

# Socialist Worker

## Smash the apartheid regime...

# Boycott Israel

## ...Expel the Israeli Ambassador



destroying the social-civilian infrastructure built up since their last major incursion in 2008-09.

### Israeli apartheid

Israel likes to paint itself as the only democracy in the Middle East.

In reality, Israel is a racist state run by Zionists who relegate Palestinians to the status of sub-humans.

Zionism is a fascist ideology that professes the absolute racial superiority of the Jewish people.

The 750,000 Palestinians displaced in the creation of Israel never had any right to return.

Instead they became a problem to be 'managed' through constant fear and intermittent violence.

Operation Protective Edge is merely the latest stage of this on-going campaign to deny the Palestinians their basic rights.

In 1975 the UN condemned Zionism as a racist ideology.

Despite this, Israel remains the world's single largest recipient of US (military) aid and enjoys special trading status with the European Union.

Just last month, the US and the EU failed to back a UN Commission into Israeli war crimes in the Gaza Strip.

This shameful act is what we have come to expect from an Irish elite that ranks trading links far above humanitarian considerations.

**But those of us in civil society demand the expulsion of the Israeli ambassador.**

Boaz Modai represents a racist apartheid state and must be forced out of this country for Israeli terror and Israeli war crimes.

### Boycott

We also have to hit their profits.

In order to function, Israel needs to export most of its economic output.

Millions of Israeli goods flow into Ireland each year, making this an area that we can target.

**By insisting that Irish companies divest from any current trading arrangements and boycott Israeli goods thereafter we can start to put some economic pressure on the apartheid regime.**

Already the town of Kinvara in Galway has declared itself as Israeli goods free zone.

The Exchequer pub in Dublin has also banned Israeli goods, with Smyth's Toys also declaring it will not stock Israeli goods following direct action by the Irish Palestine Solidarity Campaign.

Activists have also targeted SuperValu, Marks and Spencer's, Tesco and Aldi insisting that they terminate all contracts with Israeli companies.

### Union Solidarity

The other key area must be to maintain the political pressure on the streets.

Here the trade unions must play a key role with over 600,000 members' nationwide.

If ICTU was to call a national demonstration and support the boycott this would go a long way to ridding Ireland of Israeli produce.

Jack O' Connor has been seen on demonstrations, but he must now use the weight of the union movement to isolate Israel.

Pressure on the streets alongside economic boycott can help to break the Irish government's tacit support for Israeli terror.

This can then be used as the launch-pad to expel the Israeli ambassador.

**Operation Protective Edge** has now claimed more than 1700 Palestinian lives in the Gaza Strip.

Since the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) launched their assault on 8 July, more than 9,000 people have also been injured.

Despite being an occupying force with the responsibility to protect civilians, more than 70% of those killed and injured have been defined by the United Nations as non-combatants.

Children make up around 30% of the casualties with at least 210 under 12's being killed by the onslaught of artillery shells, air strikes and small arms fire.

### State Terror

This is State Terror no matter how the Israeli war machine tries to spin it.

The Gaza Strip is one of the most densely populated areas in the world.

Around 1.8 million people are crammed into an area 25 miles long by 7.5 miles wide.

The only borders with Egypt and Israel are rigidly enforced, making Gaza little more than an open air prison.

In such a small space there is nowhere to hide. Almost 250,000 Palestinians have sought shelter in 86 United Nations Relief and Agency Works, including schools and hospitals.

In response, the Israeli terror machine has repeatedly bombed and attacked these facilities, killing hundreds in the process.

According to the UN every citizen in Gaza now

has restricted access to clean water.

Electricity supplies have also been severely curtailed, with the IDF specifically targeting the only power station in the Strip.

On top of this, 137 schools, 24 medical facilities and over 5000 homes have been damaged or

destroyed.

The psychological damage has also been immense with the UN calculating that almost 400,000 children urgently require 'psychosocial' support.

This will undermine life in Gaza for years to come, with the Israeli War Machine intent on

## How do I organise direct action?

- Create a petition asking for all Irish companies to boycott Israeli products.
- Spend an hour outside a shop/supermarket getting names and publicising the fact that they are selling Israeli goods
- Go into the shop, collecting a trolley of Israeli goods
- Bring it to the counter explaining to the manager that it is unacceptable that they are helping to fund a terror state

## What else can I do?

- Join the protest movement (for more information visit Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign at <http://www.ipsc.ie>).
- Pass a motion at your union branch calling for a boycott of Israeli goods and a national demonstration.



# The grim 'logic' of Zionism

By John Molyneux

Leon Trotsky once wrote that if the young Stalin had been able to foresee the monster that he was to become he would have recoiled in horror.

Much the same could be said of those who founded the state of Israel.

If we think of the Jewish people in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century when Zionism took shape the outstanding figures who come immediately to mind are the likes of Marx, Heine, Einstein, Freud, Proust, Kafka, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky, Niels Bohr, Emma Goldman, Chagall, Mahler, Schoenberg, Kafka, Durkheim, Benjamin – intellectuals, artists, scientists, revolutionaries, predominantly humanitarian and progressive.

Of course these are exceptional individuals but nevertheless their character is neither accidental nor genetic.

It reflects the peculiar position of the Jews as an oppressed people in the history of Europe, many of whom, in rebelling against their own oppression became champions of human liberation in a much wider sense.

The Zionists who came to Israel as 'pioneers' on the early kibbutz and who established the Israeli state in 1948 were not that far removed in their consciousness and character, except for being Zionists, from the people listed above.

Most would have considered themselves 'progressive' or 'liberal', many were atheists and some would have considered themselves socialist, even Marxist.

It should be remembered that the kibbutz were 'communes', egalitarian and collectivist in their internal regimes and practice.

So how did it come to the horror we now see played out before the eyes of the world – the bombing of schools and hospitals, the targeting of kids on the beach, the daily slaughter of children, the hate-filled racism that calls for 'death to the Arabs' and sits on the hillside at Siderot to watch and celebrate the killing?

## Imperialism

It was precisely the working out of the logic of Zionism.

As a political movement Zionism was simply the demand that the Jewish people should be able to have their own state.

Unfortunately there were, from the outset, two 'small' problems with this project.

Where was the state to be located and how was it actually to be set up? By the time Zionism established itself as a political movement there was nowhere in the world to which significant numbers of Jews could be attracted which was vacant.

It was clearly not going to be possible to persuade the Jews of New York or London or even Kiev and Warsaw to migrate en masse to Northern Siberia or the Greenland icecap.

Moreover this was a period in which, as Lenin kept pointing out in his analysis of imperialism, the entire world or almost the entire world, had been divided up between a handful of great powers – Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, USA etc.

The combination of these two problems meant that there was, in practice, only one way that a specifically Jewish state could be established – that was as a settler state in a territory occupied by an economically and politically weaker people.

And given the fact that the Jews were a scattered and oppressed minority in Europe, initially without their own armed forces, this could only be realised with the backing of one or more of the imperialist states that actually controlled all possible sites for the projected Zionist state.

This meant that to achieve its aim Zionism was forced to go cap in hand to imperialism.

But why should any imperialist power want to support this project? Sympathy for the oppressed Jewish people? Colonial empires were not based or built on sympathy for the oppressed and besides the rulers whose backing was required were precisely the rulers responsible for the centuries of oppression and discrimination.



Photos: Electronic Intifada

There was only one way that the forces of imperialism would facilitate the founding of a Zionist state and that was if they considered it in their interests and the Zionist leaders understood this.

What they had to offer was to be the loyal outpost and representative of imperialism in the area in which they settled.

As Sir Ronald Storrs, the first Governor of Jerusalem, at the time of the 1917 Balfour Declaration said, a Jewish homeland in Palestine 'will form for England a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism.' And thus the fate of Zionism was sealed.

Whatever the subjective intentions of its pioneers, whatever the ideals of the early kibbutzim, Israel would develop as an imperialist settler state and this had built into it a logic of racist barbarism.

## Zionism

Consider the position and mindset of the Zionist Jewish settlers in Palestine arriving and establishing themselves in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This land is to be their land, their 'Jewish homeland' where they will live in security free of, or protected from, the racist persecution that had been their lot hitherto.

That is their premise, the very principle and goal of the Zionist movement and their whole reason for being there.

But how can this claim be justified – and people need justifications for others and for themselves? The Zionists have deployed several justifications – and they all have directly racist implications.

One of the first was to deny the existence of the Palestinians. This was often expressed in the slogan 'A land without a people for a people without a land'.

Given the manifest existence of the Palestinian people and their evident objection to being dispossessed and colonized

this denial inevitably morphed into the claim that even though they may exist there was something inherently wrong with them.

They were uncivilized, savages, much inferior by nature to the Jews.

In other words the Zionist justification for a Jewish state picked up on and slotted into the central idea of European racism developed to justify empire.

This in turn fed the notion that it was the Jews who had built up and developed the country 'out of the desert', the condition in which it had allegedly been left by its Palestinian inhabitants (who were lazy/savage/uncivilized etc) and were therefore entitled to it – a justification which exactly paralleled that used by White South Africans.

Finally there was the religious justification: Israel was 'the promised land', given to them by God since the days of Moses because they were God's 'chosen people'.

This religious claim was not, as is often thought, the driving forcing or central tenet of Zionist ideology (which was generally secular rather than theological and focused on Jewishness as a cultural/racial identity rather than on Judaism as a religion) nevertheless it was seized on and deployed, often cynically, because religion is always useful for justifying wars and doubtless this myth was particularly useful in parts of America.

But if the Jews were God's chosen people and God gave Israel to the Jews then the racist implications for the Arabs were unavoidable: they were 'not chosen' and they should get out of the place.

## Genocidal logic

The situation and role of the Israeli settler state compounds and exacerbates this racist tendency.

Let us take the Israelis at their word: all they want is to live in peace and security in their homeland.

But they cannot live in peace and security because they are surrounded by hostile Arabs.

Why are the Arabs hostile? Because they have been dispossessed and ethnically cleansed.

This cannot be admitted so it must be because Arabs, or is it Muslim, are innately anti-Semitic.

But if Arabs are innately anti-Semitic then every Arab and every Palestinian is an enemy.

Security turns into a requirement to drive out the enemy or crush them to the point where there can be no more resistance – no more stones thrown or rockets fired.

Perhaps what they need is secure borders.

But the borders are never secure because beyond them to Lebanon and Syria in the North, to Jordan in the East, to Egypt in the South-West are more than a hundred million Arabs and Muslims with whom it is their role as imperialism's watchdog to be in conflict, and millions of Palestinian refugees who obstinately continue to dream of returning to their homeland.

So the borders must be extended and extended again and the enemy within must be subdued and subdued again.

So there is permanent war. And so the desire creeps up for some way out: for some 'final solution'.

Thus, in the grimmest of dialectics, Zionism, born out of racism and confirmed by genocide, itself becomes ever more racist and genocidal.

Was there an alternative? Yes – the alternative of Marx, Luxemburg, Trotsky and innumerable other Jewish socialists, leftists and workers, namely not to set off in search of a Jewish state in a non-existent vacant place but to stay and fight anti-Semitism and the capitalist society that gave rise to it as an integral part of the international struggle of the working class.

And essentially that remains the alternative today – only, tragically, it must now also include as part of its perspective the defeat of Zionism and imperialism in Palestine and the Middle East by the Arab masses and their international allies.

# In our hundreds, in our millions

By Dave O'Farrell

Israel's murderous assault on Gaza - and the continued oppression of the Palestinian people, has galvanised support and solidarity not only across Ireland but around the world.

Thousands have taken to the streets across the country to protest the actions of the Israeli government.

Protesters also condemned the Irish government's decision - along with the other EU states - to abstain in a UN vote to establish an inquiry into Israel's war crimes in Gaza and called for the expulsion of the Israeli Ambassador and trade sanctions against the apartheid state.

## National movement

At least 5,000 people marched to the Dept. of Foreign Affairs in Dublin - the fourth major demonstration in the capital since the current attack on Gaza began.

Several hundred also protested outside the Dail when the Seanad was recalled to discuss the situation in Gaza, while thousands more have taken part in "die ins" to remember the dead, show solidarity to the Palestinian people and condemn the inaction of the Irish Government and the international community.

In Belfast 2,000 people demonstrated in the city centre while smaller demonstrations took place across the city including protests at the BBC over their shamefully biased coverage.

In Derry protesters have marched in their thousands through the city and also held a highly symbolic protest across Derry's Peace Bridge - in defiance of a ban imposed by the company which manages the bridge.

People have also shown their solidarity with protests taking place in towns and cities the length and breadth of the country.

Hundreds marched in Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford while demonstrations have also taken place in Sligo, Clonmel, Bundoran, Ennis, Nenagh, Killarney, Armagh, Drogheda, Gorey and many other locations.

## International Wave of Protest

The protests in Ireland are also part of a wave of international protest against Israel's



ongoing oppression of the Palestinian people. Tens of thousands have protested across Europe.

Around 100,000 marched in London and protests also took place in Berlin, Barcelona, Milan, Stockholm, Madrid, Amsterdam and elsewhere.

In Paris thousands defied a ban on protest - and a large police presence - to show their outrage and solidarity.

In the USA crowds of up to 50,000 have protested outside the Whitehouse while 10,000 protested in Chicago and thousands more demonstrated across the country from Boston and New York to San Francisco and Seattle.

Thousands more have protested in countries from all corners of the globe.

Thousands demonstrated in Sidney, Australia.

Demonstrations have been held in Tunisia, South Africa, Jordan, Chile, Brazil, Morocco, Pakistan, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Costa Rica and many other locations far too numerous to list.

## Boycott - Divestment - Sanctions

In addition to mass demonstrations against the Israeli onslaught in Gaza we have also seen an intensification of calls for a boycott of Israeli produce.

Boycott actions have taken place across the country with activists removing Israeli goods from the shelves and demanding that shops stop stocking goods from the Apartheid State.

The campaign of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel is essential because even when the murderous attacks on Gaza have ended the oppression of the Palestinian people will continue.

The town of Kinvara in Galway has become the first Irish town to collectively boycott Israeli goods while workers in a Smyth's toy store in Dublin removed all Israeli products from the shelves.

Despite the owners of the com-

pany reversing the decision the workers have given a great example to other workers.

Like the refusal of the Dunnes Stores workers to handle products from Apartheid South Africa, actions by workers refusing to handle Israeli goods - and demanding that their Unions support them in their actions - can provide a focus for opposition and play a crucial role in delegitimising Israel's status as a supposedly democratic state.

It is vital that we not only support the demonstrations and protests but also support the stance taken by the people of Kinvara and the workers in Smyths.

# Israel - A lunatic state losing control

By Trevor Hogan

It began with a phone call from the Israeli embassy. The voice on the line was polite and well mannered.

"Trevor, we would like if you came in to the embassy", she said, "so we could explain the situation to you." I was caught off guard.

How did they get my mobile number? So I stumbled.

"I'll get back to you."

## The MV Saoirse

It was 2011 and I had just been invited on board the Irish ship, the MV Saoirse, to take part in the upcoming flotilla to Gaza.

I had recently retired from playing professional rugby due to a knee injury and was eager to contribute in whatever way possible to the Palestinian campaign.

As a rugby player, my involvement in the ship received a small bit of attention in the media.

Now the Israeli Embassy wanted to 'explain' and correct my views of the injustice in Palestine.

After the call, I gathered my thoughts.

What could they possibly say to me that would justify the collective punishment of the 1.8 million Palestinians in Gaza?

Knowing the racist bile and fabrications for which the Israeli embassy in Dublin is famous, the act of even meeting the officials there would, I believe, have been used against me.

So, I decided against ringing them back, ignored their follow up call, and packed my bags for the flotilla.

My experience with the other Irish passengers aboard the MV Saoirse reinforced my view of the lengths Israeli apologists will go to in order to distort the narrative.

Their central tactic is, of course, to lie. They lied to the public, saying that we



Irish Rugby players Trevor Hogan and Gordon D'Arcy show their support for the people of Palestine alongside thousands of others in Dublin last Saturday

were intercepted in Israeli waters, when we were in fact, kidnapped in international waters.

They then tried to make us sign a document saying we had "entered Israel illegally", when we had no intention of ever entering Israel.

Each day, they lied about when we would be released.

## Lies

Such deception is a feature of how the Israeli state functions. Even the historical narrative surrounding the state's emergence is saturated with untruths.

A central plank in this foundational myth is that Israel responded in 'self-defence' after the invasion of surrounding Arab States, who allegedly encouraged

Palestinians to leave their homes.

What actually occurred, as catalogued by Ilan Pappé, was that Israel, from the outset of the 1948 war, engaged in an offensive policy to ethnically cleanse the indigenous population.

Palestinians were forcefully expelled from their homes, as part of a systematic, pre-meditated Zionist strategy, called 'Plan Dalet', that led, in the space of six months, to the destruction of 531 villages and the uprooting of almost 800,000 people.

Still, the false portrayal of Israel's actions as 'defensive' was repeated and re-stated in all of Israel's wars, from 1956 to 1973, and continues up to the present massacre in Gaza.

In June this year, the Israeli government

suppressed and gagged the media, when they knew the three young Jewish settlers had died within hours of their disappearance.

Then during the course of their onslaught, the Israeli military lied repeatedly about the bombing of UWRA schools (as well as hospitals and refugee camps), and even when they are later forced to admit their crimes, for example in the case of the Beit Hanoun school, they lie again saying there was no one there at the time.

## Losing legitimacy

Increasingly, though, the lies are no longer accepted by the wider public.

Though it may be clinging on in some of the mainstream media, Israel has clearly

lost control of the narrative, and of the battle for public opinion.

This is evident in the explosion of boycott actions in Ireland alone, over the last few weeks.

From the town of Kinvara, to the Exchequer bar in Dublin, to the workers of Smyth's toys and Supervalu shops - people are sending the clear message that Minister Charlie Flanagan and the Irish government have abysmally failed to - saying clearly that Israel's war crimes will not go unpunished.

Despite, the pathetic attempts of, in particular, the Israeli embassy in Dublin, the mask of Zionism is slipping.

And the people of Gaza and Palestine will soon drag it off completely.

## Join the Socialists

Fill in the form and send to  
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Name.....

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Or text JOIN to 086-3074060  
www.swp.ie



# Socialist Worker

## How Can Palestine Be Free?



**'FROM the river to the sea, Palestine will be free!' But how is that freedom to be achieved? The question is a real and difficult one. Consider the odds.**

Israel's annual military budget stands at approximately \$16,000 million which equals 6.2% of its GDP – one of the highest proportions in the world.

In the last 66 years the Israeli Defence Force has waged 24 wars, which makes it one of the most battle-trained armed forces in the world.

The Israeli air force has 875 combat aircraft and 286 helicopters.

The Palestinians have no air force at all.

The Israeli Navy has three nuclear capable submarines and 15 combat vessels.

Palestine has no navy. Israel has 8,500 tanks – the Palestinians none. And so it goes on.

This military inequality is underpinned by an economic inequality which is just as great.

Israel has a per capita GDP of \$42,000, above the UK, Japan, Italy and the EU average.

The West Bank and Gaza per capita GDP stands at \$2,500 – less than 1/16<sup>th</sup> that of Israel.

Plus Israel has the consistent support of the United States – the world's most powerful superpower – as well as the backing of the EU.

Given this massive disparity, any idea of a Palestinian military victory over Israel is out of the question – no matter how courageously the Palestinians resist.

### A two-state solution?

If US and EU support for Israel was somehow a mistake or based on misguided sympathy for the Israelis, perhaps as a result of the powerful pro-Israeli lobby, then perhaps the US could be persuaded to change its policy and Israel, which depends on US funding, could be brought to heel.

Unfortunately this is a false hope. US (and EU) support is not an error or based on sentimental considerations.

From their point of view, the point of view of imperialism, Israel is key ally in the region which plays a crucial role as a watch dog for western interests and a bulwark against any tide of Arab nationalism that might threaten US control of the oil supplies.

The EU and US will not develop a conscience – they will continue to back Israel.

Because of this balance of forces many genuine supporters of Palestine lose hope in the goal of real freedom 'from the river to the sea' and instead settle for the idea that Palestinians should at least be given their own independent state, albeit a smaller and weaker one than Israel – the so-called two state solution.

Unfortunately every day, every year that passes makes it clear that Israel will not allow the establishment of such a state.

Indeed they are bent on making it impossible.

### Defeating Zionism

Palestine will not be freed through a deal.

For Palestine to be free the political force and state that is Zionism must be defeated.



Sadly, the Palestinian people on their own lack the power to do this.

Nor will the 'international community' i.e. the West, come to their aid. There is also no prospect of the Israeli people themselves having a change of

heart.

The Israeli working classes are organically linked to Zionism and have been since before the foundation of the state: they benefit hugely from the oppression of the Palestinians, which is why 85-90% back the slaughter in Gaza.

This leaves only one option: the Arab masses of which the Palestinians are an integral part.

There are approximately 350 million Arabs in North Africa and the Middle East, including 86 million in adjacent Egypt, the vast majority of whom are workers and peasants.

The cause of Palestine is dear to these people. Together they would have the ability to defeat Zionism and create a secular democratic state in Palestine where Arabs and Jews would live as equals.

What holds them back is the corrupt and dictatorial nature of the Arab regimes, backed by the US, who have consistently betrayed the Palestinians.

It is no accident that Egypt under the dictator Al-Sisi completes the blockade of Gaza by closing the Rafah crossing.

But as the Arab Spring showed, the Arab masses have the power to overthrow these regimes.

In early 2011 huge revolutionary mass mobilizations and strikes brought down long established dictators in Tunisia and

Egypt in a matter of weeks.

These mobilizations then spread to Libya, Bahrain, Syria and Yemen in a vast revolutionary wave.

### The dynamic of revolution

In the event these revolutions were halted and beaten back by immense repression and political sabotage.

But had they succeeded, and especially if the Egyptian working class had taken power, they would have unleashed a revolutionary dynamic that would have torn down the walls of Gaza, ended the isolation of the Palestinians and together with them destroyed the Apartheid Zionist state.

Beaten back they may have been, but the causes of the Arab revolutions – the impoverishment and rage of the masses and the deadly threat of rising food prices – have not gone away and the Syrian Revolution is still resisting. The Arab workers and peasants will rise again.

Their victory will be the victory of the Palestinians and the defeat of imperialism in the Middle East.

And just as Tahrir Square and the Egyptian Revolution inspired the Occupation of the Squares in Spain, Greece and America, so the Arab Revolution will give an immense impetus to revolutionary struggle here and internationally.

This is why everything we do now in solidarity with the Palestinians here and everywhere, and which assists their survival and resistance is also part of the struggle for a better society here and internationally.