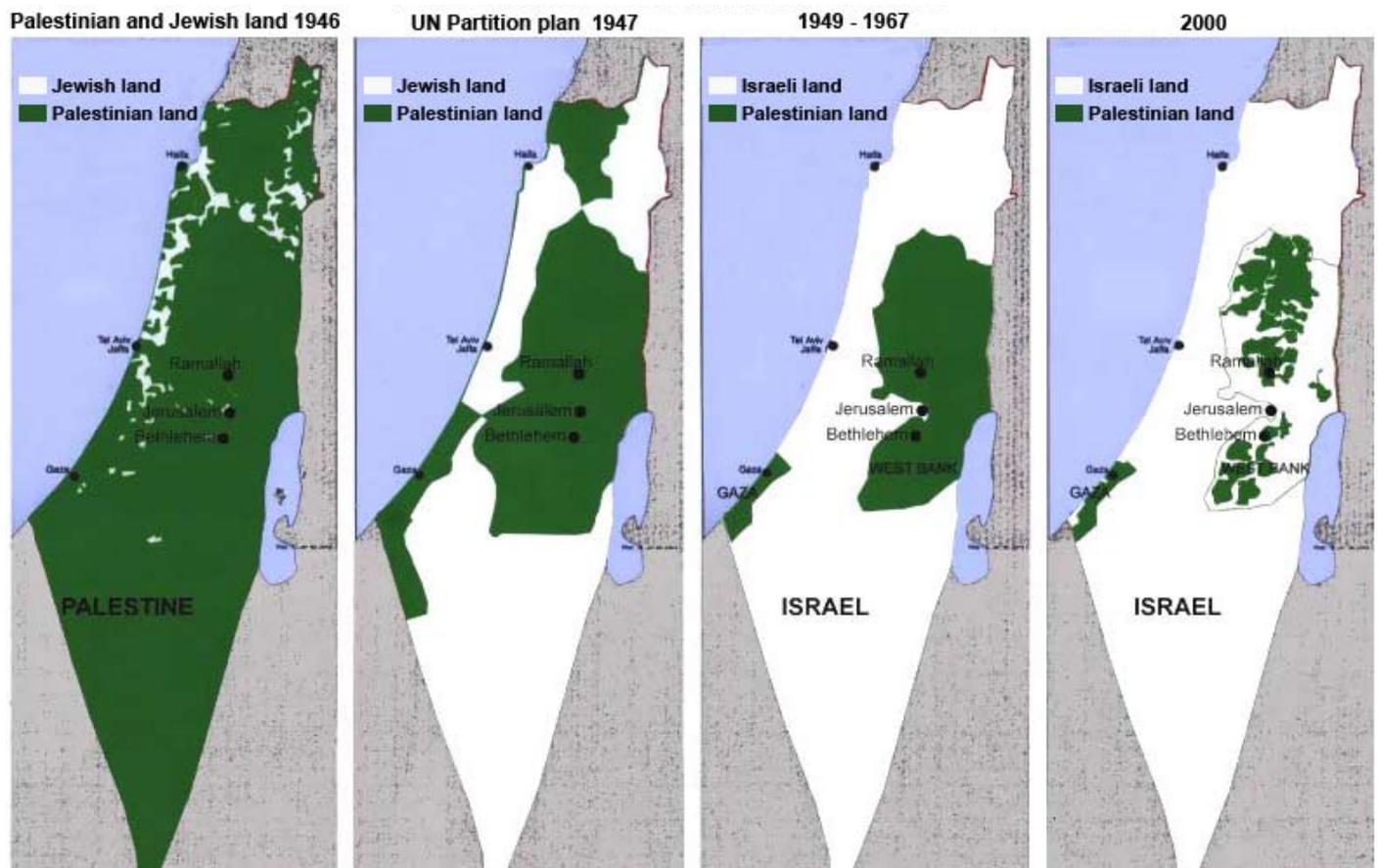
These attacks takes place on the background of the fascists in Israel led by Ben Ari that terrorize the Palestinian in Jaffa and other cities trying to force them to flee the city. The fascists are backed by the leadership of the settlers (Moezet Yesha) that is considered in Israel as the flowers of Zionism.

Michael Ben-Ari is a former member of the racist Kneset, who co-established the Otzma LeYisrael party. He is the first outspoken disciple of Rabbi Meir Kahane whose party was banned in Israel but it was allowed to run for the elections under a different name.

For self-defense and an antifascist united front! For a Palestinian Workers State from the River to the Sea!

In Jaffa some brave Palestinians, who already understand that the Zionist state's apparatus (army, police, courts, prisons) will not defend them from the fascist mob, are organizing self defense committee. The ISL supports the committee and is now trying to organize a wider united front to fight shoulder to shoulder with our Palestinians brothers and sisters in Jaffa, to stop the fascist attacks.

At the same time we explain that only by a *socialist revolution* based on the Palestinians workers, unemployed, poor and lower middle class with those Jews who are ready to fight the Zionist systematical oppression, we will end the fascist's terror that acts in the service of the Israeli capitalist state and protected by the state apparatus. As long as Israel exists, the terrorizing of the Palestinian nation in Israel the West Bank, in Gaza and in the refugee camps will continue. Our revolutionary perspective against the reality of the Apartheid state from the river to the sea is a *Palestinian Workers State from the River to the Sea* as part of a *Socialist Federation of the entire region*. The Jewish workers who will join the revolutionary struggle will be part of the workers state and the Jewish masses that will stay and not act against the new workers state will be equal citizens. ■



The Reality of Zionist Land Robbery: Palestinian Territory in 1946, 1947, 1967 and 2000

Down with the Netanyahu-Lapid-Benet-Liberman government!

By Yossi Schwartz (Internationalist Socialist League, Israel / Occupier Palestine), 14.3.2013

The new coalition government of Israel is the most right wing government in the history of Israel. It is a government committed to a war against Iran, military intervention in Syria, expending the settlements in the lands Israel occupied in 1967, deepening the discriminations against the Palestinians citizens of the lands Israel stole in 1947-8, and attacking the working class in Israel made of Jews, Palestinian and migrant workers using the old tactics employed already by the Romans of divide and rule.

Netanyahu's *Likud party* which by itself is a nationalist right wing capitalist party entered the elections campaign forging an alliance with the hard line nationalist *Yisrael Beitenu party* that supports the transfer of the Palestinians. The ultra nationalist settlers party the "*Jewish Home Party*" and the secular racist *Yesh Atid* ("There is hope" led by Yair Lapid) are now part of this government as well. The fascists in Israel like Ben Ari and Gevir will find in this government protection even more than before, and will apply violence in order to remove Palestinians from neighborhood in Jaffa, East Jerusalem and other cities. The racists who attack migrant workers will be encouraged.

The composition of this government reflects the ugly racist existing consciousness of most of the Israeli Jews. Gideon Levy reports in Zionist liberal *Haaretz* on October 23, 2012 of the findings of a survey that reveals deeply-rooted racism in Israeli society. This survey is reflecting the desire of most of the Jewish public to practice ethnic segregation between Arabs and Jews. The poll was conducted by Prof. Camil Fuchs, one of the most respected pollsters in Israel. According to the poll, a clear majority in the Jewish public (59 percent) wants the government to give preference to Jews in the admissions to jobs in the public sector, half of the public wants the government to generally treat Jews better than Arabs, and over 40 percent would like to see separate housing and classes for Jews and Arabs.

The dehumanization narrative dominates the political conversation, and there is zero readiness to challenge the inherent discrimination in the system itself (not to mention the occupation). This poll is therefore not a failure of education – as some might want to see it – but a problem inherent in the system itself based on a settler's colonialist society. To achieve this we must end the apartheid state from the river to the sea by a struggle that begins with democratic rights including the demand for a democratic state – i.e. a democratic republic with a Palestinian majority – for all its citizens from the river to the sea. Such a democratic republic can only be won by a working class led revolution that will form a workers state from the river to the sea.

As Revolutionary Marxists we reject the reformist-Menshevik-Stalinist two stages theories leading to support the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie that collaborate with the imperialist masters.

There are still some left leaning people who think that a two state solution is the immediate real solution. However this government that is committed to an apartheid

state from the river to the sea is supported by the other imperialists, as the planned visit of Obama to Israel, or the selling of the new submarine that can use atomic warheads by Germany prove. It shows that the empty talk of two state solution is simply a reactionary pie in the sky the imperialists use in an attempt to cheat the masses. For the Palestinians to win the democratic rights it is necessary to defeat the imperialists and their servants, to carry out the agrarian revolution-land of the Palestinian peasants, for the Palestinian refugees to return. No imperialist power in the world will support these rights. Only a successful revolution by the armed masses led by the working class can achieve these rights.

Organizations like *Daam* say that indeed a solution will come only by the struggle of the masses. But why do they call for a "Two state solution", i.e. a division of the Palestinian nation, after the workers will take power with the support of the Falahin and other oppressed layer of society?! Don't they see that this does not only violate the democratic rights of the Palestinian nation but in fact runs also contrary to the needs of a proletarian relationship of production require larger units for example a socialist federation that by itself is already a compromise?!

The leaders of the Communist party and Hadash have to explain to their supporters how come they have supported the Madrid and Oslo agreement that have brought only more misery to the Palestinians in the West Bank Gaza under siege and the citizens of Israel, while these great leaders have presented this imperialist plan as the way forward?

When the so called "peace process" began in Madrid "peace conference" in 1991, aimed at ending the popular intifada that began in 1987, by sowing illusion in the "process", 200,000 Israelis settlers lived in the lands Israel occupied in 1967. Since then, under four successive American presidents, Israel has continued to steal more lands and to settle more fanatic nationalists on the lands, and at the same time they physically attack the Palestinians under the protection of the Israeli army and police. Today 500,000 fanatic settlers live and oppress directly the Palestinians and the Israeli government is planning to increase their numbers to 1 million.

A report in *Haaretz* March 11, 2013 states:

*"The third Netanyahu government has one clear goal: enlarging the settlements and achieving the vision of "a million Jews living in Judea and Samaria." This magic number will thwart the division of the land and prevent once and for all the establishment of a Palestinian state. The defense, and housing and construction ministries that are relevant to this issue will be given to Likud MK Moshe Ya'alon and Habayit Hayehudi MK Uri Ariel. They won't be assuming these positions in order to freeze settlement construction, but rather to implement the Levy report which determined that Israel was not legally-speaking an occupying power in the West Bank and the Habayit Hayehudi platform; or in other words, to gradually absorb the West Bank into Israel. Aluf Benn One million Jews coming to the West Bank *Haaretz* 11/3/2013)*

According to Channel 2 in Israel, the threshold for parties to join the racist Knesset may rise from 2% to 4%, which would keep small parties out of the Knesset. Clearly this change is aimed at the Palestinian parties in Israel that wins less than 4% each. This is in line with the policy of the government of Israel never to allow any Palestinian party into the government. This is also in line with the decision by Israel's Central Elections Committee to disqualify the Israeli Arab MK Hanin Zuabi from the *Balad* party over her involvement in the Gaza flotilla in May 2010. This decision was over-ruled by the Supreme Court. However the government is composed of the same parties that control the Election Committee.

According to the Liberal Zionist origination: *The Association of Human rights* (founded by Haim Cohen, a former Judge of the Israeli Supreme Court, and who, as Attorney General, decided to indict Malchiel Gruenwald for starting the Rudolf Kastner trial) says that:

„The Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated in almost every aspect of their lives – employment, allocation of educational resources, housing, land distribution and planning rights – and they do not have equal representation in most state bodies and institutions. In recent years, there has also been an upsurge of racism in Israel against Arab citizens. ACRI struggles against the discrimination of Arab citizens, through legal, educational, and public advocacy efforts.” (<http://www.acri.org.il/en/category/arab-citizens-of-israel>)

Excuse: The Rudolf Kastner trial

Since not all the readers are familiar with the Rudolf Kastner's trial it is important make a detour and to deal with this trial before continuing with the current Israeli government.

In 1953 Malchiel Gruenwald, a rabble-rousing pamphleteer, accused Kastner, a leading Zionist figure in Hungary, of having collaborated with the Nazis by failing to warn 400,000 Hungarian Jews that they were being sent to Auschwitz. A libel case brought by the Israeli government against Gruenwald ended with the judge's ruling that Kastner had "sold his soul to the Devil." Turning the court against him were documents showing that Kastner had written letters to war-crimes prosecutors seeking leniency for Nazi officers whom he had bribed to save 1440 Jews mostly rich' Zionists and his own relatives. But the Israeli state that could not live with this verdict. In 1957 Kastner was assassinated in Tel Aviv by former Security agents, and the appeal court posthumously overturned the verdict against him. Today Kastner is considered a hero in Israel.

The new Netanyahu government will attack also the Jewish masses

But let us return to the Israeli government. Until 1991 most Palestinians, although under Israeli military occupation, could nonetheless travel freely. Today, an entire generation of Palestinians has never been allowed to visit Jerusalem, enter Israel or cross between the West Bank and Gaza. This ghettoization of the Palestinians, along with the unrest of the second intifada of 2000-5 and the construction of seemingly permanent settlements and of an apartheid-style wall, are the fruits of the so-called peace process, which the United States has led and which

was supported by all the pro Zionists supporters of the "two states" solution. Such a solution would be a mini Bantustan alongside imperialist Israel on 80% of the stolen Palestinian lands.

The new government is going to attack the level of living not only of the Palestinians but of the Israeli Jewish workers and small businesses. As finance minister under Ariel Sharon from 2003 to 2005, Netanyahu implemented some of the most extensive economic cuts in Israeli history. Welfare transfers were cut, the pace of privatization was quickened, income taxes were lowered, and fiscal discipline was tightened. Netanyahu continues to advocate small government, low income taxes, fewer regulations, and less bureaucracy. In the coming years with the deepening of the worst economic crisis since 1929, the next government that protects the rich will extend its attacks on the Jewish masses as well.

How to break Jewish Workers from Zionism?

We can expect more struggles of Jewish workers in the coming years. We in the ISL will support these struggles as long as they will be directed against the Zionist capitalists and their government and not against the Palestinians or the migrant workers. We will tell the Jewish workers the truth: You will not be able to develop your struggle and defend yourselves from the capitalist attacks as long as you will not be ready to give up on your relative privileges in relations to the Palestinians and defend the democratic rights of the Palestinians including the right of self determination in the entire country and including the right of the return of the Palestinian refugees. To be free you have to join the revolutionary struggle against the Zionist ruling class and you will be free only as part of a socialist revolution as part of a new workers ruling class in a Worker and falahins' state from the river to the sea instead of the Zionist capitalist apartheid state from the river to the sea.

There is direct connection between the political nature of the protest movement that swept Israel in the summer of 2011 and mobilized record numbers of protesters and the formation of the most right wing government in the history of Israel. Leaders of the protests articulated reformist economic views, calling for larger welfare transfers and attacking Netanyahu's policies as being tilted in favor of the rich. But the vast majority of Israelis who took to the streets were not demanding an end to the repression of the Palestinians. They wanted to improve the conditions of only the lower Jewish middle class. As soon as Israel attacked Gaza the protest movement collapsed.

In 1951, 1962-1967, 1969 and 1971, the Israeli workers struggled against the capitalist class. Most known was the seamen strike in 1951. There were many wildcat strikes in those years because the Histadruth opposed the strikes. Yet they all collapsed rather than developed into revolutionary struggle because the Jewish workers did not challenge the racist discrimination of the Palestinian workers, peasants, small businessmen, youth and women. The Jewish workers did not challenge the establishment of the apartheid state over the entire country.

For a significant number of Jewish Israeli workers to join the revolutionary struggle in the region, one of the two events must happen. Either Israel will be defeated in a war,

or the working class in one of the Arab states – especially in Egypt – will take power. Thus while the struggles of the Palestinian workers and peasants are leading to a political and hence opens the road to a revolutionary consciousness this is not the case with the economic struggle of the Jewish workers. For Jewish workers to become revolutionaries they must defend first the bourgeois democratic rights of their oppressed sisters and brothers.

Centrist Confusion

The motion in the real world is very much in opposition to the opportunist scheme of the IMT and the CWI that claim that the Jewish workers can gain a revolutionary consciousness through the economic struggle and then after they will gain revolutionary working class consciousness. Basing themselves on this scheme the right-wing centrists adopt themselves to the racist and nationalist existing consciousness of the Israeli Jewish workers. This accommodation takes the form of two “socialist states” (CWI) or a “Federative Jewish -Arab worker state” where the refugees will return only to the Palestinian part (IMT). What these centrists are blind to is the fact that when the Jewish workers will struggle to improve their condition, this government will use the oldest trick of the Zionists, turn the workers anger to another imperialist war.

Unlike the reformists and the centrists revolutionary communists are telling the truth that because the interest of Palestinians workers and masses is a revolutionary, and the Palestinians are a majority in this country even before the return of the refugees, the national identity of the workers state will be Palestinian. However, since we can expect that under the condition of a major defeat of Israel or a victorious socialist revolution in an Arab country, a section of the Jewish workers will join the Palestinian revolutionary struggle, we call for Palestinian-Jewish workers government supported by the Falahins from the river to the sea.

The Importance of Migrant Workers

There is another important aspect to the question of a workers government. The capitalists have imported migrant workers that are super exploited. By the end of the 1980s, approximately 120,000 Palestinians from the 1967 occupied lands worked in Israel, commonly in agriculture and construction jobs that are hard, low paid jobs and for this reason most Israeli Jewish workers do not work in these jobs. As a result of the Palestinian resistance to the oppression and the popular intifada that began in 1987 the Zionist state had imposed restriction of Palestinian movement into Israel, and the number of Palestinian workers has shrunk significantly over the last 25 years. To make up the difference in labor force exploited by the capitalists, the Israeli state has granted the capitalists more permits for migrant workers, whose number is currently estimated to be near 300,000. This constitutes a significant 11% of the entire Israeli labor force, twice the average in OECD members.

Migrant workers largely arrive to Israel from underdeveloped countries in Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Large number of the 300,000 migrant

workers are in Israel illegally, even though many of them entered the country legally. This is due to their possession of expired visas — many workers cannot afford to travel back home — or as a result of changing jobs or employers. Consequently, their rights are even more limited than they were upon entry, and like undocumented workers elsewhere, they withhold from complaining to the authorities out of fear of arrest or deportation, which occur frequently. This is bonanza for the capitalists who use these super-exploited workers to put pressure on the overall salaries even of Jewish workers. In addition the Zionists are directing the anger of the Palestinians and the Jewish workers against the migrant workers and refugees. Reformist group like Daam helped to spread the lie that the migrant workers are the one who steal the work from the Palestinians. Revolutionaries do not play the capitalist game of divide and rule but unite all the workers against the class enemy.

In 2012, Interior Minister Eli Yishai approved 80,200 permits for migrant workers. This is almost eight times the number of migrants who entered Israel illegally in 2012. Last year while the prime minister remained silent, other arms of the state’s apparatus were busy implementing a racist agenda that threatens the lives of people who came to this country fleeing persecution. Minister of Interior Yishai was vocal in decrying the refugees illegal “infiltrators” and a danger to the Jewish character of the Zionist state. Netanyahu’s racism against African migrants by proxy take away a people’s right to work, leave them to starve without belongings in the streets and prevent them from accessing health and welfare services. Then they pollute language to dehumanize them as a group: resurrecting the blood libel to make the majority of them criminals. They say they are rapists and carriers of disease. They tell us they are “infiltrators,” the government is pushing for pogroms against the refugees from Africa.

Revolutionary Action Programme

It is necessary to demand equal rights to all the migrant workers and refugees. To grant them citizenships if they want to without losing their home country citizenships. To organize the migrant workers as part of the Palestinian-Jewish workers who are ready to struggle for the democratic rights of the Palestinians and the migrant workers and refugees with a socialist revolutionary perspective. If we will not organize them, the capitalists will organize the immigrant workers against the revolutionary struggle.

Therefore we say:

Down with the capitalist racist government!

Support the struggle for a Palestinian Democratic State from the River to the Sea!

For expropriation of the major capitalist companies without compensation under multinational workers control!

For a Multinational Workers Government supported by the Falahins from the River to the Sea!

For a Workers State supported by the Falahins from the River to the Sea!

For a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!

For a new Communist International! ■

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:

www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net

You can order the book via

* our contact address rcit@thecommunists.net,

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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

Theses on Islamism

By Michael Pröbsting and Simon Hardy (adopted by the League for the Fifth International in January 2011)

Note from the Editorial Board:

The following resolution on Islamism was adopted by a congress of the League for the Fifth International (LFI) in January 2011. It was the last congress of the LFI before its majority led the organization successfully into centrist degeneration. A few months later, in April 2011, the majority expelled the left wing faction "Bolshevik Opposition" which fought to re-orient the organization to a consistent revolutionary strategy. This "Bolshevik Opposition" became the initiating force of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT).

The resolution goes back to a draft of Michael Pröbsting, the International Secretary of the RCIT, who was a member of the LFI's international leadership for nearly two decades until his expulsion. Comrade Pröbsting wrote the draft originally in 2002. It was later actualized and edited by Simon Hardy.

Comrade Hardy was one of the younger members of the LFI's international leadership at that time. Unfortunately his intelligence, dedication and sympathetic character did not go hand in hand with the necessary steadfastness and political comprehension to fight against the petty-bourgeois academic left-wing milieu in which he became increasingly absorbed as a spokesperson of the university student movement in Britain. He became a leader of a right-wing split from the LFI in April 2012 which renounces the tradition of Leninism and Trotskyism. It is symbolic of the political and theoretical decline of the LFI that both authors are no longer members of that organization. This might also help to explain why the LFI failed to publish the resolution – unanimously adopted by a congress more than two years ago – until today.

The resolution in its final, adopted form is a valid analysis of Islamism from a Marxist point of view and outlines a revolutionary programmatic response. We don't want to deny that in the process of editing a certain tendency of overemphasis to descriptions took place at the cost of the class analysis. Such a tendency is unfortunately very common amongst so-called Marxist intellectuals. However these weaknesses are of a limited character and don't remove the revolutionary content of the thesis.

The Rise of Islamism

1. Over the last few decades political Islam repeatedly rose higher up the political agenda. In Iran, a reactionary, clerical, Islamist dictatorship came to power as a result of the defeat of the progressive forces during the revolution against the Shah. Despite its "anti-imperialist" stance and the overt hostility from the US and Israel - and to a lesser degree from Germany and France - for the majority of the Iranian masses it was predominantly an anti-secular anti-democratic and anti-working class dictatorship. The regime drowned in blood the militants of the labour and socialist movement and those of other progressive forces (women, national minorities, democratic movements).

2. These actions mirrored the most reactionary regimes of the last quarter of the twentieth century, such as the Pinochet Junta and had many of the features of fascism. The difference was that the Iranian regime maintained a verbal hostility to the US which the latter repaid by isolating Iran and fomenting an attack on it by Saddam Hussein's Iraq. But what the US opposed was not the dictatorial rule of the Islamic clergy but the revolt of a semi-colonial state which had under the Shah been a loyal ally and a gendarme for its interests in the vital oil rich region.

3. Indeed in Afghanistan the US and its allies - including the ultra-reactionary Wahabi regime of Saudi Arabia - armed and built up counter-revolutionary Islamist forces to wage a relentless war firstly against the Afghan Stalinist government and then its Soviet Allies. This reactionary war, and the final defeat of the Afghan government in the early 1990s, led to the building of a reactionary international network of Sunni Islamists, which became a rallying point for Islamist movements, groupings, organisations globally.

4. Of course, Islamism was and is an ideology, whose origins lie in an earlier period of the 20th century - basically the 1930s and 1940s. However the creation of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the victory of the counter-revolution in Afghanistan gave credibility to Islamism as major force, which could win against a supposedly superior enemy and, thereby, promise to put an end the humiliation of the Arab and Muslim world by imperialist domination and the depredations of the Zionist settler state (plus, in the case of Afghanistan, a Russian invasion).

5. This rise of Islamism as a political current with mass influence and following went hand in hand with the decline of preceding political forces and ideologies, which had promised to lead to liberation of the Arab and Muslim world from imperialist domination and national humiliation.

6. Arab nationalism and other national liberation forces in the Muslim world had failed. They had proved incapable of breaking the imperialist chains, of uniting the Arab world on a bourgeois nationalist and statist basis and they had repeatedly failed to stop the expansion of the Zionist state and betrayed the Palestine liberation struggle. They were forced into humiliating concessions to imperialism and its allies. Some, like Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, even offered to become successors of the Iranian Shah as an imperialist regional gendarme. To this end Saddam launched a barbaric war against Iran on behalf of the US and other imperialist states, pogrommed entire Kurdish towns, and denied workers and the majority religious community (the Shias) any form of democratic rights. Egypt under Saddam and Mubarak became a pensioner of the US and co-jailer of the Palestinians.

7. But it was not only the nationalists who failed. *The "Communist", in reality the Stalinist left, had failed too.* Despite all their differences in coloration, from pro-Moscow to more Maoist shades, or from legalist to guerrillaist

strategies, they all shared a stage-ist theory of the revolution. From the central importance of the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation they concluded that this democratic revolution had to bring about a regime, which would implement exclusively the tasks of the bourgeois revolution – i.e. an extended period of capitalist development before workers' power and socialism could be even thought of. For this they advocated a strategic alliance with the national "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie and reserved for it the leading role in the struggle. This repeatedly led to political disaster since the latter was too weak socially and economically to play the role assigned it. At best nationalist army officers, like Nasser, played a temporarily anti-imperialist role but at the price of installing a military bonapartist dictatorship which eventually turned on its Communist allies and on all independent workers organisations.

8. The pro-Moscow Communist Parties – where the Kremlin had a big stake in a regime (in Iraq, Egypt and Syria) for periods of time – were obliged to completely and openly sub-ordinate themselves to their "anti-imperialist" rulers, basically providing left support for them. In other cases, left Stalinist or Maoist forces led large oppositional movements or struggles, including heroic, partial victories. But as in the most tragic case – in the Iranian revolution – the enormous, heroic role they played in the overthrow of the Shah and the destruction on the army and SAVAK (the hated secret police) and the mass support they had gained, was destroyed because in one way or another (and with different degrees of "consistency"), they subordinated themselves to the leadership of the "national bourgeoisie", i.e. the leadership of Khomeini.

9. These two developments – the decline and fall of secular Arab nationalism and of Stalinised Communism – were further accentuated after the collapse of the USSR and the restoration of capitalism there and in China. Bourgeois nationalism and the Stalinist forces lost major, global allies and sources of material support. The defeat of Iraq in the first US-war against the country led to the Arab nationalist and fake anti-imperialist regimes turning further to the right (Syria). The PLO signed the Oslo accords and the left in the PLO either supported this or put up an, at best, inconsistent opposition to this sell-out of the national liberation struggle.

10. The collapse of Stalinism opened a new period in world history. The Middle East and Central Asia – and therefore a large part of the "Muslim World" – became focus of the US *strive to create its "new world order"*. Whereas in the 1945-1989 period it had had to compete for influence in the region with the Soviet Union, accepting the existence of non-aligned or neutral powers with a certain amount of independence, now as the sole world superpower it sought to bring the whole region under its sway and weed out the "rogue states" which still defied its every wish (Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya). This sway included not only US bases in Saudi Arabia and the armed gendarme of the Zionist state but also the "soft power" of political and cultural dimension. Human rights and democratisation were drafted into service to "open up" the "closed societies" of the Muslim world. One hope was to win the modernising intelligentsia, students and women, who had often been nationalists or even Communists from the 1950s to the 1980s, to the side of the US and the Europeans. But the real

aim was to fully open up these countries to the imperialist multinationals, oil companies and western banks, Anyone who resisted was proclaimed backward and barbaric.

11. Thus traditional Islamic *culture* – became a focus of US imperialist criticism – with arrogant demands that it modernise (i.e. westernise) itself. The Islamist groups who as anticommunist *ihadis*, had proved such "useful idiots" for the US in Afghanistan suddenly became the enemy one of the US crusade to secure "freedom, democracy and capitalism" in the region and the world. The fight against "Islamic fundamentalism" became a catchword to justify US-wars and intervention, long before the War against Terror" was launched. But it only took the *form of a global declaration of war against "terrorism"* – meaning "Islamist terrorism" in aftermath of 9/11. This "war" has opened up a veritable Pandora's box of evils – both for the populations of the Islamic countries but also for the imperialist powers themselves.

12. Whilst any scientific, objective – therefore any *Marxist* – analysis has to differentiate between Islamism as a political ideology and movement and Islam as a religion, between the different forms it takes, imperialist *Anti-Islamism* deliberately blurs all these differences into a chauvinist racist Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab demagogy. In Western Europe and North America it has become a convenient cover for racist agitation against migrant communities from the Middle East, the Indian Sub-continent and East Africa. This has come to be known as Islamophobia and is primarily a variety of racism. The purpose of this poisonous ideology is to justify all and any imperialist intervention, and even occupation in the Muslim world, as well as chauvinist, racist repressive acts at home against national or religious minorities. *Anti-Islamism* has become a central component of imperialist ideology, including state racism, fascist, far right Christian and right-wing populist forces. It has largely replaced anticommunism as the central phobia in the US itself, and is likely to continue to perform this role, since the US has failed to create a new, relatively stable imperialist world order. On the contrary, its and its allies' interventions have further de-stabilised the Middle East, Central Asia and areas stretching into the Indian subcontinent and Africa. This has undermined pro-imperialist regimes like Pakistan and sharpened the struggle for a re-division of the world between the US and its emerging rivals.

13. Finally, there is a fourth element, which feeds the growth of Islamism and a return to religion in conditions of economic and social crisis. This is the even more crucial role *the crisis of working class leadership* assumes *under such conditions*. Under globalisation, some counties of the "Islamic world" have seen outright social decline, if not a descent into barbarism (Afghanistan under the civil war, the Taliban, the US/NATO/war, Somalia since the failed US intervention). The reproduction of the society, even of viable social classes becomes more and more difficult, leading to a general devastation and decline of social life. In the petro-monarchies, the decline of the dollar and the almost exclusive reliance of state revenues on the oil-revenues – making them essentially rentier-states – have started to undermine the basis for the integration of the middle and lower classes by means of a dictatorial clientist and extremely parasitic system. Others like Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia or Iran have seen even a growth of the working

class under globalisation due to an almost feverish growth of the economy, albeit resting to a large extent on speculation. The new proletarians are, however, extremely exploited and often forced to live in outright poverty, thanks to the denial of political and trade union rights. All this meant that under globalisation we saw an increase of social inequality and tensions. This is sharpened enormously by the tendency to social decline in the post-2007 period and by the fact that all but a few of the semi-colonies in the Islamic World were hit much harder by the crisis than were the imperialist heartlands.

14. In such conditions, reactionary forces can and will muster, if the working class is not capable of providing leadership in the struggles of the popular masses of the town and countryside against exploitation, poverty, dictatorship and imperialism. Both radical Islamist mullahs as well as traditionalist ulemas will – as with in other religions - use the mosques and their charitable institutions and madrassas to pacify the masses. In many cases, they will use them to rally the oppressed for reactionary causes and tie them to their “Islamic” leaders – the landlords, the bazaris, and “pious” industrialists. In some cases, however, they will and do rally them for a just cause like the struggle against national and imperialist oppression. Marxists must be able to identify these objectively and fall neither into their own version of Islamophobia - or islamist-phobia - nor into its opposite, a belief that Islamism is basically an anti-imperialist ideology and movement that will “objectively” be obliged to carry through a whole stage of the revolution, before generously handing over to the working class. In cases where their struggle is objectively progressive as was Hezbollah’s in the defence of Lebanon against Israeli attack or Hamas in a similar situation in Gaza, it will prove necessary for genuine revolutionaries to fight alongside them. The same applies to religious Islamist forces who play a role in the anti-war/occupation movement in the imperialist heartlands. But they will have to do so for strictly limited common objectives and without renouncing the independence of the working class and other progressive forces for a minute. But even this must not blind us of the overall reactionary character of the Islamist forces.

15. The above mentioned four factors – the failure of nationalism, of Stalinism, the US-offensive for a new world order and the global crisis - are crucial to understand the rise of Islamism and why it could become a major political force.

Development of Islamism

16. *Islamism as a political movement must not be confused with Islam as a religion. Islamism is a political movement which uses selected aspects of Islam as a motivating factor for its supporters and as a political programme for power. However Islamists totally identify their political ideology with Islam and deny the separation of politics and religion. For them secularism and non-religious ideologies (nationalism, communism, liberalism) are all simply godless opposition to Islam.*

17. Political Islamism is integrally related to but not identical with fundamentalist trends within mainstream Sunni Islam which have grown massively in influences since the 1970s. Shi’a Islam – a small minority within the world’s Muslims but a majority in Iran and Iraq has a dif-

ferent tradition but has been influenced by Sunni Islamism and since the Iranian Revolution of 1979 has in turn exerted and influences on it.

18. Islamic Fundamentalism or Salafism (from *salaf as-salih* or “righteous predecessors”) is an attempt to return to what its ideologues imagine to be the practices of the first three generations of Muslims. Its origins go back to eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (CE) and were a response to the decadence and downfall of the three great Muslim empires of the preceding centuries - the Ottomans), the Safavids and the Mughals. An early founder of *Salafism* – prominent because of the adoption of his teachings as a state ideology by Saudi Arabia - was Muhammad ibn Abd-al-Wahhab (1703-1792). *Wahabism* is most widespread form of Salafism, owing to Saudi sponsorship worldwide of mosques and *madrassas* (schools for training imams and legal scholars).

19. With the downfall of the Islamic empires, Britain and France became colonising powers in the Islamic world. Whilst the colonisers did not persecute Islam, they replaced its legal and political institutions with secular ones, modernised but at the same time exploited its economies, and brutally suppressed uprisings against their rule (in India, Egypt and the Sudan).

20. The ruling classes of the Muslim world were rooted in landowning, in traditional merchant capital, yet the new colonies (disguised as League of Nations Mandates) were dominated by French and British banks and businessmen. Indigenous capitalist development was stunted. Since the Muslim *ulema* - or clergy - were drawn from and rooted in these classes - resentment and occasionally resistance to the western occupiers came in part from these strata. But it was the development of a modern working class, the (semi-)proletarianisation of the peasantry and the creation of a modern intelligentsia (students, teachers, engineers, lawyers) by colonial capitalism that created a force that would eventually rebel against the colonialists.

21. Political Islamism owes its origins to the period between the Second and First World Wars. During the First World War the Anglo-French imperialists had wooed the Arab peoples of Arabia, Palestine, Syria and Iraq with the promise of “national liberation” from the Ottoman Empire. This produced an “Arab renaissance” in Egypt, Lebanon and Syria, particularly. But the British and the French swindled the Arab leaders, colonizing (under the thin disguise of League of Nations mandates) Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine and holding on to Egypt and their North African colonies. In Palestine the British encouraged large scale European Jewish settlement – just as the French had colonised Algeria. By the late 1920s alienation against this deceitful conquest led firstly to the growth of secular Arab nationalism such as the Ba’athists founded in 1940 by Syrian intellectuals Michel Aflaq and Salah al-Bitar but also to political Islamism too.

22. The founders of the two key organizations were born and raised in British colonies. Hassan Al-Bannah (1906-1949) founded the *Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslim*, the Muslim Brotherhood, in Egypt in 1928 Syed Abul A’ala Mawdudi (1903-1979) founded *Jamat-i-Islami* in India in 1941. The founding nuclei were people from middle class backgrounds, scholars, professors, teachers, engineers etc. But the Islamists, as opposed to the nationalists and socialists, rejected not just colonialism but much of western secular

culture, though not its scientific and technological achievements.

23. The *Ikwan* became radicalised by the 1936 Palestinian uprising against the British colonial authorities and the Zionist settlers. The Palestinian leadership was at first, and for a long time, traditionalist in its ideology and feudal religious in its ideology. The Brotherhood began to arm, to penetrate the Egyptian police and the army, to advocate insurrection against the British. Seeing the British as the main enemy and Germany and Italy as potential allies it copied features of European fascism, having a militia modeled on the SA or the Black shirts. Muslim Brotherhoods spread to Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Sudan and Iraq. In Egypt the Brotherhood expanded rapidly, having perhaps 500,000 supporters by the end of the 1940s. The social base of the MB was the lower middle class schoolteachers, technicians, clerks, artisans, and small merchants.

24. But enraged by Egypt's humiliating defeat by the Israelis in the 1948 war its militants assassinated the Egyptian premier in 1948—and in revenge al-Banna was himself assassinated the following year. The *Ikwan* was illegalised and suffered severe repression. Nevertheless it supported Gamal Abdel Nasser and the Free Officers' overthrow of the monarchy in 1953. But it rapidly fell out with the secular Arab nationalist regime and was heavily repressed throughout Nasser's remaining years in power.

25. Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) was key ideologist of member of the Muslim Brotherhood- editing its paper and heading its propaganda department. It was one of his shortest works *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq* or Milestones (1964) that became the founding text for *jihadi* Islamism. He argued that the absolute transcendent sovereignty of god in Islam invalidates the *secular* (godless) state. This applied equally to the *nation* state whose basis represented an irreligious division of the *umma*, the community of believers. Likewise the *democratic* state, based on the "sovereignty of the people, was an irreligious usurping of divine sovereignty. Qutb believed that the whole world - including the supposedly Muslim countries - had reverted to the period of ignorance (*Jahiliyya*) before Muhammed's revelations.

26. An initially small vanguard of Islamists will fight against the new *jahiliyyah*, first ideologically and then physically: violent, revolutionary struggle was necessary to restore an Islamic *umma*. *This jihad*, in his interpretation of the term, was against the imperialists and their local agents. The *sharia* would be restored. Everything forbidden in the *sharia* would be banned- alcohol consumption, co-education, mingling of the two sexes at work or in leisure pursuits, etc. In a curious parallel with the Marxist (and anarchist) view of a stateless society Qutb's *umma* would have no rulers and even the *sharia* would simply become a moral law 'enforced' by everyone. Few of Qutb's modern disciples have gone so far holding that a new Caliph or Amir, would be chosen by the *umma* through some sort of council or *shura*.

27. Qutb also denounced the exploitative nature of western capitalism- a product of corrupt religions like Christianity and Judaism. He did not see capital itself, or private ownership of the means of production, as the problem, but financial speculation, usury (lending for interest). From this flowed Qutb's and following him many Islamists, disgusting anti-Semitism. Qutb asserted that "World Jewry" was and is engaged in conspiracies whose

"purpose" is: "so that Jews may penetrate into body politics of the whole world and then may be free to perpetuate their evil designs. At the top of the list of these activities is usury the aim of which is that all the wealth of mankind end up in the hands of Jewish financial institutions which run on interest." (*Milestones*, p 110-111)

28. Qutb saw in imperialism's interventions in and domination of the Arab and Muslim world, in its foundation and support for Israel, simply a continuation of the crusades – i.e. an attempt to destroy Islam. Those rulers in the Islamic worlds – like Nasser – who abolished sharia, replacing in with secular legal codes, who introduced western notions like socialism, nationalism, women's rights, were enemies of Islam and allies of the crusaders.

29. Islamism developed therefore not just – indeed not primarily – as an anti-colonial movement but an as anti-secular movement. It seeks to "restore" the state and social institutions to one based on religious law (*sharia*) supposedly those in operation in the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his immediate successors. This idea of restoring either elements of the Muslim *Umma* - emirates, Islamic republic's (Iran) or even a restored pan-Islamic Caliphate, constitutes a totally reactionary-utopian objective.

30. It is utopian since the economic, social and class condition of the first century AH/ seventh century CE cannot be restored even if the Islamists interpretations of the early days of Islam were true or uncontested, which they are not. It is reactionary since the measures the Islamists propose would constitute a ferocious restriction on democratic rights and liberties for women, workers and poor peasants, minority religions, sexual minorities etc, etc.

31. The practical experience of the "rule of god" turned out in practice be either the rule of a politicised religious hierarchy, as in Iran, or a monarch and his subservient *ulema* (Saudi Arabia). Were one of the islamist movements to take power (and to some degree that was the nature of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan) it would be a totalitarian regime imposing supposedly divine laws against workers, women, the young, qualitatively no better than fascism.

32. Many states in the Muslim world have adopted an admixture of Islamism, elements of the *sharia* (Indonesia, Pakistan various Arab countries. Despite the claims of Islamic liberals (and even post modernist feminists) democratic and socialist freedoms are completely incompatible with any sort of religious basis for the state.

33. Marxists are not only intransigent materialists in their *Weltanschauung* but also secularists in their political programme. Religion must remain a strictly private matter as far as the state is concerned. If it is not so as it is formally at least in republics like the USA or France, the Marxist include the fight to separate it from state sponsorship or recognition. This is not to be confused with the persecution or suppression of religious belief, the closing of places of worship the banning of the public display of its symbols, of public propaganda for it. It simply means that there must be no official endorsement by the state of any religion in the spheres of law, education or other areas of official public life. If adult believers and wish to regulate their lives with other believers according to their own religious law that it's their private matter. But those who do not must not be forced or coerced in any way to do so. Any

such coercion coming from religious hierarchies, associations, etc must be forbidden by democratic law. The working class is true inheritor and only consistent defender of the freedom of worship, toleration, the secular and anti-clerical goals of all the great bourgeois revolutions.

34. Yet in the last quarter of the twentieth and the first decade of this century these highly socially regressive Islamist movements have in many countries ousted more modern "progressive" movements for the allegiance of the masses. The recent growth of political Islam is directly connected with two features of the modern world. Firstly it is linked with the role of imperialism in the Middle East and across Central Asia. Imperialism, originating and still largely based in the western countries, associated with Christianity and liberal democracy, is seen as an invading and intruding force in the culture and life of the Muslim world.

35. This reality is exploited by Islamists to promote their own version of a "clash of civilisations," a world view which depicts the religious fundamentalism and the totalitarianism of Islamism as a necessary and even revolutionary struggle against both capitalism and those quisling state leaders which are seen as defending imperialism. The essential point is that Islamic movements do not grow in a vacuum or because of some inherently "backward attitude". Connected to this is the existence of Israel, itself a product of imperialism. The forced creation of a highly militarised, expansionist and colonialist racist Zionist state in the Middle East, and how it was created (expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs) is one of the key factors in the creation and existence of Islamic resistance movements (Hamas, Hizbullah). Imperialism also created Islamic states like Pakistan, supported by Islamic movements.

36. Islamists drew their initial cadres from those sections of the educated middle class, enraged by imperialist domination of their country, disgusted by the compliance of the ruling elites who are equipped with an intellectual background to produce the theological and political positions of the movement. The middle classes in these situations are the pioneers of nation building, the backbone of the nationalist cause. In the Islamic world they are attracted to Islamism as the primary engine of social change, drawing on religious ideas to mobilise beyond their own social class.

37. However wherever they seek to build a mass movement, they attempt to draw in sections of the working class and lumpenproletariat. Workers, youth and the poor are drawn to Islamist movements by the brutal conditions imposed on them by globalisation and the corruption of the local regimes. The lack of a socialist and revolutionary movement leaves these forces to fall prey to the Islamic groups who offer a world view as well as tactics and strategy, linked to a final goal, which connects to cultural and historical beliefs, fused into a seemingly radical political project. For the poor and disposed across the global south, capitalism offers no way out, and political religious movements provide the "opium" and promise of radical change which is so appealing. They see capitalism as a western evil, imported from the imperialist world by the US army, rapacious capitalists and multi-national corporations, and defended by their corrupt rulers. Islamism, as a supposed anti-capitalism, appeals to these layers.

38. Islamism also appeals to people still trapped in a

pre-capitalist mode of production, the villages and regions still trapped in feudalism or basic agriculture, here it acts as a political force within the village community to impose a morally authoritative set of laws and norms governing people's behaviour. Islam has not had an "enlightenment period" in recent history, leaving it often highly anti-scientific and deeply conservative in its world outlook. Islamic movements after 1979 were built on the ruins of liberal Islamic values and looked to a utopian conservative age of Islam as the model on which to build new societies.

39. The backwardness of Islam and Islamic countries is not purely a reflection of the dogmatic interpretation of ancient religious views transplanted onto the present day. The lack of development and progressive social views is primarily the result of the systematic under-development of the semi colonial and third world nations by capitalism and imperialism. Intellectually they generally reject the legacy of the enlightenment and the traditions and principles that flow from it.

The class character of Islamism and its different shades

40. The Islamist spectrum is a wide one, ranging from those that are conservative-bourgeois parties seeking to maintain the influence of the *ulema* and the landlords alongside the capitalists and strictly constitutional in their methods, through petty-bourgeois populist currents opposed to imperialism using militant tactics of armed struggle or guerilla warfare, to the jihadi terrorist groups and even fascist and semi-fascist organizations. Obviously, there is no clear, for all time distinction between these. A populist current may develop into a fascist organization. An arch-reactionary, Islamist organization set up against secular, anti-imperialist movements may be forced to take up the national struggle in order to become and retain a viable political force. A petit-bourgeois reactionary Islamist movement may turn into a Islamic (not Islamist) bourgeois mass party, like the AKP in Turkey which has become the main party not only for sectors of the middle-classes and poor, but for the mainstream of the private capitalists in Turkey. Such evolutions and transformations of parties – both bourgeois and working class – have occurred many times over.

41. Despite these differences, there are nevertheless certain common features of *all* Islamist parties and movements. Most importantly, they all share the aim of creating a political regime based on religious law, a state without a separation of state and – one – religion, essentially a theocratic state. That means that the goal of all these Islamist parties and movements is ultimately reactionary.

42. All *Islamist regimes* testify this. They demonstrate what the rule of Islamist parties and movements mean for the working class, women, oppressed. There the reactionary character of any Islamist or other sectarian or religious fundamentalist movement is strongest revealed. The idealized, imaginary unity of the believers is a cloak to justify and bless the rule of the capitalist class, the landlords and rentiers. The institutions of the Islamic clergy ultimately become institutions of the state. This allows for an almost total control of the population by a religious national force and increased the hold of the state – and the ruling class which it defends – over the workers and peasants much more than the repressive forces on their own could do.

43. However the Islamist regimes also prove that ultimately, the Islamist parties, forces, states must and cannot be understood as just religious movements or forms nor by the religious goals they proclaim. Rather, they demonstrate that – as in other religious political movements – it is the needs and interests of a specific class or alliance of classes, which determine the function and, ultimately the form and content, of the ideology, not the other way round.

44. So the anti-western and arch-reactionary character of the Saudi state ideology has proved perfectly capable to justify one of the most important backers of US domination over the Middle East. It has proved perfectly capable of “support” Hamas against Fatah – indeed it did originally in order to contain the national liberal struggle on behalf of US imperialism - and at the same time to collaborate overtly with Israel. This reactionary character of the regime is not altered by the fact that it may come into conflict with imperialism.

45. The Iranian regime is another good example of this. Its demagogic anti-imperialism was particularly strong under Khomeini because the Shah had not only been a stooge of the US but, because he was a bonapartist modernizer like his father or Mustafa Kemal, he sought to weaken the influence of the Shia *ulema* and the *bazaar* merchants, resting on and opening up to multinational capital. Against this Khomeini – as a representative of the reactionary wing of the *ulema* (and the *bazari* merchants and landowners) – developed the ideology of the *veliyati-faqih* (rule of the jurist) aimed against the Shah’s westernizing bourgeois secularism. But the Islamic Republic as it emerged after 1979 was a far more an empirical response to the forces – revolutionary and counterrevolutionary – unleashed by the Iranian revolution.

46. The conservative bourgeois politicians (the National Front) and the majority of the Grand Ayatollahs, themselves representing the highest levels of the traditional *bazaar* bankers and merchants and the rich landowners, were neither able nor willing to create the regime Khomeini aimed at; nor did they want to sever relations with the US. They wanted a constitutional monarchy and the maintenance of a degree of separation between the clergy and politics. Khomeini however utilised his charismatic hold over the impoverished urban masses, and the lower clergy to force back and remove his opponents within the political and clerical elite. But the radicalism and power of the left, the student youth, the power of the workers shown in strikes and factory takeovers, convinced Khomeini that a constitutional regime would be unable to control and suppress these forces and would in any case concede too much to western culture and penetration. Savage street battles and a “white terror” were needed to crush the left Stalinist and “Islamic Marxist” parties (the Iranian *People’s Fedai* and the *People’s Mojahedin Mojāhedīn-e khalq*). For this purpose not merely the normal state machine but a fascist mass movement - the Hezbollah squads was needed. The war conditions after Saddam’s attack on Iran and the US imperialists blockade created the ideal conditions to crush the left and their false strategy of concessions to him in the earliest phases enabled him to divide his opponents and set up a totalitarian regime.

47. Though conservative bourgeois forces in the form of “reformers” have to some degree relaxed the totalitar-

ian nature of the regime, the bonapartist fascist core of the state machine has resisted democratization from above and below (the democracy movements of the students). Ahmadijad has to combine with the Islamist social welfare (based on mosque-based charity for the poor and “disinherited” of the shanty towns and villages), with the brutal repression of the fascist *basiji*, gangs a continued demagogic anti-imperialism and support for Hezbollah and Hamas against Israel. Only the intervention of the working class as a revolutionary social force – led by a party which is anti-imperialist as well as anti-capitalist will be able to undermine the social basis of the dictatorship and unleash a revolution.

48. The fake character of the “anti-imperialism” of Islamist regimes is revealed in an even more barbaric way with regard to the Sudanese regime. It goes well hand in hand, with trying to become a semi-colonial ally for the emerging Chinese imperialism, selling the natural resources and control over the oil revenues of “its own” people in exchange for Chinese money and backing for the butchering of the Darfur uprising.

49. The Afghan Taliban regime also fell into this category. Their rapid downfall in 2001 was due in no small part to the popular alienation of broad masses outside the southern tribal Pakhtun areas, caused by their ultra reactionary social policies and brutal dictatorship. Their collapse under the blows of the USA was also due in part to their abandonment of them by their Pakistani and Saudi backers. However they were able to revive in their southern heartland and wage a successful guerrilla struggle against a foreign occupying forces and a patently corrupt puppet regime based on the warlords who the Taliban had driven out before.

50. Finally, it is necessary to distinguish between Islamist regimes and “Islamic states” or “republics” which have a hybrid form. States like Pakistan are essentially not theocratic states, despite labeling themselves “Islamic”. But they are states with a very high and significant part of law, state institutions, schools etc. tied and interlinked with Islam and clergy (in a similar way as Christian religions have been and are in a number of countries still tied to the state) – i.e. states, where the struggle for the separation of the state from the religious institutions is of enormous importance still.

51. The *oppositional, Islamist movements and parties* are naturally much more variant in form, composition, class base than those who have gained governmental power. They cover almost all shades of political life – from mass reform movements, to radical reactionary petit-bourgeois organizations (including fascist ones) to Islamists heading national liberal struggles, small elitist terrorist groupings or even semi-Islamist forces who are promising social liberation.

52. A major dividing line is obviously the question of what form the struggle for the goals of an Islamist movement shall take. A number of Islamist forces focus on strictly *constitutional means, on the struggle for reform of the existing state apparatus*. A number of these forces have a long history. Some have gained a large mass following over the past years, heading discontent and struggles against existing regimes.

53. These forces are often led by a section of the bourgeoisie while their cadres are normally recruited from the

educated petty bourgeoisie. Their strategy is to broaden its influence through step-by-step conquest of political power (elections in professional bodies, municipal and parliamentary elections and finally the government), using their mass following and mobilizations in order to increase the pressure on existing regimes. This parliamentary orientation can be combined with a social-welfare role – from religious schools to health centers – which for the pauperised masses is often the only possibility of reducing their poverty. Such movements or political currents range from the Turkish *Refah* (the predecessor of the now ruling AKP) to the *Muslim Brotherhood* of Egypt and Jordan. Also the Algerian *Islamic Salvation Front* (FIS) assumed such a character in the legal phase of its history 1989-1992.

54. The clerical leadership of the Iranian opposition is also an example for an Islamist political current, a proto-party who wants to reform an existing – albeit Islamic – state. However, its treacherous character can be clearly seen by its attempts to contain the democratic mass movements of the workers and middle classes in Iran and tries to prevent them from going beyond what it considers justified institutions of the Islamic state of Iran.

55. The limited forms of democracy, if not outright forms of dictatorship, but also the deep social crisis in most Muslim countries has often driven Islamist forces to turn to *means of armed struggle*. These can be directed against existing regimes or oppressors – sometimes, but not always in combination with legal structures. The ability to use mosques and their charitable foundations (*awqāf*) and Quaranic schools (*madāris*) as a base in countries where the state's control of them is not, has enabled mass movements to develop. Such movements provide a degree of social welfare that the regimes, especially since the adoption of neoliberal economic policies, could not or would not. But for all this duplication of reformism they are generally hostile to independent working class organisation (real trade unions) and to all, secular and democratic forces, women, lesbian and gay activists or also national and religious minorities. As a result such parties are conservative capitalist parties even if they seek to restore or innovate a greater degree of religious tutelage over the state, education, welfare etc. In short they seek openly or covertly the de-secularisation of the state – a reactionary goal to be opposed with all the force the working class and its allies can muster.

56. In the most extreme version, such forces, which resort to armed means of struggle, gather into reactionary mass movements of the enraged petit-bourgeoisie, rallying the lumpenproletariat and backward sections of the working class around them. These movements can assume *an extreme reactionary, proto-fascist or fascist form*. They often grow in periods of heightened social and political crisis – presenting themselves as a determined alternative of outright reaction to corrupt, “secular” regimes. But their main function is to use them as a battering against the working class and progressive mass movements of the oppressed. Since they are reactionary mass forces embedded in the communities, working class estates etc., they can ensure a much more totalitarian control and oppression of progressive, working class and democratic movements as the repressive state apparatus, the police and other security forces can do it on their own.

57. The *Jihaddist-terrorist Islamists* are often sharing

similar goals – i.e. the creation of an Islamist dictatorship – but are not based on mass organizations. These are the reactionary armed underground organizations, which call for a jihad against the infidels. While some of them have the passive sympathy of sections of the marginalized intelligentsia and pauperized masses, they only build terrorist cells, covertly linked to certain fundamentalist mosques, madrassas and their imams. Their attacks are directed against symbols and representatives of imperialism, the ruling state apparatus, left-wing activists, feminists, tourists, those they other religious communities they regard as heretical or pagan. Among these groups are *al-Qaida*, *Jihad Islami* and *al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya* in Egypt or *GIA* in Algeria. Whilst these forces, engage in individual terrorist attacks on pro-imperialist Islamic or even Islamist regimes, the strategic aim of their actions is to “inspire” and win over sections of the ruling classes – the large landlords and the bourgeoisie – to wage a struggle against the “infidels”.

58. However, not all of the Islamists engaged using methods of armed struggle are semi-fascist or fascist or jihaddist-terrorist forces. There are also mass Islamist parties and movements who have become the leadership or at least major leading *forces of mass struggles against Imperialism, national oppression or dictatorships*. This does not mean that the Islamist forces heading such struggles become genuine progressive forces. Their ultimate, strategic political and social goals – i.e. the nature of the political regime they want to build – remain reactionary.

59. But the progressive and justified nature of the struggles they are engaged means that revolutionary working class forces will have to fight Islamist alongside organizations – including engaging in common actions and longer lasting united fronts. However as with all united fronts the struggle is not only *against* a common enemy but also within this struggle *for* leadership of it.

60. Despite movements like the Lebanese *Hezbollah* or the Palestinian *Hamas* being able to become the dominant force of national liberation struggles, it would be utterly wrong to see Islamist organisations as organically embodying these struggles. Indeed, when Hamas was founded, it was directed against the secular bourgeois nationalist and left wing Palestinian liberation organizations. It was rather the predominance of the national oppression of the Palestinian people over their social life, which – together with the betrayal of the liberation struggle by the PLO-leadership – that pushed Hamas to become a force actively engaged in the struggle against the occupation and the Zionist state.

61. Hezbollah on the other hand, has not only been able to lead a successful defence against Israel, but is also tied to the highly impoverished Shiite sections of Lebanese society. Its Islamism has taken a more moderate and rational character compared to other Islamist forces. This is the result of the situation in Lebanon itself, which makes it necessary for Hezbollah to strike agreements and alliances with forces from other communities, if it wants to play a ruling role in Lebanese politics. This in turn imprints on its version of Islamism.

62. Finally, there is also a current of *populist, “socialist” Islamist or Islamic forces*. They claim to put the struggle against imperialism and large scale capitalist and landowner oppression and social injustice in the centre of their agitation. They identify themselves with several Islamic

peasant social-revolutionary movements in the epochs after Mohammed and the four “rightly guided” caliphs. Theologically they differentiate between an “Islam of the oppressed” and an “Islam of the oppressor“. In Iran *Ali Shariati* (1933-77) opposed between a Red Shi’ism of the workers and peasants to a Black Shi’ism of the clergy and the rulers. He was heavily influenced by Third Worldist Marxism, which he learned as a student in Paris.

63. In some respects this current is similar to the more radical sides of Liberation Theology of the 1970s and 1980s. Shariati’s ideas influenced the Iranian People’s Mujahidin, who developed a hybrid between Islamism and Stalinist ideology. Its social base was similar to the Maoist organisations, the urban and rural intelligentsia. Whilst such trends do collaborate with the workers movement and the left and sometimes are not really Islamist organisations, their politics are hampered by the populist and popular frontist character of their politics, which will lead them to the political subordination to supposedly progressive or “anti-imperialist” sections of the bourgeoisie or even to collaboration with imperialism.

64. An overview of the different shades of Islamist currents and organisations demonstrates, that any idea or a “global” or international unity of Islamists is a fiction – a mythologisation both, the imperialist and Islamist ideologues engage in for reactionary purposes. In reality, the different Islamist organizations do not only vary in their attitude to national liberation struggles, to regimes, being in government or opposition, using terrorist or constitutional means. They are also national organizations, resting on specific social classes (or sections of them). Therefore, it is the global and national class struggles, which push Islamist currents, organizations or movements in different directions, may lead an Islamist organization to become a merely Islamic one.

65. The different shades of Islamist forces are not watertight or mutually exclusive categories. There are tran-

sitional and composite forms that can evolve from one type to another. Whilst some may be direct expressions of ruling classes and control a state apparatus on their behalf, others may base themselves on the desperate middle classes and petit-bourgeoisie. Some may even play a leading role in progressive struggles.

66. The political programme of Islamism and all Islamist organisation, however, is reactionary and utopian. Islamism is anti-democratic, wishing to put political decision-making not in the hands of the popular masses (let alone the working class!) but in religious scholars who can interpret the Islamic laws correctly. Islamism is a tacit rejection of popular sovereignty. The creation of a caliphate and the fusion of mosque and state, with the accompanying attacks on women’s and gay rights, and the rights of non-Muslim or sectarian minorities, would constitute a reactionary regime similar to fascism if not a form of clerical fascism that required overthrowing by the working class.

Marxism and religion

67. The rigid and dogmatic views of religious movements conflict fundamentally with the ideas and viewpoint of socialists and the progressive social movements as religious leaders attempt to inculcate obscurantist and utopian views within the people. Socialism is rational and scientific, based on the self-emancipation of all of humanity and our freedom from all forms of oppression.

68. Therefore, any revolutionary, communist organization will always conduct a struggle against religious beliefs and other idealist convictions. Communists will not only defend the right to publish and advertise atheist books, meetings etc. Any communist organisation will itself base its theory and politics on historical and dialectical materialism and therefore include a critique of all and any religious, i.e. idealist, thought. It will conduct a systematic ideological struggle against religion and any other

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backward ideology, which ultimately blinds and obscures the political consciousness of the working class and all the oppressed – even if they may be a confused call of the oppressed against injustice, misery, inequality.

69. Whilst dialectical materialism is our philosophical foundation including therefore atheism, this does not mean that atheism is part of our programme for socialist revolution - i.e. we would not reject any determined class fighter, who accepts our discipline and our programme, just because of his/her religious believes. Whilst the theoretical foundations of the party are and have to be consistently materialist, we do not demand that those workers and oppressed who want to fight for socialist revolution and the party's programme themselves have to be consistent materialists or even atheists as precondition for joining the struggle. What we insist however, it that all members of the party support a consistent democratic programme on religion – i.e. the separation of church and state and fight for this, irrespective of their personal religious or atheist convictions.

70. Unlike the bourgeois anti-religious doctrinaires and many anarchists, for us atheism is not the only, indeed not the most important part of our struggle. Indeed, as historic materialist, we know that the social roots of religion – being an opium for the people as well as of the people – will not be overcome and ultimately wither away by anti-religious propaganda, but only, if the class divisions of society and the blind, irrational character of the social relations themselves will be overcome and replaced by a truly human, communist social formation. Therefore, it would indeed be wrong, self-defeating and inhibiting the development of working class consciousness, if we would exclude religious workers from our ranks, if they are prepared to accept and fight for programme of socialist revolution. To the contrary, a determined fight against oppression, alongside religious peoples fighting this oppression, will be the best means today to break them from their religious misleaders and illusions. Therefore where religious organizations have a hold over sections of workers and peasants, it may be necessary for communists to propose common action against capital and landlordism to weaken the hold of these forces and to advance the class struggle. These united front tactics with religious forces are no concession to religion, but on the contrary in advancing the struggle against capital are at the same time advancing the fight against the suffering on which all religious illusions ultimately depend.

71. The discussion of the Communist International (particularly at its Second and Fourth Congresses) and the anti-imperialist united front tactic are invaluable foundations for the development of a Marxist tactic towards Islamic and Islamist forces. The general reactionary nature of Islamism must not blind from the fact that Islamist forces can lead struggles against imperialist, dictatorship or reaction, which we must support. Whether and which concrete tactic or action we support depends on concrete circumstances. Likewise one needs to differentiate between the real social meaning of religious ideology, between the interests of the different classes and layers which rally to the banner of political Islam; between the call for the rule of Allah from the mouth of the *Imam* – behind which is the defence of the privileged position of the *ulema*) – and the same slogan from the mouths of the desperate petty bour-

geois or marginalized youth – which can be a confused call for food, jobs and housing and freedom from police repression.

72. Therefore, socialists do not make atheism the precondition for united front action with mass religious forces. However neither should socialists pander or subordinate their own views on social issues to religious beliefs. The goal of any united front with mass Islamic and Islamist forces is both to defeat imperialist militarism or other reactionary forces as well as to mobilize many peasants, the urban poor and workers under the influence, against landlordism and capitalism. Ultimately socialists aim to break populist movements along class lines, winning the working classes and poor to the programme of socialism.

73. Marxist revolutionaries are utterly opposed to anti-Muslim racism, which has become an important ideological weapon of imperialist reaction in the Western world. We defend the right of Muslims to practice their religion or to build Mosques and we defend the right of women to wear the veil, *hijab* or *burka* if they do so voluntarily. We call the workers movement to rally to the defence of Muslims where they are faced with oppression. In this way the workers movement can demonstrate to the migrants and religious minorities that it is the most democratic and progressive force and by this challenge the leadership of Islamists. Socialist defence of Muslims right to practice their religious believes goes hand in hand with the struggle against any enforcement of women or youth to subordinate to religious behavior against their will.

Islamist organizations and the struggle for socialist revolution

74. The very nature of the Islamist organizations means that in most cases, the workers movement and all progressive forces will be in struggle with and against them.

75. We are for the overthrow of all the Islamist regimes – be they puppets and allies of US and other imperialist powers (like the Saudi state) or be they so-called “anti-imperialist” regimes (like Iran).

76. In the struggle against such regimes and all Islamist forces, we fight for the separation of the state and the religion, i.e. for a truly secular and democratic state: against all religious laws state; no to all state funding and privileges for no to sharia law; no to religious schools and religious teaching in school; against all coercive religious dressing, ...

77. We fight against all forms of oppression and discrimination against women, lesbian, gay and transgender, against all national, ethnic and religious minorities.

78. We fight for the independence of the workers organisations and all organisations of the oppressed – unions, political parties etc. from Islamic and Islamist state control. We fight to break workers unions or peasant organisations away from Islamic or Islamist parties – just as from any other bourgeois or religions parties.

79. In countries where we face mass reactionary Islamist forces or jihaddist groupings attack the workers movement, women and other oppressed, we must not rely on the bourgeois state to protect these, nor do we call on the bourgeois states to ban the Islamists. Whilst some states may claim to be fighting Islamism for pro-democ-

rary reasons, the crushing of a political movement by the use of the police, intelligences services and the army only strengthens the power of the state to crush *all* political movements. Therefore, socialists promote the working class and progressive organisations (women, gay rights etc) to defend themselves and defend democratic rights.

80. The struggle against Islamism and Islamist organizations or regimes is not primarily and solely on religious questions. An Islamic regime is always also a regime to ensure the class rule of the capitalists and the semi-feudal landowners. Therefore our attitude to Islamist parties and regimes always has to take into account the concrete role Islamist organisation play in a specific struggle.

81. This will include at times that Islamic states or forces clash with imperialism or its allies. We oppose all sanctions of imperialist states like against Iran and demand the lifting of these. It is complete hypocrisy that this is in order to secure democracy in Iran. Likewise, when a country like Afghanistan is attacked by imperialism and occupied, we unconditionally defend the right of the Afghan people and state to defend itself. We have to expose the imperialist lie that such a war was waged for the liberation of the Afghan people, to bring freedom and democracy, whilst in reality it was conducted to increase the imperialist strangulation of Afghanistan and to ensure a reordering of the imperialist domination of the whole region. We fight for the immediate withdrawal of the imperialist troops and for their defeat in this reactionary war. Whilst we give not political support for the reactionary leadership of the resistance against imperialism, we recognise the need to join in action to apply the tactic of the anti-imperialist united front towards such force.

82. Generally speaking, where Islamists head national liberation or other justified struggles (peasant uprising, struggle against dictatorship) or where an Islamist state it attacked by Imperialism, we support these struggles. This includes the application of the anti-imperialist united front. In all these cases, the application of the tactic must be distinguish from the actual striking or a united front agreement with Islamist forces since this will not only necessitate a clearly, defined agreement for common action against a common enemy, but also based on the freedom of organisation of our own forces and the freedom of criticism – including overt criticisms of temporary Islamist allies. Given the anti-working class nature of the Islamist forces, the call for joint action, will often not be heard or even rejected by them. But this does not make the application of the anti-imperialist united front superfluous, but rather means that the rejection of joint action or of freedom of criticism by Islamist has to be exposed in the eyes of the masses, demonstrating that in the end of the day, the Islamist put their religious sectarianism above the needs of a joint struggle.

83. The workers movement, oppressed has to be clear that any such alliance – if at all possible – will only of a temporary and limited character. We must warn and prepare them in advance for the case the Islamist may and eventually will turn against the progressive, democratic forces, religious minorities, ... and that we have to be prepared for this.

84. Therefore, the temporary alliance must always be combined with the struggle for consistent programme directing the workers and peasant to take power, to from a

revolutionary workers and peasants government.

85. In order to undermine and break the Islamists influence amongst the poor, the peasantry, the urban petit-bourgeoisie and even sections of the working class, it will not be sufficient to fight for consistent democratic demands and to be prepared for common actions against Imperialist reaction.

86. A major reason for the growing influence of Islamism is also the fact that it claims to be able to overcome the misery and degradation of the poor, of the rural and urban labourers by introducing a non-corrupt, proper and honest regime based on divine, Islamic values and law.

87. As we can see in all Islamist states (and likewise in countries where Islam is the state religion), this is a complete and fantastic lie. But in order to expose this, a courageous programme is necessary to solve the burning, resolve questions of the democratic revolution – in many countries the agrarian question – and to address the poverty and misery of the workers and the semi-proletarians, the urban poor.

88. The Islamist may demand “good” - i.e. Islamic – conduct from the rich. But, the Islamists “solve” these questions by backing the landlord against the peasant. They back the capitalists – be they industrialists, merchant capital or other – against their employees. “At best”, they will introduce the clergy as a “mediator” between the classes – and at the same time inhibiting or even banning any independent organisations of struggles of the workers and peasants. Instead of fighting of real, meaningful change – for the expropriation of the large landlords in the countryside, for the nationalisation of large industries, credit and commerce, for a programme of public works paid by taxing the rich (imperialist monopolies, large landowners, capitalist) they will just offer charity, bread-crumbs from the kitchen table of the ruling classes.

89. The bourgeois nationalist, but also the Stalinist and left reformist forces have failed to address these problems. They separate the struggle against Islamism, the understanding of its roots and the tactics towards it from the struggle for revolutionary liberation of the workers and the oppressed. This lead either to an adaptation and political subordination to the “secular”, sometimes also pro-imperialist forces in the name of defending “democracy” against Islamism – or in some other cases to portraying the Islamists as carrying out a “national democratic” revolution, being the legitimate leaders of a bourgeois revolution.

90. The history of the 20th century, however, has proved, that a programme which wants to limit the revolution in the semi-colonial country to the unresolved democratic tasks and to a democratic stage, will fail. The major democratic tasks can only be resolved and carried out, if the working class leads the revolution, establishes a workers and peasant government based on council and an armed militia to replace the bourgeois state apparatus. Only a revolutionary action programme, based on the strategy of permanent revolution and the internationalisation of the revolution will allow the working class to re-organise society in order to overcome backwardness, misery, exploitation, oppression and thereby eradicate the bases of backward looking reactionary ideologies and political forces like the Islamists. ■

From the Archives of Marxism

Leon Trotsky: Perspectives and Tasks in the East (1924)

Introduction from the Editorial Board:

The following document is a speech which Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Third and the Fourth International as well as of the Russian Revolution, delivered on the 21st of April, 1924. This speech, which he held at the third anniversary of the Communist University for Toilers of the East, is remarkable for several reasons.

First, it elaborates several key ideas of the theory of Permanent Revolution. Particularly, the uneven and combined development of capitalism and its consequences for the development of the workers movement. Trotsky also underlines the huge potential of the young and growing proletariat of the (semi-)colonial world – an issue which today is even much more important than it was in 1924.

Secondly, the speech stresses the revolutionary potential of the democratic questions and the issue of national liberation in the oppressed countries.

Thirdly, Trotsky shows that because of the uneven and combined development, the workers movement of the old imperialist countries is faced with the danger of a massive political backwardness; a backwardness which is caused by the important role of the privileged layer of labor aristocracy in the official workers movement. For this reason Trotsky emphasized that authentic revolutionary organizations must orientate themselves not to the aristocratic layers, but to the lower masses of the proletariat and the oppressed: *"The sense, the strength and the essence of Bolshevism lies in that it addresses itself not to the labour bosses but to the mob, the underdogs, the millions and to the most oppressed of the oppressed."*

In short, Trotsky's speech is an important document which every revolutionary today should study closely. The English language translation of the speech was first published by New Park Publications Ltd in 1973 and has been taken from the Marxist Internet Archive <http://marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1924/04/perspectives.htm>.

I have received, comrades, from the bureau of your cell, documents outlining your university's work over three years. At my request the comrades marked out all the most essential points with a red pencil thereby considerably easing my task of becoming familiar with the documents for, and I do not know how to put it—either to my shame or to my loss—I have not had the opportunity of closely following the work of your university either day by day or even month by month: work which has an exceptional and, without at all exaggerating as is common on anniversaries, a world-historical significance.

Comrades, although it is perhaps not customary at an-

niversary meetings to get involved in theory, nevertheless allow me to present a few observations of a general character which will substantiate my statement that your university is no simple educational establishment, revolutionary as it may be, but forms a lever of world-historical significance.... The whole present-day political and cultural movement rests upon capitalism, out of which it is growing, has grown and which it has outgrown. But capitalism has, schematically speaking, two different facets: the capitalism of the metropolis and the capitalism of the colonies. The classic model of a metropolis is Britain. At the present time it is crowned by the so-called 'Labour' government of MacDonald. As for the colonies I would hesitate to say which one of them is most typical as a colony: this would either be India, a colony in the formal sense, or China which preserves the semblance of independence yet in her world position and the course of her development belongs to the colonial type. Classic capitalism is in Britain. Marx wrote his *Capital* in London by directly observing the development of the most advanced country—you will know this, though I do not remember which year you cover this in... In the colonies capitalism develops not out of its own fragments but as an intrusion of foreign capital. This is what creates the two different types. Why is MacDonald, to put it not very scientifically but in quite precise terms just the same, why is MacDonald so conservative, so limited and so stupid?

Because Britain is the classic land of capitalism, because capitalism there organically developed from handicrafts through manufacture into modern industry step by step, by an 'evolutionary' road and so yesterday's prejudices and those of the day before and the prejudices of the past and the previous centuries, all the ideological garbage of the ages you can discover under MacDonald's skull [applause]. At first glance there is here some historical contradiction: why did Marx appear in backward Germany, in the most backward of the great countries of Europe in the first half of the 19th century, not counting Russia of course? Why did Marx appear in Germany and why did Lenin appear in Russia on the borders of the 19th and 20th centuries? A plain contradiction! But of what nature? Of one which can be explained by the so-called dialectic of historical development. In the shape of British machinery and in the shape of British cotton cloth, history created the most revolutionary factor of development. But this machinery and this cloth were processed and created by way of a prolonged and slow historical transition, one step at a time, while human consciousness remained in general frightfully conservative.

When economic development proceeds slowly and systematically it tends to find it hard to break through human skulls. Subjectivists and idealists in general say that human consciousness, critical thought and so on and so forth draw history forward like a tug towing a barge behind it.

This is untrue. You and I are Marxists and we know that the motive power of history consists of the productive forces which have up till now taken shape behind man's back and with which it tends to be very difficult to smash through man's conservative skull in order to produce the spark of a new political idea there and especially, let me repeat, if the development takes place slowly, organically and imperceptibly. But when the productive forces of a metropolis, of a classic land of capitalism, like Britain, encroach upon a more backward country, as with Germany in the first half of the 19th century, and with ourselves on the watershed of the 19th and the 20th centuries, and at the present time with Asia; when economic factors intrude in a revolutionary way cracking the old regime, when development takes place not gradually, not 'organically' but by means of terrible shocks, and abrupt shifts in the old social layers, then critical thought finds its revolutionary expression incomparably more easily and rapidly, providing there is of course the necessary theoretical prerequisites for this. That is why Marx appeared in Germany in the first half of the 19th century and that is why Lenin appeared here and that is why we can observe at first sight the paradoxical fact that in the land of the highest, oldest and most revered European capitalism, Britain, we have the most conservative 'Labour' party. While on the other hand in our Soviet Union, an extremely backward country economically and culturally speaking, we have—and I say this unashamedly for it is a fact—the best communist party in the world [applause].

It must be said that as regards its economic development Russia stands mid-way between the classic metropolis like Britain and the colonial countries like India or China. And what distinguishes our Soviet Union from Britain as regards the paths and forms of development shows itself even more sharply in the development of the countries of the East. Capitalism encroaches there in the form of foreign finance capital. There it tosses in ready-made machines shaking and undermining the old economic base and erects upon its splinters the Tower of Babel of a capitalist economy. The action of capitalism in the countries of the East is neither gradual nor slow nor 'evolutionary' but abrupt, catastrophic—indeed in many cases far more catastrophic than it was here in yesterday's Tsarist Russia.

It is from this fundamental standpoint, comrades, that one has to examine the fate of the East in the coming years and in the coming decades. If you take such prosaic books as the accounts of British and American banks for the years 1921, 1922, 1923 then you will read tomorrow's revolutionary fate of the East in the figures of the bank balances of London and New York. Britain has once again re-established her role as world usurer. The United States have accumulated an unbelievable quantity of gold: in the vaults of the Central Bank there is kept gold to the value of 3,000m dollars, that is 6,000m gold roubles. This inundates the economy of the United States. If you ask: to whom do Britain and the United States give loans?—for as you have probably heard they are still not giving loans to us, the Soviet Union, nor do they give them to Germany, they gave France some miserable crumbs to save the franc—so who do they give them to? For the most part they give them to the colonial countries; they go to finance the industrial development of Asia, South America and South Africa. I shall not give you figures: I do have some but this would

drag out my report too much, but it is sufficient to say that up to the last imperialist war the colonial and semi-colonial countries received from the United States and Britain probably about half as much in credits as did the developed capitalist countries, yet now financial investments in the colonial countries exceed, and exceed very considerably, investments in the old capitalist countries. Why is this? The causes are many but the chief ones are two: a lack of confidence in old Europe, ruined and bled white, with this furious French militarism at its heart—a militarism which threatens ever fresh upheavals; and on the other hand the need for the colonial countries as furnishers of raw materials and as customers for the machines and manufactured goods of Britain and the United States. During the war we observed and we observe now the headlong industrialization of the colonial, semi-colonial and of the backward countries in general: Japan, India, South America, South Africa and so on. There is no doubt that if the Chinese Kuomintang party manages to unify China under a national-democratic regime then the capitalist development of China will go ahead with seven-mile strides. And yet all this will prepare the mobilization of the countless proletarian masses who will at once burst out of a pre-historic, semi-barbaric state and cast themselves into industry's melting-pot, the factory. Consequently there will not be the time to conserve and accumulate the rubbish of past ages in the consciousness of the toilers; a guillotine will slice through their consciousness as it were, cutting off the past from the future and forcing them to seek new ideas, new forms and new paths of life and struggle. And so here there must appear on the scene in some countries and broadly and boldly develop in others, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the East: Japanese communists, Chinese communists, Turkish, Indian and so on.

Comrade toilers of the lands of the East! In 1883 there was formed in Switzerland the Russian 'Emancipation of Labour' group. Is that such a long time ago? From 1883 to 1900 it is 17 years and from 1900 to 1917 again 17 years, that is in all 34 years—one third of a century, one generation: from the organization of the first theoretical-propagandist circle of the ideas of Marxism during the reign of Alexander III until the conquest of Tsarist Russia by the proletariat there elapsed all in all one third of a century!

For whoever has lived through this it will seem a long and painful period. But from the point of view of the scales of history this represented an unprecedentedly furious and wild tempo. Yet in the countries of the East the tempo of development will by all indications be even more rapid. So what then is your Communist University for Toilers of the East in the light of the perspectives we have traced—what is it? It is the garden nursery for 'Emancipation of Labour' groups for the countries of the East [tumultuous applause].

It is true, and one must not close one's eyes to this, that the dangers facing young Marxists of the East are great. We know, and you will know, that it was in a grave external and also internal struggle that the Bolshevik Party was shaped. You know that Marxism, emasculated and falsified, was for us in the 1890s a school for an all-round political study of the bourgeois intelligentsia, of the Struvians who afterwards became the political henchmen of the bourgeoisie, the cadets, while many then went over to the Octobrists and even further to the right. Economi-

cally backward, Russia was in the political sense neither a differentiated nor a fully-formed country: Marxism spoke of the inevitability of capitalism and those bourgeois-progressive elements who wanted capitalism not for socialism but for itself accepted 'Marxism' having removed its revolutionary sting. The same thing happened in Rumania. The majority of today's ruling scoundrels of Rumania have passed in their time through the margarine school of Marxism; some of them in France adhered to Guesdism. In Serbia a whole number of today's conservative and reactionary politicians in their youth passed through the school of Marxism or Bakuninism.

This is less observable in Bulgaria. But in general this temporary exploitation of Marxism for the aims of a bourgeois-progressive policy characterizes the countries of the Balkan south-east, as it did our own country. Does such a danger threaten Marxism in the East? In part. Why? Because the national movement in the East is a progressive factor in history. The struggle for the independence of India is a profoundly progressive movement; but you and I know that at the same time this struggle is confined to national-bourgeois tasks. The struggle for the liberation of China, the ideology of Sun Yat-sen, is a democratic struggle and a progressive ideology, but bourgeois. We stand for the communists supporting the Kuomintang in China by driving it forward. This is essential but here there is also a danger of a national-democratic degeneration. And likewise in all the countries of the East which form the arena for the national struggle for liberation from colonial slavery. Upon this progressive movement the young proletariat of the East must rest; but it is absolutely clear that in the coming period there is for the young Marxists of the East, a danger of being torn out of the 'Emancipation of Labour' groups and dissolving themselves in nationalist ideology.

Wherein, however, lies your advantage? Your advantage over the older generations of Russian, Rumanian and other Marxists is that you are living and will live and work not only in the epoch after Marx but in the epoch after Lenin too. In your newspaper which the bureau of your cell so kindly sent me, with annotations, I read a heated polemic about Marx and Lenin. You polemicize with each other very severely; I say this to you, however, not in reproach. The question was presented there as if, in the opinion of some, Marx was only a theoretician—so the opposing side had depicted this position and it objected: 'No, Marx was a revolutionary politician as was Lenin and with both Marx and Lenin theory and practice went hand in hand.' In such an abstract formulation of the question this is undoubtedly true and beyond question; but there is still a difference between these two historical figures; a profound difference which grew not only from a divergence in personality but from a divergence of epochs too. Marxism of course is not an academic doctrine but a lever of revolutionary action; not for nothing Marx said: 'Philosophers have sufficiently explained the world but now we must change it.' But in the lifetime of Marx, in the era of the First International and then during the time of the Second International was there the opportunity of the movement of the working class utilizing Marxism totally and to the end? Did Marxism find then a genuine embodiment in action? No it didn't. Did Marx have the opportunity and fortune to guide the application of his revolutionary theory to the decisive historical

action: the conquest of power by the proletariat? No, he didn't. Marx created his teaching not of course as an academic; he did, as you know, grow wholly out of the revolution, out of his estimation and criticism of the downfall of bourgeois democracy, wrote his *Capital* in 1847 and was active on the left flank of bourgeois democracy in the revolution of 1848 evaluating in a Marxist way, or in rather Marx's way, all of its events; in London he wrote *Capital*; he was at the same time the creator of the First International, the inspirer of the policy of the most advanced groups in the working class of all countries; but he did not stand at the head of a party which decided the fate of the world nor even of one country. When we wish to answer briefly the question: who was Marx? we say: 'Marx was the author of *Capital*'. And when we ask ourselves who Lenin was we will say: 'Lenin was the author of the October revolution'. [Applause]. Lenin emphasized more than anyone else that he was out to revise, remake or review Marx's teaching; Lenin came, to speak in the old words of the gospels, not to alter Marx's law but in order to implement it. He himself more than anyone else emphasized this; but he at that time needed to release Marx from underneath the sediments of those generations which separated Lenin from Marx; from underneath the sediments of Kautskyism, MacDonaldism, the conservatism of the labour bosses, and the reformist and nationalist bureaucracy and to apply the tool of genuine Marxism once cleansed of sediments, additives and falsifications totally and wholly to the great historical action. And so your greatest advantage as the younger generation is that you have directly or indirectly participated in this work, that you have observed it, that you are living in the political and ideological environment of Leninism and that you are imbibing this theory which corresponds to practice in the University for Toilers of the East. This makes up your enormous and inestimable advantage and you must understand it. Although Marx himself could in his theory embrace the course of development of decades and centuries his teaching was then in the everyday struggle whittled down to its separate elements and in parts absorbed moreover in a distorted form. Lenin came along, gathered Marxism together once again and in the new conditions showed this teaching in the action of the greatest historical scale. You have seen this action and you have attached yourselves to it: this places you under an obligation and upon this obligation the Communist University for Toilers of the East has been built.

That is why, comrades, I think that the danger of a national-democratic degeneration which of course exists and which will seize and carry off some people for it cannot be otherwise, that this danger is greatly reduced by the very fact of the existence of the Soviet Union and of the Third International. There is every ground for hoping that the basic nucleus which will emerge from the Communist University for Toilers of the East will occupy its due place as a class leaven, a Marxist leaven and a Leninist leaven to the proletarian movement in the lands of the East. The demand for you, comrades, appears gigantic and it manifests itself, as I have already said, not gradually but all at once, also in its own way 'catastrophically'. Read over one of Lenin's last articles 'Better less but better': seemingly it is devoted to a specific organizational question but it at the same time embraces the perspectives for the development of the countries of the East in connection with the

development of Europe. What is the main idea behind the article? The fundamental idea is that the development of the revolution in the West may be held up. How can it be held up? By MacDonaldism, for the most conservative force in Europe is in fact MacDonaldism. We can see how Turkey abolished the Caliphate and MacDonald resurrects it. Is this not a striking example which sharply contrasts in deed the counter-revolutionary Menshevism of the West to the progressive national-bourgeois democracy of the East?

Taking place at present in Afghanistan are truly dramatic events: MacDonald's Britain is toppling the left national bourgeois wing which is striving to Europeanize independent Afghanistan and is attempting there to restore to power the darkest and most reactionary elements imbued with the worst prejudices of pan-Islamism, the Caliphate and so forth. If you weigh up these two forces in their living conflict, it will at once become clear why the East will more and more gravitate towards us, the Soviet Union and the Third International.

We can see how Europe, which through its past development preserved the monstrous conservatism of the bosses of the working class, is more and more undergoing economic disintegration. There is no way out for her. And this finds an expression in particular in the fact that America does not give her loans, rightly not trusting her economic viability. On the other hand we can see too that the same America and the same Britain are compelled to finance the economic development of the colonial countries thereby driving them along the path of revolution at a frantic rate.

And if Europe is to be kept back amid the present state of putrefaction of the numskulled, parochial, aristocratic, privileged MacDonaldism of the labour bosses then the centre of gravity of the revolutionary movement is being transferred wholly and entirely to the East. And then it will emerge that although a number of decades of Britain's capitalist development was necessary to act as a revolutionizing factor to raise up our old Russia and our old East on to their feet then it will now be necessary for the revolution in the East to come back to Britain to smash through or, if necessary, smash up some thick skulls and give an impulse to the revolution of the European proletariat [applause]. This is one of the historical possibilities. It must be kept in one's mind's eye.

I read in the documents you delivered to me about the gigantic impression a student from your university, a Turkish girl, created in Kazan where the women, some old and illiterate, gathered around her. A small episode it is but it does as an indicator have a profound historical meaning. The sense, the strength and the essence of Bolshevism lies in that it addresses itself not to the labour bosses but to the mob, the underdogs, the millions and to the most oppressed of the oppressed.

That is why it is not through its theoretical content, which is still far from assimilated, or fully thought out, but through its liberating breath of life that it has become the favourite teaching for the countries of the East. It is in your paper that we read ever fresh confirmations of the fact that Lenin is well known not only in the saklias of the Caucasus but in the depths of India too. We know that in China,



Poster for the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920

toiling people, who have probably never in their life read a single one of Lenin's articles, ardently gravitate towards Bolshevism for such is the might of history's breath! They have sensed that here is a teaching which is addressed to the pariahs, the oppressed, the downtrodden, the millions and to the tens and hundreds of millions for whom there lies otherwise no historical solution for whom there is otherwise no salvation. And there is the reason why Leninism encounters such a fervent response in the hearts of toiling women—because there is no more oppressed layer on earth than the toiling woman! When I read how the student from your university spoke in Kazan and how the illiterate Tartar women gathered around her, I recalled my recent brief stay in Baku where for the first time I saw and heard a Turkic girl communist and where I could observe in the hall several tens and possibly hundreds of Turkic girl communists and saw and heard their enthusiasm, this passion of yesterday's slave of slaves who has heard the new words of liberation and has awoken to a new life, and where for the first time I came to a quite clear conclusion and told myself that in the movement of the peoples of the East woman will play a greater role than in Europe and here [applause]. Why? just precisely because Eastern woman is incomparably more fettered, crushed and befuddled by prejudices than is the Eastern man and because new economic relations and new historical currents will tear her out of the old motionless relations with even greater force and abruptness than they will man. Even today we can still observe in the East the rule of Islam, of the old prejudices, beliefs and customs but these will more and more turn to dust and ashes. Just as a rotting piece of cloth, when you look at it from a distance, it seems to be all of a piece, all the pattern is there and all the folds remain but a movement of the hand or a puff of wind is enough for the whole cloth to turn to dust. And so in the East the old beliefs which appear to be so deep are actually but a shadow of the past: in Turkey they abolished the caliphate and not a single hair fell out of the heads of those who violated the caliphate; this means that the old beliefs have rotted and that with the coming historical movement of the toiling masses the old beliefs will not present a serious obstacle. And this, moreover, means that the Eastern woman who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress; she will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas, a new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the revolution and for the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker [applause].

Comrades, this is why your University has a universally historic importance. By making use of the ideological and political experience of the West it is preparing a great revolutionary leaven for the East. Your hour will soon strike. Finance capital of Britain and America is smashing the economic foundations of the East, throwing one layer of society against another, cracking the old and giving birth to a demand for the new. You will appear as sowers of the seeds of the ideas of communism and the revolutionary productivity of your work will be immeasurably higher than the productivity of the work of the old Marxist gen-

erations of Europe.

But, comrades, I would not like you to draw conclusions in the vein of some sort of Eastern arrogance from what I have said [laughter]. I can see that none of you here has taken me in this way... For if anyone of you were to be steeped in such a Messianistic arrogance and disdain for the West then from there it would be the shortest and quickest move to dissolving yourself in nationalist democratic ideology. No, the revolutionary communists of the East at their University must learn to study the world movement East and the West from the standpoint of one single great in its whole by juxtaposing and connecting the forces of the objective. You must know how to couple together the uprising of the Indus peasants, the strike of coolies in the port of China, the political propaganda of Kuomintang bourgeois democracy, the struggle of the Koreans for independence, the bourgeois-democratic rebirth of Turkey and the economic and cultural and educational work in the Soviet republic of Transcaucasia; you must know how, both ideologically and practically, to link all this with the work and struggle of the Communist International in Europe and in particular in Britain where the mote of British communism is slowly—more slowly than many of us would like—burrowing under MacDonald's conservative bastion [applause]. Your third anniversary is of course in itself a very modest anniversary. Many of you are merely on the threshold of Marxism. But your advantage over the older generation lies, I repeat, in the fact that you are studying the ABC of Marxism not inside migr circles divorced from life in countries ruled by capitalism as was the case with us but upon soil conquered by Leninism, upon soil nurtured with Leninism and upon soil enveloped in the ideological atmosphere of Leninism. You are not only studying Marxism from pamphlets but you have the opportunity to inhale it in the political atmosphere of this country. This applies not only to those who have arrived here from the Eastern republics which constitute part of the Soviet Union but applies too to those—whose importance is of course in no way less!—who have made their appearance here from the oppressed colonial countries. Whether the final year of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism will unfold in one, two, three or five years' time we do not know; but we do know that each year will produce a new crop from the Communist University of the East. Each year will provide a new nucleus of communists who know the ABC of Leninism and who have seen how this ABC is applied in practice. If one year passes by before the decisive events then we will have one crop; if two years pass by then we will have two; if three years pass we will have three crops. And at the moment of these decisive events the students of the Communist University for Toilers of the East will say: 'We are here. We have learnt one thing. We know not only how to translate the ideas of Marxism and Leninism into the language of China, India, Turkey and Korea; but we have also learnt how to translate the sufferings, passions, demands and the hopes of the toiling masses of the East into the language of Marxism.'

'Who has taught you that?' they will be asked.

'The Communist University for Toilers of the East taught us that.' And then they will say what I shall say to you now on the day of your third anniversary:

'Glory, glory and glory to the Communist University of the East' [noisy ovation and the Internationale]. ■

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency:

What does the RCIT stand for?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

emancipation of the working class.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



