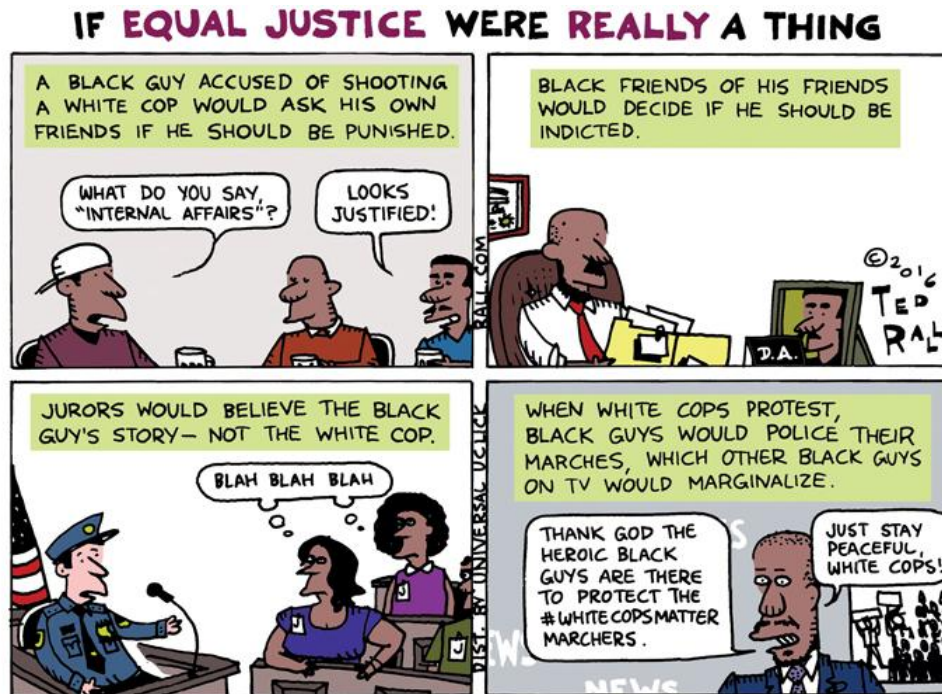


## Military Resistance 14H3



**Airstrikes Barely Holding Off Taliban In Helmand, Afghan Officials Say: Lashkar Gah, The Provincial Capital, "Practically Besieged" "Businesses And Nongovernmental Organizations Are Trying To Evacuate, And The Road Blockages Have Added To Their Alarm" "Military Leadership's Deep Corruption And Local People's Loss Of Trust In**

## Them. Many Feeling Less Harassed Under Taliban Rule”



American soldiers stood guard during a visit by Kabul officials at the governor's compound in Kandahar, Afghanistan, last week. Credit Massoud Hossaini/Associated Press

AUG. 8, 2016 By MUJIB MASHAL and TAIMOOR SHAH, The New York Times Company. Mujib Mashal reported from Kabul, and Taimoor Shah from Kandahar, Afghanistan. Mohammad Fahim Abed contributed reporting from Kabul. [Excerpts]

KABUL, Afghanistan — The Afghan security forces are struggling to head off an intensified Taliban offensive in Helmand Province in recent weeks, heavily relying on American airstrikes as the insurgents have again tightened the noose around Lashkar Gah, the provincial capital, according to officials and residents.

**Even as Afghan and American officials insist that they will not allow another urban center to fall, concerned about the political ramifications for the struggling government in Kabul as well as the presidential campaign in the United States, residents and local officials describe Lashkar Gah as practically besieged.**

**The main road connecting the city and the highway to the southern commercial and military hub of Kandahar has been repeatedly blocked in recent days by the Taliban, who blew up several bridges.**

**Civilian passengers can travel on an alternate dirt road, but have to pass through insurgent checkpoints.**

Many businesses and nongovernmental organizations based in Lashkar Gah are trying to evacuate, and the road blockages have added to their alarm.

The Afghan forces' continuous failure to hold ground in a province that has seen the deployment of a large number of troops and resources, as well as hundreds of NATO military advisers, is taking a toll on the residents of Lashkar Gah.

The city has long been a haven for people displaced from other areas of Helmand by the constant back and forth between the Taliban and the coalition and government forces.

**Questions are also being raised about the sustainability of a military response that relies desperately on airstrikes against a guerrilla force.**

"People are still coming from fighting areas to Lashkar Gah, but what if the Taliban enter Lashkar Gah?" said Ahmad Shirzad, a resident who said the sounds of distant shelling and aircraft had become constant.

"We have witnessed fighting for so long that we are really fed up with this life and would be happy to be killed by the Taliban, or NATO to be done with this hardship."

While the Taliban have held the Lashkar Gah suburb of Babaji for months, in recent weeks they have mounted offensives in Nad Ali District, overrunning a neighborhood there that is less than 10 miles from Lashkar Gah.

Since Sunday, the militants have also carried out attacks in Nawa District, the southern gate to Lashkar Gah.

Nawa had remained one of only two safe districts in Helmand Province, according to internal Afghan government communications.

Of Helmand's 14 districts, the Afghan government considers four entirely under Taliban control, four facing a high threat of collapse, four with a medium threat but limited government activity, and only two as safe.

The tempo of fighting increased over the summer after a brief lull for the late-spring opium cultivation season. The escalation of the Taliban offensive this year was also slowed down by a leadership change after their supreme commander was killed by American drone strike in Pakistan.

But in that pattern, and in the intense escalation of fighting in recent weeks, this year looks much as last year did — a disastrous season of setbacks when the Taliban overran the northern provincial capital of Kunduz at the end of September and sent fear through other important cities.

**Also as they did last year, the insurgents are mounting offensives across several provinces to stretch the resources of an already struggling government and security establishment.**

**A report by ToloNews, Afghanistan's largest news channel, found that insurgent attacks across the country had increased by 28 percent in July compared with the previous month, with Helmand Province remaining near the top.**

**Over the same period, ground operations by Afghan forces decreased by 22 percent. But airstrikes conducted by United States and Afghan forces increased**

**by more than 50 percent — including, for the first time in years, the reintroduction of American B-52 strategic bombers to the Afghan battlefield.**

Officials said that most of those airstrikes were directed at Islamic State affiliates in eastern Afghanistan. But Afghan and American officials confirm that there has also been an increase in Helmand, where the Afghan forces have struggled to hold the line as the Taliban have drawn closer to Lashkar Gah.

Even amid reports of insurgents sending special units to Helmand, and Afghan commanders' claims that insurgents have amassed from neighboring areas, the Taliban numbers in the province do not exceed 2,000 fighters, with only about 500 active, according to Abdul Jabar Qahraman.

Mr. Qahraman recently quit as President Ashraf Ghani's envoy overseeing the Helmand battle and since then has publicly uttered harsh and repeated criticism of the Afghan military leadership.

**That the Afghan forces, which Mr. Qahraman said numbered “20 times more than the Taliban,” have struggled so badly in Helmand despite repeated changes of leadership and scrutiny from Kabul does not bode well at a time when there is no political resolution to the conflict in sight.**

**Mr. Qahraman attributed the failure of the government forces mainly to the military leadership's deep corruption and the local people's loss of trust in them, with many feeling less harassed under Taliban rule.**

**Many of the military leaders sent to Helmand over the years have returned richer, while the situation has only deteriorated.**

Relying on airstrikes, a quick fix that is quickly becoming the main tactic of defense, is unsustainable in the face of a resilient guerrilla force, he said.

**“The U.S. and Afghan air forces are increasing the bombing of areas — it is ineffective,” Mr. Qahraman said.**

**“This is not a war of tanks and artillery. It is a guerrilla war, and the government should deal with it that way. “**

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## **MORE AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORTS**

# **Afghan Military Claims Killing Emir Of Islamic State's Khorasan Province It Killed Once Before:**

# “Airstrikes Alone Cannot Dislodge The Islamic State From Territory It Holds”

August 9, 2016 BY BILL ROGGIO, The Long War Journal. Bill Roggio is a Senior Fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and the Editor of The Long War Journal. [Excerpts]

A senior Afghan military officer has claimed his forces killed Hafiz Saeed Khan, the emir for the Islamic State’s Khorasan province, during an ongoing military operation in the eastern province of Nangarhar.

However, Khan’s death has not been confirmed by the Islamic State.

Major General Mohammad Zaman Waziri, the commander of the 201st Selab Military Corps told Pajhwok Afghan News on Aug. 7 that Khan and 29 other Islamic State fighters were killed during fighting in Nangarhar’s Achin district, one of the Islamic State’s primary strongholds in Afghanistan. According to Pajhwok, “a source in the Islamic State” confirmed Khan’s death.

Khan’s death has not been independently confirmed by The Long War Journal. The Islamic State has not released an official statement announcing Khan’s death, and the Afghan Ministry of Defense said it was investigating the reports. The US military has not commented on reports of Khan’s death.

**Afghan officials have erroneously reported that they have killed Khan in the past.**

July 2015, the National Directorate of Security, Afghanistan’s intelligence service, announced that the United States killed Khan in an airstrike in Achin.

**Strangely, exactly 29 Islamic State fighters were also said to have been killed alongside Khan – the same number as this current report.**

Abdul Rahim Muslim Dost, a former Guantanamo Bay detainee who served as an unofficial spokesman for the Islamic State, refuted reports that Khan was killed in July 2015. Dost has since defected from the Islamic State; he accused the group of conducting acts of wanton violence against civilians.

Before defecting to the Islamic State in 2014, Khan served as a mid-level commander in the Movement of the Taliban in Pakistan for the Arakzai tribal agency. He and a number of disaffected Pakistani and Afghan Taliban commanders formed Khorasan province and swore allegiance to Islamic State emir Abu Bakr al Baghdadi.

Afghan security forces, backed by US special operations forces, have launched an offensive to oust the Islamic State from its stronghold in Nangarhar. Over the past two weeks, Afghan forces were said to have ejected the Islamic State from areas in the districts of Kot and Haska Mina (Dih Bala), where Khan is reported to have lived.

In Kot, the Afghan military claimed it destroyed Islamic State training camps.

**The Afghan military said it killed 78 jihadists during the operation, however reports indicate the Islamic State put up minimal resistance and melted away into the nearby mountains.**

**Five US soldiers were wounded during the fighting in the district, which has served as a base of operations for the global jihadist group.**

The US began targeting the Khorasan province's top leaders after the group was officially formed in January 2015. In March 2015, the US killed Mullah Abdul Rauf Khadim, who was appointed the deputy governor of Khorasan province. Khadim was previously a senior leader in the Taliban and was a former detainee at Guantanamo Bay. The US military confirmed that it killed Khadim in an airstrike in the Kajaki district in Helmand.

The US also killed Jalaluddin, Khorasan province's mufti – or senior religious and legal scholar – in an airstrike in Nangarhar in October 2015, as well as group spokesman Shahidullah Shahid in July 2015.

**The US policy of killing senior jihadist leaders in counterterrorism operations while abandoning counterinsurgency efforts to combat jihadist groups' military and political strength has had questionable results at best.**

While the killing of top terrorist leaders has forced terrorist organizations to replace their leaders and adjust their security plans, the deaths have done little to stem the spread of jihadist groups and their control of territory in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Libya, Somalia, Mali, and elsewhere.

**Given the Islamic State's limited footprint in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and its multitude of enemies, killing senior leaders may have a small impact on the group, but airstrikes alone cannot dislodge the Islamic State from territory it holds.**

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## **SYRIAN WAR REPORTS**

**Rebels Report Breaking Assad's  
Aleppo Siege:  
“Insurgents Orchestrated An  
Offensive To Cut The Blockade  
Focusing On Areas In The Southern  
Part Of Aleppo”**

# **“One Of Their Largest Undertakings Since The Beginning Of The Syrian War, Drawing Together The Resources Of More Than 20 Factions And Organizations”**

August 7, 2016 BY THOMAS JOSCELYN, The Long War Journal.

Shortly after Al Nusrah Front announced on July 28 that it was relaunching its operations under the name Jabhat Fath Al Sham (“Conquest of the Levant Front”), jihadists, Islamists and other Sunni rebel groups began an offensive to break the siege of Aleppo.

Bashar al Assad’s forces and their Iranian allies, backed by Russia, had been squeezing the rebel held part of the city since earlier this year. The Syrian regime and its partners cut off a key supply road in the north during fighting in June and July, thereby encircling their opponents.

The insurgents orchestrated an offensive to break the blockade focusing on areas in the southern part of Aleppo, including the Ramousa district, which houses key military installations.

The insurgents’ offensive is one of their largest undertakings since the beginning of the Syrian war, drawing together the resources of more than 20 factions and organizations. It obviously required extensive planning to coordinate the actions of so many groups.

On Aug. 6, just over one week after the battle began, the opposition to Assad claimed to have broken through the defensive positions manned by the Syrian regime and allied paramilitary forces.

According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (SOHR), however, the fighting continues and Russia is bombing the area in an attempt to prevent the insurgents from consolidating their gains.

The effort to break the siege has been led by two coalitions: Jaysh al Fath (“Army of Conquest”) and Fatah Halab (“Aleppo Conquest”). Many of the constituent groups in each alliance streamed videos and released photos from the fighting on their social media pages.

Jaysh al Fath was formed by Al Nusrah, Ahrar al Sham, and other organizations in early 2015. The coalition quickly swept through the city of Idlib and the surrounding areas in a matter of weeks. Jaysh al Fath has led multiple other battles throughout Syria, with Al Nusrah (now Jabhat Fath Al Sham, or “JFS”) and Ahrar al Sham always leading the charge. Ahrar al Sham models itself after the Taliban and has its own links to al Qaeda.

Bombers dispatched by JFS played a key role in the fight for southern Aleppo. Early on in the battle, JFS launched two “martyrdom” operations using vehicle borne improvised

explosive devices (VBIEDs) at a location identified as Al Hikmah school. The official Twitter feed for JFS reported on July 31 that the VBIEDs targeted Assad's loyalists. The jihadists quickly swarmed the area, claiming to have captured it.



Jaysh al Fath

JFS continued to launch suicide operations in the days that followed. On Aug. 5, a “martyr” identified as Abu al Baraa struck another location. JFS released a short of video of Abu al Baraa discussing his dedication to the cause, followed by footage of him driving his vehicle to the scene of the attack. On Aug. 6, JFS Twitter feeds advertised still another “martyr,” Abu Yaqub al Shami, who drove his VBIED into a Shiite-held location in Ramousa.

Jaysh al Fath’s member organizations, including JFS and Ahrar al Sham, celebrated their capture of a series of Syrian military colleges that were used as fortified bases in Ramousa.

Jaysh al Fath’s battle plan was divided into several phases, with the phase focusing on the military academies known as the “Battle of Ibrahim al Youssef.” On June 16, 1979, Youssef massacred Alawite cadets at the artillery school in Ramousa. The slayings were blamed on the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, or an offshoot of the Islamist organization.

Other groups belonging to Jaysh al Fath include Jaysh al Sunna, Ajnad al Sham and Katibat al Tawhid wal Jihad (KTJ), all of which participated in the offensive. Jaysh al Sunna and Ajnad al Sham announced the end of the strike on Aug. 6, with Ajnad al Sham thanking Allah for freeing “our brothers trapped in Aleppo.” The KTJ is a predominately Uzbek group that formally pledged allegiance to Al Nusrah last September.

Jihadists closely allied with Jaysh al Fath took part in the fighting. The Syrian arm of the Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP), which is comprised mainly of Uighurs and is part of al Qaeda’s international network, produced a video trumpeting the beginning of campaign. It is not clear if the TIP is a named member of Jaysh al Fath, but in practice it does not matter. The TIP’s men have been integrated into Jaysh al Fath’s battle plans for more than one year.

Other jihadist organizations tied to the al Qaeda network, such as Ansar al Din and Ansar al Islam, sent fighters to the battlefields in the southern part of Aleppo city as well.





Fatah Halab

The Fatah Halab coalition in Aleppo was formed in 2015.

It was established by more than two dozen rebel organizations, including the Nur al-Din al-Zanki Movement, the Levant Front, other Islamist groups and Free Syrian Army (FSA) brigades. Faylaq al Sham (“Sham Legion”), which is an Islamist organization, fought alongside Fatah Halab, but also joined Jaysh al Fath’s operations in both Idlib and Aleppo.

At its founding, Fatah Halab explicitly excluded Al Nusrah. But some of Fatah Halab’s constituent groups, including Nur al-Din al-Zanki Movement, have long worked with Nusrah.

Many of Fatah Halab’s constituent groups have posted propaganda from the fighting in Aleppo.

The 1st Regiment, which is a FSA unit, seemingly played an important role.

On Aug. 2, the group’s fighters detonated a massive bomb in a tunnel underneath a facility controlled by Assad’s forces. The tunnel bomb paved the way for allied forces to rush into the district.



“The tunnel bomb paved the way for allied forces to rush into the district”.  
[https://twitter.com/alfaoj\\_alaoal/status/760509752002641921](https://twitter.com/alfaoj_alaoal/status/760509752002641921)

Other photos show the 1st Regiment using guided missiles to destroy a vehicle belonging to Hezbollah and attack positions held by the Syrian regime.

On its official Twitter feed, the Fataqem Union (FKO Union) describes itself as “one of the most effective factions in Syria,” aiming “to topple Al-Assad Regime and build free and democratic state for all Syrians.”

A FKO Union video tweeted on Aug. 3 purportedly shows a “whole group of Hezbollah” members being killed in a TOW missile strike.

Two days later, on Aug. 5, the FKO Union claimed to repel an attack by Iranian troops and allied militias that were trying to relieve the front lines.

The FKO Union isn't the only group to fire TOW missiles during the battle. On Aug. 2, Jaysh al Nasr (“Army of Victory”) released a video of one of its fighters launching a TOW at enemies perched atop a building in Aleppo.

Other units, such as the Central Division, the Authenticity and Development Front, the Northern Division, Division 13, Sokoor al Jabal Brigade and the “101st Infantry” all posted images from the battle.

The 101st Infantry tweeted a photo of its men manufacturing mortars and grenades to be used in the offensive.

Still another powerful rebel group, Jaysh al Islam, sent forces into the battle for Aleppo as well.

The coming days will prove whether the offensive was as successful as the parties responsible claim.

**MORE:**

**“After Parts Of The Frontline Were Recaptured By The Rebels, The Regime-Allied Forces Deteriorated Very Quickly”**

**“The Pro-Regime Fighters ‘All Left Us,’ The Combatant Said”**

**“We Are Like Dummies — We Don't Know Anything. We Are Fighting Alone”**



People carrying a Free Syrian Army flag and a Jabhat Fatah al-Sham flag on Saturday while celebrating the breaking of the siege of rebel-held areas of Aleppo. Abdalrhman Ismail/Reuters

8.8.16 by Natasha Bertrand, Business Insider Inc. [Excerpts]

A nearly monthlong government siege of Syria's largest city is on the verge of collapse after a week of heavy fighting in northern and eastern Aleppo led to the defeat of pro-regime forces by a coalition of Syrian opposition groups.

[T]he situation remains unstable, said Syrian journalist Hadi Alabdallah, who was in Aleppo while the battle unfolded.

But the Free Syrian Army, aided by a military alliance of several rebel brigades known as Jaysh al Fateh, or the Army of Conquest, has regained control over a significant portion of Aleppo, including a government supply line leading into the city from the south and a major regime artillery academy.

"There was initially significant resistance from the pro-regime forces," Alabdallah told Business Insider in an interview from Turkey, where he is receiving medical treatment for an injury he suffered while in Syria. Foreign fighters, including Iran-backed militias and Hezbollah, dominated the pro-regime forces, he said.

"But after parts of the frontline were recaptured by the rebels, the regime-allied forces deteriorated very quickly," Alabdallah said.

"It was very surprising, and much faster than anyone had expected," he added. "Officers from those [pro-regime] militias fled and left their soldiers out on the field, so they started

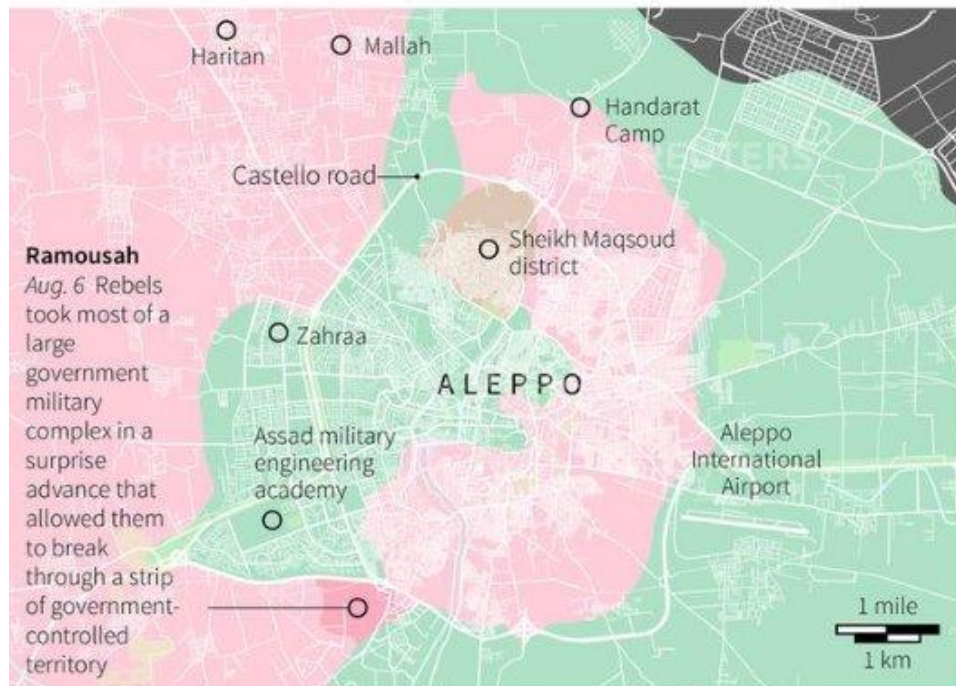
to flee as well. That's why the artillery academy was so easy to overrun — it was captured within two hours."

## Battle for Aleppo

Syrian insurgents who broke the siege of rebel-held eastern Aleppo came under intense air attack on Aug. 7, trying to repel the advance which also cut government-held Aleppo's main supply route.



**Area of control:** ■ Syrian army ■ Rebels/ recent gains ■ YPG ■ Islamic State



Sources: Institute for the Study of War; Reuters. Control areas as of Aug. 7.

Staff, 08/08/2016

REUTERS

**Alabdallah's account lines up with what one alleged Hezbollah fighter said in a tape recorded during last week's heavy fighting, which was later leaked on social media.**

The pro-regime fighters "all left us," the combatant said in the message, according to NOW Lebanon. "The Iranian, Afghans and Syrians ... all of them left us. We are like dummies — we don't know anything. We are fighting alone."

"I went to the academy in the afternoon ... and only the Lebanese were still there," he added of the artillery academy rebels say they overran.

"Given the scale of the battle and the gains made, the number of lost (rebel) fighters has been very limited," Alabdallah said.

He estimated that the opposition was able to recapture 35 square kilometers, or roughly 21 miles, of territory, including strategic infrastructure, from pro-regime forces.

"The civilians are so happy," Alabdallah said. "They will continue to be bombed, and they will continue taking whatever precautions they need to avoid being killed in the airstrikes. But at least now they won't be starving."

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## **POLICE WAR REPORTS**

**US Border Patrol To Pay  
Woman Record Settlement For  
Illegal Cavity Search:  
“The Plaintiff Was Given A  
Laxative And Her Excrement  
Analyzed. She Was Then Given A  
CT Scan And A Vaginal And Anal  
Exam”**

**“They Did This Without A Warrant  
And Her Verbal Consent”**

**“The Plaintiff Not Charged And Sent A  
Hospital Bill Of More Than US\$5,000,  
Which She Refused To Pay”**

03 August 16 By teleSUR

Mexican-American has been awarded US\$475,000 for traumatic cavity searches carried out by the U.S. Customs and Border Protection in December 2012, according to a statement by the ACLU, which represented her.

The woman, who is simply known as “Jane Doe” had received a settlement of US\$1.1 million in 2014 from the hospital that, under CBP orders, had allegedly performed more invasive cavity searches.

Described as a middle-aged, married woman from Lovington, New Mexico, the U.S. citizen was returning from a routine trip to Ciudad Juarez, Mexico where she was visiting a close friend. While crossing on foot at the El Paso, Texas border, she was stopped for a random search by the CBP.

Edgar Saldivar, a senior staff attorney at the ACLU of Texas, told Fusion that after a drug-sniffing dog jumped on her, she was searched, but nothing was found.

She was then send to a secondary inspection site, “where they did more invasive searches in her private areas, but did not find anything,” according to Saldivar.

Finally, not satisfied with the results, “they took her to the hospital for more extensive examinations,” Saldivar said.

At the University Medical Center of El Paso, the CBP requested further exams be carried out by the hospital staff. According to the ACLU, the plaintiff was given a laxative and her excrement analyzed. She was then given a CT scan and a vaginal and anal exam.

“Each examination turned out negative. They did this without a warrant and her verbal consent,” Saldivar added.

The plaintiff was released, not charged and sent a hospital bill of more than US\$5,000, which she refused to pay.

Saldivar said of the settlement, “I am not aware of any other case where CBP paid that much money for an unlawful search,” he said.

He concluded, “We definitely think this is part of a broader pattern of abuse that happens at the border. It’s over-militarized and there are some agents working there who act as if they are above the law. So we are hoping that this case brings attention to the need for greater reform, transparency and oversight.”

**As part of the settlement, the ACLU sent out notices to over 100 hospitals along the border warning staff about the legal ramifications of carrying out searches without warrants ordered by the CBP.**

## **MILITARY RESISTANCE BY EMAIL**

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**Same address to unsubscribe.**

## FORWARD OBSERVATIONS



**“At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh had I the ability, and could reach the nation’s ear, I would, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke.**

**“For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder.**

**“We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake.”**

**“The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppose.”**

**Frederick Douglass, 1852**

**The Nixon administration claimed and received great credit for withdrawing the Army from Vietnam, but it was the rebellion of low-ranking GIs that forced the government to abandon a hopeless suicidal policy.**

**-- David Cortright; Soldiers In Revolt**

# Kissinger Diplomacy

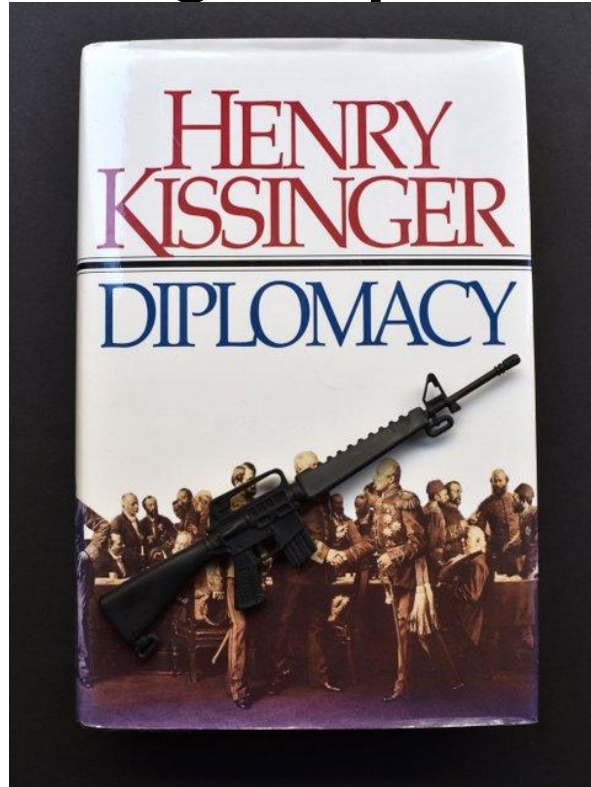


Photo by Mike Hastie

From: Mike Hastie  
To: Military Resistance Newsletter  
Sent: July 28, 2016  
Subject: Kissinger Diplomacy

**Photo by Mike Hastie**

Photo and caption from the portfolio of Mike Hastie, US Army Medic, Vietnam 1970-71. (For more of his outstanding work, contact [hastiemike@earthlink.net](mailto:hastiemike@earthlink.net))

One day while I was in a bunker in Vietnam, a sniper round went over my head. The person who fired that weapon was not a terrorist, a rebel, an extremist, or a so-called insurgent. The Vietnamese individual who tried to kill me was a citizen of Vietnam, who did not want me in his country. This truth escapes millions.

**Mike Hastie**  
U.S. Army Medic  
Vietnam 1970-71  
December 13, 2004



**“Of All Persons, Therefore, The Productive Worker Has Least Command Over The Services Of Unproductive Workers, Although He Has Most To Pay For The Involuntary Services (The State And Taxes)”**

**“The Artisan Or Peasant Who Produces With His Own Means Of Production Will Either Gradually Be Transformed Into A Small Capitalist Who Also Exploits The Labour Of Others, Or He Will Suffer The Loss Of His Means Of Production And Be Transformed Into A Wage Worker”**

**“It Can Therefore Be Assumed That The Whole World Of Commodities, All Spheres Of Material Production — The Production Of Material Wealth — Are Subordinated To The Capitalist Mode Of Production”**

From Karl Marx, *Theories Of Surplus Value*; International Publishers; New York, 1952

The performance of certain services, or the use values resulting from certain activities or labours, are embodied in commodities; others on the contrary leave no tangible results separate from the persons themselves; or, their result is not a vendible commodity.

For example, the service rendered to me by a singer satisfies my aesthetic need; but what I enjoy exists only in an action inseparable from the singer himself; and as soon as his labour, the singing, comes to an end my enjoyment is also over; I enjoy the activity itself — its reverberation on my ear.

These services themselves, like the commodities which I buy, may be necessary or may only seem necessary — for example the service of a soldier, a doctor or a lawyer; or they may be services which only yield enjoyment.

But this makes no difference to their economic character.

If I am in good health and do not need a doctor, or have the good luck not to be involved in a lawsuit, I avoid paying out money for medical or legal services as I do the plague.

The services may also be forced on me: the services of officials, etc.

If I buy the service of a teacher not to develop my faculties but to acquire skills with which I can earn money — or when others buy this teacher for me — and if I really learn something, which in itself is quite independent of the payment for the service — these costs of education, like the costs of my maintenance, belong to the costs of production of my labour power.

But the special usefulness of this service does not alter the economic relation; it is not a relation in which I transform money into capital, or whereby the supplier of the service, the teacher, transforms me into his capitalist, his master.

Consequently it also does not affect the economic character of this relation whether the doctor cures me or the teacher makes a success of teaching me or the lawyer wins my lawsuit.

What is paid for is the performance of the service as such, and by its very nature the result cannot be guaranteed by those who render the service.

A great part of services belongs to the costs of consumption of commodities, such as those of a cook, maid, etc.

It is characteristic of all unproductive labours that they are at my disposal — as is the case in the purchase of all other commodities for consumption — in the same proportion as that in which I exploit productive workers.

**Of all persons, therefore, the productive worker has least command over the services of unproductive workers, although he has most to pay for the involuntary services (the State and taxes).**

*Vice versa*, however, my power to employ productive workers does not at all increase in proportion to the extent that I employ unproductive workers, but on the contrary falls in the same proportion.

Productive workers may, in relation to me, be unproductive workers.

For example, if I have my house re-papered, and the paper-hangers are wage workers of an employer who sells me the job, it is just the same for me as if I had bought a house already papered: I would have expended money for a commodity for my consumption; but for the employer who gets these workers to hang the paper they are productive workers, for they produce surplus value for him.

What then is the position of independent handicraftsmen or peasants who employ no workers and therefore do not produce as capitalists?

Either, as always in the case of the peasant (but not for example of a gardener whom I get to come to my house), they are commodity producers and I buy the commodity from

them — in which case it makes no difference for example that the handicraftsman supplies it to order or the peasant brings to market what he can.

In this relationship they meet me as sellers of commodities, not as sellers of labour, and this relation has therefore nothing at all to do with the exchange of capital, and therefore also nothing to do with the distinction between productive and unproductive labour, which is based purely on whether the labour is exchanged with money as money or with money as capital.

They therefore belong neither to the category of productive nor to that of unproductive workers, although they are producers of commodities. But their production does not fall under the capitalist mode of production.

It is possible that these producers working with their own means of production not only reproduce their labour power but create surplus value, since their position makes it possible for them to appropriate their own surplus labour or a part of it (as one part is taken from them in the form of taxes, etc.).

And here we come up against a peculiarity that is characteristic of a society in which one definite mode of production predominates, although all productive relations have not yet been subordinated to it.

In feudal society, for example, as we can best observe in England because here the system of feudalism was introduced ready made from Normandy and its form was impressed on what was in many respects a different social foundation — even productive relations which were far removed from the nature of feudalism were given a feudal form; for example, simple money relations in which there was no trace of mutual personal service as between suzerain and vassal, for instance the fiction that the small peasant held his property as a fief.

In just the same way in the capitalist mode of production the independent peasant or handicraftsman is sundered into two persons.

As owner of the means of production he is capitalist, as worker he is his own wage worker.

As capitalist, he therefore pays himself his wages and draws his profit from his capital; that is to say, he exploits himself as wage worker and pays himself with the surplus value, the tribute that labour owes to capital.

Perhaps he also pays himself a third part as landowner (rent), in the same way, as we shall see later, that the industrial capitalist who works with his own capital pays himself interest and regards this as something which he owes to himself not as an industrial capitalist, but *qua* capitalist pure and simple.

The social character of the means of production in capitalist production — the fact that they express a definite productive relation — has so grown together with, and in the mode of thought of bourgeois society is so inseparable from, the material existence of these means of production as means of production, that the same definition (definite category) is applied even where the relation is the very opposite.

The means of production become capital only in so far as they have become an independent power confronting labour.

In the case mentioned the producer — the worker — is the possessor, owner, of his means of production.

They are therefore not capital, any more than in relation to them he is a wage worker.

Nevertheless they are thought of as capital, and he himself is split in two, so that as capitalist he employs himself as wage worker

In fact this way of presenting it, however irrational it may seem at first sight, is nevertheless correct in so far as the producer in such a case actually creates his own surplus value (assuming that he sells his commodity at its value), or the whole product materialises only his own labour.

That he is able to appropriate to himself the whole product of his own labour, and that the excess of the value of his product over the average price of his day's labour is not appropriated by someone else, he owes however not to his labour — which does not distinguish him from other workers — but to his ownership of the means of production.

It is therefore only through his ownership of these that he takes possession of his own surplus labour, and thus arises his relation, as his own capitalist, to himself as wage worker.

The separation between the two is the normal relation in this society.

Where therefore it does not in fact exist, it is presumed, and, as shown above, up to a point with justice; for (as distinct for example from conditions in Ancient Rome or Norway or in the North-West of the United States) in this society the unity appears as accidental, the separation as normal, and consequently the separation is maintained as the relation, even when one person unites the different functions.

Here emerges in a very striking way the fact that the capitalist as such is only a function of capital, the worker a function of labour power.

**For it is also a law that economic development divides out functions among different persons, and the artisan or peasant who produces with his own means of production will either gradually be transformed into a small capitalist who also exploits the labour of others, or he will suffer the loss of his means of production (this may happen to begin with although he remains their nominal owner, as in a mortgage) and be transformed into a wage worker.**

This is the tendency in the form of society in which the capitalist mode of production predominates.

**In examining the essential relations of capitalist production it can therefore be assumed that the whole world of commodities, all spheres of material production — the production of material wealth — are subordinated (formally or really) to the capitalist mode of production (since this is being continuously approximated to, is**

**in principle the goal of capitalist production, and only if this is realised will the productive power of labour be developed to its highest point).**

On this premise, which expresses the goal (limit), and which therefore is constantly coming closer to exact truth, all workers engaged in the production of commodities are wage workers, and the means of production in all these spheres confront them as capital.

It can then be said to be a characteristic of productive workers, that is, of capital-producing workers, that their labour is realised in commodities, in material wealth.

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## **ANNIVERSARIES**

### **August 11, 1894: Dishonorable Day: Federal Troops Forced Some 1,200 Jobless Workers Across The Potomac River And Out Of Washington, D.C.**

**[If they try that shit again today, time to turn the weapons around on the real enemies, and it's not the unemployed. T]**

Carl Bunin Peace History August 9-15

Federal troops forced some 1,200 jobless workers across the Potomac River and out of Washington, D.C.

Led by an unemployed activist, "General" Charles "Hobo" Kelly, the jobless group's "soldiers" included young journalist Jack London, known for writing about social issues, and miner/cowboy William "Big Bill" Haywood who later organized western miners and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

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### **August 14, 1980: Polish Workers Strike Against Dictatorship:**

# “They Had Illusions In The Army, And Did Not Make Any Serious Effort To Win Over Rank-And-File Soldiers”



After months of labor turmoil, more than 16,000 Polish workers seized control of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk.

Carl Bunin Peace History August 13-19 [Excerpts]

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9 August 2000 BY CHRIS SLEE, Green Left Weekly [Excerpts]

Twenty years ago, on August 14, a strike began at the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, Poland, which led to the birth of the independent Solidarity trade union movement. This movement went on to play a crucial and contradictory role in the restoration of capitalist rule in Poland at end of the 1980s.

The initial issues that sparked the shipyards strike were wages and the sacking of a militant worker, Anna Walentinowicz. The strike quickly spread to other workplaces, reflecting the widespread discontent with the system of bureaucratic “socialism” established in Poland in the late 1940s.

The authorities were forced to negotiate and, in an agreement signed at Gdansk on August 31, conceded a list of demands including the right to form independent trade unions. Solidarity was formally established as a trade union on September 17.

Solidarity developed into a mass social movement challenging Poland's Stalinist regime. It was violently suppressed in December 1981 when martial law was declared by General Jaruzelski, who held the posts of Communist Party first secretary, prime minister and defence minister.

Remnants of the movement continued to organise illegally, re-emerging into legality in the late 1980s. The movement was then converted into a right-wing political party which won the elections in June 1989 and formed a government that set out to restore capitalism.

How did a movement that grew out of a working-class struggle against Stalinism become an agent of capitalist restoration?

Part of the answer lies in the ideological limitations of the leadership. Lech Walesa, the main leader of the Gdansk strike and subsequently the central leader of the union, was a militant worker, but also a socially conservative Catholic. The same was true of many other working-class activists in the union. The striking workers at Gdansk sang hymns and held mass in the shipyard.

Religious beliefs do not necessarily prevent political leaders from playing a progressive role. But the fact that the dominant section of Solidarity's leadership belonged to a church committed to the defence of private property, and hailed its right-wing social teachings, was a problem. It became an even bigger problem when this leadership became the government of Poland and began to implement those teachings.

Another component of Solidarity's leadership was a group of intellectuals who had been active in KOR (the Committee for the Defence of the Workers), an organisation that had carried out solidarity with workers' struggles during the 1970s.

The key figure in this group was Jacek Kuron. In the 1960s he and Karol Modzelewski had called for the seizure of power by the working class. But by the time Solidarity was formed, Kuron had modified his ideas, replacing the perspective of revolutionary overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy with one of gradually reforming the state under pressure from mass organisations and struggles.

At that time, Kuron's perspective was still one of reforming the socialist state rather than restoring capitalism. Pressure for reform came mainly from Solidarity, which was then a mass workers' movement imbued with the idea that workers were entitled to control the factories and play a leading role in society.

But after this movement was crushed by Jaruzelski's repression, Solidarity's leadership (including both its Catholic and "leftist" components) adopted a perspective of capitalist restoration. (Kuron himself later became minister of labour in Walesa's pro-capitalist government). The adoption of a policy of capitalist restoration by Solidarity's leadership was made easier by the confused political outlook of most Solidarity activists.

During 1980-81, Solidarity grew to include 10 million members. The consciousness of the activists was mixed. They fought for immediate economic demands (e.g., wage rises) and democratic demands (e.g., freedom of speech). They also struggled for control of the factories, in many cases voting the factory directors out of office and replacing them with new ones.

These demands and struggles represented a progressive response to Stalinist bureaucratic rule. Yet there were also some less progressive elements in the workers' consciousness.

In addition to the socially conservative attitudes promoted by the Catholic church, many workers were impressed by the relative prosperity and democratic rights existing in the advanced capitalist countries and failed to see that the prosperity and freedom of a few imperialist countries is based on the exploitation and repression of people in the Third World.

Not understanding imperialism, they failed to solidarise with Third World struggles for national liberation. While expressing a general sympathy with workers everywhere, most did not take much interest in workers' struggles in the West. Solidarity's newspaper had hardly any international news.

Solidarity lacked a clear program and strategy for overthrowing the bureaucratic regime and creating a democratic worker-ruled society. The organisation's draft program made reference to socialism as one source of inspiration, along with Christianity and democracy.

Solidarity activists carried out a struggle for self-management in many workplaces, but did not have a clear understanding of the need for socialist planning.

**They had illusions in the army, and did not make any serious effort to win over rank-and-file soldiers.**

While Solidarity was not a consciously socialist organisation, neither was it consciously anti-socialist. As British academic Martin Myant observed in Poland: a Crisis for Socialism (1982): "It advocated equality and was particularly emphatic about the need for an adequate assured minimum income and an end to special privileges for a wealthy minority. Many of the specific demands were, even if the authors of the program avoided making the point, quite incompatible with capitalism."

**During 1980-81, neither the government nor the leadership of Solidarity could have carried out a program of capitalist restoration, even if they had wanted to.**

**This was because the workers would not have allowed it. Workers in the factories were attempting to bring the enterprises under their own control, and would not have accepted handing them over to capitalist owners.**

**The crushing of this working-class upsurge created the conditions in which capitalist restoration could be carried out with little resistance a few years later. In the demoralisation following martial law, pro-capitalist attitudes were able to become dominant in Polish society.**

Today, there is a lot of discontent with the results of the restoration of capitalism in Poland and other former Stalinist-ruled states, but still no mass revolutionary parties with a clear socialist perspective.



A mass upsurge of working class and popular discontent is necessary but not sufficient.  
A struggle to win the movement to a clear socialist perspective is necessary.

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## **DANGER: CAPITALISTS AT WORK**



Black Agenda Report

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## **OCCUPATION PALESTINE**

**Zionist Occupation Court  
Sentences Palestinian Journalist  
To 6 Months In Prison Over  
'Incitement' On Facebook:  
"In Recent Months, Israel Has  
Detained Scores Of Palestinians For  
Social Media Activity"**

# “Palestinians Have Instead Pointed Chiefly To The Frustration And Despair Brought On By Israel’s Nearly 50-Year Military Occupation Of The Palestinian Territory”



Samah Dweik

July 19, 2016 Ma'an

JERUSALEM (Ma'an) -- An Israeli court on Monday sentenced a Palestinian journalist to six months in prison over charges of “incitement,” her family told Ma'an.

The family of Samah Dweik, a 25-year-old journalist working for Shabakat al-Quds (The Jerusalem Network), said that she was detained in April in her home in the occupied East Jerusalem neighborhood of Ras al-Amud over alleged “incitement” on Facebook.

The Israeli magistrate court in Jerusalem found her guilty of posting “inciting” posts on social media.

Amjad Abu Asab, the head of the Jerusalem Committee for Families of Prisoners, told Ma'an in May that Dweik had been detained after writing a status and sharing an image in support of Palestinians recently killed by Israeli forces.

In recent months, Israel has detained scores of Palestinians for social media activity, alleging that a wave of unrest that swept the occupied Palestinian territory last October was encouraged largely by "incitement."

Palestinians have instead pointed chiefly to the frustration and despair brought on by Israel's nearly 50-year military occupation of the Palestinian territory and the absence of a political horizon.

**In May, the Palestinian Prisoners' Center for Studies (PPCS) estimated that at least 28 Palestinian women had been detained by Israel since October over alleged "incitement" on social media, with six of them still in prison, including Dweik.**

Most recently, Israeli military's public prosecutor issued an indictment on Thursday against Tamer Tarayra -- the brother of 17-year-old Muhammad Nasser Tarayra who was killed by Israeli forces after carrying out a stabbing attack on an illegal Israeli settlement in the southern occupied West Bank district of Hebron, killing a 13-year-old Israeli girl -- for alleged "incitement."

Muhammad Nasser Tarayra himself had reportedly expressed admiration on Facebook for Palestinians killed while carrying out or allegedly carrying out attacks, including his cousin, Yousef Mustafa Tarayra, who was shot dead alongside two other Palestinian youth in March after they allegedly carried out two consecutive attacks.

Israel has responded to the perceived threat of social media incitement by blaming Facebook for not doing more to censor posts promoting "terrorism" against Israelis.

Following a series of deadly incidents, Israel's Public Security Minister Gilad Erdan reportedly said that Facebook chairman and cofounder Mark Zuckerberg had "blood on his hands" for not adequately cooperating with Israel to remove content.

An Israeli lawyer has filed a \$1 billion lawsuit against Facebook Inc., claiming that the social media platform allowed members of the Palestinian resistance movement Hamas to plan and carry out attacks against Americans and Israelis.

Israeli Justice Minister Ayelet Shaked and Public Security Minister Gilad Erdan have also proposed a bill that would compel social media providers like Facebook, Google, YouTube, and Twitter to remove "criminal" content that constitutes a danger to personal, public, or state security.

In response to incitement claims against Palestinians, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Secretary-General Saeb Erekat condemned the current Israeli government for its failure to "entrench a culture of peace and coexistence within Israeli society" in a statement last week.

**Erekat flipped the script, holding Israel responsible for incitement, saying "official Israeli discourse entrenches hatred, racism, and discriminatory attitudes against Palestinians. The discourse is only further entrenched by the institutional protection that is given to those who commit or incite violence against Palestinians."**

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# **Ambassadors Protest At Israel's Ceaseless Destruction Of Bedouin Shelters:**

**“These Confiscations As Well As  
Previous Demolitions Create A Coercive  
Environment That Potentially Pressures  
Them To Leave Their Current Sites  
Against Their Will”**

18 July 2016 by Peter Beaumont in Jerusalem, The Guardian

Eight ambassadors to Israel have written to the Israeli military accusing it of breaking international humanitarian law by confiscating shelters for Bedouins in the occupied West Bank that were paid for by European governments.

The letter, sent privately to Maj Gen Yoav Mordechai earlier this month – and leaked to the Guardian – refers to two incidents in May and June of this year in which shelters funded by EU governments for Bedouins in the occupied territories were confiscated.

The first incident took place on 16 May when the Israeli civil administration dismantled and confiscated “materials for 10 residential caravans in the community of Jabal al Baba, displacing 49 people” from what the letter describes as a “vulnerable” Bedouin community.

The second incident referred to the “dismantling and confiscation” of seven caravans in Sateh el Bahir, six of which were being used as homes and the seventh as a kindergarten. Six families, numbering 26 individuals, were displaced.

The letter is the latest evidence of growing tension between donor governments and Israel over EU aid to threatened Bedouin communities in the part of the occupied Palestinian territories designated as Area C, where Israel has full security and administrative control.

According to a UN report from 2014, about 7,000 Palestinian Bedouins were living in Area C, 60% of them children.

Most of the families have demolition orders pending against their homes and more than 85% lack connection to the electricity and water networks. Bedouins who make their living from herding are also disproportionately among the 6,000 Palestinians who have been displaced since 2008.

Signed by the ambassadors to Israel of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden, Germany, Ireland and Norway, the letter describes the confiscated items as being “provided as part of a broader humanitarian intervention for vulnerable Palestinian households” coordinated by the UN and representing a loss of \$64,500 (£49,000) to the donor governments.

“The people living in the two affected communities,” the letter adds, “are among the most vulnerable in the West Bank.

These confiscations as well as previous demolitions, compounded by the inability of humanitarian agencies to deliver relief items to the affected households, create a coercive environment that potentially pressures them to leave their current sites against their will.

“If that scenario materialises, the UN expresses its concern that it may amount to forcible transfers, which are considered a grave breach of international humanitarian law.

“Under international humanitarian law, Israel is required – as the occupying power – to meet the basic needs of the population,” they write, adding that “relief items should not be requisitioned, confiscated, expropriated or interfered with in any way”.

According to one diplomat whose government was involved with the letter, there had been “no official reply”.

The source added: “We’ve had no response but through backdoor contacts it has been hinted that the demolitions will continue.”

The issue of buildings funded both by the EU and individual European donors in the occupied territories – in particular, for Bedouins – has become a source of mounting conflict.

Israel, which is unwilling to give building permits or wider planning in large parts of Area C, regards the buildings as illegal structures and the Israeli civil administration has been under growing political pressure from both rightwing politicians and NGOs to push ahead with demolitions around Jerusalem and in the Jericho governorate, where the two incidents referred to took place, as well as in communities in the south Hebron hills.

The latest letter follows a call in January by all of the EU’s 28 member states for Israel to allow the Palestinians to develop Area C of the West Bank, warning then that actions against the Palestinians, such as demolitions and confiscation – including of EU-funded projects – were an obstacle to peace.

**To check out what life is like under a murderous military occupation commanded by foreign terrorists, go to:**

<http://www.maannews.net/eng/Default.aspx> and  
<http://www.palestinemonitor.org/list.php?id=ej898ra7yff0ukmf16>

**The occupied nation is Palestine. The foreign terrorists call themselves “Israeli.”**

# DANGER: POLITICIANS AT WORK



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