

# REVOLUTION

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IMT

FOR A SCOTTISH WORKERS' REPUBLIC  
AND WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION !

*To end the wars,  
massacres and  
misery, the world's  
working class must  
fight to —*

# SMASH IMPERIALISM!

## War, Peace and Bourgeois Morality

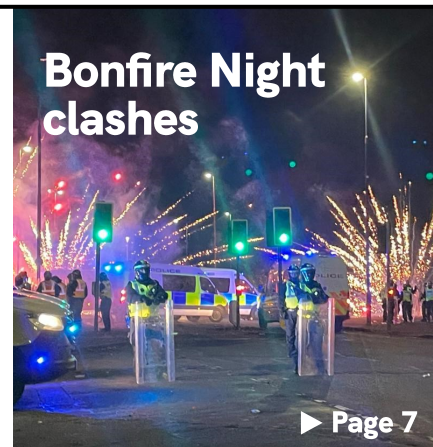
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### Celtic bans supporters for Palestine solidarity

For organising a mass display of solidarity with Palestinians, Celtic football club have suspended hundreds of fans, provoking a debate over who decides the values of Glasgow's most famous club.

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### Bonfire Night clashes



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# CLASS AGAINST CLASS



*"In our fight for freedom we are right up against it in all parts of the world, no matter what the nominal owners of the place we live in may be. Let us then be a part of the international workers; organised to overthrow the capitalist class of the world!"*

— John Maclean

## SNP Minister caught in £11k iPad bill scandal

SCOTTISH CABINET SECRETARY Michael Matheson has been the centre of his very own scandal involving a holiday to Morocco and an £11,000 phone bill.

The bill was sent to Mr Matheson after he and his family took a jolly trip to Morocco. The enormous data charge is believed to have been accumulated while streaming a football game.

Initially, Mr Matheson was backed up by the Scottish Parliament bureaucracy, who said the charge was unexpected and could have been avoided if the sim card in the device had been changed over in February, as requested of Mr Matheson. They said it would be fine for the taxpayer to foot the bill.

Its worth remembering that £11,000 is what some low-paid casual workers earn in an entire year. That's who the likes of Mr Matheson expects to pay for his livestreaming of football games.

Under public pressure however, he was forced to change plans and pay up himself. Matheson bizarrely, tearfully confessed that he made a "genuine attempt" to cover up his fraud, expecting sympathy somehow. He also ludicrously claims to have been using the iPad for official business while on holiday! Such are the unscrupulous people in the Scottish Government these days.

*"Let the 'socialist' snivellers croak, let the bourgeoisie rage and fume, but only people who shut their eyes so as not to see, and stuff their ears so as not to hear, can fail to notice that all over the world the birth pangs of the old, capitalist society, which is pregnant with socialism, have begun."*

— Vladimir Lenin

## Scottish fuel poverty doubles

NEARLY A MILLION households in Scotland are living in fuel poverty — having to spend a significant portion of their income just to keep their homes warm.

This represents nearly a doubling since 2019, when some progress on the issue had been made. The Scottish Government's target is that less than 1% of households in extreme fuel poverty by 2040, which they are certain to miss.

This is according to the Scottish Government's own advisors on the Scottish Fuel Poverty Advisory Panel, which called the situation "particularly worrying".

Working class households have been brutally punished by rising energy costs, and though limited government schemes have helped some, there is not likely to be a repeat of this assistance.

This is despite energy prices being increased by around 5% again in January. The Advisory Panel said

the way Ofgem calculates the energy price cap does not take account of the real cost of heating a house.

Most people will be puzzled at the purpose of the price cap, which only ever seems to be set at completely unaffordable levels. The Panel itself concludes that the system is "no longer fit for purpose", and neither are government support schemes like the Warm Homes Discount.

The experts cry out for an "increase in policy ambition and funding" to address the problem, but this falls on deaf ears. We are living in an age of capitalist crisis and austerity, in which the costs are passed on to the working class.

The only way to end this irrational nightmare and restore our living standards is to overthrow this rotten system.

## 'Housing emergency' in Edinburgh

EDINBURGH CITY COUNCIL has declared that there is an 'emergency' in the capital due to the lack of affordable housing.

The city has been plagued for years by rising rents (the fastest in the UK), largely driven by landlords trying to cash in on AirBnB short-term lets for only a few months of the year.

Edinburgh is also facing record numbers of homeless, as well as precarious and substandard conditions in the private rental market. 5000 households are kept in emergency temporary accommodation.

Though simply declaring an

*"Those who do not move, do not notice their chains."*

— Rosa Luxemburg

emergency means nothing, the Council have also created a licence scheme for landlords in an effort to control the problem.

In response, landlords have lost their minds, calling it a disaster that will harm the "tourism sector". One infamously even accused the Council of launching a "pogrom" against landlords!

Harsh measures must be taken against this layer, who squat properties that should be available to families in real need. With the end of landlordism and capitalism, they can get themselves real jobs.

## Scottish Water workers strike against £5k cut

WORKERS AT SCOTTISH WATER took strike action in mid-November to stop the imposition of a new pay grading structure that unions assert would have left the low-paid workers up to £5000 worse off.

The four-day strike was initially going to be followed up by more action that has been suspended while union negotiators seek a better deal.

GMB, Unite and Unison has sought to separate the issue of pay from the question of the new grading structure. Rank-and-file workers ought to be on their guard here,

*"The social revolution is entirely based upon the growth of proletarian consciousness and on the faith of the proletariat in its own strength and in the party which is leading it."*

— Leon Trotsky

that they don't get saddled with a short-term pay boost in exchange for selling out on the other dispute. While the union bureaucracy is motivated to settle, as all three have done in the past, the long-term interests of the workers must be represented by rank-and-file militancy.

*"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."*

— Karl Marx

# WHAT WE STAND FOR



Revolution is published by the International Marxist Tendency (IMT) — an organisation formed of revolutionary workers and youth, fighting for the programme and ideas of Marxism.

We stand for world proletarian revolution. Guided by the principles of revolutionary communism, the working class must take power in the interests of the poor and exploited masses of people. In one country after another, victorious revolutions will bring an end to widespread poverty, inequality and oppression.

Throwing down the parasitic bankers, landlords and capitalists, and breaking the chains of imperialist domination, the workers of the world can open a new chapter of human history. This future will be the culmination of the class struggles of today. Join us in this fight!

## ★ For a Scottish Workers' Republic and World Socialist Revolution! ★

Reverse austerity cuts; provide full funding for the expansion of public services; repeal the anti-trade union laws; organise the unorganised.

Introduction of a four-day week with no loss of pay. All workers must be guaranteed a decent job and a real living wage, with a weekly minimum income of at least £500. Put an end to unemployment, homelessness and poverty, which are a product of the capitalist exploitation of the working class.

Kick the privatisers and profiteers out of education; abolish student fees and provide full grants for all students; democratic control of universities.

Reverse all NHS privatisation; take the pharmaceutical companies and private health providers that leech off the NHS into public ownership. Create a national care service under the umbrella of the NHS.

A publicly-owned, national transport system, under the democratic control of workers and passengers. Modernise and expand the network to rapidly cut emissions.

A crash programme of social housing construction and renovation. Nationalise the land and construction monopolies. Limit rents to no more than 5% of net income.

End Trident and other wasteful weapons of mass destruction: prioritise instead the health, education and culture budgets. No to NATO, AUKUS, or any other imperialist military alliance. Reject the bosses' Europe — appeal to the working class of the continent to establish a socialist alternative to the EU.

For the real emancipation of women: end all forms of discrimination; equal pay for equal work; the right to abortion. Provide free nurseries and after-school childcare; school and workplace meals to end the burden of domestic labour.

End the rule of the billionaires! Nationalise the big banks and monopolies without compensation to their rich owners. Run newly nationalised industries under a regime of democratic workers' control and management.

Create a democratic plan of production overseen by committees of workers, pensioners, students, experts and others to meet the needs of society and the environment, eliminating the waste and want — poverty amidst plenty — of the market economy.

Establish an independent Scottish Workers' Republic based upon a fraternal Socialist Federation with England and Wales. For a Socialist United Ireland.

Appeal to the proletariat of Europe and the World to follow our example, overthrow the capitalist order and begin the construction of a global socialist society.

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# Glasgow Lecturers Won't Back Down!

Teaching staff at the City of Glasgow College have voted to continue their strike action, in the face of management's plans to impose cuts and redundancies.

**Aidan Hetherton**  
— Glasgow

City of Glasgow College lecturers have voted to continue strike action in a bold display of opposition to the greed of the college management.

Since May of this year lecturers have been striking against massive cuts to the college, with management cruelly threatening 100 compulsory redundancies to staff, the criteria for which is completely discriminatory. One member of staff, who has been working at the college for 15 years, returned to work after spending time off to care for his family while his partner battled cancer only to be told he's at risk of redundancy due to this absence. When speaking on the issue he said: "It feels enormously unfair . . . there was no consideration for my position".

As a result of these cuts many lecturers are finding their work is becoming completely unmanageable, with staff being given larger and larger classes to compensate for the lack of staff available to teach. Not only is this causing massive stress and anxiety for lecturers, but it's also a huge detriment to students, as lecturers struggle to keep up with the workload that is doled out to them by the college the quality of education has inevitably suffered.

The college principal, Paul Little, and College Management have not listened to lecturers' concerns about their working conditions and the impacts of the cuts on their staff and students. Instead, they have been adamant in continuing with the staff cuts while keeping their own bloated pay checks completely intact.

It's under these conditions that members of the EIS-FELA (Education Institute of Scotland - Further Education Lecturers Association) union took the brave decision to fight back against the college institution to

preserve their rights as workers. During this time the college has done everything they can to demoralise the strikers and foster an anti-strike mentality within the workplace, and yet the lecturers have continued to press on.

But now, after almost three months of further action, union members have been forced (by the UK's anti-trade union laws) to re-ballot. This was a very tense moment for the strikers, after all the effort and energy put into this struggle, a defeat at this point would be devastating.

The re-ballot was a complete success, with 87% in favour of ac-

tion short of strike action, and 80% for continued strike action! An overwhelming victory for the union. The college management's confidence in their tactic to drag out the dispute and demoralise lecturers until the re-ballot has blown up in their faces, as the lecturers show they are united in their cause, and are more than prepared to continue fighting the college managers.

Despite this major victory, there is still a long way to go until the fight is won and the management concedes to the demands of the staff. If a resolution isn't drawn, the strikes will continue well into December, and it's anticipated that the

industrial action short of strike action will continue until April of next year.

It's imperative now, more than ever, that we give our full support to the striking lecturers and their cause as the college management begins to buckle under the insurmountable pressure from the union. This dispute, however small it may appear, represents the wider issue of cuts in the further education sector, and a win for the union here would be a win for teachers and lecturers across Scotland. We have to stand united against the creeping marketisation of learning that plagues capitalist nations everywhere, or else allow the education of future generations to suffer greatly for it. •



## Revolution Festival — Preparing the way for the Revolutionary Communist Party

Building the class fightback in Glasgow, revolutionary youth are standing with unions and workers in their struggles.

**Nishwal Gora**  
— Edinburgh

Capitalism, as Lenin once said, is "Horror without end". While the world's leaders continue to turn a blind eye to the ongoing massacre in Gaza and try to cover their tracks in the now flailing imperialist war in Ukraine, workers and youth have begun to flex their muscles. In Britain, the ruling classes continue to live on borrowed time, with the Tory party splitting at its seams. Elsewhere, Labour's seemingly free ride to next year's elections has been marred by their inability to shake the image of being the faithful representatives of the capitalists. In Scotland, the SNP's stability has been rocked by multiple scandals and a failed independence campaign, with their once "left wing" veneer ingloriously unravelling to reveal their true putrid nature.

This division between the interests of the capitalist state and workers and youth was expressed in its most electric form at this year's annual Revolution Festival, held by the International Marxist Tendency in Britain. Events began on Friday with an exhilarating discussion by

Alan Woods titled, "Why we are communists", to a hall packed with close to over nine hundred people. Speaking on the crisis of reformism and the turn of youth and workers toward communism, with the crowd breaking into cheers and applause intermittently, openly declaring the need for revolution. Reports of successes from the Brazilian, French, Italian and Swiss sections of the IMT showed that the decay of capitalism is expressing itself globally, with workers of the world recognising their task.

This was only equalled by the atmosphere on Saturday, where a day of discussions ended with thrilling announcements. The IMT in Britain had surpassed its goal of a thousand members by the end of the

year, by already achieving 1,101 members by the end of the weekend. Goals to raise £160,000 for the Fighting Fund were smashed, with comrades raising over £211,000. The night ended with the largest announcement of all: the IMT in Britain would be changing their name to the Revolutionary Communist Party, tapping into the mood felt by workers and youth across Britain.

Throughout the weekend, talks were held on the current situation in Palestine, the Soviet economy, and the crisis in bourgeois democracy among many others. These sessions acted as crucibles, forging the only weapon this revolutionary party wields: Its ideas! The hunger for Marxist ideas was expressed in the fact that over £7,600 worth of read-



ing material were sold across the weekend.

Optimism permeated the hallways of the Revolution Festival, with each session increasingly preparing attendees with the ideas required to topple this rotten system once and for all. With over 40% of youth in Britain having a positive view of Lenin, and close to a third calling communism the ideal economic system, the ruling class are rightfully terrified. Marches numbering half a million workers and youth in Britain represent only the beginning of the class struggle to follow. It is imperative that we build the revolutionary party now and prepare for explosive events ahead. In the words of the Communist Manifesto, "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communis-

tic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." If you want to help build the only revolutionary party committed to ideas of genuine Marxism, get into contact with us and join the IMT today!





# Scottish Communists join the fight for Palestine

Thousands have joined mass demonstrations across Scotland to show support for Palestine. Communists have put forth our ideas and programme.

**Orla Thomas**  
— Edinburgh

The unfolding catastrophe in Palestine and the brutality of Israeli bombing in Gaza has sent shockwaves across the world. We have seen, as a result, a profound impact on consciousness in Britain and Scotland. Hundreds of thousands of people are out every Saturday to show solidarity with Palestinians and call out the hypocrisy of our government. And while the UK has shamefully stood on the side of the oppressors, ordinary people can see through their lies and deceptions and stand fully on the side of the oppressed.

Communists from the International Marxist Tendency in Edinburgh, Lothians and Glasgow have been tirelessly organising in solidar-

ity with the Palestinian people. We have intervened at the ever-growing weekly demos in the heart of the city, providing a Marxist perspective and solution to attendees.

In Edinburgh, we have also called demos ourselves at two university campuses, Queen Margaret University and Heriot-Watt University. At these rallies we have called for students to join together with university workers and organise mass solidarity for Palestine. In order to find other students to help us at QMU, we have started a petition to the student union asking them to condemn University bosses' statement of 'neutrality'.

At the University of Edinburgh, we have been attending the numerous walkouts and rallies on campus. These have had large turnouts and a radical atmosphere, with chants in support of Intifada from Scotland to Gaza. When Police arrested a protester during one of these rallies, we stood with them and other students in calling for their release which was successful. This was an immense showing of the strength of mass action for all students at the university. Within hours of the events, our comrades put forward a clear statement that it was student

mass action, not the benevolence of the police or the action of lawyers, that ensured the protestors' release.

Comrades at the University of Edinburgh have also been exposing the lack of democracy within their student union EUSA on the question of Palestine. Our comrades drafted a motion to the student union which was met by enthusiastic support from students at the University getting a sizable number of signatures. However, the student union responded by saying that an unnamed and unelected 'facilitator' had axed the motion before it had even been tabled for discussion. Our comrades exposed this restriction on freedom of debate, and the student union's refusal to represent those it claims to in its very name, both on social media and during a rallying meeting on campus.

Through all of this our comrades put forward our revolutionary perspective. The only solution is Intifada until victory, as well as explaining what workers and youth can do at home. We appealed to attendees to join the International Marxist Tendency, to build a revolutionary party capable of leading a mass movement at home that would topple the bourgeois hypocrites at the top of the British establishment.

Only through this, could we help our comrades in Palestine in ending the occupation and building a Socialist Federation of the Middle East. This is our task and our comrades in Scotland are feeling energised and focused on building our tendency to overthrow the capitalist system that is dripping with blood from head to foot. •

# Braverman sacked, Cameron back

**Rishi Sunak's hopes of renewing the image of the Tory Government have been dashed after bringing back ex-PM Cameron and widening the split with the Tory right-wing.**

## EDITORIAL 53

The whole of Britain has been shaken by enormous demonstrations in solidarity with Palestine. On the 11th of November, around a million people marched the length and breadth of the country, defying the calls from the Tories and Police for the protests to be cancelled.

While the Tories and the right-wing Labour faction headed by Starmer are united in their sickening support for Israel's attacks, the solidarity movement has provoked splits and put pressure on MPs facing an election in around the next 12 months.

Sir Starmer has suffered the largest rebellion in the parliamentary party and among local councillors since he became Labour leader. Over 50 MPs voted for an SNP motion calling for a ceasefire, directly against Starmer's orders. Labour has also lost control of several councils, owing to a flood of resignations.

There are also signs that Labour is losing significant support among British Muslims, nearly three-quarters of whom typically vote Labour.

Most striking however, has been the impact on the Tories.

After defaming hundreds of thousands of peaceful marchers as "hate marchers" and "anti-semites", and criticising the Metropolitan Police for not being heavy-handed enough, the Home Secretary Suella Braverman has been thrown out of Government.

Though she was attacking the right people, her deranged condemnations clearly did not sit well with the straight-laced Sunak, who wishes the Tories could turn their back on racist demagoguery. Then

Braverman's criticism of the Police went too far, earning her the sack.

The now ex-Home Secretary deliberately ignored orders from Number 10 to tone it down, so we can speculate as to whether she wanted to be fired. The result either way is the same, with the right-wing of the Tories supporting her.

Then, like a red rag to a bull, none other than David Cameron makes a surprise return as Foreign Secretary. Cameron is 'Mister Remain' as far as the Brexit-obsessed wing of the Tories is concerned. They were already incensed by Sunak and Hunt being installed by the City of London to counter the mad proposals of Liz Truss, and will be boiling with anger at this 'move to the centre' represented by Cameron.

Lord Cameron, that is. Being rejected by the electorate is no barrier to Government in our noble democracy! Cameron was elevated to the House of Lords at Sunak's whim, in order for him to join the cabinet.

Now Sunak faces a party that has deep, cemented divisions. His attempt to re-launch the Tory party thirteen years into its term has failed. This is the same-old party, with even the same politicians leading it on behalf of the banks and big business, while an angry and impotent membership are riled up against their own leaders, causing a headache for the ruling class.

While the Tories circle the drain, Starmer prepares to step up. Though he has expelled most of the left, recent events show that he does not have a free hand and could face the same struggles when in Government.

The working class will watch and learn that all the politicians are against them, and a revolution is needed to get rid of these parasites. •

# Celtic bans fans for Palestine solidarity

For organising a mass display of solidarity with Palestinians, Celtic football club have suspended hundreds of fans, provoking a debate over who decides the values of Glasgow's most famous club.

**Thomas Dunbar**  
— Glasgow

No sooner had the events of October 7th unfolded than the British media was awash with hypocritical bourgeois sanctimony across all platforms condemning Hamas' attack and leaping to morally justify Israel's indiscriminate bombing campaign against the people of Gaza. With media outlets all singing from the same imperialist hymn sheet, people across the length and breadth of the country have sought other ways to communicate a message of solidarity with the cause of the Palestinian people.

All over Europe, football stadia have provided a crucial platform for fans to voice their rejection of the prevailing media narrative, with support for Palestine echoing from the Basque Country's Osasuna and Real Sociedad to the stands of Italian side Livorno.

But of all the gestures of defi-

ance towards the imperialist violence acted upon the Gaza strip, few caught the world's attention like the Green Brigade's immense display before Celtic's UEFA Champions League group stage match against Atlético Madrid (25 October).

With the media reticent to even broadcast the flag of the country they are so eager to ignore, no amount of deft camerawork could avoid the thousands of Palestine flags canvassing almost the entirety of Celtic Park as the teams emerged from the tunnel.

This extraordinary act of solidarity coordinated by the Green Brigade served its immediate purpose. The images from Parkhead grabbed headlines worldwide, and put the issue of Israeli aggression back in the spotlight. Unfortunately, however, Celtic's corporate apparatus was quick to retaliate.

Having failed to dissuade thou-

sands of supporters from bringing "banners, flags and symbols relating to the conflict" into the ground, alluding to UEFA's regulation prohibiting the display of "illicit political flags", the Celtic board have imposed an indefinite ban on the Green Brigade's members, banning hundreds of fans from all of the club's upcoming fixtures.

The club insist that the ban does not, in fact, relate to the group's support for the Palestinian people, instead proffering a trumped-up list of disciplinary breaches attributed to the Green Brigade dating back months before the Champions League tie against the Spanish side. However, the timing of these sanctions is more than mere coincidence.

Just a few weeks prior the club published a risible statement distancing themselves from a Green Brigade display which read: 'Free Palestine. Victory to the Resistance'. The Celtic board had the temerity to suggest that such sentiments 'do not represent the views of Celtic Football Club'. They were met with a sea of Palestine flags at every end of the stadium, and a reminder that the only people who should decide which values represent their football



club are the supporters who hand over their hard-earned cash to follow their team.

The Celtic board condemns fans' acts of solidarity with an oppressed people – the simple flying of the Palestinian flag – as an "illicit" political display that doesn't belong at a football game. This is the same Celtic which continues to fly the Irish flag from the top of Celtic Park, a commemoration of the club's origins rooted in the colonial displacement of the Great Famine. The right to fly said flag was steadfastly defended by the club's directors when the Scottish Football Association attempted to have it removed on completely sectarian orders back in 1952.

The arrogance and hypocrisy of the Celtic board is unfortunately commonplace in British football. As the pervasive nature of capital tightens its grip on the beautiful game and gradually severs the link between football clubs and the communities which founded them, the interests of supporters are almost completely subordinate to the interests of shareholders.

It is still unknown how much the Green Brigade's powerful stand will cost the club this time, and the board of directors remain deadlocked with two of the club's largest supporter groups at the present moment. Football fans around the world have also expressed their solidarity with the Green Brigade. They are seeking to link this debate with the wider movement for Palestinian liberation, and have called for a 'day of action' should the situation remain unresolved.

The Celtic board would do well to heed the words of the club's legendary centre-half Tommy Burns: "Playing for Celtic is not just playing for a football club; it is playing for a people and a cause."

Revolution Scotland calls for the immediate reinstatement of the Green Brigade and any supporters persecuted by the Celtic board for their political stand, as well as an end to the rampant cronyism operating at the highest level of the club. We call on football supporters to demand back control of the clubs which they have built and kick capitalism out of football. •



# Bonfire Night Clashes and Capitalist Decay

In scenes similar to last year, clashes between young people from impoverished areas and the Police took place over Halloween and Bonfire night. As always it has been met with hypocritical condemnation.

**Sara Al Disi**  
— Edinburgh

Bonfire Night came to a rebellious end as young people clashed with the Police in parts of Scotland. Police Scotland reported 8 minor injuries to officers and 2 damaged vehicles after clashes in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee, with fireworks and petrol bombs thrown at riot police.

The most serious incident occurred in Niddrie, southeast Edinburgh, where up to 100 young people got involved in the clashes. Videos circulating on social media show an overwhelming force of hundreds of police in full riot gear standing in line blocking Hay Avenue and advancing towards the intersection at Niddrie Marischal Road.

Teenagers directed fireworks towards the police lines, while a few petrol bombs were also thrown, causing officers to retreat before charging forwards again. Residents and bystanders filmed the incident from multiple angles. The police made several arrests, and claimed that the attacks were organised and orchestrated by adults who allegedly

“supplied the weapons” to the youth.

A barrage of condemnations were expressed in the hours after the clashes, including from Cammy Day, the leader of Edinburgh City Council, who called the scenes “disgraceful” and called for a ban on selling fireworks to the public. First Minister Humza Yousaf said that those responsible “should feel the full force of the law”. Agreeing with him, the Scottish Conservative justice spokesman Russell Findlay said “Police Scotland need sufficient resources to tackle these thugs.”

In a classic bourgeois fashion, these politicians viciously malign young people from deprived areas as “thugs”, troublemakers, etc and refuse to address the root of their problems. More “law and order” is not the answer to young people feeling alienated and discontented with the political establishment that looks down on them in every way.

Police Scotland set up Operation Moonbeam to tackle Bonfire Night disorder in 2018. Clearly it has not stopped the issue, but the deployment of hundreds of riot police has only served as a provocation for wider “disorder”. Locals blame the Police for escalating normal gather-

ings of young people, labelled as “anti-social behaviour”, into these violent incidents, such as the minor rioting in the Kirkton area of Dundee last Halloween.

Niddrie is amongst the most deprived areas in Scotland according to the Scottish Index for Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), which takes into account wealth, health, crime and unemployment. Niddrie is also the poorest neighbourhood in the capital.

Only a few miles away however, Craiglockhart is the most affluent area in the whole of Scotland. This stark difference is not lost on the people of Niddrie, who see that the people who most loudly condemn them and their children live in a completely different world of material comfort and security.

The capitalist system breeds hopelessness and alienation; the accumulation of wealth at one end of society, and misery at the other. These young people in Niddrie have seen nothing but poor housing, badly looked after schools and falling standards of living from their parents’ generation to theirs. In recent years, they are being punished even further by inflation, austerity and police hostility.

They have seen promises broken and forgotten by politicians – the mouthpieces and guardians of this system. Deep poverty has increased in Scotland over the last two decades according to the Joseph Rown-

tree Foundation (JRF), with a third of Scottish people at least 50% below the poverty line. The JRF also exposed the educational attainment gap – which the previous First Minister promised to close – to be still high enough that poor pupils have about half the chance of achieving basic numeracy standards as others by age 12-14.

They also receive a lot of attention from a hostile police force that is racist, misogynistic and a constant source of acrimony in poor communities. People in the poorest areas recognise more than anyone else the real role of the police, in protecting the rich and the capitalist establishment, which they immensely and rightly blame for the conditions they live under.

The anger of the poor and working classes is rising as the capitalist system slips deeper into crisis. Combustible material has accumulated for years, waiting for a spark to light it up. This anger breaks out in riots and cat-and-mouse clashes with the Police, but this is ultimately a loser’s game.

The anger and energy of the working class must be directed towards a real solution of our problems: a revolution that upends the current order of inequality and exploitation. We must overthrow the rotten capitalist system causing this misery, and transform society along socialist lines.•



## Glasgow to open first drugs ‘safe’ room

The opening of a new ‘safe consumption room’ for opioid addicts in Glasgow has opened up a debate about drug addiction. Neither criminalisation nor legalisation offer a real solution under capitalism. We must tackle the problem at its root.

**Shaun Morris**  
— Glasgow

The UK’s first facility for the supervised consumption of illegal drugs is set to open in Glasgow next year. The scheme, in which addicts are permitted to use illegal drugs such as heroin or other opiates in a clinical setting, was approved in late September following agreement between local health bodies and Scottish law enforcement.

Britain is on the tail end of a sharp rise in deaths from illicit drug consumption. Deaths from drug poisoning increased by over 80% during the decade from 2012 to 2022.

Figures have fallen slightly this year, after peaking during the coro-

navirus pandemic. But they are still at a record high.

And the problem is particularly acute in Scotland, where rates of drug-related mortality are three times the UK average.

The Scottish government has been under pressure from campaigners to deal with this public health emergency. Last year, Nicola Sturgeon vowed that it was her “national mission” to reduce drug deaths. The SNP has therefore cautiously approved the supervised consumption proposal.

The idea of a ‘safe consumption room’ had been floated since at least 2015. Its recent approval follows the expanded issuance of naloxone – a life-saving anti-overdose medicine – to Scottish police and paramedics.

The new facility in Glasgow will be based out of the current homeless services centre on Hunter Street, near to the Barras Market. Already, drug addicts receive treatments there, such as methadone replacement programmes.

Proponents expect the roughly 500 people who regularly inject drugs in Glasgow’s public spaces – as counted in a 2016 study into an AIDS outbreak – to use the new facility as an alternative. The hope is that this will reduce the danger posed to the public by discarded needles and paraphernalia.

Similar ‘safe consumption’ spac-

es have been operating throughout Europe since the 1980s, due to the AIDS crisis. The aim is to reduce the spread of disease amongst addicts, and to prevent deaths from overdoses and dependency. Now, however, the focus is strictly on reducing deaths from opioid abuse.

Opioid overdoses were responsible for up to 82% of drug deaths last year. And drug policy campaigners warn that the situation will only get worse, as synthetic opioids replace heroin on the global drugs market.

Synthetic opioids include morphine, codeine, and also the extremely-toxic fentanyl, which is responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths every year. Each week in the USA, 1500 people die from taking an opioid, while millions of people struggle with addiction – often to drugs initially pushed on them by their own doctors.

The charity Scottish Drugs Forum has warned that the overall Scottish government response to the crisis is “inadequate”.

In isolation, safe consumption rooms will not have the desired result of reducing drug addiction and death. What is required is a network of accessible health and social services. But these are being systematically dismantled by austerity policies.

Due to budget cuts, for example, the ability of addicts to find recovery and treatment has become more difficult than ever.

Another charity, Rehab UK, notes that despite a rise in addiction and drugs-related deaths, NHS hospital admissions have actually fallen by 17.5% in recent years, with overstretched public services unable to

meet demand.

In turn, as more people are put on extensive waiting lists, increasing numbers are being forced to turn to the private sector for rehabilitation.

Private residential facilities are out of reach for most addicts, however, costing around £2,000 per week. And a four-week stay is considered the minimum to have any chance of breaking the habit.

For years, campaigners have pleaded for more NHS funded places in residential rehab, as well as recovery centres and overdose prevention strategies. But these appeals have been consistently ignored by politicians when it comes to deciding health budget priorities.

Consequently, Rehab UK reports that death from drug use is 16 times higher in deprived communities, where addicts have fewer options for help. By contrast, investors see good money to be made from providing private services to middle-class folk with a cocaine or painkiller habit.

Most often, the only attention that addicts can expect is that of the police, who treat them as dangerous criminals, rather than vulnerable people in need of medical treatment.

Supervised consumption clinics create a legal grey area, however, where the possession and consumption of drugs is effectively legalised.

This is opposed, naturally, by the Tories, who are keen to appear ‘tough on crime’. As such, Home Secretary Suella Braverman has criticised the SNP as having the ‘wrong approach’ in approving the new supervised consumption policy.

As usual, the ‘criminals’ the Tories focus on are the most downtrod-

den in society, rather than the financial gangsters in the City of London who keep millions in poverty.

The SNP, by contrast, has defended this latest plan as one that will save lives.

But behind their mask of liberal compassion, the deep deprivation that exists in many parts of Scotland, and the tight budgets facing homeless and drug addiction services, tell a different story.

As communists, we are firmly against the criminalisation of addiction and the demonisation of users. The epidemic of overdoses and misuse should be treated as a social issue, as a public health problem, not as a question of ‘law and order’.

On the other hand, however, the liberal advocates of legalisation offer no real solution either.

Drug addicts are often on the bottom rung of society – homeless, unemployed, poorly educated, without family connections, etc.; lower even than the working class, most having fallen from it.

For the majority, these social factors precede the downward spiral of addiction: loss of secure housing, a job, and family ties.

This is therefore a problem that cannot be fully solved under capitalism – a system that breeds unemployment, homelessness, alienation, and austerity.

Drugs addiction and death are a scourge of capitalist society; a blight that, alongside poverty and exploitation, should be swept into the dustbin of history by the revolutionary working class.•



# Theory & History

**“Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.” — Lenin**

## In Defence of Lenin — Part II

This is the second part of Rob Sewell’s summary of the life and ideas of Lenin. In the first part, we read of Lenin’s early years and the foundation of the Bolshevik party and the experience of the 1905 Revolution. Now, revolution again breaks out in Russia, and Lenin’s intervention proves decisive.

**Rob Sewell**  
— London

When in Zurich, Lenin scoured the newspapers for the latest news from Russia. He saw that the soviets, now dominated by the leaders of the Social Revolutionaries (SRs) and the Mensheviks, had handed power to the Provisional Government, headed by the monarchist Prince Lvov. He immediately telegraphed Kamenev and Stalin, who were wavering: “No support for the Provisional government! No trust in Kerensky!”

Writing from exile, Lenin warned:

“Ours is a bourgeois revolution, therefore, the workers must support the bourgeoisie, say the Potresovs, Gvozdyovs and Chkhaidzes, as Plekanov said yesterday.

“Ours is a bourgeois revolution, we Marxists say, therefore the workers must open the eyes of the people to the deception practised by the bourgeois politicians, teach them to put no faith in words, to depend entirely on their own strength, their own organisation, their own unity, and their own weapons... You must perform miracles of organisation, organisation of the proletariat and of the whole people, to prepare the way for your victory in the second stage of the revolution.”

In his Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers, Lenin explained the key task: “make our revolution the prologue to the world socialist revolution.”

When Lenin returned to Russia on 3rd April 1917, he put forward his April Theses: a Second Russian Revolution must be a step to the world socialist revolution! He came out against the old guard who were lagging behind the situation and fought to rearm the Bolshevik Party.

“The person who now speaks only of a ‘revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry’ is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of ‘Bolshevik’ pre-revolutionary antiques (it may be called the archive of ‘old Bolsheviks’).”

He managed to win the support

in the ranks and overcome the resistance of the leadership, which had ironically accused him of “Trotskyism”. In reality, Lenin had come over to Trotsky’s position of Permanent Revolution, but by his own route.

In May, Trotsky had returned to Russia after being interned by the British in Canada. “On the second or third day after I reached Petrograd I read Lenin’s April Theses. This was just what the revolution was in need of”, explained Trotsky. His line of thought is identical with Lenin’s. In agreement with Lenin, Trotsky joined the Inter-District Organisation with the aim of winning them over to Bolshevism. He entered into close collaboration with the Bolsheviks, describing himself everywhere as “We, Bolshevik-internationalists.”

### The seizure of power

On 1st November 1917, at a meeting of the Petrograd committee, Lenin said that after Trotsky had become convinced of the impossibility of union with the Mensheviks, “there has been no better Bolshevik”. In reviewing the Revolution two years later, Lenin wrote: “At the moment when it seized power and created the Soviet republic, Bolshevism drew to itself all the best elements in the current of Socialist thought that were nearest to it.”

“Lenin did not come over to me, I went over to Lenin”, stated Trotsky modestly. “I joined him later than many others. But I make bold to think I understood him in a way not inferior to others.”

In the months preceding the revolution, Lenin had called on the Menshevik and SR-dominated Soviets to break with the capitalist ministers and take power, to which they stubbornly refused to do. However, the Bolshevik slogans - Bread! Land! Peace! All Power to the Soviets! - won rapid support amongst the masses. The mass demonstrations in June reflected this shift. It also prompted the new premier Kerensky to begin a campaign of repression against the Bolsheviks. The “July Days” saw the Bolsheviks driven underground. A campaign of hysteria was whipped up against them, calling them “German agents”, which forced Lenin and Zinoviev into hiding and the arrest of Trotsky, Kamenev, Kollontai and other

Bolshevik leaders.

In August, General Kornilov tried to impose his own fascist dictatorship. Desperate for help, and fearing Kornilov, the government released Trotsky and other Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik workers and soldiers stepped into the breach and defeated Kornilov’s counter-revolution in the process.

This boosted support enormously for the Bolsheviks, who won majorities in both the Moscow and Petrograd Soviets. “We were the victors”, stated Trotsky concerning the elections at the Petrograd Soviet. This victory proved decisive, and became an essential stepping-stone to the victory in October.

Lenin, who by now was in hiding in Finland, became very impatient with the Bolshevik leaders. He feared that they were dragging their feet. “Events are prescribing our task so clearly for us that procrastination is becoming positively criminal”, explained Lenin in a letter to the Central Committee. “To wait would be a crime to the revolution.” In October, the Central Committee took the decision to take power, against the votes of Zinoviev and Kamenev, who issued a public statement opposing any insurrection and for the Party to look towards the convening of the Constituent Assembly!

Trotsky, as head of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, acted swiftly to ensure the smooth transfer of power on 25th October 1917. The Revolution succeeded in a bloodless fashion and on the following day, 26th October, its results were announced to the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. This time, the Bolsheviks held some 390 delegates out of a total of 650 present, a clear majority. In protest, the Mensheviks and Right SRs walked out. Lenin, who addressed the Congress, simply proclaimed to the triumphal delegates: “We will proceed to construct the Socialist order.” The Congress then proceeded to set up a new Soviet government with Lenin at its head. Despised just four months earlier, the Bolsheviks were now hailed by the revolutionary workers.

In a matter of days, decrees were issued by Lenin’s government: on peace proposals and the abolition of secret diplomacy, on land to the toilers, on the right of nations to self-determination, on workers’ control and the right of recall over all representatives, on full equality of men and women, and on the complete separation of church from state.

When the Third Congress of Soviets in January 1918 proclaimed the establishment of the Russian



*Lenin in disguise.*

Federated Soviet Republic, large tracts of Russia were still occupied by the Central Powers, bourgeois nationalists and White generals.

Five days after the Revolution, the new government was attacked by Cossack forces led by General Krasnov. The attack was repulsed and the general was handed over by his own men. However, he was released after giving his word not to take up arms. Of course, he broke his promise and went south to lead the Cossack White Army. Similarly, after the Winter Palace military cadets were released they staged an uprising.

### Year One

The Revolution was all too generous and trusting in its early days. “We are accused of resorting to terrorism, but we have not resorted, and I hope will not resort, to the terrorism of the French revolutionaries who guillotined unarmed men”, stated Lenin in November. “I hope we shall not resort to it, because we have strength on our side. When we arrested anyone we told him we would let him go if he gave us a written promise not to engage in sabotage. Such written promises have been given.”

This innocence was recognised by Victor Serge, a former anarchist turned Bolshevik, who wrote in his book ‘Year One of the Russian Revolution’:

“The Whites massacre the workers in the Arsenal and the Kremlin: the Reds release their mortal enemy,


General Krasnov, on parole... The revolution made the mistake of showing magnanimity to the leader of the Cossack attack. He should have been shot on the spot... [Instead] He was to go off to put the Don region to fire and the sword.”

No sooner had the Soviet power established itself than the imperialists acted to crush the revolution in blood. In March 1918 Lenin moved the government to Moscow as Petrograd had become vulnerable to German attack.

Soon afterwards, British troops landed in Murmansk accompanied by American and Canadian forces; the Japanese landed in Vladivostok alongside British and American battalions. The British also seized the port of Baku to get their hands on the oil. French, Greek and Polish forces landed in the Black Sea ports of Odessa and Sevastopol and linked up with the White armies. The Ukraine was occupied by the Germans. In all, 21 foreign armies of intervention on several fronts confronted the Soviet government forces. The Revolution was fighting for its life. It was surrounded, starving and infested with conspiracies. •

# War, peace and bourgeois morality

To justify its genocidal bombardment of the Gaza Strip, the Israeli state, with the complicity of Western imperialists, tries to present itself as the guardian of superior moral values in the face of Palestinian “barbarism”. There could be no better example of the complete moral bankruptcy of the ruling class.


**Benoit Tanguay**  
 — marxist.com

Following the Hamas attack on Oct. 7, the whole of bourgeois society and its representatives on TV sets and in parliaments cried out in outrage. The news was full of unverified reports of all kinds of horrors allegedly committed by Hamas—“40 beheaded babies”, and other atrocities finally proven never to have taken place. Immediately, politicians and public figures across the Western world rushed to denounce these imaginary crimes.

In chorus, the Israeli imperialists and their allies seized the opportunity to present themselves as paragons of morality in the face of amoral Palestinian terrorists. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu wrote on X (Twitter): “In fighting Hamas, Israel is not only fighting for its own people. It is fighting for every country that stands against barbarism.” On Oct. 9, the heads of state of France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States signed a joint declaration condemning “the terrorist actions of Hamas” that “have no justification, no legitimacy and must be universally condemned”.

On the strength of this moral endorsement, Israel carried out an indiscriminate bombardment of the Gaza Strip that has so far claimed more than 5,000 lives. An Israeli government official has promised to reduce Gaza to a “city of tents”. For the past two weeks, the Israeli army has been applying the “Dahiya doc-

trine”, according to which any neighborhood or village from which a missile is fired into Israel “is not a civilian village, but a military base”, to which “disproportionate force” must be applied, in the words of Maj. Gen. Gadi Eisenkot.

To justify this slaughter of innocent civilians, including over 2,000 Palestinian children (including well over 40 babies), Israeli Minister Benny Gantz wrote on X: “Absolutely nothing can justify the slaughter of innocent civilians.” The moral double standard couldn’t be clearer.

Here we see how imperialists use moral indignation as an ideological weapon. It’s the same thing we see with Israel’s so-called “right to defend itself”, in the name of which the Western ruling classes justify their support for Israel’s genocidal war against the population of the Gaza Strip.

For the Israeli imperialists and their American, British, Canadian, and other allies, violence is always reprehensible, immoral, barbaric, savage, illegitimate, terroristic, and unjustified when it comes from the oppressed; and always just, legal, defensive, and civilizing when it is used to keep them in exploitation, humiliation and oppression.

Fortunately, in the face of all these horrors and hypocrisy, the working class and youth are rising up all over the world. In major cities all over the world, tens, even hundreds of thousands of young people and workers have taken to the streets to denounce the ethnic cleansing under way in Gaza.

This gave some reformist politicians enough courage to break away

from the chorus of calls for genocide and raise a timid voice in favor of “peace”. We’ve seen this with politicians like Jeremy Corbyn in the U.K., Ilhan Omar in the U.S.A., and the MNAs of Québec solidaire.

In Canada, 33 federal MPs, including NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, signed a letter to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau urging him to advocate a ceasefire. The letter states, in part: “Canada has long been a voice for peace. The longer this conflict goes on, the more innocent civilians will pay with their lives. We demand that Canada join the growing international call for an immediate ceasefire. Canada must act before more innocent children are killed.”

It may sound good, and like a step forward. But pacifists, with their empty calls for “peace” between peoples, are often not much better than bellicose imperialists.

For example, while the letter expresses the signatories’ dismay at the suffering of the Palestinians, many of them continue to support Israel’s “right to defend itself”. Israel therefore has the right to bomb Gaza, but not too much!

And the signatories haven’t forgotten to join the chorus of condemnation against Hamas. These pacifists thus create a false moral equivalence, equating the violence of the oppressors with that of the oppressed. This has the effect of masking the oppression of the Palestinians. The pacifist who demands a slave and a slavemaster who have come to blows to both drop their weapons is not advocating for peace, he is advocating for slavery. Pacifists are also accomplices of Israeli imperialism, just in a more subtle way.

Obviously, the bombing of Gaza must stop. But a ceasefire alone will not solve anything.

The war did not start on Oct. 7. The Hamas attack is merely a part of a war that began over 75 years ago, when the Zionists set out to create

Israel by stealing Palestinian land at gunpoint and with bombs, a process of systematic expropriation that continues to this day. This war is a product of the historical oppression of the Palestinians.

A ceasefire does not put an end to the oppression that has driven some Palestinians to take up arms. This attack expressed the fact that the Israeli state is systematically blocking any path towards ending the oppression of the Palestinians. No one can maintain an entire people in misery, oppression, exploitation, and systematic violence without expecting, at one moment or another, a backlash from the oppressed.

General condemnations of violence are therefore completely empty. Before October 7, 200 Palestinians had been killed this year alone by the Israeli state and armed Zionist settlers, with complete impunity. Returning to the pre-Oct. 7 “peaceful” status quo would mean returning to the conditions that created the violent explosion in the first place.

In fact, in our age of imperialism, peace is merely a pause between wars, to paraphrase Lenin. Peace is the expression of a temporary balance of power. As long as the Israeli imperialists maintain their state of domination over the Palestinian people, the Israeli state will concede peace only to its own advantage. Peace, then, can only conceal the oppression of the Palestinians.

This is exactly what we saw with the Oslo Accords, for example, in which the Palestine Liberation Organization accepted Israel’s oppressive system in exchange for its recognition by the oppressor, and its participation in that oppressive system with the creation of the Palestinian Authority. The betrayal of the Oslo “peace process” is precisely what gave impetus to the rise of Hamas.

Thus, the pacifist morality that rejects “violence” in general is a poor reflection of bourgeois morality. The bourgeoisie, through its control of the media, educational establishments, political and legal institutions, claims to hold general, time-

less moral values. But these values are only applied in cases that are useful to them, whereas they never hold themselves to these values. As for pacifists, they take the bourgeoisie at its word when it speaks of morality, and thus serve to give it moral backing and lend credibility to its empty words.

As communists, we must unmask, denounce and point the finger at all the hypocrisy of bourgeois morality, which justifies the worst crimes of oppressors while rejecting violence when it comes from the oppressed. From slave revolts to the Russian Revolution, and from Black Lives Matter to Palestine, the story is always the same: the oppressed are denounced for fighting back against their oppressor.

As Trotsky says of the American Civil War: “History has different yardsticks for the cruelty of the Northerners and the cruelty of the Southerners in the Civil War. A slave-owner who through cunning and violence shackles a slave in chains, and a slave who through cunning or violence breaks the chains—let not the contemptible eunuchs tell us that they are equals before a court of morality!”

There’s no such thing as an abstract, timeless, ahistorical, and absolute morality. Capitalism was born dripping blood and dirt from every pore, and its entire history to this day is littered with the corpses of millions of oppressed and working people. The capitalist machine needs the life force of workers to keep it going, and grinds them by the millions to maintain its existence, while crushing entire peoples when necessary to guarantee the interests of bourgeois states.

There is no room for moralism or pacifism in this context. Communists unconditionally take the side of the oppressed and the workers in their struggle against oppression.

The way to ensure peace, in Palestine and around the world, is not with moral exhortations, but with a revolution that will bring an end to the system that relies on violence and oppression to survive—an end to capitalism. •

# 1947: ‘Palestine partition will lead to bloodshed’

This article from a 1947 issue of ‘Socialist Appeal’ shows that Marxists have always been opposed to Zionism.


**S Manur**  
 — ‘Socialist Appeal’ (1947)

The Chiefs of Staff are putting the finishing touches to plans for alternative bases when the withdrawal from Palestine goes through. Vast construction schemes are preparing new bases in Kenya, Somaliland and the Sudan, with forward bases in Cyprus for the Navy, and Transjordan and Iraq for the land forces.

“The malicious plan, for which Imperialism and Zionism are making propaganda” – those were the words in which the Palestine Arab Stalinist Paper “Al-Ittihad ” characterised the Partition plan for many years. The Jewish Stalinist Paper, “Kol-Ha’am”,

was not shy in denouncing Partition in similar words. The opposition to Partition was, perhaps, the only thing on which the two Stalinist parties in Palestine, the Jewish and the Arab one, were united.

However, both will have to change their attitude. The partition of Palestine, which has always been regarded not only by us Marxists, but even by the Stalinists, and by the Arab National Movement, as an imperialist plan designed to lead Palestine towards communal troubles and mutual bloodshed between Arabs and Jews – this malicious imperialist plan has been approved and supported in the U.N.O [United Nations] by Russia.

The argument of the Russian delegate to U.N.O, that the tension between Jews and Arabs made the creation of an independent unified State impracticable, was taken directly from the lexicon of imperialism. Instead of demanding the unification of the countries of the Arab East, which have been split up by imperialism for more than 30 years,

the Stalinist bureaucracy has given support to a new partition.

Far from being a "solution" of the Palestine problem partition will only aggravate the tension between Arabs and Jews and divert the struggle of the oppressed workers and fellaheen [peasants] of the Arab East from a true struggle for national and social freedom into anti-Jewish, chauvinist channels. Partition of Palestine means not only a danger to the existence of the Jewish minority in that country and to the Jewish communities all over the Arab East: it is also a blow to the class struggle of the Arab Labour Movement which emerged out of the development of the war years, a blow to the agrarian revolution. It is a wedge in the heart of the Arab countries whose progress can only be guaranteed by their unification.

All these considerations have become irrelevant to the Stalinist bureaucracy, when it comes to making a diplomatic deal with Imperialism.

How to explain the recent policy

of the British Government for Palestine? It was sheer imperialist hypocrisy when Mr. Creech Jones told the U.N. Committee on Palestine that "the British Government were ready to assume responsibility for giving effect to any plan agreed to by the Jews and Arabs."

He wished to make the world believe that Britain had played in Palestine the role of the disinterested conciliator.

But what are the facts? A few weeks ago, on Friday, October the 24th, a Jew was arrested in Tiberias and summoned to appear in the Court on the charge of "disturbing public security" – because he had distributed leaflets of the "League for Jewish Arab Co-operation" calling for peace between Arabs and Jews!

At the same time, British officers are training the armies of the Arab States and preparing them

for their task" in Palestine. And the Zionist military force "Hagana," whose main purpose for existence is to combat the Arab National Move-

ment is today permitted semi-legality by the British authorities. An army which at less propitious times for the British, has been illegalised.

This does not prevent Sir Alan Cunningham, the British High Commissioner, from hypocritically “warning” Jews and Arabs that chaos and bloodshed might follow British evacuation!

British imperialism has been weakened to such a degree that it cannot afford any longer to rule every country in the Arab East directly by its military forces. Strategic readjustment has become necessary and local rulers must be found who will be ready to direct the class struggle into as much communal trouble as possible. After an education of almost 30 years under the British mandate, both the Zionist leaders and the Arab feudal lords and capitalists seem to be regarded as adequately trained for the task.

The Middle Eastern and the British working class must frustrate these malicious plans. No diplomatic deal between American Imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy will keep the workers of the Arab East from fighting for full unification of the Arab countries. •



# The Failure of the 'Two-State Solution'

For 75 years the Palestinian people have been robbed of their land, their livelihood and their rights by Israeli occupation and colonisation. They have suffered setbacks in their long struggle for self-determination, none greater than the illusion of Palestinian statehood alongside the aggressive, expansionist Zionist state. Communists put forward a revolutionary solution to this conflict.

Josh Holroyd  
— marxist.com

Israel's genocidal war on Gaza is reaching a pivotal stage. The horrifying images of butchered civilians have provoked a wave of revulsion across the world. Thousands have taken to the streets in capitals throughout the Middle East, demanding action in support of Gaza, while hundreds of thousands of people in the West have protested the complicity of their governments in Israel's crimes.

The IMT wholeheartedly supports this movement and stands in complete solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation and freedom from imperialist oppression. But the question immediately arises, how is Palestinian freedom to be achieved? And this question requires a clear answer.

## No resolution

Many left-wing parties and workers' organisations have called for an immediate ceasefire and a peace plan, holding out the prospect of an end to the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, for example, has demanded an end to "Israeli occupation and settlement in the occupied Arab territories, as provided for in the UN resolutions", and the establishment of "an independent Palestinian state on the 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital and guarantee the right of return of Palestinian refugees".

Communist Parties around the world have released similar statements, with the Communist Party of Britain (CPB) calling for "the implementation of a two-state solution based on pre-1967 borders establishing an independent Palestinian state."

But aside from the sentiment of support, what does this really offer the Palestinian masses?

The first duty of any communist is to tell the truth, and the most elementary truth in the whole situation is that nothing could be of less assistance to the people of Palestine than the impotent resolutions of the UN and the intrigues of the 'international community'.

To begin with, the pre-1967 borders were established by the ethnic cleansing of 700,000 Palestinians between 1947 and 1949, known as the Nakba ("catastrophe" in Arabic), which was carried out by Zionist militias with the backing of US imperialism.

By the end of 1949 Israel had seized 78 percent of Palestine. What was the response of the 'international community'? It recognised this bloody fait accompli as the 'Green Line', the very border that the CPB and others would now like to return to.

Israel breached the Green Line in 1967 when it overran the whole of Palestine during the Six Day War. The UN's response was to pass Resolution 242, which remains unenforced to this day. Therefore we must ask, if the UN has been completely unable (and unwilling) to enforce its own limp resolutions since 1947, then who will?

## A rotten peace

What is always lacking from calls for a 'two-state' solution is any proposal for how this is to be achieved. When organisations call for a peace deal, it is necessary to ask, what deal, negotiated by whom and enforced by whom?

Palestine has some experience of peace deals. In fact, the present crisis is the product of the complete failure of the 'two-state' solution, as laid down in the Oslo Accords of 1993 and 1995.

Under the terms of this deal, negotiated behind the backs of the

Palestinian people, Israel agreed to partially withdraw from the occupied territories and a Palestinian semi-state, called the Palestinian Authority (PA), was established. The problem, however, was that 60 percent of the West Bank would remain entirely under Israeli control.

In return, Yasser Arafat and the PLO agreed to recognise the state of Israel and abandon its demand for the right of Palestinians displaced during the Nakba to return to their homes. Instead, the Palestinian leadership agreed to work towards the restoration of the pre-1967 borders, as recognised in the UN's Resolution 242 – precisely the terms demanded by the official Communist Parties today.

Further, the parties agreed "to lay the groundwork for strengthening the economic base of the Palestinian side". But this was to be achieved by incorporating Palestine into a customs union with Israel. Palestine would also use the same currency, the Israeli Shekel.

Finally, a Palestinian police force was established, but the Israeli state retained "all the powers" to safeguard "internal security and order". Israel also retained exclusive control of Palestine's borders and airspace.

What has been the result of this 'peace'? Thirty years on, living conditions in Palestine have worsened. Unemployment in Gaza and the West Bank was 7 percent in 1993; today it is 24 percent. Youth unemployment stands at almost 37 percent. The latest figure for unemployment in Gaza is even worse, standing at 45 percent, and higher for young people. That was prior to Israel's bombardment. The entire Palestinian economy is held in a state of colonial dependence on Israel, which provides 58 percent of its imports and receives around 86 percent of its exports.

The PA and the ruling party Fatah have become nothing but a corrupt clique, who remain in power solely because they serve as a useful puppet regime for the Israeli state. And this is precisely how they are seen by most Palestinians. The shooting of Palestinian protesters in Nablus by the PA's security forces last week is a graphic illustration of this fact.

When mass hostility to Fatah gave victory to Hamas in the 2006 legislative elections, Israel, the EU and the US refused to recognise the result and put pressure on Fatah not to hand over power. As a result, Palestine was split by a civil war that left Gaza under Hamas' control and the West Bank under Fatah's control. There have been no elections since.

The so-called 'two-state' solution has succeeded in creating two Palestines, or rather, two miserable reserves in which Palestinians are held as prisoners in their own country. Meanwhile, the expansion of illegal settlements in the West Bank has continued under every single Israeli government since the Accords were signed.

Palestine has never been further from independence than it is now. Its economy has been systematically strangled and the so-called Palestini-



an Authority has no authority at all. Pious resolutions that simply call for a return to pre-1967 borders and "an independent Palestinian state" in the abstract completely overlook this inconvenient fact.

## Israel imperialism

Advocates of a 'two-state' solution might protest that the problem is that right-wing Israeli governments, and Benjamin Netanyahu in particular, have acted in bad faith and deliberately undermined the path to peace. This is all true, of course, but then we must ask: what Israeli government would be either willing or able to abandon the whole of the West Bank? Further, what Israeli government would be prepared to effectively pay for the development of a viable and independent Palestinian economy on its border?

Israel is a capitalist state with imperialist interests that it has developed across the region. And the domination of the whole of Palestine is an absolute necessity for the pursuit of those interests. This fact was recognised by the founders of Israel and it has determined the policy of every Israeli government since 1948.

The proliferation of illegal settlements in the West Bank has continued since 1967, and accelerated since 1993. There are now more than 700,000 Jewish settlers living illegally in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem, exploiting the labour of Palestinians who work in slave-like conditions. And the settlements have become a powerful political force that no government in Israel is able to ignore.

It was not Likud or Netanyahu, but the Israeli Labour Party of

Yitzhak 'Bonebreaker' Rabin that negotiated the Oslo Accords, with their insistence on the economic 'integration' of the Israeli and Palestinian economies. And when Labour's 'One Israel' alliance came to power in 1999, it neither reversed nor even paused the expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

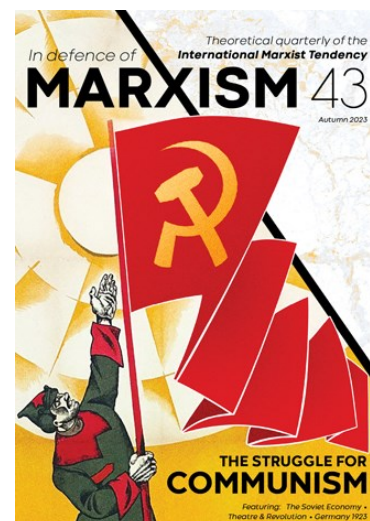
Under imperialism, peace is simply the continuation of war by other means. The only difference between liberal and right-wing Zionism is that the former prefers to quietly place its boot on the necks of the Palestinians and choke them unconscious, whereas the latter kicks them repeatedly in the face.

What the liberal wing of the Israeli ruling class object to is not the monstrous oppression of the Palestinians but the prospect that the provocations of the right could result in another revolt of the Palestinian masses. And their fears are being borne out by events.

In reality, there is no viable Palestinian state and there will never be one so long as Israeli capitalism continues to exist. Solidarity with Palestine must proceed from this unavoidable fact, which is already understood by the majority in Palestine.

In a September poll, conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR), 64 percent said the situation was worse today than before Oslo, 71 percent said it was wrong for the PLO to sign the agreement in the first place, and 53 percent said that armed struggle was the best way forward for the Palestinian liberation struggle.

The demand of a new peace plan along the same lines as Oslo under



'In Defence  
of Marxism'

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the present conditions is at best a distraction and at worst a deception. This is precisely why the United States intervened and brokered the Oslo Accords in 1993, and why a string of US presidents have endorsed the so-called ‘two-state’ solution ever since. This is also why much of the Palestinian youth have rightly rejected it.

An honest rejection of war and destruction is completely understandable, but in the conflict between oppressor and oppressed, the best pacifism can achieve is to preach passivity to the masses, and divert the struggle into a blind alley.

**For a revolutionary solution**

There is no reformist road to Palestinian freedom. International pressure and ‘peace’ deals can only preserve the already intolerable status quo. The Palestinian masses can only rely on their own strength, supported by the solidarity of the worldwide working class.

A new uprising throughout the whole of Palestine, basing itself first and foremost on the revolutionary youth, could shake not only the Israeli regime but the entire region.

Mobilised around a socialist programme, the movement could reach beyond the artificial borders of Palestine to Arab workers living on the Israeli side of the Green Line; to the workers and poor of the neighbouring Arab states who burn with indignation at their own ruling class’ complicity in the crimes of Zionism; and could begin to stoke class struggle and break down the national unity between Israeli workers and bosses, which is vital for the rule of the latter.

But for such an all-powerful movement to halt at the establishment of a weak capitalist Palestine side-by-side with some ‘democratic’ version of the present capitalist Israeli state, would be utterly self-defeating. In fact, such an outcome would be impossible. The Israeli ruling class, if its rule was merely shaken rather than smashed, would come back seeking revenge. It would revert to something even more nightmarish than the present setup. The reactionary Zionist establishment needs to be completely dismantled, the ruling class expropriated, and the land and monopolies must be placed under the control of the working class.

Only a regime of workers’ democracy can replace the present state of Israel, end the occupation, resolve the essential question of the land, and respect the democratic rights of both Jews and Arabs. In short, we are not for a sham peace; we are for revolution.

But what is required is a revolution that respects neither capitalist ‘democracy’ nor national boundaries; that does not stop until Israeli imperialism and its puppets in Palestine have been completely smashed; and that satisfies the crying needs of the Palestinian people, for land, work, housing and a dignified existence for all. That means the revolution must be socialist, which is the only way of removing the material base upon which the Zionist ruling elite rests.

That is why we say: Intifada until victory!•

# Mau Mau Uprising — Colonial ‘self-defence’

Throughout the self-proclaimed ‘civilised’ western world, the ruling classes have banded together to denounce Hamas’ attack on Israel on 7 October and have rallied around Israel’s ‘right of self-defence’ as it bombs Gaza to smithereens. But this is not the first time we have been told to accept a bloody war against an oppressed people in the name of the oppressor nation’s ‘self-defence’.

**Oliver Brotherton  
— marxist.com**

King Charles III’s recent four-day trip to Kenya has stirred memories of one of the worst atrocities of Britain’s brutal colonial era. From 1952-1960, faced with an anti-colonial uprising, loyal British forces engaged in the extensive collective punishment of 1.5 million Kenyans – all in ‘self-defence’. Such was the brutality of the period that the British attorney general in 1957 described the situation as “distressingly reminiscent of conditions in Nazi Germany”.

The Mau Mau uprising, known to the British at the time as simply the “Emergency”, was a poorly-equipped insurgency against the might of British imperialism, which was met with an unprecedented campaign of internment, torture, rape, forced labour and indiscriminate killing.

The British government didn’t talk about ‘democracy’ or ‘International Law’ – no, this was an old fashioned, unvarnished colonial war. But in all respects other than the stinking hypocritical language, the present war in Gaza is just that too: a colonial imperialist war, intended solely to destroy the spirit of resistance among the Palestinians, as the British attempted to break the Kenyan people in the 1950s.

**The violence of the oppressed**

British media played a key role in exaggerating the cruelty of the Mau Mau, whilst underplaying and hiding any distasteful acts by loyalists. The capitalist media boldly maintains this time-honoured tradition of lies and slander even today, as evidenced countless times during Israel’s current war on Gaza.

From the very beginning of the uprising, British newspapers were swamped with lurid and often completely fabricated descriptions of Mau Mau violence, inspired by scandalising reports handed out by the government.

One government report described Mau Mau fighters as “terrorists insatiable for blood” who murdered children “in the sight of their mothers”. Such a statement could have been lifted verbatim from today’s descriptions of Palestinians in the capitalist press! Bourgeois newspapers loyally echoed this message, proclaiming the Mau Mau to be “barbaric”, “savage”, “bestial” or “merciless”.

The death toll from Mau Mau

attacks was also grossly exaggerated by the press, giving the impression that thousands of white Kenyans had been killed in various unsavoury ways. Official reports, however, put the real number of white Kenyans killed from 1952-1960 to be less than 100, the majority of whom were soldiers killed in combat. Anthropologist Robert Edgerton notes that, during the eight year insurgency, more white civilians were killed by traffic accidents in Nairobi than by the Mau Mau. Official estimates put the total number of loyalist casualties at less than 2,000.

**The violence of the oppressor**

While the Mau Mau were certainly guilty of killing innocents, this pales in comparison to the brutality of the British. Officially, the British government claims that around 10,000 Kenyans were killed by loyalist soldiers.

This includes over 1,000 people killed by hangings, which were carried out at a rate that was unprecedented for the period. At the height of the uprising, 50 Kenyans were being hanged every month, many on charges as vague as ‘rebellion’. Only a minority of those executed by the British were charged with murder.

But this is only the tip of the iceberg. As historian Caroline Elkins points out, there is no record of how many non-combatants died as a result of torture, malnutrition, abuse and forced labour. Elkins estimates the number of deaths as a result of the British response to the uprising could be as high as 300,000.

We would likely also know more about the scale of the killings conducted by loyalist forces if the colonial officials in Kenya had not conveniently destroyed three-and-a-half tons of confidential documents shortly after the end of the uprising.

Added to the unrecorded deaths of Britain’s torture victims are the countless deaths from Britain’s indiscriminate bombing campaign of rural areas considered Mau Mau hotspots. Over the eight years of the conflict, the Royal Air Force dropped a total of 50,000 tons of bombs and fired two million machine gun rounds from planes into forested areas as part of “Operation Mushroom”.

This campaign of blind destruction mirrors Israel’s current devastation of Gaza, with Israel dropping 18,000 tons of bombs within the first three weeks of the current conflict. The British ruling class cannot claim a shred of credibility as it makes noises about ‘International Law’ and protecting civilians, although we hardly need to go back to the 1950s to convince ourselves of that.

Taking even the most conserva-

tive estimates of Britain’s death toll and ignoring the uncountable casualties, loyalist forces killed five or six times as many Kenyans as the Mau Mau. It is more than likely, however, that British kills outnumbered the Mau Mau’s by more than 100:1.

All of this was conducted under the mantra of ‘self-defence’. Since 2008, the UN estimates that Palestinian deaths outnumber Israeli deaths by 20:1 as a result of the conflict. Such behaviour is not the product of a ‘civilised’, ‘democratic’ state defending itself – in Kenya as in Palestine, it is the product of a one-sided war to crush an oppressed people who dare to fight back.

**“Britain’s Gulag”**

The bombing and murder of civilians was, however, only one piece of Britain’s reign of terror in Kenya. Perhaps even more insidious was the forced internment of practically the entirety of Kenya’s native Kikuyu people, who made up the bulk of the Mau Mau – a total of 1.5 million people.

Here is one metric in which Israel today has outdone its British forebears. Currently, over two million people are held hostage by Israel in Gaza alone, along with another three million in the West Bank.

The majority of the Kikuyu were interned through the process of so-called villagisation, hailed by the British imperialists as the introduction of a ‘European’ way of life for the primitive Kenyans. Without warning, their homes and farms were burnt down by colonial soldiers – often with the families still inside – and any who survived this were forced into patrolled camps that they were unable to leave.

Much as in Gaza today, access to key resources such as food and water was heavily restricted. This was intended to break the spirit of any Kikuyu who had hopes in the Mau Mau, but had the predictable side effect of killing huge numbers due to disease and malnutrition.

Far worse than the fate of those in the ‘villages’, however, were the conditions that awaited those suspected Mau Mau members or sympathisers that ended up in the ‘pipeline’ – a series of concentration camps specialising in different degrees of forced labour and mental and physical torture.

The pipeline’s supposed ‘rehabilitation system’ produced by far some of the most disgusting and inhuman behaviour that imperialism is capable of, even by Britain’s shockingly low standards.

A former inmate describes the regular ‘interrogations’ by British officers as follows:

“If a question was not answered to the interrogator’s satisfaction, the subject was beaten and kicked. If that did not lead to the desired confession, and it rarely did, more force was applied. Electric shock was widely used, and so was fire. Women were choked and held under water... [Men] were dragged behind Land Rovers, whipped, burned and bayoneted... Some police officers did not bother with more time-consuming forms of torture; they simply shot any suspect who refused to answer, then told the next suspect, to dig his own grave. When the grave was finished, the man was asked if he would now be willing to talk.”

Alongside the beatings, sexual abuse, castration, burning and forced labour, Mau Mau suspects were also subjected to vicious psychological tortures. Christianity was enforced, with preachers regularly

broadcasting religious propaganda throughout the camps, denouncing traditional Kikuyu beliefs. Prisoners were also often forced to sing “God Save the Queen”, whilst being beaten by British officers.

The pipeline’s widespread and monstrous regime of terror was forced upon as many as 320,000 people over the course of the uprising, leaving physical and emotional scars on an entire generation, which still exist today.

**“Enlightened and humane”**

Just as today, while British loyalists massacred and humiliated Kenyan civilians with an inhuman brutality, not one shred of regret was shown by the British ruling class or its Conservative cronies in government.

Terence Gavaghan, in charge of overseeing the ‘rehabilitation’ of the Mau Mau, described the process of physically and psychologically torturing a suspect until they admit any links with the group as “enlightened, humane and Christian-based”. Undoubtedly today he would have used the phrase “rules-based international order”.

Similarly, Kenya’s British attorney general at the time, Eric Griffith-Jones, drafted laws sanctioning unjustified beatings as long as they were not reported, writing: “If we are going to sin, we must sin quietly.”

These are the gentleman-war-criminals, who still today fill the enlightened halls of the Houses of Parliament and the Knesset. They have the decorum to talk about humanity and dignity, whilst they murder and plunder. And most importantly, these officials were not the ‘animalistic terrorists’ that launched an anti-colonial uprising!

On his trip to Kenya, whilst shedding a few crocodile tears about his “deepest regret” and the “painful aspects” of British colonial policy during the Mau Mau uprising, King Charles III could not even bring himself to utter a perfunctory apology.

And indeed, there is good reason why he cannot offer an apology for the policy British imperialism conducted in the midst of the Mau Mau uprising, for the simple reason that that policy has not ended.

The reality is that the ‘civilised’ forces of British imperialism in Kenya today have been linked to countless murders and sexual assaults, as well as widespread explosive and chemical damage to farmlands and villages right down to the modern day.

So, no, Charles III cannot apologise for crimes that British imperialism is still committing in present day Kenya, and when it has no compunction in its allies committing crimes that, after all, are not so dissimilar from its own crimes.

Fundamentally, whether in Palestine or in Kenya, such crimes will always continue as long as imperialism exists. The subjugation of the oppressed does not concern itself with democratic values, the “rules-based order”, or the question of “who shot first”.

The horrors of British imperialism in Kenya show the unvarnished face of the capitalist class, once the sham of liberal democracy is stripped away. This is the true nature of the war that is being fought against the people of Gaza, and the attempts to present it in more palatable terms are nothing but the purest hypocrisy from the mouths of a rotten capitalist class that is prepared to do far worse.•



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News &  
Analysis

## Argentina: Far-right Milei victory exposes crisis of the regime

The outcome of the Argentine presidential election has shocked bourgeois commentators, as the mad outsider defied expectations and won by a wide margin.

Jorge Martín  
— [marxist.com](http://marxist.com)

Far-right "libertarian" candidate Javier Milei has won the presidential run-off election in Argentina with almost 56 percent of the vote, beating Peronist candidate Massa (who got 44 percent), the country's outgoing Finance Minister who had renewed a deal with the IMF and promised a government of national unity.

Milei's win and particularly his margin of victory came as a surprise, as several opinion polls in the days before were predicting a much closer result or even a Massa victory. The victory of such a reactionary candidate, whose running mate Victoria Villaruel has openly defended army officers involved in crimes against humanity during the military dictatorship, has caused shock and dismay amongst many left-wing and working-class activists in Argentina and beyond. However, as communists, it is our task to understand the reasons why Milei won.

### Failure of Peronism and Kirchnerism

In 2014, the right-wing Mauricio Macri was elected after years of Kirchnerist government (a form of left Peronism), which had benefited from economic stability and high commodity prices. Macri attempted an all-out assault on workers' rights and pensions, which provoked mass, working-class opposition.

There were huge protests against pension counter-reforms in Dec 2017 and then a general strike in Sept 2018. Macri could have been defeated by the mass movement, but the trade union bureaucracy and Peronist politicians managed to channel the anger into the electoral field.

In 2019, the government of Alberto Fernandez (Peronist) and Cristina Fernandez (Kirchnerist) was elected and Macri was soundly defeated. Turnout was 82 percent. However, this government, which millions of workers and poor had voted for in order to get rid of the anti-working class policies of Macri, did not solve any of the fundamental problems facing the Argentine economy. On the contrary, the situation got progressively worse. Inflation increased to the current figure of 140 percent, driven by the constant

devaluation of the national currency. The percentage of those living under the poverty line nearly doubled to over 40 percent, including many of those who are in work.

Massa, the Peronist Finance Minister, renegotiated the Macri-era IMF loan. The new deal came with onerous conditions. The deep economic crisis and the realisation that, at the end of the day, "all politicians are the same", led to a massive discrediting of all established political parties and institutions. This was the fertile soil in which the far-right "libertarian" demagoguery of Milei flourished.

The judiciary was used to remove Vice-President Cristina Kirchner from the electoral race (and instead of fighting back, she acquiesced) and Massa became the new Peronist candidate. During his tenure living conditions had worsened significantly.

Enter Milei, a far-right maverick who presents himself as an anti-establishment candidate, appropriating the "que se vayan todos" (kick them all out) slogan of the 2001 Argentinazo rising. On this basis, he managed to come first in the compulsory open primaries (PASO) in August. The rise of Milei (who is the distilled essence of the worst aspects of Trump and Bolsonaro) reflects the crisis of the traditional bourgeois parties in Argentina (both right wing and Peronist), as well as the ruling class losing direct control over elect-

ed representatives.

As noted, defeated Massa had promised a government of national unity with the right wing, and also presented himself as a safe pair of hands to implement the monetarist shock therapy the ruling class needs. Once again, it has been shown that you cannot beat an anti-establishment candidate of the right (Trump, Bolsonaro) by opposing him with an establishment candidate of the centre (Clinton in the US, Hadad in Brazil etc.).

Massa and the Peronists also tried to play the "democracy vs. fascism" card, in order to mobilise workers and the poor to vote against Milei. That worked to a certain extent in the first round, giving Massa a pyrrhic victory. But it was not enough at a time when all democratic capitalist institutions are widely discredited.

Of course, for all his railing against the elite "caste" (la casta) Milei is no anti-establishment candidate, and has won the election with the support of key right-wing establishment politicians. The main leaders of the traditional bourgeois right wing, former president Macri and defeated presidential candidate Bullrich, threw their lot behind Milei for the run-off, in the hope of being able to play a decisive role in his eventual government.

Meanwhile, the most far-sighted capitalists and international capital favoured Massa, whom they considered more capable of carrying out the policy they need (namely, a harsh monetarist shock against the working class), because of the links his movement has with the trade union bureaucracy, through which

## Portugal PM resigns following corruption case

The Portuguese Prime Minister, António Costa has been forced to step down in the midst of a scandal affecting the Socialist Party (PS) government.

Costa was named in a probe into the cut-price sell-off of lithium mining contracts to shady shell companies, the mishandling of EU funds and the construction of a hydrogen energy plant.

This case is a problem for the Portuguese capitalists, who have relied on the PS, scandalously backed by the parliamentary lefts, to maintain social peace and accumulate huge profits.

This paves the way for the return of the right, or perhaps the growth of the far-right. Thus is the fate of the PS, whom reformists across Europe had looked to.



they hoped he could keep the masses under control. They fear Milei's brash approach could provoke a social explosion. They are not wrong.

Milei is a far-right politician whom we thoroughly reject. But we need to understand how he was able to come to power. The main responsibility lies in Peronism and particularly Kirchnerism. Workers voted for them to get rid of Macri, but what they got was a continuation of the same policies under a new administration.

Some responsibility also lies with the Argentinean left FIT-U, whose electoralist strategy rendered it unable to take advantage of the disillusionment with the Fernandez government. They become too focussed on winning a few extra votes and some additional deputies to the detriment of putting forward the only policy which would have connected with the accumulated anger: the overthrow of the system as a whole.

### Fascism?

Milei is an extremely reactionary politician but he does not represent the coming to power of fascism, as some have been screaming about. Fascist gangs will be emboldened, but they do not represent a mass armed movement able to crush the working-class organisations. The Argentine working class has not been defeated. In fact, it has not yet entered the scene. It has potentially powerful organisations and longstanding, insurrectionary traditions, which it will certainly reclaim.

The ruling class will attempt to tame the most outlandish aspects of Milei using the fact that he has no control over either of the chambers and will need the support of the Macri-Bullrich deputies.

Milei has promised a massive cut in social spending, amounting to 15 percent of GDP (by, amongst other things, abolishing 10 out of the cur-

rent 18 ministries); the lifting of all price and foreign exchange controls; the abolition of all subsidies; a programme of privatisation of healthcare, education and pensions; the privatisation of state-owned companies, etc. The ruling class fully agrees with such a programme, even though a section is concerned that Milei's reckless application of it could backfire.

At the same time, he has vowed to "abolish the Central Bank" by dollarising the economy, and has railed against Brazil and China, which he described as having "Communist governments". This, the capitalists are not so keen on. Brazil and China are the country's two main trading partners. Argentina at the moment does not possess the necessary reserves to back dollarisation and does not have access to international funding.

Milei's government will be riven with internal contradictions, facing a working class that has not been defeated and will certainly fight back in defence of what is left of their rights and conditions, acquired over decades of struggle. The period that opens up before us will be one of heightened class conflict.

The situation bears some resemblance to the crisis which faced Argentine capitalism at the end of the 1990s, which ended with the Argentinazo and the overthrow of several presidents in the space of a few weeks.

The task is to create a revolutionary leadership that can lead the working class to victory when the inevitable social explosion takes place. •





# Bangladesh garment workers strike

An enormous wave of anger is sweeping across Bangladesh — the eighth most populous country in the world — as workers face harsh repression for going on strike.

The country's economy has been reliant on sweatshop labour for over a decade, supplying clothes to the world market on the basis of cheap labour.

Now that the economy is in a crisis, since the global COVID pandemic, workers are crying out for

wage increases from \$75 to over \$200 per month just to survive. Hundreds of factories have been shut down by strikes, while the police have killed and injured workers taking action.

The government is also paralysed, led by a corrupt party and officially opposed by another. Both sides are widely despised, and with an election coming in January, the Bangladeshi masses are showing that class action is their only option.



# Brazilian communists unite in rally against imperialism

A joint rally between the Brazilian section of the IMT (*Organização Comunista Internacionalista*) and expelled members of the Communist Party of Brazil, PCB-RR (PCB Revolutionary Reconstruction) was held on 2 November, to discuss our shared positions on the Ukraine and Palestine wars.

PCB-RR represents the majority of the youth of the PCB, who were

bureaucratically expelled for opposing the party leaders' uncritical support for Putin's reactionary regime.

Communists are agreed on our opposition to both NATO and the Kremlin, and the nature of their conflict as an inter-imperialist one. In place of imperialist war, we do not preach peace and love, but class struggle and world revolution.

# Barcelona dockers show the way forwards

The question of what action workers can take to show solidarity with Gaza and fight the imperialist war machine will have been discussed in millions of workplaces. Dockers in Barcelona have given their answer.

**L'Octubre**  
— IMT Catalonia

A month after the Israeli government commenced its ethnic cleansing against Palestinians, the Organisation of Port Dockers of Barcelona (OEPB), has resolved "not to allow the activity of ships in our port that contain war material". The USTP (Port Workers Union) also took the same decision on 8 November.

We fully support the workers who have decided to take decisive action against the slaughter. This is the way forward. We can only rely on our own strength — the strength of the working class and youth, who are ready to stand up against every form of oppression — to stop this genocide, which has the full support

of the imperialists.

Thus, we call on the wider working class — beginning with the organised layers — to show solidarity with the dockers. We must take inspiration from their initiative and organise assemblies to discuss the oppression of Palestine, to release manifestos against the genocide, and organise demonstrations, blockades, pickets of companies with interests in Israel, and to demand that our governments cut ties and embargo arms shipments to Israel. The workers of Airbus, who have organised protests along these lines, have also set an example for workers everywhere.

Only the working class has the power to end this massacre of the Palestinian people, as well as the wars and massacres in Ukraine, Armenia, Yemen, etc. Capitalism means unending wars. The liberation of Palestine can only be brought about through the action of the masses in Palestine and the region, fighting against the capitalists and imperialists who have created this nightmare and who, in the name of profits, oppress millions of workers and young people. In other words, it can only be brought about by the class struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors, the revolutionary struggle to establish a world without oppression and exploitation, i.e. a socialist world.

We can contribute to this struggle of our class brothers and sisters in the Middle East, here, at home, by following the inspiring example of the dock workers, by fighting against our own oppressors: the imperialists who rely not only on the oppression of millions in the region, but also on our oppression.



# Italy: Metalworkers organise Gaza demonstration in Modena

Palestinian trade unions have appealed to workers in every country to demonstrate solidarity. In Modena, factory workers launched the initiative and gathered support from across the movement.

**Sinistra Class Rivoluzione Modena**  
— IMT Italy

IMT comrades in Modena, Italy (*Sinistra Classe e Rivoluzione*) organised a campaign inside the Fiom (metalworkers' union of the CGIL) in solidarity with the Palestinian people, and in particular in support of an appeal issued by Palestinian trade union organisations. At a demonstration, 2,000 workers and youth, both immigrant and native Italian, marched together in a lively demonstration, showing their full solidarity with the Palestinian people, calling for an end to the Israeli bombing and occupation.

A number of shop stewards and shop stewards' committees of the Fiom in the city responded to the comrades' campaign. Several other organisations also gave their support to the appeal. Among those adhering were the entire group of FIAT-owned plants in the province of Modena, among them both the Ferrari and the Maserati factories. The demonstration gathered at 3pm on Saturday in Largo Sant'Agostino in the centre of Modena and marched under the slogan of "Palestina libera" (Free Palestine).

Here we publish the text of the appeal and its signatories, together with some videos and pictures of the demonstration.

DEMONSTRATION FOR PALESTINE (Saturday, 4 November, at 3pm in Piazzale Sant'Agostino)

For some weeks now, in the streets of cities all around the world — from Paris to Amman, from London to Rabat and New York, and far beyond — millions of young people and workers have rightly been mobilising against the Israeli army's bombing of Gaza and in solidarity with the Palestinian people.

It is necessary to also organise a mobilisation in Modena for an end to the bombings, against the invasion of Gaza and also against the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories.

Responsibility for the current situation falls on the shoulders of Israeli (and US) imperialism and our support goes entirely to the Palestinian people, who have been fighting for their liberation for many decades. On the one side there is a powerful state, with a strong army that has the most advanced technologies at its disposal. And behind this state is the strongest imperialist power on the planet, the United States. On the other side, there is an oppressed people, in a much weaker position, who for decades have been humiliated by the Zionist state of Israel and who are denied even the fundamental right to their own homeland. In this context, we are firmly on the side of the oppressed, that is, the Palestinians, whose right to resistance in the struggle for their self-determination we recognise.

The Palestinian people have suffered decades of occupation, while those expressing alarm over the IDF's onslaught today, in the past looked the other way, or participated in the farce of the so-called "peace process". In 30 years, this has not given a single square metre of land to the Palestinians. In fact, it has seen more and more of their land taken away.

Last but not least, we oppose the

policy of the Italian government, which is slavishly aligned with Netanyahu's Zionist regime and with NATO. For these reasons, as students and workers, we are calling a demonstration through the streets of Modena on Saturday, 4 November, to forcefully affirm:

No to the invasion of Gaza! Stop occupation! For a Free Palestine!

This appeal was issued by Fiom factory shop stewards' committees (RSUs and RSAs) and individual shop stewards at the following factories:

The Fiom RSUs of the entire group of FIAT factories in Modena: Rsa Fiom Ferrari; Rsu Fiom Maserati Modena; Rsa Fiom CNH; Rsu Fiom OMR; Rsu Fiom Bosch Nonantola;

As well as the following shop stewards and shop stewards' committees:

Francesco Giliani of the Rsu Flc Selmi; Rsu Fiom Motovario; Rsu Fiom Annovi Reverberi; Rsu Fiom Pfb; Mohamed Rizki of the Rsu Fiom Lamieral; Francesca Corcione, Roberto Mariuzzo and Vincenzo Bottigliero of the Rsu Fiom Wam; Antra Abdenbi and Luca Lanzi, of the Rsu Fiom Manitou; Carletto Vezzali, Rsu Flai Globalcarni; Ermanno Panciroli, Rsa FP Gulliver; Raffaele Signoriello, Rsu Fiom Otis; Rsu Fiom Motovario.

Other organisations who promoted the demonstration were Sinistra Classe Rivoluzione — Modena [the IMT in Modena]; Collettivo Studenti Autorganizzati, Modenal; Alkemia Laboratori Multimediali; Comitato per non dimenticare-Odv; the Islamic Community of Modena; Cobas Scuola Modena; and Unione Popolare.

# ► Gaza — Stop the Slaughter! (back page)

organisers aiming to get a million on the streets in the coming weeks. Despite attempts to ban protests, we've now seen thousands taking to the streets of Berlin and Paris.

But 20 years ago, tens of millions took to the streets against the Iraq war. 3 million marched through Rome, and 2 million through the streets of London. The ruling class ignored all this, and the barbarity that followed is well known.

Massive marches are mobilising millions, but we must ask: when

millions are mobilised, what then?

The demand predominating in protests around the world is a natural one: for a ceasefire. But considering the foregoing, considering the bestial lack of concern for human life that our ruling class has shown, can we imagine that calls for a ceasefire will fall on sympathetic ears? Of course not.

The capitalist class are like an armed gang, terrorising the world in furtherance of their interests. Pacifist pleading will not sway them.

Imperialist war will stop when this armed gang has been disarmed. But who will disarm them? Will the United Nations? To pose the question is to answer it.

There is only one force in society that can disarm the imperialist gangsters, that can bring them to their knees: the working class. The working class are the ones that the imperialists call upon to manufacture, load and ship their weapons. Already, protestors in Tacoma, Washington have blocked alleged

shipments of weapons intended for Israel leaving port. This sort of strategy must be consciously taken up by the labour movement, and generalised, with strikes, pickets and sit downs. A workers' boycott of all goods intended for the Israeli war machine could paralyse the IDF.

But more than this, this war has made it quite clear that the western imperialists are no less culpable than the Israeli regime itself for the oppression of the Palestinian people. The struggle against this war must

therefore be connected to the struggle to bring down all the war criminals: Biden, Sunak, Macron, Scholz, and all the rest.

The struggle against this war is inextricably linked to the struggle against capitalism and against imperialism all over the globe. That is why our slogan is: Intifada until victory! Revolution until victory!•



# REVOLUTION



Revolution Scotland



International  
Marxist Tendency

‘The great only appear great because we are on our knees; Let us Rise’

‘Workers of the World, Unite!’

# GAZA – STOP THE SLAUGHTER! INTIFADA UNTIL VICTORY!

Israel’s unprecedented mass murder of Palestinians has not relented for over a month. A mass movement of millions around the world has risen up in solidarity with Gaza, vowing to bring about the end of Israeli occupation and terror. This must become an anti-imperialist class struggle, to throw down the war criminals and genocidal maniacs everywhere.

Ben Curry  
— marxist.com

The slaughter in Gaza has now passed the grim milestone of 15,000 killed, while more than a million have been displaced with nowhere to go. To give a sense of scale, the Israel Defence Force (IDF) has killed more people in Gaza in one month than the total number of Ukrainian civilians killed in the 21 months since the Ukraine war broke out in February 2022. The latter figure stood at 9,600, according to last month’s estimate.

But such a comparison is impermissible, explained one of Biden’s advisors, John Kirby: “Slaughtering innocent Ukrainians, that’s part of their strategy inside Ukraine,” whereas “that is not what we’re seeing from Israel.”

Apparently it is the deliberate strategy of the Russians to kill as many Ukrainian citizens as possible. And yet, the Israelis have managed to outdo them in a fraction of the time without intending to do so. Are we to put this down to gross incompetence on the part of the Russians or gross negligence on the part of the Israelis? It is toward such absurd conclusions that western war propaganda leads us.

It is a grim irony that this milestone – 15,000 dead in just over a month; half of them children; a figure exceeding the number of Palestinian killed in the 2014 Gaza war, the 2008 Gaza war and the Second Intifada combined – falls in the month of remembrance for Commonwealth nations.

Every November, our rulers ask us to recall the historical memory of the Great Slaughter of 1914-1918, as they solemnly vow “never again” and lay poppy wreaths at cenotaphs. But while beseeching us to remember those thrown into the meat-grinder a century ago, our ruling class is keen to downplay the slaughter of our own day, even lying outright about the extent of the carnage.

“I have no notion that the Palestinians are telling the truth about how many people are killed,” Biden told reporters, casting doubt on the civilian death figures, “I’m sure innocents have been killed, and it’s the price of waging a war... I have no confidence in the number that the Palestinians are using.”

In response to this misanthropic obscenity, the Gaza Health Ministry responded by releasing a 212-page document listing the name, age, sex and ID number of each of the 7,000 victims of Israeli aggression that had been identified at the time.

But why would Biden cast doubt on the figures when his Israeli allies not only concur with the Gaza Health Ministry’s figure, not only revel in those figures, but even find them embarrassingly modest?

According to the bragging of one senior Israeli security source, 20,000 have actually been killed! And, what is more, according to the same source claims that this figure is overwhelmingly composed of Hamas fighters. Given that it is estimated that the number of Hamas fighters stands around 30,000 (again, according to Israel), then surely this is ‘Mission Accomplished’

for Netanyahu?

Wiping out two-thirds of the enemy’s entire fighting force in a matter of weeks is as resounding a victory as you’ll find in the history of warfare! The truth is, the overwhelming bulk of these casualties are civilians, and Israel knows it, but considers all Palestinians in Gaza to be the enemy. This kind of accounting for war dead reminds one of how the Americans kept count in Vietnam: “If it’s dead and Vietnamese, it’s Viet Cong.”

## Down with the war criminals!

Biden, Sunak, and the whole complicit gang of criminals known as ‘the leaders of the western world’ have left themselves in an extremely tight spot. Israel is the bastion of western imperialism in the Middle East, and they stand squarely behind the crushing of the Palestinian people. But in a context of already growing discontent at home, the abomination we are witnessing in Palestine is fuelling enormous anger.

As a threatened squid squirts ink to conceal itself, the ruling class are pumping out threats, lies and distortions. They try to downplay the killing. “It’s not so bad,” says the Biden Administration. “Oh yes it is,” replies an Israeli security official. “It’s not genocide,” says the Biden Administration. “Let’s drop a nuclear bomb on Gaza,” replies an Israeli minister.

Nothing they do can mask the reality. They resort to threats. They accuse protests of being “hate marches” of “Hamas sympathisers”, “antisemites”. The ruling class threatens to deport foreigners attending, to shut down meetings; they whip up a McCarthyite atmosphere. But millions are mobilising week after week, and those mobilisations are only growing.

We saw no less than 2 million march in Jakarta. In the heart of the imperialist powers, we’ve seen 300,000 march through Washington DC; over 500,000 in London, with

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