

# NEW WAVE

The New Wave is a Socialist newsletter reporting on issues of the working class, revolutionary politics, and world affairs

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*Violent protests in Dhaka*

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# Looking back to 2023

The second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century came to a close with reactionary forces stronger than ever, even as the crisis of capitalism continued to deepen. The year 2020 would be remembered for the COVID pandemic, and the devastation of lives and livelihoods across the world. War and ecological catastrophe have become the dual disasters facing working class and peasant populations across the world.

The years since then, have not been better, as the catastrophic impact of the pandemic still reverberates, especially across weaker peripheral capitalist countries, which are yet to recover from the impact of the pandemic. The year 2022 saw a revolutionary uprising in Sri Lanka, that year witnessed nationwide protests of Anganwadi workers across India, the year before saw the stunning victory of the farmers who mobilized across the country and forced the Modi government to withdraw the neo-liberal farm laws. Even as the revolutionary wave was building up, Russia unleashed its reactionary war on Ukraine to subjugate and exploit that country.

Coming on the heels of the eventful years of 2021 and 2022, the year 2023 would appear like a lull. A moribund year following the upsurge of the year before. However, what started quietly ended with an outburst. The uprising of the Palestinians in Gaza in October has galvanized much of the muslim world, and anti-imperialist masses across the world. Millions have marched in solidarity with the people of Gaza, while Israel responded to the uprising with genocide.

All the while, revolutionary developments unfold in Bangladesh, where the consequences of the economic crisis caused by the pandemic in 2020 and the Russo-Ukrainian war are still playing out.

Capitalist crises and revolution are dialectically related. It is only under the conditions of crises,

that the working class become radicalized and grow conscious of the reality of capitalism. History is proof of this that every crisis in capitalism is followed by revolutionary upsurge. The year 2023 is one of struggle and resistance against the march of reaction world over. Victories of the workers in the core countries of imperialism, be it in the form of the unionization wave in the USA, or the pension protests in France, are elements with which a revolutionary movement can be built.

In India, the year 2023 saw the advance of reactionary forces, as the Modi government consolidated power and imposed reactionary laws through arbitrary means. New laws such as the telecommunication Act which are designed to destroy privacy and expand government surveillance have come into force. Emboldened by victories against a feckless parliamentary bourgeois opposition in three key Northern Indian states, the BJP races ahead to impose its Hindutva agenda.

However, victories of reaction are always temporary. The forces of revolution can only be held down for so long. Even if capitalist reaction triumphs in one place, it loses in another. Burma, which the military regime of 1988 arbitrarily renamed to Myanmar, is witnessing the advance of democratic forces as their rule unravels in the face of a united front of democratic forces, and rebel armies fighting for the right to self-determination of oppressed national minorities in the North. The 1027 operation has pushed the Burmese army back, securing all key land routes leaving to India and China. This is the greatest threat to the reactionary military regime.

Meanwhile, in Africa, French imperialism is being pushed back across the Sahel. These countries of West Africa which remained under the grip of French imperialism through the

CNA Franc, are now overthrowing the yoke of French financial imperialism.

The revolutionary processes which emerged and failed in 2022, or which resulted in partial success highlight a deep crisis of capitalism. The objective conditions giving rise to the protests across the world remain as it was before. The war between Ukraine and Russia has entered a dangerous phase as the war settles into a war of attrition with the frontlines barely changing. The crisis in the world economy caused by sanctions on Russian oil, and the severance of wheat exports from both Russia and Ukraine cause inflation in much of the middle east and Bangladesh.

The revolutionary potential of the workers and peasants of Arab countries have been shown in full as mobilizations take place in Egypt and Iraq which draw hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions in support of the Palestinians in struggle. The advances of reactionary forces in India and elsewhere should not give us cause for dismay, for we

must see this for what it truly is. The capitalist class sees and understands the threat of revolution, it is but natural for them to respond with reaction.

We see this everywhere, from East to West, across peripheral and imperial nations. Imperialist reaction imposes war as the preferred means of reaction to subjugate oppressed peoples. We see the horrific nature of this in the war in Gaza. We see this in the destruction levelled against Ukraine. We see this in the impoverishment in Africa and the destruction of Iraq. If war is not chosen, the imperialists respond through proxies, whether it was Bolsonaro yesterday or Javier Milei today. The capitalists have been attempting to hold back the working class for two hundred years, and will continue to do so as long as they exist, for as long as capitalism exists.

Let us remember this history as we enter into 2024, with reactionaries besieged by the forces of revolutionary change! We have nothing to lose but our chains!

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## The suspension of MPs and the reality of Indian ‘Democracy’



*The house speaker Jagdeep Dhankar during the winter session, he was instrumental in the mass suspension of MPs*

The winter session of 2023 will go down in the parliamentary history of India as one of its darkest episodes. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of December, while India and Bangladesh celebrated victory day, marking the surrender of Pakistani troops in Bangladesh, the Indian parliament was being cleansed of any opposition. Within days 141 members of parliament were suspended for arbitrary reasons. The suspensions cleared out most of the upper and lower house of any opposition to the BJP, turning parliamentary proceedings into a farce.

Not since the days of the emergency, when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi could pass laws standing alone in the hall and addressing the

speaker, have we seen such a state of affairs. The ‘undeclared emergency’ of Narendra Modi has come a full circle.

The suspension of MPs was the pre-condition for the passes of a series of sweeping legal reforms. Within the winter session, the government passed a vital criminal law reform, abolishing the three fundamental criminal laws of India, the Indian Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Indian Evidence Act. In their place, the government has brought forth three new criminal laws. These laws were given Sanskrit names and supposedly ‘fix’ the old colonial architecture of Indian criminal laws, but in reality only repackage and add to the repressive colonial architecture of the three laws.

This sudden change will undoubtedly bring much confusion and chaos in criminal jurisprudence in India. However, this was not the only disaster to unfold at the parliament. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of December the Telecommunications Bill and the Post office bill was presented before parliament and passed without a murmur of protest. These laws are among the most draconian legislatures of their kind, paving the way for digital authoritarianism in India. Among the most troubling consequences of these acts, is the extension of old colonial British system of surveillance into the digital sphere. The government can legitimately spy on our messages, the government can read post and mail in the name of national security.

The acts increase the ambit of surveillance giving the state the authority to tap into digital devices, and given the state unprecedented powers to regulate online content, giving the state yet another means to censor critical opinion. Like China, now the Indian government can even block access to certain sensitive words from chat programmes. India already has one of the most undemocratic digital regimes in the world, having the largest number of internet shut downs in the world, with the telecommunications bill it will become no better than our authoritarian neighbor to the North in China.

The fact that such sweeping legislations could be passed so brazenly, the ease with which the parliamentary opposition could simply be swept aside, shows at once the farcical nature of Indian bourgeois democracy, as well as the ineptitude of the bourgeois opposition to guard the interests of the people. With such a weak shield against the reactionary battering ram of the BJP, the future of the people is bleak indeed.

### **Chain of events :**

Since it’s coming to power, the BJP has been building it’s influence over governmental departments and subverting institutions of the state to itself. So far, it has succeeded in subverting the election commission, the various tax enforcement authorities, and the judiciary. These institutions long considered a ‘pillar’ of Indian bourgeois democracy now work in the interests of the BJP and it’s Hindutva agenda.



*TMC MP Mahua Moitra after her expulsion*

During the winter session, the parliament ethics committee has shown itself to be subservient to the will of the BJP, when it recommended the TMC MP Mahua Moitra for suspension. The cause was a flimsy case made out for taking bribes for question. Mahua Moitra was representative of a corrupt centrist bourgeois party which rules the Eastern state of West Bengal with an iron fist, but her suspension was not aimed at curbing corruption or for the interests of the people of West Bengal. MP Mahua Moitra was an outspoken and articulate leader who questioned the Modi government and his corrupt links with the oligarchical corporations, especially the Adani group. To silence her achieved a twofold objective, it cut out an important opposition leader in the

parliament, and it proved the loyalty of the parliamentary ethics committee to the Modi government.



*The smoke bomb attack on the parliament*

This was only the beginning as worse was to come. On the 13th of December, the Modi government got the perfect excuse to destroy the opposition in the form of the smoke bomb attack. The perpetrators of this attack were inspired by the ideas of the revolutionary Bhagat Singh, the mastermind was connected with the others in this plot through a group linked with Bhagat Singh. The group also wished to air their grievances on issues of unemployment, corruption, and increasing authoritarianism in India under the Modi government. As noble as their intentions were, their methods can be said, to be a failure. The smoke bomb attack failed to stir the masses of India like Bhagat Singh's attack on the British imperial legislature. On the contrary, it made national security an excuse for the BJP to strike hard at the opposition.

Soon after the bomb attack, questions were understandably raised about how such a security lapse took place, with the possibility that it may have been allowed to happen. Questions raised were silenced by the speaker of the house, and MPs were suspended in the dozens. The suspensions were enough to stir the opposition into protests against the government, they were arbitrary and brazenly undemocratic. The protests only made it easier for the government to continue their

suspensions. In the meanwhile, a full-fledged crackdown against the smoke bomb attackers were initiated with the mastermind eventually caught in Calcutta.

The culmination of the suspensions were the passage of three new criminal laws which replaced the existing criminal laws which have been in place since the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was shortly followed by the passage of the Telecommunication bills and the post office bill, these two new laws would push India towards digital authoritarianism and empower the government's surveillance powers. These laws were passed with minimal opposition, in a house totally dominated by one party, the BJP. The Indian democratic farce was complete.

#### **Aftermath :**

The suspension of opposition MPs is a message by the BJP, that they control the parliament and it's regulating institutions. At any time if they so please, they may suspend the opposition and bulldoze through whatever legislation they desire. Unlike the farm laws, the passage of the criminal laws, the telecommunications and post office bills did not invite massive public backlash. The government stands emboldened today, the BJP stands stronger now, entrenched further by victories in three recent state elections, for the state of Rajasthan, Chattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh. Capitalizing on weak organizational strength of the Congress party, and anger among the scheduled tribe populations who account for a large minority in Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh.

The failure of the Congress in these three state elections, coupled with the disaster that unfolded in the parliament has sent the bourgeois opposition flailing and demoralized. The impact on the people at large will be far worse than for the oligarchs of the Congress and it's allies.

It is important to discuss the impact of the sweeping new reforms brought about by the BJP in the name of 'decolonizing' Indian laws.

The reality will show, that far from decolonizing the Indian legal system, it only strengthens existing infrastructure of oppression, which have been inherited fully from the British Raj.

**The new criminal laws :** Three fundamental criminal laws in India are the Indian Penal Code, which was promulgated in 1860, the Indian Evidence Act which was promulgated in 1872, and the Code of Criminal Procedure, which was first promulgated in 1882, and last amended in 1973. These laws were framed during the British Raj by colonial authorities chiefly to administer colonial rule, with crime and punishment conforming to the interests of the colonial state and colonial Victorian British sensibilities. These laws aimed at punishing homosexuality, and anti-colonial dissent under the most vaguely worded provision that is sedition. There was need to rectify the criminal laws, updating them to modern times and modern necessities. However, what we got instead were three laws with Sanskrit names, and a very British character.

The three laws are, the “Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita” which replaces the Code of Criminal Procedure, the “Bharatiya Nyay Sanhita” which replaces the Indian Penal Code, and the “Bharatiya Sakshya Sanhita” which replaces the Indian Evidence Act. One can summarize these laws as ‘copy and paste’, for both in essence, and in action the new criminal laws regurgitate the old keeping their essence and most of their texts intact, but covering it in nationalistic and traditionalist rhetoric. For instance, the law does away with the provision of sedition under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, but retains the essence and effect of the provision in the new Bharatiya Nyay Sanhita. Rather than repeal sedition, the new law broadens the scope of sedition, and includes financing what the law defines as ‘subversive’ acts.

The new laws are also left with gaping holes, such as the ham handed way in which homosexuality was decriminalized, which is an

inverse reflection of the ham handed way in which homosexuality became criminalized under section 377. The BJP government has always been ideologically opposed to the decriminalization of LGBTQ acts, and generally averse to anything it views as ‘western’ attacks on ‘traditional values’. The new law has no provision that criminalizes ‘unnatural sex’, but neither does it lay any ground for punishing non-consensual sexual acts. As a result homosexual rape cases are no longer illegal!

The troubles don’t end there. The new law provides for exempting doctors from cases of medical negligence. Clause 69 of the new law provides punishment for the crime of ‘deceitful promise to marry’. Whatever may be the legislative intent behind this provision, it is without a doubt going to be used against supposed cases of what the Hindutva proponents call ‘love jihad’. Inter-faith marriages between Hindus and Muslims have always been targeted for hateful attacks. Right wing propaganda projects all such marriages as some kind of holy war conducted by muslims to lure Hindu women for the purpose of conversion. Now, a new legal weapon has been provided to such allegations, and a recipe for harassment of such couples.

**The Telecom law :** Since the bill was made it raised concerns among digital activists in India. The bill was first presented before the parliament in 2022 but was withdrawn. A year long ‘discussion process’ supposedly went on, with the final Telecom bill of 2023 being prepared for presentation in the winter session of 2023. The government was preparing the ground for the right condition to present it again. The winter session amidst the mass suspension of opposition MPs provided the perfect conditions for this.

The bill had laid down the groundwork to turn India into a surveillance state, giving the government wider powers to regulate online content, stamp out dissent from the digital sphere, and spy on encrypted messages on chat programs. The government already uses spying

software such as Israeli made Pegasus, which has been confirmed for its use against activists and opposition leaders. However, the legality of such technology was suspect, the new telecommunications act will empower and embolden the government further. Whatever limit may have existed in the past, no longer exist now.

There are some who may believe that over the top (OTT) services are excluded from the ambit of the bill, but this hope is unfounded. The text of the bill lays it out, The Union government may prescribe licence conditions that may vary as per “telecommunication service” [Section 3(1)(a) and Section 3(1)(b)] and require prior registration that may be used for the government to weaken privacy and increase snooping in future. While the phrases “OTT”, “Messaging Services” or even “Email” are not expressly mentioned in the Telecommunications Bill as in the draft version, they at the same time have not been expressly excluded from the definition of “telecommunication service” which means, “any service for telecommunication” [Section 2(t)].

Despite what the government claims, the new telecom bill strengthened and extended powers of interception in the old telegraph act. This is first done through powers to notify standards and conformity assessments that will include encryption [Section 19(f)]. This may even be under grounds of national security [Section 21]. Standard setting powers are especially dangerous as they may be used to create backdoors, introduce message traceability (identifying the author of a message), or to create block lists of words (as is done in China on WeChat), thus completely bypassing encryption technology. This becomes clearer when you look at the powers of interception that require intercepted messages to be disclosed in an “intelligible format” [Section 20(2)]. There are no procedures and safeguards in the text of the law and the existing procedure under Rule 419-A of the Telegraph Act, that has been abused, will continue [Section 61]. For

instance, the Government of India even now refuses to provide aggregate data on the number of interception orders that it issues. It is a completely unaccountable and secretive system of surveillance without any oversight by courts or Parliament that is being made more severe without any reform.



*Kashmiris protesting internet shutdown*

It must be remembered that India already has a very undemocratic digital infrastructure, the telecommunications bill has only made things worse. India has the shameful distinction of being the country with the highest number of internet blackouts in the world, thanks to its actions in the North East and in Kashmir. The power to impose such blackouts had been challenged before the courts, but the new law restates the state’s ability to impose blackouts without any statutory safeguards.

While these are the worst aspects of the new law, the problems with the bill don’t end here. The bill also makes the biometric identification card, Aadhar, mandatory for availing digital services. The definitions are left vague and unclear, as are the parameters for the imposition of penalties and fine, which are all recipes for the creation of an intrusive and harassing digital regulation apparatus. Such a law could only be made and passed in the absence of opposition, because of mass suspension of MPs.

**The Post Office bill :** The third dangerous law pushed forward in this session, was the Post Office Bill. Coming in the heels of the telecom bill and three new criminal laws, the Post Office Bill seeks to replace the Indian Post Office Act of 1898. The old colonial system

allowed for interception, the current laws only strengthen these colonial powers.

The bill allows the interception of articles transmitted via post on grounds such as security of the state, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, public safety, or contravention of the provision of the bill or any other laws. The vagueness of the provisions would allow the state not only to crack down on dissent against itself, but possibly even dissidence against foreign states with which India enjoys 'friendly' relations. The new law would also empower officer-in-charge appointed by the Central government to intercept, open or detain any postal article on the same grounds. The bill further exempts officers from prosecution, pertaining to its services.

The bill has been rightly criticized for expanding surveillance, its vagueness and lack of clarity makes the new law a tool for arbitrary actions of surveillance. There is no clarity on what an emergency measure might be, there seems to be no cap on the powers of an office in charge, and there is no grievance redressal mechanism in the new law. Privacy in postal correspondence would be ended by this law.

These attacks against privacy are taking place even after the Supreme Court had recognized privacy as a fundamental right.



A scene from the farmers protest at Delhi in 2021

## Conclusions :

The crushing defeat of the bourgeois opposition in parliament can be contrasted by the inspiring victory of mobilized masses of farmers in 2021. The withdrawal of the three farm laws after managing to push them through in the parliament, quite as arbitrarily as the criminal laws and telecom bill.

The massive defeat that the BJP suffered from mobilized farmers on the street was far more impactful than any state election the party has lost in the last five years. Rather, the defeats in the state elections over the course of the last three years are a direct consequence of the demoralization of the party and its consequent disorganization.

Before the farmer's protest, it was farmers who mobilized to protest the new land acquisition law proposed by the Modi government. This too resulted in the government withdrawing the land acquisition bill. These victories were not earned by parliamentary tactics, but by tactics of mass mobilization and protest. It was through popular struggle, often times under independent leadership, separate from the mainstream bourgeois parties.

Farmers unions like the All India Kisan Sabha played a leading role in the mobilization of agricultural workers, farmers and share croppers throughout the country. The movements for land rights and struggles of scheduled tribes for land rights were often led by community leaders, or activists working at the grassroots level. Their successes are not owed to the parliamentary opposition.

It is also important to emphasize here, the bankruptcy of the tactics of individual terrorism. Lenin had already criticized tactics of individual terror in his article on Revolutionary Adventurism, all the way back in 1902. The arguments still hold validity today, "At a time when the revolutionaries *are short of the forces and means to lead the masses, who are already rising, an appeal to resort to such terrorist acts as the organisation*



of attempts on the lives of ministers by individuals and groups that are not known to one another means, not only *thereby* breaking off work among the masses, but also introducing downright disorganisation into that work.”

The actions of the smoke bomb plotters deterred nothing, but gave the government an excuse to tighten security, crack down on the opposition, and arm itself more to crush dissidents. Compared to the successes won

through mass mobilizations and strike actions, such an adventurist action achieved the opposite. Petty bourgeois adventurism failed in 2023 as badly as it did in 1902.

What the smoke bomb attack does highlight, is the discontent among the youth, and proof that they can take arms against the state. This shows great revolutionary potential, but it must be given the right leadership and direction, to be fully realized.

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## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NATIONAL OPPRESSION IN PAKISTAN



*Picture of conference on 10th December*

On the world human rights day 10 December 2023, Jamu-Kashmir action committee (Rawalpindi-Islamabad) organized conference on the topic of “jabar k khilaf mazloom qomiaton ki jadojehad, yakjehti kesy mumkin ha (struggle against the oppression of oppressed nations, how it can be united)” in Islamabad press club. Adv Sajid kashir as stage

secretary said that “the whole world has become the place of detention for the oppressed nations. All countries including imperialist and neo-imperialist not only looting the resources of oppressed nations but the social and political activist are being victimized by the state institutions. He further added that the oligarch nature of the local and the international capital

is fundamental reason of exploitation. Hence, it is confirmed that both forces will not go in contradiction and will keep exploiting the marginalized community. However, in this regard the labor class must come in the front lines with the slogans of “workers control” and link this struggle with the question of marginalized nations. While giving introductory remarks, comrade Mudassar advocate asserted that the Pakistan is among those states where the oppressed nations are brutally exploited. Moreover, if the political activists claim their right on their own resources, the state through state terrorism violates all the human rights act and involve in extrajudicial arrest and killings. It dumps their tortured bodies in different areas or gives to their family members after few months of arrest. This process has been continuing for long time. The practical example of this act can be taken from Baluchistan and KPK where from 12,000 to 15,000 Baluch and 10,000 to 15,000 Pashtuns has been kidnapped and killed by the law and enforcement agencies.



*Protests against Pakistani state's oppression*

The reality is that this capitalist and neo imperialist state is scared of following the constitution. Today on the direction of imperialism it has become so easy to declare as agent to any opponent in order to continue the rule. For instance Baluch, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Pashtun, Muhajir, Gilgitis are declared as agent by Pakistan. similarly the Indian activists from Asam, Meghalia, Ornachal Pardesh, Mzoram, Mani pur, Nagaland, Punhjab and Jamu and Kashmir are declared as Pakistan or China

agents. Further, it's also a reality that the in current imperial era of capitalism, all the governments whether they are democratic or dictatorship have linked with imperialism and the capital of the both power have come together in partnership. Hence, it has become inevitable for the labor class to give an alternative while struggling for the partial democratic and the national solution.

Other speakers including Raja Mujtaba, Arbab advocate, wajid Ali Wajid Advocate and Rashid Naeem from Jamu Kashmir joint Mass action committee addressed that the people of the Jamu and Kashmir have been protesting for last six months. There is full boycott of electricity bills and the state is regularly torturing the protestors. Moreover, the government officials of the Pakistan occupied Kashmir who have come several time on the dialogue table with the members of Jamu Kashmir joint action committee now refusing to give any relief peacefully.

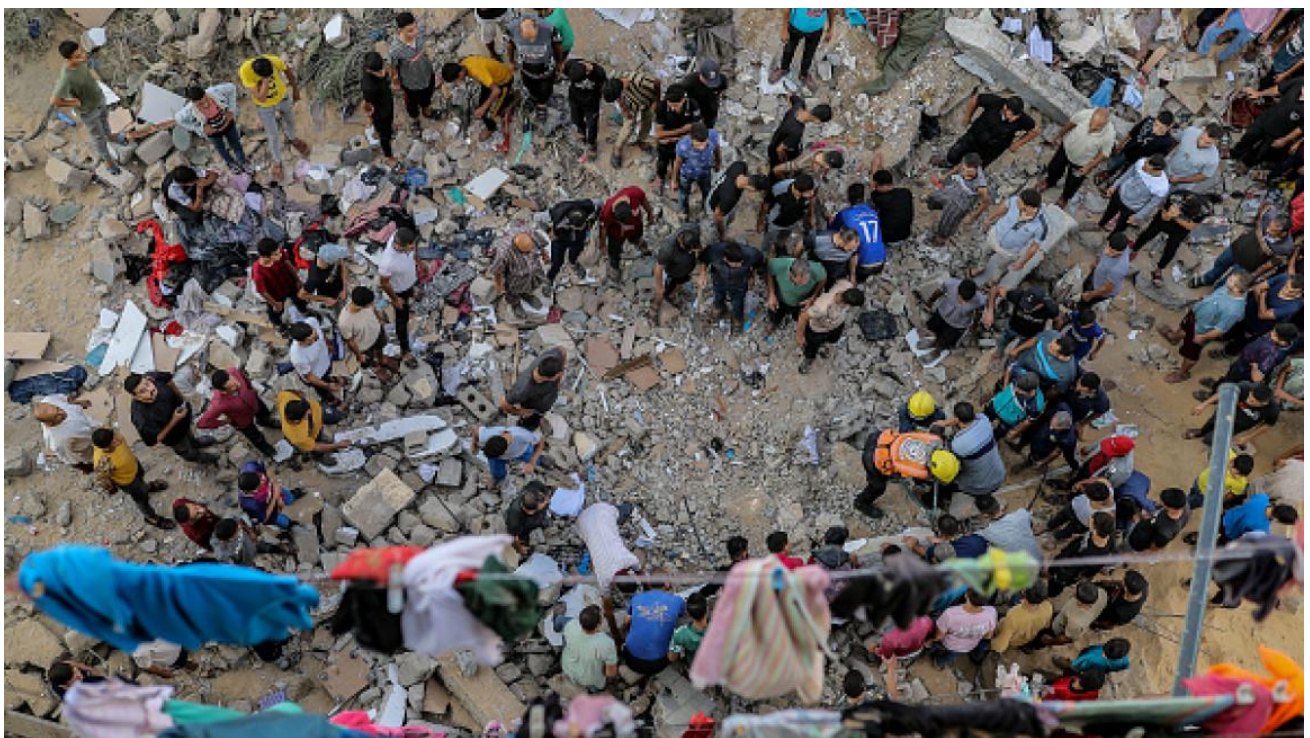
However, Earlier different advises had been being given to the people of subsidies on 200 or 300 units on electricity bills and other basic necessities by these officials. Now they are claiming of not to have authority of giving any relief. In this regard, speakers express their wish to form the unity with all the marginalized communities of the state for joint struggle in order to get right on their resources. They further assert that this struggle will continue until they get their right either through new social contract or through federation.

Safi Ullah who was representing Awami(Mass) action committee (Gilgit-Batistan) asserts that State is brutally violating the human rights laws in the Gilgit Baltistan. Social activists are assassinated against the 16 MPOs and schedule 4 of the terrorism act. State is using the divide and rule strategy in the region in order to disunite the peoples struggle. In this regard all nations should work together on the ground of same pain. Moreover, the senior leader of national democratic movement Ex-senator Afrasyab Khatak, Saraiki leader Rana Abrar

Khalid, trade union leader Abdul Maroof Azad, MQM (London) Organizer Momin Khan Momin and Jammu and Kashmir Awami action committee leader Nisar Shah jointly said that now the time has come where the unite struggle has become inevitable to get rights.

While giving concluding remarks Baba Jan who has been fighting for the rights of Gigit Baltistan for many years, said that the whole

region has become the colony of the imperial powers. From GB to Gawadar people are protesting for their rights. Contrary, the state is responding brutally other than giving their rights to the people. Hence, we appeal to the social and political activists to come on the same page. This is the only way to get our rights through supporting the right of self-determination of oppressed nations.



## **Palestine: Why we oppose a two state solution**

*By Fabio Bosco*

The two-state solution consists of the formation of a mini Palestinian state alongside the already existing racist state of Israel. The objective of this “solution” is to legitimize the racist State of Israel and its policy of apartheid and ethnic cleansing against the Palestinian people, which it has developed over the last 75 years.

This “solution” does not restore the rights of the Palestinian people to their lands. It only legalizes the theft of these lands by the State of Israel. Moreover, even those who claim to advocate this “solution” have not, to date, guaranteed the formation of a Palestinian state.

## Unfulfilled Promises of a Solution that Does Not Solve Anything.



*Evolution of Palestinian held land from 1948 to present day*

The formation of a Palestinian state was promised by imperialism on two occasions. The first time was in 1947, on the occasion of the vote on the partition of Palestine by the United Nations (UN), with the support of the two superpowers of the time, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The second was in 1993, when the Oslo Accords were signed, in which the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) recognized the State of Israel on 78% of Palestinian lands and, in exchange, received a plan for the formation of a Palestinian mini-state. On both occasions the promise of a Palestinian state was not fulfilled.

If the advance of the Palestinian struggle has forced imperialism to accept a Palestinian mini-state, this would not be a solution either, since it does not guarantee the right of return of the six million Palestinian refugees, nor does it change the racist character of the State of Israel, which will continue to oppress Palestinians.

## Which State? Is it Possible to Democratize Israel?

Among the supporters of the Palestinian cause, there is a movement advocating the formation of “One Democratic State” (ODS).

Most of the supporters of this proposal understand that the advance of Israeli colonization has made the “two-state solution” unfeasible.

Many of them also understand that it is impossible to defeat the State of Israel, given the militarization of its society, its vast war power, and its extensive imperialist financing. Finally, they argue that this is an egalitarian solution for all the current inhabitants of Palestine.

They therefore advocate a single state, with equal rights for Israelis and Palestinians and the right of return for Palestinian refugees. They also favor pacifist means to achieve equality for Palestinians by reforming the State of Israel.

## It is Impossible to Reform a State Based on Apartheid

However, it is impossible to change the racist nature of the institutions of the state of Israel by democratizing it, because Israel is not a normal bourgeois state; it is an apartheid state, a state based on the permanent ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians and an imperialist enclave in the Middle East.

The institutions of the state of Israel must be dismantled and another state, with truly democratic institutions, must be established to guarantee the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

To this end, the Palestinian people have the right to use all necessary means, peaceful or not, to defeat Israel, its imperialist boss and

its allies, whether among the Arab regimes or among the Palestinian bourgeoisie.



*Israeli police detaining a Palestinian man*

As for the current Israeli population, it is necessary to remember that in a situation of oppression, our attention must be directed first and foremost to the oppressed, in this case the Palestinian people. They must be guaranteed all their rights.

As for the Israelis, the Palestinian people have always been a generous people and will therefore accept that part of the Israeli population that agrees to live in peace with the Palestinians. The Israelis who have committed crimes against humanity, especially the Zionist leaders, must be brought to justice and made to pay for their actions.

### **A Secular and Democratic Palestine**

The original proposal of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is for a free, secular (without any religious determination), and democratic Palestine throughout its historic territory. That is, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

This is the only solution that will guarantee justice for the Palestinian people, i.e. equal rights, the return of refugees, and self-determination. This will be won through a struggle of the Palestinian working class and oppressed sectors, together with the Arab and international working class, against the three enemies of the Palestinian cause: Israel/imperialism, the Arab regimes and the Palestinian bourgeoisie.

Once in power, the Palestinian working class will naturally take measures to break with imperialism and capitalism in order to guarantee social justice for workers, women, and youth. In this struggle, another wave of Arab revolutions will take place and the conditions will be created for the formation of a federation of socialist republics of the Middle East.

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