

## Military Resistance 12B6



**Obama Regime Schemes How  
To Execute Another U.S.  
Citizen:  
No Indictment, No Trial, No  
Verdict, No Sentencing -- Just  
Government Assassination;  
“The Justice Department Has Not Yet  
Finished Building A Case Against  
Him”**

# **Congress Moving To Make It Easier For Obama To Kill An American Citizen Without Indictment, Trial, Verdict, Or Sentencing**

Feb 10, 2014 By KIMBERLY DOZIER AP Intelligence Writer. Associated Press writer Nedra Pickler contributed to this report.

The case of an American citizen and suspected member of al-Qaida who is allegedly planning attacks on U.S. targets overseas underscores the complexities of President Barack Obama's new stricter targeting guidelines for the use of deadly drones.

The CIA drones watching him cannot strike because he's a U.S. citizen. The Pentagon drones that could be barred from the country where he's hiding, and the Justice Department has not yet finished building a case against him.

Four U.S. officials said the American suspected terrorist is in a country that refuses U.S. military action on its soil and that has proved unable to go after him. And Obama's new policy says American suspected terrorists overseas can only be killed by the military, not the CIA, creating a policy conundrum for the White House.

Two of the officials described the man as an al-Qaida facilitator who has been directly responsible for deadly attacks against U.S. citizens overseas and who continues to plan attacks against them that would use improvised explosive devices.

The officials said the suspected terrorist is well-guarded and in a fairly remote location, so any unilateral attempt by U.S. troops to capture him would be risky and even more politically explosive than a U.S. missile strike.

White House press secretary Jay Carney said Monday he would not comment on specific operations and pointed to Obama's comments in the major counterterrorism speech last May about drone policy.

"When a U.S. citizen goes abroad to wage war against America and is actively plotting to kill U.S. citizens, and when neither the United States, nor our partners are in a position to capture him before he carries out a plot, his citizenship should no more serve as a shield than a sniper shooting down on an innocent crowd should be protected from a SWAT team," Carney said, quoting from Obama's speech last year.

Under new guidelines Obama addressed in the speech made to calm anger overseas at the extent of the U.S. drone campaign, lethal force must only be used "to prevent or stop attacks against U.S. persons, and even then, only when capture is not feasible and no other reasonable alternatives exist to address the threat effectively." The target must also pose "a continuing, imminent threat to U.S. persons" — the legal definition of catching someone in the act of plotting a lethal attack.

**The Associated Press has agreed to the government's request to withhold the name of the country where the suspected terrorist is believed to be because officials said publishing it could interrupt ongoing counterterror operations.**

The officials spoke on condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss the classified drone targeting program publicly.

House Intelligence Committee Chairman Mike Rogers, R-Mich., complained last week that a number of terrorist suspects were all but out of reach under the administration's new rules that limit drone strikes based on the target's nationality or location.

Two of the U.S. officials said the Justice Department review of the American suspected terrorist started last fall.

The senior administration official confirmed that the Justice Department was working to build a case against the suspected terrorist.

The official said, however, the legal procedure being followed is the same as when the U.S. killed militant cleric and former Virginia resident Anwar al-Awlaki by drone in Yemen in 2011, long before the new targeted killing policy took effect.

**The official said the president could make an exception to his policy and authorize the CIA to strike on a onetime basis or authorize the Pentagon to act despite the possible objections of the country in question.**

The Justice Department, the Pentagon and the CIA declined to comment.

**If the target is an American citizen, the Justice Department is required to show that killing the person through military action is "legal and constitutional"— in this case, that the Pentagon can take action against the American, as the administration has ruled him an enemy combatant under the Authorization for Use of Military Force, a resolution Congress passed a week after the 9/11 attacks to target al-Qaida.**

The administration says U.S. drones have killed four Americans since 2009, including al-Awlaki, who officials said was actively plotting to kill U.S. citizens.

Attorney General Eric Holder said the three other Americans were killed by drones, but were not targeted.

The three are Samir Khan, who was killed in the same drone strike as al-Awlaki; al-Awlaki's 16-year-old son, Abdulrahman, a native of Denver who was killed in Yemen two weeks later; and Jude Kenan Mohammed, who was killed in a drone strike in Pakistan.

The case has galvanized congressional opponents of Obama's plan to transfer drones from the CIA to the Defense Department. Before the plan was announced, either CIA or Pentagon drones could go after terrorist targets, even if they were U.S. citizens. The CIA could also fly drones in areas where host countries might object. But by law, the Pentagon can only strike in war zones, in countries that agree to U.S. counterterrorism action or in lawless areas like parts of Somalia where that government's security forces cannot reach. Even then only al-Qaida-linked suspects can be targeted.

"It is very clear that there have been missed opportunities that I believe increase the risk of the lives of our soldiers and for disrupting operations underway," Rogers said last week.

U.S. officials said both Senate and House appropriators have blocked funding that would transfer the CIA's stealth RQ-170 drone fleet to the Pentagon. Some lawmakers want the White House to first come up with a fix for targeting suspects in areas where the Pentagon is banned from operating — either by leaving some part of the CIA operation running or by granting the Pentagon authority to strike covertly despite the location — meaning they could legally deny the operation.

Lawmakers like Senate Intelligence Committee Chairwoman Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., have also objected to the shift to the Pentagon, arguing that the CIA has more experience flying drones. U.S. officials say Pentagon chiefs defending their drone program in closed congressional session last week pointed out that the same cadre of Air Force pilots fly both the CIA and the Pentagon drones.

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## **AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORTS**

### **Two U.S. Mercenaries Killed In Kabul**



U.S. troops at the site of a suicide car bomb attack in Kabul, February 10, 2014. A bomber in a car targeted a convoy of vehicles carrying foreigners in the eastern part of Afghan capital, Kabul on Monday. REUTERS/Omar Sobhani

Feb. 10 (Xinhua)

A bomb attack occurred in east Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, on Monday, said the Kabul police.

A U.S. official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the slain contractors were American.

"A suicide car bomb targeted a foreign forces motorcade running near the Mahbass square in the 10th police district of Kabul at around 2:30 p.m. (local time). An investigation is underway and details of casualties will be released afterwards," the Kabul police spokesman Hashmat Stanikzai told Xinhua.

Following the blast, Hizb-e-Islami led by Gulbudin Hekmatyar, the second militant group fighting government forces and the U.S.- led coalition troops claimed the responsibility for the attack.

The attack took place close to a main prison that houses important insurgents and criminals in Kabul.

The blast damaged one vehicle of the convoy and a civilian car besides, smashing the windowpanes of the nearby houses, he said.

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## **Resistance Action**

February 09, 2014 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Seven Afghan soldiers have been killed after their vehicle hit a roadside bomb in the southwestern Farah Province.

Defense Ministry spokesman Zahir Azimi said no other soldiers were seriously wounded in the February 9 blast in Farah's Dilaram district.

He declined to give further details on the explosion.

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**“Taking Care Of The Life Of Civilians  
In War Is Our Responsibility More  
Than That Of The Americans Which  
Our Nation Can Testify To In Our  
Actions”**

**[Taliban Statement]**



08 February 2014 by Zabihullah Mujahid, Spokesman of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan;  
shahamat-english.com/

### **REMARKS OF SPOKESMAN OF ISLAMIC EMIRATE REGARDING CIVILIAN CASUALTIES REPORT BY UNAMA:**

Like last year, UNAMA office in Kabul once again published its yearly report on civilian casualties in Afghanistan for 2013.

The composed report once again unfairly attributes 74% of civilian casualties as being caused by the Mujahideen with 11% attributed to the Kabul regime security apparatus which includes Arbaki forces (local militias) and 2% to the foreign occupying forces.

It must be made clear that these baseless and far from reality reports are directly produced by the US embassy and then published under the name of United Nations.

We strongly condemn this biased report by UNAMA. The esteemed Amir ul Mumineen (Commander of the Faithful) has given strict guidelines to our Mujahideen for preventing civilian casualties. Despite our operations for the current year having increased and covering vast regions however extreme caution was taken and civilian casualties were kept to a minimum as compared to the past.

The true causes of civilian casualties in our nation can be summarized below:

Blind and retaliatory airstrikes by the foreign forces, night raids, indiscriminate firing after attacks; breaking into homes of civilians by police and army in form of search operations, aggravating children and adults, looting homes, stealing valuables and jewelry of women from homes; killing of civilians by Arbakis in all corners of the country, oppression, transgressing against the life, wealth and honour of people, martyring innocent civilians due to personal feuds, **the savagery and barbarism of Commander Shujai from Uruzgan province is not hidden from anyone - who has single handedly martyred over 200 civilians.**

UNAMA always publishes reports biased towards the Americans under the guise of a neutral organ but our nation sees everything with their own eyes; they see who the perpetrators of savagery are, they see who kills and bombs - the latest example of which is the incident in Siyah Gerd - and who killed little children in Kunar under label of Al Qaida!

If UNAMA even had the slightest concern for civilian casualties and did not merely use this subject as a tool against Mujahideen then it would have whole heartedly decided on impartiality and would have accepted the offer for preventing civilian casualties put forward by Mujahideen to UNAMA three years prior.

The failure of UNAMA to give a timely answer to our initiative made it clear that UNAMA is not actually concerned about civilian casualties but rather only wants to help the American invaders in their propaganda war.

On top of considering the latest UNAMA civilian casualties report to be completely the other way around, we reaffirm our commitment to take care of the life of civilians as part of our Islamic mission, our religious obligation and Afghan sympathy towards our oppressed nation.

Taking care of the life of civilians in war is our responsibility more than that of the Americans which our nation can testify to in our actions.

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## **MILITARY NEWS**

### **HOW MANY MORE FOR OBAMA'S WAR?**



A transfer case containing the remains of Chief Warrant Officer 2 Edward Balli sits on a loader on Jan. 22, at Dover Air Force Base, Del. Balli, 42, of Monterey, Calif., died Jan. 20, in Kandahar province, Afghanistan, of wounds from small arms fire.

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## **ANNIVERSARIES**

***February 11, 1937:***  
***A Victory For Our Side***  
**“They Faced Tear Gas Attacks, Heat Shutoffs, And Battled With Police And Company Security Guards. Michigan Governor Frank Murphy Sent In The National Guard”**



Michigan National Guard confronting union supporters outside GM plants in Flint, 1937

Carl Bunin Peace History February 11-17

February 11, 1937:

**Forty-eight thousand General Motors workers won a 44-day sit-down strike in Flint, Michigan.**

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Walter P. Reuther Library:

The Great Flint Sitdown: On February 11, 1937, several hundred members of the United Automobile Workers Union (UAW) emerged from three General Motors (GM) factories in Flint, Michigan to the sounds of cheering crowd.



These workers had just completed a 44-day sitdown strike. Less than two years old, the UAW had won its first major victory.

Auto factories were tough places to work during the early years of the industry. The pace of work was controlled by the ever-increasing speed of the assembly line and the foreman held the power to hire or fire workers at will. Many jobs were physically demanding, machines had few safety devices, and industrial accidents were common. On August 26, 1935, auto workers organized the UAW to bargain for better wages and working conditions.

The Flint Sitdown began on December 30, 1936 when UAW leaders decided to call a strike against GM. The goal of the strike was simple: GM recognition of the UAW.

For over six weeks members of the UAW stopped production and refused to leave the plants they occupied. They slept on unfinished car seats, eating food their families and friends slipped through factory windows.

They faced tear gas attacks, heat shutoffs, and battled with police and company security guards. Michigan Governor Frank Murphy sent in the National Guard.

Faced with an enormous loss of production, GM conceded to the strikers' demands and signed a one-page document, agreeing to bargain with the UAW. This was one of the key events in American labor history.

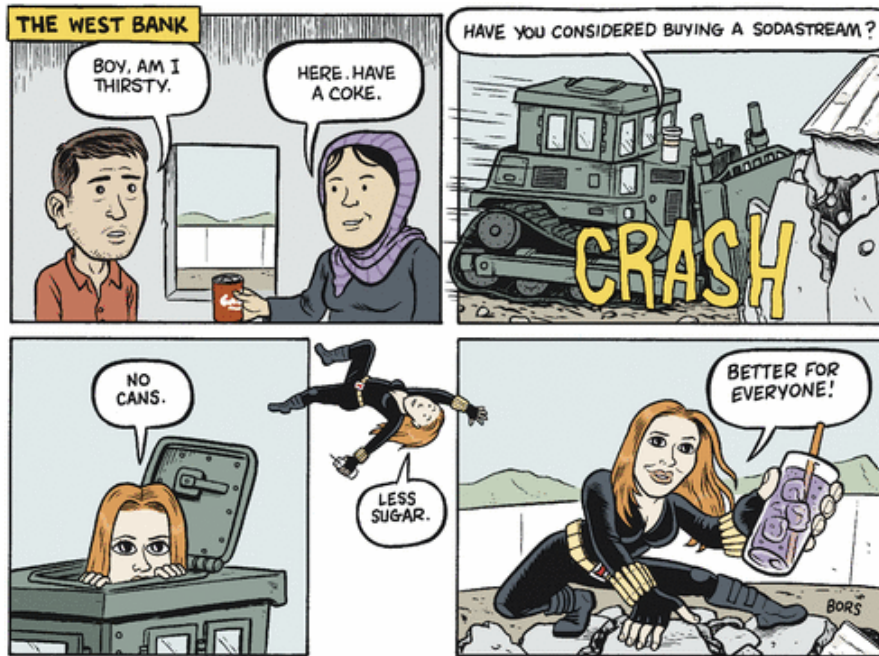


The Flint Sitdown Strikers win February 11, 1937

**Military Resistance In PDF Format?**

If you prefer PDF to Word format, email: [contact@militaryproject.org](mailto:contact@militaryproject.org)

## OCCUPATION PALESTINE



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### **Zionist Occupation Regime Destroys Entire Palestinian Village In Jordan Valley, As Usual: “Seeking To Empty The Jordan Valley Of Its Palestinian Residents” “Another Crime On The Long List Of Crimes Committed By The Occupation Forces In The Area”**

January 31, 2014 by Chris Carlson, International Middle East Media Center Editorial Group

The Israeli army demolished, on Thursday, at least 50 structures, including residences, displacing 13 families in the northern Jordan Valley, as a result, according to a local official.

According to a report by Wafa Palestinian News & Info Agency, the army brought bulldozers to demolish the homes, animal barns and other structures which residents of Khirbet Um al-Jimal had been using for their daily living, said Aref Daraghmeh, head of the al-Maleh local council.

He described the Israeli measure against Khirbet Um al-Jimal and other similar locales in the northern Jordan Valley area as “another crime on the long list of crimes committed by the occupation forces in the area.”

Israel is seeking to empty the Jordan Valley of its Palestinian residents, who are mainly Bedouin, as it plans to keep it under its control in any future deal with the Palestinians.

Khirbet Um al-Jimal is notable for the substantial ruins of a Byzantine and early Islamic town which are clearly visible above the ground, as well as an older Roman village (locally referred to as al-Herri) located to the southwest of the Byzantine ruins.

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## **Zionist Settlers Destroy Over 100 Palestinian Olive Trees In The Occupied Nablus District, As Usual**

10/02/2014 Ma'an

NABLUS -- Israeli settlers on Wednesday destroyed over 100 olive trees in the Nablus district, a Palestinian Authority official said.

Ghassan Daghlas, an official who monitors settlement activity in the northern West Bank, told Ma'an that settlers from Itamar cut down the olive trees in an open area in Wadi Yanoun, which is situated between Awarta and Yanoun villages.

**Jewish settlers on Sunday vandalized private Palestinian agricultural lands north of Ramallah and uprooted more than 1,000 olive trees and newly planted saplings.**

In 2012, there were 353 incidents of settler violence against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, according to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Settler regularly target Palestinian olive trees for attack.

Over 90 percent of investigations into settler violence by Israeli police fail to lead to an indictment.

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## **Another Settler Mob Uproots Over 400 More Olive Saplings North Of Ramallah, As Usual**

09 February 2014 Middle East Monitor

Early this morning, settlers uprooted and destroyed over 400 olive saplings in the village of Sinjil, located north of Ramallah.

According to the mayor of Sinjil, Ayoub Sweed, a number of settlers raided the village, and carried out their attacks on agricultural land in which olives saplings were planted.

He noted that this was the third attack in less than a month.

**He also pointed out that the olive saplings that were uprooted were planted as a part of the village's reforestation project funded by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which aims to reclaim and cultivate the land.**

The number of saplings that were uprooted in less than a month is estimated at about 3,000 saplings.

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## **Zionist Occupation Army Destroys 1,200 Acre Hebron Nature Reserve: “Part Of Israel’s Ethnic Cleansing Of Palestinians From Their Land”**

04 February 2014 Middle East Monitor

The Israeli army has destroyed a nature reserve and uprooted agricultural seedlings near the city of Hebron, in the south of the occupied West Bank.

The 1,200 acre reserve was established with funding from the ACF International and the Ministry of Agriculture in Ramallah.

Ratib Al-Jabour, the coordinator of the popular committee in Yatta, said that the Israeli army and civil administration bulldozers entered the nature reserve near Alfkheid village on Tuesday morning and uprooted the seedlings.

**He pointed out that the Israeli occupation authorities have ordered the deportation of local residents in Alfkheid and seven other villages in order to convert the area into a so-called military zone.**

**The destruction of the nature reserve has to be seen in that context, regarded as part of Israel’s ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from their land.**

**[To check out what life is like under a murderous military occupation commanded by foreign terrorists, go to: [www.rafahtoday.org](http://www.rafahtoday.org) The occupied nation is Palestine. The foreign terrorists call themselves “Israeli.”]**

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## CLASS WAR REPORTS



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**“The Conflict In Ukraine Has Long Since Transcended The Choice Between Trade Deals”**

**“Demonstrators Are Not United By An Ideology Per Se, But A Shared Frustration With The Regime And With Their Lack Of Control, Political Or Economic, Over Their Lives”**

# **Social Conditions That Underlay Protests “Include Government Corruption, State Repression, Lack Of Democracy, Declining Living Standards And Lack Of Social Opportunities For The Vast Majority” “More Radical Change Is Needed Than Shuffling Political Elites Within An Endemically Corrupt Political System Institutionally Dominated By Oligarchs”**

February 5, 2014 by Sean Larson, Socialist Worker [Excerpts]

The mass protests centered in the main square of Ukraine’s capital of Kiev survived another government attempt to quell them through violence in January, and both sides are maneuvering at the start of the month as further confrontations approach.

The demonstrations erupted in November, largely as a response to President Viktor Yanukovich’s rejection of a free trade agreement with the European Union and suggestion that the country would join the Eurasian Customs Union led by Russia, which has dominated Ukraine for centuries in different forms.

But the conflict in Ukraine has long since transcended the choice between a trade deal with the EU, sanctioned by the International Monetary Fund, versus a similar arrangement with Russia.

**The social conditions that underlay the protests from the start and that have inspired Ukrainians to remain camped out in Kiev’s Maidan (Independence Square) in spite of the bitter cold and police assaults include government corruption, state repression and lack of democracy, declining living standards and lack of social opportunities for the vast majority of Ukrainians.**

The demonstrators are not united by an ideology per se, but a shared frustration with the regime and with their lack of control, political or economic, over their lives.

**These grievances are the product of enduring years of corruption in a state machine structured to serve the interests of the oligarchs grouped both around Yanukovich’s ruling Party of Regions--and also within the major opposition parties represented in parliament.**

## **“To Remain In Office, Yanukovich Must Maintain The Allegiance Of A Critical Balance Of Ukrainian Oligarchs”**

**The struggle over the country’s future reached a new stage in mid-January when the Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine’s parliament, passed a series of draconian laws limiting freedom of speech and assembly, and imposing steep fines and prison sentences for minor offences.**

The explosive response of protesters in Kiev three days later led to pitched battles in the streets--and qualitatively changed the dynamics of the movement.

**Now, while the goals of the movement are still typically articulated in terms of the rule of law, opposition to corruption and guarantees of human rights, there has been a shift away from a focus on integration with the EU and toward anti-government demands, such as the call for Yanukovich’s resignation and for new elections.**

This political shift has been matched by more dramatic action on the ground, such as the occupation of several government buildings. Worryingly, a far-right organization composed mainly of street forces is accused of having led the mid-January street battles in Kiev.

Meanwhile, the government has been raising the stakes this year, inflicting greater police violence, including the kidnapping of activists, some from their hospital beds, and torture of detainees.

Hundreds of people have been injured and several killed in street clashes.

Add to this the announcement of a pro-government "Ukrainian Front" on Saturday, which claims it will "clear the land of those who came to occupy it"--a not-so-veiled charge referring to the Maidan occupiers as agents of Europe.

The Yanukovich government is also facing pressure from Russia--Vladimir Putin has indicated that he will withhold the distribution of loans to Ukraine until a stable government emerges from the present situation.

**To remain in office, Yanukovich must maintain the allegiance of a critical balance of Ukrainian oligarchs, and this depends upon his ability to secure a favorable business climate for them -- low taxes on the rich, minimal regulations on industry, capital mobility, a stable and passive population ensured by a strong police apparatus.**

To this end, Yanukovich has reduced the size of the armed forces considerably while gradually building up the Berkut (special riot police) and regular police.

**The fact that some oligarchs are defecting from Yanukovich is a sign of their decreasing confidence in the regime to secure their interests. These oligarchs will look to whatever other political force may suit their needs--which right now could be one or all of the opposition parties riding on the wave of the protests.**

**“The Conflict Continued In Various Forms Over The Next Three Days And, Far From Alienating Participants, Mobilized Thousands Of Ukrainians Unwilling To Tolerate Yanukovich’s Dictatorial Laws”**

Those opposition parties and their leading political figures are: the Fatherland Party and Arseniy Yatsenyuk; Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform (UDAR) and Vitali Klitschko; and Svoboda and Oleg Tyagnibok.

**The opposition parties occupy a contradictory position in the current situation. On the one hand, their perceived legitimacy and their claim to provide a genuine alternative to the regime are rooted in the Maidan protest movement.**

**On the other, they seek to control the movement and funnel it in a "safe" direction that doesn't threaten the basic structures of the economy and state necessary for the oligarchs to rule.**

The opposition leaders must therefore balance between maintaining the demonstrators' waning faith in their ability to win real changes for ordinary Ukrainians and garnering the support of oligarchs with assurances that the wealth and power of the elite will be better secured through an opposition government.

[A]ttempts by leaders of the three main opposition parties to de-escalate or contain the activity of the Maidan follows a significant blow to the parties' claims to be leaders of the movement.

During the furious 100,000-strong demonstration on January 19 against the repressive laws against protest passed three days earlier, thousands of people--many of them frustrated with the tame speeches of opposition leaders--began to head to the Rada building, despite the warnings of their supposed leaders.

According to an eyewitness account from William Risch, a professor of history at Georgia College and State University, police buses and trucks blocked the road at Hrushevskoho Street, and riot police were stationed to prevent the protesters from moving further.

**In a similarly tense situation last December 1, Vitali Klitschko still had enough influence among protesters to restrain them from taking more radical action.**

**Not so this time.**

**A battle broke out, with riot police using tear gas, stun grenades and rubber bullets, and blasting protesters with water cannons in the freezing weather.**

**Numerous reports have charged that the far-right extremists of the "Right Sector" instigated the violence on January 19.**

**But other accounts stress the role of "Automaidan," a group that emerged since November and is known for using its cars in protests at the homes of government**



**officials, in leading people away from the main rally toward the Rada, with the Right Sector arriving later.**

Regardless of who instigated the battle at Hrushevskoho Street, however, the fact remains that it quickly became a full-fledged confrontation between armed riot police and an unprecedented number of protesters.

**The conflict continued in various forms over the next three days and, far from alienating participants, mobilized thousands of Ukrainians unwilling to tolerate Yanukovich's dictatorial laws, but also frustrated with the impotence of the main opposition leaders in the face of the escalating crackdown.**

**“The Obvious Conclusion Is That More Radical Change Is Needed Than Shuffling Political Elites Within An Endemically Corrupt Political System Institutionally Dominated By Oligarchs”**

The longer-term consequence of these battles has been a developing, though uneven, rift between the demonstrators of the Maidan and the opposition party leaders who have dominated the protests politically.

The protests are largely composed of people who went through the experience of the so-called "Orange Revolution" at the end of 2004. Mass protests overturned the results of a rigged run-off election--but a new government under Viktor Yushchenko failed to bring any meaningful change to Ukrainian society.

The obvious conclusion is that more radical change is needed than shuffling political elites within an endemically corrupt political system institutionally dominated by oligarchs.

The success of the Maidan demonstrations will hinge on the extent to which the mass of people involved can act independently of opposition party leaders. But the developing rift is far from a definite break--most participants still allow themselves to be represented in negotiations with the government by these so-called "leaders."

The movement has achieved some concessions from the government already, such as the resignation of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov along with his entire cabinet in late January.

Other moves by the government that have been depicted by the media as concessions aren't that at all.

**For example, Yanukovich pushed a law through the parliament that would grant amnesty for all but the most serious crimes, but on the condition that protesters relinquish control of government buildings they have occupied within 15 days.**

**Were the movement to comply with this demand, it would not only implicitly legitimate the crackdown and mass arrests the government has already carried out, but significantly weaken the standing of the demonstrators and their physical control of Independence Square itself.**

**Meanwhile, leaders of both the Fatherland Party and Svoboda are moderating their demands, now calling for a return to the constitution of 2004 as the goal of the movement.**

It's clear that if the opposition parties were to be put in power under the current circumstances, they would be subject to the same international and domestic pressures that have led to Yanukovich's policies of austerity and repression, and ultimately to the crackdown on protests.

**Thus, the proposal of Western political leaders for a transition to an opposition-led government is by no means certain to be more democratic -- not given the deadly mix of the militarized state apparatus built up under Yanukovich, the harsh austerity measures attached to a potential IMF loan and the far-right politics that have gained a wide hearing in the protests to this point.**

**“To Achieve Genuine Change, The Protesters Of The Maidan Will Have To Fight For Their Rights Independently Of The Opposition Parties, The Far Right, And The Foreign Governments”**

The Maidan is a mass movement with significant internal contradictions and widely differing politics.

The direction the protests take from here will largely be determined by the coherence and organization of different forces within the movement.

Disturbingly, the most organized and therefore most influential voices in the Maidan continue to be on the political right. This includes parties with representatives in parliament, such as the far-right Svoboda, which has ties to the British National Party and France's National Front--as well as the neo-fascists of the Right Sector.

Unlike other far-right groups in Europe, Svoboda--like the other two opposition parties in parliament, UDAR and Fatherland--is in favor of Ukraine joining the EU and strengthening the country's connections to Europe.

Right Sector, on the other hand, is a conglomeration of extreme right-wing nationalist street gangs and soccer fan clubs. It rejects the parliamentary tactics of Svoboda. Its main goal is the overthrow of the Yanukovich government, but it does not seek European integration.

**The rhetoric of these far right groups, despite their differences, has attained such influence among demonstrators because the short-term goal of bringing down the Yanukovich government coincides with the demand of all other protesters, including those on the left.**

The battle of Hrushevskoho Street even saw a temporary and uneasy truce between left-wing and right-wing militants in their mutual confrontation with Yanukovich's riot police forces.

The role that the far right has played is not a reason for the left to dismiss the Maidan movement or refrain from participation. On the contrary, it must struggle to shift the political balance by getting involved and fighting alongside ordinary Ukrainians for their basic democratic rights in the face of an intensifying police state.

Erecting a left pole within the movement--or, in the words of Ilya Budraitskis, a spokesperson for the Russian Socialist Movement, a "Left Sector"--must be a priority to counter the influence of the right.

To accomplish this, the small and scattered groups of the left in Ukraine must cohere around a common strategy and some basic demands.

**Beyond the resignation of the Yanukovich government and new elections, these must include, above all, dismantling the police state and stripping the oligarchs of their power.**

A socialist grouping in Kiev calling itself the Left Opposition has produced a 10-point plan [see below] which it hopes will be "first steps toward the formation of policies that could gather together all anti-oligarchic forces which don't consider an ultra-right fascist dictatorship to be any kind of solution."

Despite the relatively small size and disorganization of the revolutionary left in Ukraine--one estimate puts it at no more than a few hundred people--its involvement can be decisive for the future of the struggle.

In addition to the pressing need to combat the right in the here and now, the Maidan movement will be a definitive reference point for generations of Ukrainians, so what the left does will resonate into the future, whatever the immediate outcome.

**In the most likely scenario--the opposition parties come to power and inevitably fail to deliver what protesters are demanding--the presence of a strong left voice during turbulent times will be important in raising the possibility of a real alternative.**

**To achieve genuine change, the protesters of the Maidan will have to fight for their rights independently of the opposition parties, the far right, and the foreign governments, whether the EU or Russia, attempting to influence Ukraine's future direction.**

**Political democracy is only the first step--from there, profound economic changes would be needed, including nationalization of major industries, a steep progressive tax and strong protections of labor rights.**

**In this way, the left can address the core issues that have given rise to the sustained mass struggle centered in the Maidan--and offer a strong voice for these and other progressive demands within the changing movement**

**MORE:**

**10 Theses Of The Leftist  
Opposition In Ukraine:  
“The Most Pressing Issue Facing  
Ukraine Is Not The EU Or The  
Trade Union, But Simply That  
Oligarchs Should Start Paying  
Their Taxes”  
“The Oligarchization Of Ukrainian  
Politics Has Reached Such  
Proportions That Not A Single One Of  
The Existing Parliamentary Parties  
Can Even Mention This Matter”  
“Replacing One Set Of Politicians And  
Oligarchs With Another Without Overall  
Systemic Changes Will Not Improve Our  
Lives”**

14 January 2014 LeftEast. Published in Russian on the Open Left platform:  
<http://openleft.ru/?p=1157>. Translated from the Russian by: Jordan Maze and Helen  
Tsykynovska

*A note from the editorial board of LeftEast:*

*In the view of LeftEast editors, this manifesto, while representing a minoritarian position within the Ukrainian left, is a very serious and considered document that deserves a wide audience.*

*We are posting it to add nuance to the positions represented thus far on our pages. Editors at LeftEast are quite familiar with debates on “what to do with the protest movement” taking place among the Bulgarian and Russian left, as we have occupied different sides in them.*

*While Ilya Budraitskis' December 13 text on the Ukraine offers opinions close to this manifesto, we recognize that our coverage of Ukraine has taken a critical approach to the Maidan movement to date, and our goal is to continue to provide positive and informed discussion.*

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## **Euromaidan And A Program For The Left**

**Euromaidan's popularity has nothing to do with Ukrainians finding the question of free trade with the European Union so significant that it emboldened them to survive sleepless nights on the square.**

The country's socioeconomic problems, which are much more acute than those of its neighbors to the East and West, gave the protest its meaning.

The average salary in Ukraine is 2 to 2.5 times lower than in Russia and Belarus, and much lower than in the EU.

**The worldwide economic crisis affected the Ukrainian economy much more drastically than almost any other economy in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals.**

Economic growth after the crisis nearly froze, and industry will most likely continue to decline in 2013.

**Furthermore, Ukraine's economic system more or less exempts oligarchs from paying taxes.**

**One can completely legally export tens of billions of dollars worth of minerals, metals, ammonia, wheat, and sunflowers, and report no profit.**

**All earnings are stashed in offshore jurisdictions, where almost all of Ukraine's functioning enterprises are formally located.**

**Any profits earned by an enterprise inside the country can be legally and effortlessly transported to offshore locations by reframing them as a fictitious loan, for example.**

Is it any surprise that the Ukrainian government systematically has trouble replenishing the budget?

**At the end of last year, Ukraine was in a pre-default stage.**

**Withholding wages owed to state employees became common practice, and the budget practically stopped allotting funds to social programs.**

The situation was exacerbated by a trade war with Russia, when Gazprom forced Ukrainian gas prices to record heights in Eastern Europe.

Oligarchs drove the country into a corner; even after endless discussion, they could not formulate a coherent development strategy, avoiding any investment in the state while systematically draining it.

**Any development strategy must include a curbing of their appetites – it must at least partially ban offshore schemes and enforce minimum tax payments.**

**But that's exactly what oligarchs cannot accept, even though they understand that if they don't change the rules of the game, they will drive the state into socioeconomic catastrophe, chopping off the branch where they themselves sit.**

The right-wing opposition, when speaking about economic problems, focuses almost exclusively on the themes of corruption and ineffective rule. And if the conversation does turn to oligarchs looting the state, then it limits itself to the businessmen who are close to the Party of Regions, and most often does not delve further than the business that belongs to Yanukovich's sons.

**From the right wing's point of view, the other oligarchs are not a problem, because they have national consciousness.**

By this logic, when Ukraine is plundered by a “щирый” (Ukr. for “authentic” – editor's note) Ukrainian, it is still beneficial to the national cause.

A paradoxical situation is unfolding.

**All conscientious economists (even quite neoliberal ones like, for example, Viktor Pinzenik) agree that the tax and regulatory systems of the country were built to completely exempt oligarchs from paying taxes.**

**Everyone can see that this system won't last much longer, but none of the politicians in the Parliament have dared to offer the obvious and realistic systemic alternative.**

Almost nobody dares to publicly admit that the most pressing issue facing Ukraine is not the EU or the trade union, but simply that oligarchs should start paying their taxes.

**The apparatus of the state is perfectly capable of forcing them to do so since the oligarchs' functioning assets are all located in Ukraine.**

**However, as Andrei Hunko recently pointed out, the oligarchization of Ukrainian politics has reached such proportions that not a single one of the existing parliamentary parties can even mention this matter.**

Sadly enough, only radical leftists voice these minimal and obvious demands.

**I emphasize that these demands must be seen not as the agenda of the Left Opposition, but as first steps toward the formation of policies that could gather together all anti-oligarchic forces, who don't consider an ultra-right fascist dictatorship to be any kind of solution – the kind of dictatorship the All-Ukrainian**

**Union “Svoboda” so insistently pushes us towards, while the official opposition leaders sit by and watch.**

The glaring absence of any coherent plan of action to help Ukraine out of its crisis has become so pressing that even quite liberal, almost right-liberal publications have started discussing our “Ten Points” – such as, for example, Lvov’s zaxid.net. Zahar Popovich, “Left Opposition”

## **Plan For Social Change, In Ten Points.**

### **Foreword, By The Left Opposition.**

We submit to your attention a document titled “Plan for Social Change”, which outlines ways to increase the well-being of the citizens and ensure social progress. It was created partly because most socio-economic demands at the Euromaidan demonstrations have been ignored.

Our hope is that this document might serve as a platform to unify a wide range of social, leftist, and trade-union initiatives. This document was written by activists belonging to the Left Opposition, a socialist organization that aims to unify all those who belong to the community provisionally called #leftmaidan.

**It goes without saying that political parties transform the protest movement and direct it toward electoral politics; they try to find new voices, instead of making significant changes to the system.**

**We do not support the ideas of liberal structures, which propagandize free market economics, nor do we support radical nationalists who push discriminatory policies.**

**Our hope is that the protest movement, spurred to action by social injustice, might ultimately eradicate the root causes of this injustice.**

We believe that the cause of most social problems is the oligarchy that formed as a result of unbridled capitalism and corruption.

It is important to limit the egotistic interests of our oligarchs, instead of relying on the help of Russia or the IMF, with the consequent national dependence.

**We believe that it is harmful to add our voices to the demands for Euro-integration; instead, we need to clearly delineate the changes necessary to support the interests of ordinary citizens, especially hired laborers.**

On several occasions, we cite the progressive experiences of a few European states that have taken similar measures.

The goals we’ve created are relatively moderate, so that they might appeal to the widest possible range of organizations.

We won't conceal the fact that, for us, this plan is less a reaction to current events than a step toward the formulation of a contemporary leftist political force – a force that is capable of influencing those in power and offering an alternative to the existing social order. The Left Opposition considers the proposed plan to be the minimum for building socialism on the principles of self-government: the socialization of industry, the allocation of profit for social needs, and the appointment for citizens to government functions.

We welcome you to subscribe to our Facebook and VKontakte pages to voice your opinions there, or to email us at [gaslo.info@gmail.com](mailto:gaslo.info@gmail.com).

Replacing one set of politicians and oligarchs with another without overall systemic changes will not improve our lives. Instead, our group of social and union activists is proposing ten basic conditions for overcoming the economic crisis and ensuring Ukraine's future growth.

### **The Left Opposition Collective:**

#### **1. GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, NOT BY THE OLIGARCHS**

There must be a transition from a presidential to a parliamentary republic, in which presidential power is limited to representative functions on the international stage. Authority should be transferred from state administrators to elected regional committees (soviets).

Authorities should have the right to fire delegates who have not met expectations; judges and police chiefs should be elected, not appointed.

#### **2. NATIONALIZATION OF PRIMARY INDUSTRIES**

Metallurgy, mining, and chemical industries, along with infrastructural enterprises (energy, transport, and communications) should contribute to social welfare.

#### **3. WORKERS SHOULD CONTROL ALL FORMS OF OWNERSHIP**

Following successful European examples, we should construct a wide network of independent workers' unions, which will control management and guarantee workers' rights.

Workers should have the right to strike (refuse to work when payment is not received). Workers should also have the right to take out loans at the employer's expense if wages are delayed (following Portugal's example). Production, accounting, and management data of all enterprises that employ more than 50 people, or have a capital turnover of over \$1 million, should be published online.

#### **4. INTRODUCTION OF A LUXURY TAX**

We should instate a 50% tax on luxury items – yachts, elite automobiles, and other items that cost more than 1 million hryvna. A progressive personal income tax should also be introduced. Individuals with an annual income of more than 1 million hryvna should be taxed up to 50%, following Denmark's example (in such a system, Renat Ahmetov alone would have paid 1.2 billion hryvna to the federal budget, as compared to the 400 million he actually paid in 2013 on a 17% tax).

#### **5. PROHIBITION OF OFFSHORE CAPITAL TRANSFERS**



The bylaws that exempt Ukrainian enterprises from taxation in a number of offshore countries should be revoked, in order to prevent the transfer of capital offshore. The assets of offshore companies in Ukraine should be frozen, and a temporary administration should be appointed until the legality of the investments can be proven.

#### **6. SEPARATION OF BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT**

Citizens with incomes that exceed 1 million grivni should be banned from government positions and seats in local government. Nationwide reelections should be held in compliance with this rule.

#### **7. REDUCTION OF SPENDING ON THE BUREAUCRATIC APPARATUS**

Government spending should be controlled and transparent. Administrative reforms should take place, resulting in a reduction in the number of managerial employees. Today, whole departments could be replaced by computer programs. But instead, in the last eight years the number of bureaucrats in the government has grown by almost 10%, comprising more than 372,000 people (in Ukraine, there are 8 bureaucrats for every 1000 people – in France, there are only 5 per 1000!).

#### **8. DISSOLUTION OF BERKUT AND OTHER SPECIAL FORCES**

Beginning in 2014, there should be subsequent reductions in spending on the security apparatus of the state: the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Security Service, the Office of the Prosecutor General, and special police forces. It is unacceptable that the Ministry of Internal Affairs was allocated more than 16.9 million grivni in 2013 – 6.9 million more than all public health expenditures!

#### **9. ACCESS TO FREE EDUCATION AND HEALTHCARE**

Funds for this initiative should come from the nationalization of industries and reduced spending on the security and bureaucratic apparatus. To eliminate corruption in education and medicine, we must raise doctors' and teachers' salaries and restore the prestige of those fields.

#### **10. WITHDRAWAL FROM OPPRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS**

We support the termination of further cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions.

We should follow the example of Iceland, which refused to pay debts accrued by bankers and bureaucrats (under government warranty) for the purposes of personal enrichment and “social handouts”, rather than for the development of industry.

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## **DANGER: POLITICIANS AT WORK**

# **An FBI Agent Checks The Wrong Box:**

**A Woman Is Barred From US Entry  
For 9 Years;  
To Cover-Up Agents Mistake, “US  
Officials Repeatedly Invoked The  
State Secrets Privilege And Sought  
To Have The Case Dismissed”  
Judge Orders Federal Officials “To  
Remove Or Correct All Records Related  
To Kelly’s Error”**



Photo: Rahinah Ibrahim (University Putra Malaysia)

**In the following years, the federal government revoked Ibrahim’s visa, rejected two applications for reinstatement, and barred her daughter, a US citizen, from traveling to the states to attend her trial.**

February 7, 2014 by Steven Hsieh, The Nation

**The US government hid an egregious clerical error that placed a Malaysian Stanford University student on the TSA’s no-fly list and prompted a nine-year effort to clear her name, according to a federal ruling released to the public Thursday.**

**FBI Agent Michael Kelly “misunderstood the directions” on a form, leading him to “erroneously” check boxes that flagged Rahinah Ibrahim for the no-fly list in 2004, the ruling states.**

Kelly made that error despite a note specifically recommending Ibrahim “NOT be entered” into the terrorist screening database. Ibrahim belonged to a professional organization (Jemaah Islah Malaysia) with a similar-sounding name to a designated terrorist group (Jemaah Islamiyah).

“This was no minor human error but an error with palpable impact, leading to the humiliation, cuffing, and incarceration of an innocent and incapacitated air traveler,” wrote US District Judge William Alsup.

The government at trial conceded that Ibrahim poses no threat to national security.

**Ibrahim’s suit—originally filed in 2006—is the first challenge to a no-fly list designation to see trial.**

**As Wired’s David Kravets notes, her trial “was conducted in secret after US officials repeatedly invoked the state secrets privilege and sought to have the case dismissed.”**

**Ibrahim learned she was on the list in January 2005 at the United Airlines counter at San Francisco International Airport. Intending to travel to Hawaii for a conference, she was instead cuffed, arrested and held for two hours before being released.**

Despite being told her name was taken off the no-fly list, Ibrahim boarded a plane to Hawaii the next day with a specially marked red pass that placed her on a list for additional screening.

**In the following years, the federal government revoked Ibrahim’s visa, rejected two applications for reinstatement, and barred her daughter, a US citizen, from traveling to the states to attend her trial.**

Judge Alsup wrote it is “reasonable” to suggest Ibrahim’s subsequent visa troubles stemmed from Agent Kelly’s original mistake. He wrote, “Once derogatory information is posted to the Terrorist Screening Database, it can propagate extensively through the government’s interlocking complex of databases, like a bad credit report that will never go away.”

The judge ordered federal officials to remove or correct all records related to Kelly’s error and point out the specific legal justifications for denying Ibrahim’s visa applications in 2009 and 2013.

**Ibrahim eventually received a doctorate from Stanford University and currently serves as dean of design and architecture at Universiti Putra Malaysia. She has been using Skype and e-mail to coordinate with US colleagues.**

## **MILITARY RESISTANCE BY EMAIL**

If you wish to receive Military Resistance immediately and directly, send request to [contact@militaryproject.org](mailto:contact@militaryproject.org). There is no subscription charge.

### **DO YOU HAVE A FRIEND OR RELATIVE IN THE MILITARY?**



U.S. soldier in Bejjia village Iraq, Feb. 4, 2008. (AP Photo/Maya Alleruzzo)

**Forward Military Resistance along, or send us the email address if you wish and we'll send it regularly with your best wishes. Whether in Afghanistan or at a base in the USA, this is extra important for your service friend, too often cut off from access to encouraging news of growing resistance to injustices, inside the armed services and at home. Send email requests to address up top or write to: Military Resistance, Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657.**

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