Trotskyists and the creation of Israel

Most “Trotskyists” today are, everywhere, agitators and propagandists against the Jewish state of Israel. Not agitators for the view that Israel should change its relationship with the Palestinians, or that it should help set up an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel. No. The agitation and propaganda centres on the “demand” that Israel should cease to exist.

In war they have sided with the Arab states — Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Jordan — in the hope and expectation that, victorious, they would put an end to Israel. At the start of the 21st century they back the medieval-minded forces of Arab and Islamic clerical fascism — the Muslim Brotherhood and its off-shoot, and Hezbollah, Hamas and the jihadis in Iraq. Rejecting a two-state solution, these mystics of “anti-imperialism” back the Muslim mystics who would recreate the Caliphate — the pre-World War I Turkish empire, against Israel. This “left” is mainly, in Britain, centred on the SWP.

What do they propose to put in place of Israel? It used to be a “secular democratic state” covering all of pre-1948 Palestine. In this, the Jews who survived the necessary conquest by Arab armies would be offered religious, but not national, rights. The new all-determining alliance with Islamic clerical fascists, such as the Muslim Brotherhoods British affiliate, the Muslim Association of Britain, has knocked the “secular” out of that formula. The fact of all-pervasive dictatorship in the Arab states, with the flickering exception of Lebanon, has always beggared the question about the “democratic” part of it. What is left now? “Marxist” support for the conquest of Israel by Hamas-Hizballah-like jihadis?

This political attitude to Israel-Palestine is a long way from the politics of the international Trotskyist movement on this question in the 1920s, ’30s and ’40s — when Israel was established — in the documents assembled here, mainly from the late 1940s, show. Locking back you can see some of the roots of what exists now, but you also see a great deal more. What changed in the ’60s and early ’70s, obviously, was Israel’s victory over the Arab states in the Six-Day War of 1967, and its occupation of the whole of pre-1948 Palestine.

The UN partition plan of 1947, under which Israel came into existence, had provided for two states in Palestine, one for the Arabs. The territory of that projected Palestinian state was taken by Egypt, Jordan, and, marginally, Israel, in 1948-9. After June 1967 Israel controlled it all, and for forty years now has been the brutal colonial master of the Palestinian people.

The recrudescence of this terrible situation calls for the realisation, even 60 years too late, of the UN’s 1947 resolution - two states for the two peoples. It is the national response to the oppression of the Palestinians, as well as being the only remotely practicable one, and the only way to do something like justice to both the Palestinian and Jewish peoples. You may think that. Most reasonable people do. Not the knicks left! While trading, in its agitation and propaganda, on justified humanitarian outrage at the suffering of the Palestinians, it rejects the only policy that could bring relief to the Palestinians! Maximum outrage comes here with maximum indifference to the Palestinian people.

Before and after World War I, revolutionary socialists opposed the Zionist project, but they did not side with the reactionaries, still less with the then equivalent of today’s clerical fascists, of the Arab world, against the Zionists. They defended the right of Jews to go to Palestine, as to anywhere else (see the 1929 article by Max Shachtman in this collection).

Then, in 1929-30, the Communist International, which at first had characterised the Arab progoms against Jews in Palestine as “counter-revolutionary” — included them in their “list” and decided, that since this was a period, the “Third Period”, where everywhere capitalism was giving way to revolution, the pogroms must be part of the world-wide anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist upsurge. They came out unenthusiastically for the “anti-imperialist” pogroms. It was the start of what is today the “anti-Zionist” “anti-imperialist” bloodbath by most “Trotskyists”.

It was tragically reminiscent of the response of the heroic Russian revolutionaries of the Narodnaya Volya, who had just assassinated the Tsar, to the anti-Semitic pogroms of 1881. They had hoped by their spectacular assassination to demotivate the people against the aristocracy — and, here, the people were rising. The pogroms were therefore welcome evidence that “the people” were responding to the Narodniki. They were honest, though very confused, people. The Stalinites were cynical manipulators who, in the 1930s, ’40s and ’50s — with a short break in the late 1940s, when they backed the formation of Israel, in order to make trouble for the British Empire — would fill the labour movement with their own poisonous brand of anti-Semitic “anti-Zionism. What is now “Trotskyism” on the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The most striking thing about the late 1940s documents of the “Orthodox Trotskyists” collected here is that in the 1948 war — in which Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and others granted the declaration of Israel by a full scale invasion — they did not support the Arabs. They tell the truth about the political nature of the Arab forces: they consider that a matter of conscience in shaping their attitude towards the war. Political fantasy did not lead them to see in Arab treachery, still less in clerical fascists such as the Muslim Brotherhood, “objectively” anti-imperialist revolutionaries. The “Heterodox Trotskyism” — those like Max Shachtman, Albert Glotzer and Hal Draper, who had fallen out with Trotsky in 1939-40 over Russia’s invasion of Poland — denounced Zionism but supported Israel’s right to exist and to defend itself. Some other Trotskyists in Europe had supported Iran’s guerrilla war against the British.

Even so, you can see some of the roots of later developments in the Trotskyist attitude of 1948. The Jews supported the partition of Palestine. The Orthodox Trotskyists refusal to endorse their right to self-determination, was in this situation, though none of them backed the Arab states, a pro-Arab attitude. (Curiously, it parallels the implicitly anti-Palestinian position now of those “anti-Zionists” who reject the two state solution). Why they did this was spelled out in a polemical article of 1946, by Tony Cliff, the late founder of the British SWP. Arguing in an internal bulletin of the US organisation, he wrote: “we are sure that acceptance by the SWP (of anything less than stark hostility to Israel) will do infinite harm to the cause of the Fourth International in all the Arab countries and may even bring about a cleavage between the colonial sections and the SWP.”

The “line” was to be determined not by political right and wrong, not by basic working class socialist politics, but by the considerations of how it would “play” in the Arab countries. In effect he says that the Trotskyists dare not recognise national rights for the Jewish Palestinians. That approach then inhibited logical support for Jewish national rights. Today, the same approach has eaten away the political brain and backbone of those “Trotskyists” who, is the name of “anti-imperialism”, ally with some of the most reactionary forces on the planet. We publish these documents to help young people miseducated by the knick-knocks get their political bearings.

Sueii Mrgaumovu
1. Fourth International Statement: Draft Theses on the Jewish Question

The Jewish question in the capitalist world

As a trading people, whose survival in the midst of other peoples has been rooted in a particular social function, the Jews have seen their fate determined across the ages by the great epochs of world history, with each epoch being linked to relations with the different classes.

The bourgeoisie revolution in Western Europe opened the gates of the ghettos and integrated the Jewish masses into the society around them. The assimilation of the Jews seemed to be decided. But the countries of central and eastern Europe, the greatest reservoirs of Jews who had been pigeon-holed for centuries, were drawn into the path of capitalist development at the same time as world capitalism had already crossed its imperialist phase.

When the capitalist system of exchange and production were rapidly overthrowing, taking away from the Jews the material basis of their existence, there was no mass industrialization allowing these millions of intermediaries who had become redundant. The social differentiation of the Jewish masses was thus far from complete.

In Germany, a country in which had fallen into the hands of the Nazi leaders, organized from above the persecution and, later, the extermination of the Jews. In this sense it was decaying of the Jewish bourgeoisie that put money into the hands of a band of bloody criminals, and is fully responsible for the terrible fate of the Jews in Europe during the war.

The extermination of the European Jews by German imperialism was a unique phenomenon in world history. By exterminating them the fate which awaits them if present-day society continues to rule.

Zionism was born in the Jewish petty bourgeoisie of Central Europe, as a reaction to the rise of anti-Semitism and the retreat of the Western bourgeoisie, during that period as a reaction to the fall of petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the Jewish bourgeoisie and international imperialism.

It was a typically petty-bourgeois movement, and for a long time it remained without aid from the Jewish bourgeoisie and isolated from the mass movement in the course of the First World War, British imperialism, wanting to use Zionism as an instrument to install itself in Palestine, seemed to give the possibility of becoming a reality, through the Balfour Declaration. After that, a slight alleviation of capitalist and immigration of imperialist was achieved.

It was not until after Hitler's coming to power, and the rapid decomposition of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie that these two flows accelerated, though at the same time they were hindered by the national bourgeoisie by the policy of British imperialism, which was erecting a new line of defense to Jewish penetration in Palestine.

For the reactionary proletariat, Zionism should be considered as both an apathy and a reactionary movement.

Utopianism

a) Because it considers possible a "harmonious" development of the productive forces in a "closed economy" in Palestine, in the midst of a capitalist world which is subject to greater and greater economic convulsions.

b) The tremendous development of the Palestinian economy which would be necessary to allow the absorption of several millions of immigrants is unanswerable in the framework of the present-day world capitalist economy.

c) Because it considers possible the creation of a Jewish (or Palestinian) state in the midst of the absurd hostility of 50 million Arabs, although Jewish immigration and the progressive industrialization of the country develop the Arab population in the same proportion, and, above all, in the same capacity.

d) Because it hopes to obtain this result by relying on massacres between the Arabs and Jews, which stability will only want to use the Zionist movement as a pawn in their power politics in Arabia.

e) Because it thinks that it can neutralize anti-Semitism in the world just by granting a nationality to the Jews, although this anti-Semitism has deep social, historical and ideological roots, which will be all the more difficult to tear up as the agony of capitalism prolongs itself.

Reactivation

a) Because it serves as a support for British imperialist domination, the national-consciousness, serving as an "architect" of the Jewish Arab disputes, itself demanding the maintenance of the Jewish minority as a partial economy, a "closed" Jewish economy whose working masses have a much higher standard of living than, and different immediate interests from, the rest of the population.

b) Because it provokes a nationalist reaction on the part of the Arab masses, which, in the absence of a "movement", reinforces the "holy alliance" of classes between both Jews and Arabs, and then allows imperialism to perpetuate this conflict, as a reign to perpetuate, by the presence of troops in Palestine.

c) Because it slows down the movement for agrarian revolution by buying land from the Arab landowners and developing the Jewish land monopoly. The Jewish question seems to be a symbol for the whole of the Arab question in Palestine. But the position of the Jews in the Arab world is determined by the fact that the Jews are not isolated from the Arabs, but that they are treated as a particular minority.

The task of the Jewish workers was to fight side by side with the workers of the countries where they lived, for the overthrow of capitalism, after which complete liberty would be granted to them in their own country.

The Jewish workers in occupied lands are indispensable allies of the working class to the revolutionary struggle in the world.

How the Jewish question presents itself in the world today

After the Second World War, the particularly tragic situation of the Jewish workers seems to be a symbol for the whole of the tragedy of humanity sliding towards barbarism.

But after the war, the Jews everywhere face a novel problem, that of the liberation of the Jews from the rule of the imperialist states. In a few years, they have not been able to find any refuge for these unfortunate peoples, except in the Soviet Union, where the general culture of the masses, their standard of living, etc.), agreements advanced by the defenders of colonialism in every country.

For Palestine, the 500,000 Jews face an Arab world in ferment.

The development of Egyptian and Syrian capitalism adds the factor of economic competition to the multiple causes of milli- tant anti-Zionist. British imperialism and the Arab feudalists and bourgeoisie, for their part, will do all they can to divert the signs of the oppressed Arab masses to the socialist goal. Thus the Palestinian Jews risk being exterminated in the gulf of an "Eastern Babylon" and become the prey of the imperialist class. In Western Russia they make up the part of the bureaucratically most directly in contact with the oppressed masses, and thus the masses", hated against the peoples and powers of the regime is largely focused on them.

The bloody pogroms unleashed by the indigenous population at the time of the German invasion are very clear indices of the sharpness of the anti-Semitism. More than 1,000 Jews killed in Kiev within 24 hours. A sharpening of the social crisis in Russia, and the purging of evil, will certainly mean the extermination of the Jewish masses if the counter-revolution triumphs.

Finally, in the United States, the American-Jewish in the Jewish masses, into the Jewish masses of the Jews of Europe, who have practically impossible, sharpened the development of a national consciousness, both among the survivors and among the Jewish masses of America and Palestine who feel most closely tied to the fate of their brothers in Europe.

This national consciousness expresses itself in the following ways:

a) The Jewish masses in general now wish to affirm their own nationality as against other peoples. A violent Jewish nationalism responds to the violence of persecutions and anti-Semitism.

b) The Jewish masses in Europe have their eyes turned towards the United States, following from general world conditions postwar, and is in line with the wave of nationalism which carries them away, this wish to work on the continent of Europe, for which them is just a huge chunk, expresses itself above all in a Zionism which
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The starting point of the fourth position of the Fourth International on the Palestine problem must be the understanding of the necessity of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the Arabs, to which is added the recognition of the Union of the Arab countries of the Middle East.

It is the Arab masses, the workers and the poor peasants, who constitute the revolutionary force in the Middle East and also in Palestine, thanks to their numbers, their social conditions, and their material life, which puts directly in conflict the reaction of the leaders and the objectives they pursue.

Developing the conception of the "national bourgeoisie," the Fourth International conceives of the bourgeoisie in Palestine as the section of the Fourth International comprised on the basis of the most consistent in Palestine of the positions of the Fourth International on the Palestine problem.

The Fourth International observes that the movement of the masses has in the Middle East and in Palestine a fundamental truth, that their own fate is in stake in the solution of the problem.

It is to the extent that we see this truth absorbed by the masses and translated by them into action that their revolutionary activity will be effective in the present revolutionary movement of emancipation toward the world workers' movement will put them in a position to defend themselves effectively against new waves of anti-Semitism.

All sections of the Fourth International that consider an anti-nationalist struggle that is in favor of anti-imperialist demagogy and going over to terrorist actions against the Jews, should be closely identified with this movement of Muslim Nationalism (milliyya) ... for the defense of the Jews. Where the Jewish population is composed in Jewish quarters, they should propose and favor the creation of armed self-defense militias while trying to form with the workers' militias. They should explain to the Jewish masses that in order to find its victory in armed struggle can guarantee effective defense; but at the same time they should warn the workers that only an armed defense of the Jews will prevent the same fascist armies crush the whole workers' movement at a later stage.

The Palestine problem today

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The Palestine problem has gained a new special prominence since the establishment of a World War. It is the result of a series of "new factors" which are changing its face. In particular:

a) The nationalism of the Near and Middle East has to certain extent bolstered up the native Arab bourgeoisie in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Turkey into a separate and to a larger extent in other Arab countries. The social differentiation of the feudal and merchant classes has developed. An Arab proletariat, more powerful now more economically and less conscious politically, has appeared on the political scene in several countries, particularly in the Middle East, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Iraq.

The Arab nationalism is being differentiated in the same way. Alongside feudal and reactionary pan-Islamism, there now appear a progressive pan-Arab current which sees the creation of a Union of the Arab countries of the Middle East as the only real framework for the development of the productive forces and for the constitution of an Arab nation. The bourgeois is only the slave of this idea in a hesitant way on the ideological level, to the extent that it wants an expansion of the market for its industry which, since the end of the war, has been plunged into a profound crisis. The only force capable of realizing this process is the national democratic revolution of the Arab world in the_kidnataion, which alone is capable of pushing through, by the mechanism of the permanent revolution, the struggle against feudalism for agrarian reform and the nationalization of the Ejir.

b) There is a transformation of Palestine into the cornerstone of the system of imperial defence in the Eastern Mediterranean. After the withdrawal of British forces from Egypt, Palestine will be the main base for the British fleet, airforce, army and secret services in the Mediterranean. The continuous struggle of the French and the Imperial Control of the defense of the Suez Canal and the imperial route to India. This means, in addition to the British forces in Palestine which the Jews view as impertinent to a protest. In reality, for British imperialism it is a matter of constructing a durable base with a view to future military control and to the defense of the Empire.

c) The transformation of the Middle East into one of the main areas in the new "Third Block". Before the war the Middle East was the sector of the world where the predominant influence of British imperialism was least threatened. Since then, however, the British has weakened the autonomy of the population of the country.

d) The Jews have no interest in the exploitation of the land and of the oil, neither the effendi, since this exploitation would in practice дело.

Continued on page 4
The question of Jewish immigration in Palestine must be discussed in the light of these considerations. As long as the two economies, Jewish and Arab, are separate economies in Palestine, the Arab working population will consider the Jewish immigration as a threat to its economic position. However, if both economies were to become more interdependent, such a threat could diminish. The present situation is that the Jewish community controls a large part of the economy, while the Arab community is still largely dependent on the Jewish sector. This economic disparity has led to a growing sense of discrimination among the Arab population. The situation is further complicated by the political tension between the two communities. The Arab population is becoming more and more politically active, and their demands for equal rights and representation are growing. The future of the region will depend on how these issues are addressed.
murderers see their chance. Thus the policy of partition enables the feudalists to turn back the wheels of history.

A first summary

The early crop of partition policy: Jews and Arabs are everywhere fighting for their own land to escape from the burning trials of nations and national liberation. This is the first and foremost, real and stormy, phase of the Arab-Jewish conflict. The so-called "National Liberation League", did not fare better than their Jewish counterparts. They were in a pretty fix having to justify the Russian support of the Jewish state. The Arab workers could not be expected to accept this line. Not by a long shot. They knew the needling of Soviet diplomacy for what it was: breaking up the Palestinian workers' unity and a touchy blown. After the pre-partition declaration of Zanzikar, the National Liberation Front had been dissolved.

What about the Jewish "communists"?

The passionate wave making its force very uncom- mon. The real parties seem to have been "conquered" their anti-imperialist phrases and swallowed "resistance" against "cutting up the country to pieces" and gave way to full enthusiasm for the realization of the partition policy. What was that matter-winning, a question of merely changing Zionist tactics.

Yet the Communist Party of Palestine might have been expected to take up a different position. Have they not repeatedly warned against the fatal results bound to come with the establishment of a Jewish state? "Partition must be disastrous for the Jews and Arab alike... partition is an imperialist scheme intended to give the British rule a new lease on life..." (evidence given by the PFC before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on March 25, 1946). The secretaries of the party loyally stuck to the UN Commission: "We refuse the partition plan, which cannot be accepted under the interests of the peoples of the two countries." However this scheme has been held off for the time being by the activities of the British representatives, Kock Hal-Aam (the Stalinitz central organ) hastened to declare that "democracy and justice have won the day!" And throughout the year the Communist Party of Palestine was changed to Communist Party of the Middle East of the Hebrew State.

Thus even the last vestige of contact with the Arab population was broken off. The gap that still separated them from Zionism was but a broad furrow between the Hebrew nation and the imperialist strait of the Arab and Jewish masses, the Palestinian Left. The enemies of the leaders of the "left" Zionists. Precisely in an hour when Zionism shows to everyone its counter-revolutionary face, its blatanly servility to imperialism, their party breaks off this former expression of imperialist and Zionist decrepitude to ridicule.

Why have they gone bankrupt?

The policy of the Palestinian Communist Party lacks any continuous line. The policy of the PFC reflects both the situation that found the leaders of the Jewish worker in Palestine and the needs of Soviet foreign policy. The needs of the Soviet foreign policy are the pillar of the Communist Party policy, the negation of Zionism, of its discrimination between Arab and Jew. On the other hand the need to adjust the party line to the diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet Union calls for an "elastic" policy, one that lacks backbone. As a result we find the everlasting shilly-shallying and zig-zagging which has the FCP now to the Zionist wagon. The fifth wheel!

And the Arab "communists"?

The Arab National Liberation League, did not fare better than their Jewish counterparts. They were in a pretty fix having to justify the Russian support of the Jewish state. The Arab workers could not be expected to accept this line. Not by a long shot. They knew the needling of Soviet diplomacy for what it was: breaking up the Palestinian workers' unity and a touchy blown. After the pre-partition declaration of Zanzikar, the National Liberation Front had been dissolved.

The problem worrying all in these days is the problem of security. Jewish workers ask: "How to protect our lives? Should we not support the Haganah?" And the Arab workers and fellahin ask: "Ought we not to join the 'Najad' or 'Futuwha' to defend ourselves against the Zionists' attacks?"

How can that be done?

"Will much enemy is in our own country?" — this was what Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had to say to the workers when imperialism and social democracy isolating them to the slaughter of their fellow workers in other countries. In this spirit we say to the Jewish and Arab workers: the enemy is the imperialism.

Jewish workers! Get rid of the Zionist provocateurs who tell you to sacrifice yourself on the altar of the Hebrew state. Arab worker and fellah! Get rid of the Chauvinist provocateurs who are getting you into a mess of blood for their own sake and pocket.

Workers of the two peoples, unite in a common front against imperialism and its agents.

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War of independence or expansion?

H ere we reprint an editorial on Palestine from the Paris Labor Action Committee and part of an article from magazine, New International. Both were written by well known author Hal Draper. The editorial, "The War of Independence or the War of Expansion" appeared on March 24th and 31st 1948, on the eve of Israel's declaration of independence. "How to Defend Israel" appeared in July 1948 after the surrounding Arab states, led by British officers, had invaded Israel.

"Draper's war is warped by the call that the Jewish nation, fighting for its life, should become the leader in a war of liberation for the Arab masses too — that Israel should take on the monstrous role played by revolutionary France in Europe at the end of the 18th century, and lead a general war of independence against the world. Draper's policy is therefore a policy of partition and thus a policy of drive into the Jewish workers in Palestine into the fire of anti-imperialist struggle. Now that partition is virtually a accomplished fact, this basic line only takes a different form.

There is a line on — not yet full scale war as this is written, but not far from it. The socialist working class of the Jewish territory has chosen to follow its Zionist leadership in achieving a separate state, of the imperialists that is, as the only consistent democrats — we believe in and accept the democratic right of all people (including the Palestinian Jews) to self-determination, to work out their own destiny as they see fit. This we say even while advising against the exercise of this right to the point of secession.

The policies from which the Pan-Arab war and threats of invasion flow is perfectly clear — the aim of depriving the Jews of this right to self determination. There is therefore not the slightest iota of common ground between the Arab landowners' opposition and the Jewish Zionist. As we see it more firmly than ever of the opinion that the Jews' choice of separatism was a mistake and a setback for the long range solution, we believe that the situation is a direct result of the Jewish policy of the Zionist conquistadors.

This is not a war of contestation, it is said to be a bear a progressive character. The war does not release progressive forces or do away with social and economic obstacles in the path of development of the two nations. Quite the opposite is true. It is set to obscure the class antagonism and to open the gate for nationalistic excesses. It weakens the proletariat and strengthens imperialism in both camps.

"Draper's war of partition" to the bone, busy destroying the reactionary — in the opposite camp. And imperialism is always seen — helping the other side. But this warring is no more than a battle in an imperialist war. The imperialist war is on the imperialist line. For the invading policy of imperialism is based upon agents and agencies within both camps. Therefore we say to the Palestinian people in reply to the patriotic warmongers: make this war between Jews and Arabs, which serves the end of imperialism, the common war of both nations against imperialism! This is the only solution guaranteeing a real peace. This must be our goal which must be fought with all the means available to the chauvinist mood prevailing at present among the masses.

Continued on page 6
4. Palestinian Trotskyists January 1948
Against all chauvinism

THE following document was issued by the Palestinian Trotskyists in 1948. When the left issued a call for a single Arab war against the imperialist powers, it was a call for an anti-Arab anti-Socialist by the Jews, and no more the clear implication of a united Arab strain of the Jewish people was such a well-deserved support, whatever the faults of its leadership.

Marxists in 1948 saw it quite differently. Some Trotskyists in the Palestinian Trotskyists in Palestine itself condemned both sides as chauvinists. They could all see that the Arab forces were led by corrupt feudalists, manipulated by British imperialism and engaged in a "racist war".

We also print here an introduction of the Palestinian Trotskyists' document by the official magazine of the world Trotskyist movement, which published it in 1948. The introduction scoffs at the lie considerably. Here the mass Arab chauvinism indicted by the Palestinian Trotskyists has mystically become a force for "the Arab revolution" which drives deep roots in the heart of the Jewish masses and workclass organisation among the Arabs. It is a first elementary case of a way of thought which would grip the whole Trotskyist movement, in which any nationalist mobilisation or distortion, whatever its force, is automatically a "new wave of the world revolution".

The Trotskyists had maintained that the formation of a Jewish state was impossible. It now existed. The Trotskyists had insisted that the main issue in Palestine was the determination of British imperialism to keep it as a military base. The proposal inapplicable in Palestine was denounced as a manoeuvre to stabilise the presence of British troops and the document ended with calls for joint Jewish Arab struggle against Britain which had no grip on the situation by how the British troops were leaving.

The focus "British troops out!" had served to cover up lack of answers on the question of how both Jewish and Arab rights could be protected. Now the Palestinian Trotskyists offered one general political slogans, confining themselves to the task of keeping links among the tiny minority of Jewish and Arab internationalists. Their counsel was to participate in a broad united Arab Palestinian, with full national minority rights for the Jewish community.

The British troops are the last vestige of imperialist gulf that the Arabs masses have not the right to their own state?

Introduction by Ouatrienne Internationale

The thesis of our Palestinian comrades, which we publish here, were drafted before the final proclamation of the State of Israel and the invasion of Palestine by the armies of the Arab states.

The thesis on the basic developments, so it will be sufficient to outline briefly the position of the Fourth International in the events of the Middle East.

What we said at the time of the UN decision to partition Palestine remains perfectly justified in relation to the new minimum demands of the Palestinian masses. The dream question, it will give it an even more tragic sharpness, not only by sharpening anti-Semitic tendencies in Britain and in the countries of the Arab world that are dominated by the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Arab masses in all the neighbouring countries.

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Even apart from the question of the attitude of the great powers, this state has no historic future. Subject to permanent partition and conquest, this is the inevitable fate of Palestine which was avoided only by the complete pulverizing of all the Arab villages on its territory. It will be the coming of an Arab-Soviet style of revolution, a coming of the Arab revolution, unless the Jewish petty-bourgeois self-satisfaction sets itself in time from Zionist chauvinism.

The one task of the Arabs revolutionary movement that break. Their political line should remain unshakable that of struggle against the partition of Palestine, for the reorganisation of the territory of the united Palestine, in the form of a Federation of Arab States of the Middle East which will promote the Jewish minority all the rights of national cultural autonomy.

The Arab feudal potentates, Paracou (king of Egypt) and Abdullah (king of Jordan), from fighting against the partition of Palestine, seek above all to partition this unfortunate country between their own kingdoms. Their invasion aims also to divert the attention of their own subjects from the mounting social tension in their countries.

At the same time, they have tried to exploit the anti-imperialist sentiments of the masses to cover over their miserable capitalist world capital (the Sudan affair, Iraq's Jordan's 'troubles with the city' etc., etc.) in order to show the lamentable organisation of their military forces.

It is not under their leadership that the Arab masses will be able to reunify Palestine. Still less will the struggle against imperialism develop under their aga, when even in the case of Palestine the Arab sovereigns are ready at the end of the day to have the compromise currently being worked out by the great imperialist powers.

The opposition that the Arab masses everywhere manifest to the State of Israel and to the intervention of imperialism in this part of the world is quite another matter. This opposition is an incontestable progressive force which tomorrow will reinforce the general opposition of the Middle East to the Middle East.

Today, the masses remain in a waiting mood, as long as their own masters seem to be taking up the battle. When the tension of the last years is exposed to the independent intervention of the Arab masses will be on the agenda.

All we have to do is to educate the Jewish masses against the feudal lords and the terrible social misery, and the struggle against imperialism and Zionism. To prepare, as from today, this convergence of the vast revolutionary movements in the Middle East who, while struggling against chauvinist or anti-semitic current, will concentrate their propaganda on the following slogans:

* Down with the partition of Palestine! For united and independent Arab Palestine, with full national minority rights for the Jewish community.
* Down with imperialist intervention in Palestine! Out with all foreign troops and occupation of Arab lands.
* Down with the imperialist "cyborgs"! For the right of the Arab masses to determine their own future.
* Down with the glorification of a Comintern that has been run through universal secret safes! For the agrarian revolution!

* Down with the Arab League, instrument of imperialism! Down with the great Arab nations of the Middle East, who today, in the Middle East!

Against Arab chauvinism! Against Zionism

The weakness of British imperialism after the Second World War, the consolidation of the native bourgeoisie in certain important colonies and the development of the working class, with the intensification of its social and anti-imperialist struggle, has forced Britain to withdraw its troops from certain colonies and to accept certain limitations in its defence of the Empire.

British imperialism is withdrawing some of its troops from Palestine and Iraq and leaving the UN, that is, American imperialism, the job of deciding the fate of Palestine; and, on the other hand, it is insisting that it will be seen, first, the political influence in the Arab world and it is trying to ally itself with the Arab states, as in the projected treaty with Iraq which would give British imperialism as much power as possible in conditions of indirect domination.

The United States, supported by the United States apparently in opposition to Britain, has created the situation following the Arab War. Britain has gained the possibility of withdrawing its colonial forces in the region and is preparing its presence in the Arab World. America, whose oil interests have suffered a certain loss of prestige, thanks to the economic links which tie them to the Middle East, has gained a direct agent there: the Zionist bourgeoisies, which, through the American capital, are completely dependent on American capital and American policy.

Besides, American imperialism now has a justification to intervene militarily in the Middle East whenever it suits the Arab working class and all the left movements in the whole Arab world — and the Russian support for the imperialist plan for
Workers’ Liberty pamphlets

Writers and speakers

2 The Arab feudalists and the Middle East bourgeoisie see the Zionist bourgeoisie not only as a competitor on the consumer goods market (as regards Egypt), but also on the market for imperialist agents in the Middle East.

By its racial war against the Jews of Palestine, the Arab League wants to limit the zone of activity of the Jewish industries and to prove to imperialism that it is a factor that can serve it even better than Zionism. At the same time, it favours imperialism in its large scale plans in the Middle East, and it is only too interested in following its orders with a view to using this chauvinist war to boost anti-Russian sentiments and brutally to crush the Arab working class and all the left group.

It sees the Zionist bourgeoisie and the Palestinian problem in general as a good opportunity to divert the attention of the oppressed masses of the Arab countries from their social problems and from native and imperialist exploitation, to heighten racial hatred against minorities, and to recruit the jobless for the "fight" in Palestine.

3 The Arab feudalists of Palestine, knowing that in such a racial war they are the actual leaders, want in this way to regain their authority over the Arab population of Palestine, an authority which had been weakened by the development during the war of the Jewish bourgeoisie of the coastal cities and by the growth and the organisation of the Arab working class in Palestine.

While the revolt of 1935 began by a general strike, and was concentrated at the start in the cities, this time the main feature of the activity has been, from the start, military action by bands of rural guerrillas. While in 1935-9 many of the "battalions" were waged against British troops (even if the main drive was against the Jews), this time it is mainly the Jews who are attacked, while the functionaries of British imperialism and its officers and soldiers are targeted in a friendly way or at most accused of not holding to the promised "neutrality".

In this way the Arab leaders have managed to create an atmosphere of extreme chauvinism, in which a provocation can lead to a massive massacre of Jewish workers, as in the retinues of Hafiz, by the backward sections of their Arab fellow-workers (some of the most advanced Arab workers did not participate in this action, and others rescued Jews), and where there are no more joint strike struggles by Jewish and Arab workers for the same demands, but, on the contrary, the struggles are waged separately, for the introduction of security measures against possible attacks.

The Arab bourgeoisie, to the extent that it exists in Palestine as an independent class (the owners of lemon plantations and urban elements of the coastal cities — the followers of Mossa El-Allami) want order and security in the interests of business, but its "national guard", is the nidus of mass chauvinist attacks, is less and less important in comparison with the feudal-led guerrillas.

4 Zionism, which seems to be at the height of its diplomatic successes, has managed to help imperialism in which the Jewish masses have to learn what it means to be the scapgoat of imperialism.

The present civil war, which raises the chauvinism in the Jewish masses to the extreme, is in itself a result of the Zionist chauvinism and imperialism accompanied the establishment of a closed Jewish economy.

Imperialism has managed to divert from itself the discontent of the Arab masses in the Middle East and to direct it against the Jewish masses in Palestine, and the inevitable consequence of this war will be the total dependence of Zionism on American imperialism.

In these circumstances the decline of the influence of the Arab workers’ organisations is obvious. After having managed to become an important factor in Arab political life, they are today almost paralysed. We must moreover expect that they will not be able to regain their position in the near future, for the following reasons:

a) The wave of crushing of leftwing and working-class organisations in the Arab East developed before they were strong enough to defend themselves, that hold their position. If that is true in the centres of the Arab working class, particularly in Egypt, then undoubtedly it will influence the more backward working class of Palestine.

b) In the near future, we have to expect a numerical decline of the Arab working class in Palestine, firstly as a result of the decline of work for the British Army and secondly as a result of the stoppage of work caused by the conflict.

c) The Arab Stalinists have lost part of their political and organisational influence because the masses see them as the representatives of Russia, which has betrayed the Arab masses by favours partition and the Jewish state.

d) The growing chauvinism of the Jewish workers, and the open support given to partition by the "left" Zionist leaders, including the Jewish Stalinists, are mirrored among the Arab workers, and constitutes another factor pushing them into the arms of feudal reaction.

On the other hand, the social composition of the Arab working class is much more progressive today than it was at the beginning of the 1935-9 revolt.

In the past the political activity of the revolutionary party among the Jewish workers was difficult because of their privileged position in the closed Jewish economy.

It will be all the more so today, that this position is supported not only by American imperialism but also by Russia.

On the other hand, the increased influence of the Arab feudal reaction is mirrored by an increased chauvinism on the Jewish side. There is a certain perspective for our work in the possibility of individually winning over Stalinists who have remained firmly opposed to partition and who may therefore recognize the treachery of Stalinist Russia.

The foregoing analysis shows that in the near future (the next few months) we cannot expect large scale actions by the Arab workers, still less common action by Arab and Jewish workers.

Until the weakness caused by the deterioration of the economic situation and the bloodshed makes itself felt — that will be the starting point of a new revolutionary era — it is very probable that there will be a strengthening of chauvinism and massacres on a grand scale.

In the near future, our work will be limited essentially to maintaining links between the Arab and Jewish comrades, and to strengthening the cadre, particularly on the Arab side, as the basis for revolutionary activity in the future.

We must explain patiently to the more advanced sections of the Arab proletariat and the intelligentsia that racial military actions only deepen the gulf between Jews and Arabs and thus lead to prejudice to political division, that the fundamental factor and the main cause of division is imperialism; that the present situation is only strengthening imperialism; that, thanks to the bourgeois and feudal leadership of the Arab countries — which is the agent of imperialism — we have been beaten at one of the anti-imperialist struggles; and that we must prepare for victory at the next stage — that is, for the unification of Palestine and the Arab East in general — by creating the only force which can achieve these goals, the revolutionary proletarian party of the Arab East.

Our success will depend in large part on the consolidation in good time of the revolutionary communist forces in Egypt.
5. Ernest Mandel

The Jewish Question since World War Two

With surviving Jews in Poland, Hungary and Slovakia, are recuperating and preparing to return to the land from which they were expelled. A number of these nations have moved to re-establish a Jewish presence in these countries.

With the advent of the new governments in Poland, Hungary and Slovakia, there has been a resurgence of Jewish life and culture. The governments of these countries have taken steps to re-establish Jewish communities and to encourage Jewish immigration.

The Jewish Question has been a central issue in the historical development of Europe. It has been a source of tension and conflict for centuries, and has been a factor in shaping the political and social landscape of the region.

Despite the many challenges that the Jewish community has faced, it has shown resilience and determination to overcome these obstacles. The recent moves by the governments of Poland, Hungary and Slovakia to re-establish Jewish communities are a testament to this resilience.

However, there are still many challenges that the Jewish community must face. The political and social landscape of Europe is constantly changing, and the Jewish community must be prepared to adapt to these changes.

In conclusion, the Jewish Question has been a central issue in European history. It continues to be a source of tension and conflict, but also a source of resilience and determination. The recent moves by the governments of Poland, Hungary and Slovakia to re-establish Jewish communities are a positive step towards addressing this issue.

Responsibility of all governments for the fate of the European Jews

The responsibility of governments to address the Jewish Question cannot be overstated. The United Nations, the European Union, and other international organizations have a responsibility to ensure the safety and well-being of the Jewish community.

The governments of Poland, Hungary and Slovakia have made significant strides in re-establishing Jewish communities. However, there is still much work to be done.

In conclusion, the Jewish Question is a complex and multifaceted issue. It requires the cooperation of governments, international organizations, and the Jewish community itself to address it adequately.

The recent moves by the governments of Poland, Hungary and Slovakia to re-establish Jewish communities are a positive step towards addressing this issue. However, the responsibility of all governments for the fate of the European Jews cannot be overstated.
people's liberty ix

even of Palestine which is beginning to take increasing leadership. Even as the Arab portion of its own people continues to suffer from the Anaconda constriction, Britain's own leaders are beginning to move towards a new strategy, one that will allow for some degree of self-determination. Every new economic development in the Near East can only add to the formation of an Arab bourgeoisie firmly united by common interests. This new bloc of power will be the key to any successful solution of the Jewish state problem.

Disengaged by the English, the Zionist leaders are turning to the Americans and are prepared even to throw themselves tomorrow in the breach for the sanctity of the Jewish state. In the United States, every major Jewish group is now working hard to prevent the Exportation of the Jews from Palestine.

The working class movement and the

The Jewish question can be resolved only as part of the solution of the world crisis.

The threat of the future

EXTREMIZED in Europe, mortally threatened in Palestine, the Jewery survives in fact only in the United States. This is truer today than in the two previous periods. The First Five-Year Plan into the lower layers of the bureaucratic apparatus of the United States. The rise of the anti-Semitic movement is a natural consequence of this development. The Jewish workers of Palestine will be forced to take up the struggle for independence. If they do not incorporate themselves into the workers' movement of the Middle East in time, the unity of the Arab world against imperialism will be more complete than ever. The Jewish workers of the United States are called to that task.

The Jews of the United States are the key to the future of the Jewish question. If they are to play this role, they must be prepared to take up the struggle for the independence of the Jewish state. This is the only way to ensure the survival of the Jewish nation.

The Jewish question after Hitler

When is obvious that is not always known, and what is known is not always present.

The First Attempt at an Answer

Mandel's essay, one of the first of its kind to be written in the United States, is a significant contribution to the understanding of the Jewish question. It is a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the issues involved, and it is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the subject.

We had occasion to direct attention to this type of theorizing in our analysis of the Jewish Question in the 1960s. It is a pity that this approach has been so little used in the United States, but it is characteristic of its unpredicatability the entire approach to the problem of the Jewish question.

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The page from the document discusses the impact of the Wannsee Conference on the Jews of Europe and the compulsory marshaling of Jews in the context of European policies during World War II. The text analyzes the implications of the conference and its role in the Holocaust, highlighting the complicity of various European governments in the deportation and ultimate fate of the Jews. The page also touches on the broader context of World War II and its aftermath, reflecting on the legacy of the Wannsee Conference and its enduring impact on European identity and history.
The anti-Jewish line

7. Socialist Appeal June 1939

Theominist newspaper in Palestine

In totality, the document is about the anti-Jewish sentiments and policies of the Zionist movement in Palestine during the 1930s. It criticizes the policies of the Zionist movement and advocates for a socialist approach to resolve the tensions.

The text is highly critical and portrays the Zionist movement as oppressive and backward. It calls for a socialist solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, emphasizing the need for a broader perspective that includes the Palestinian population.

The document also highlights the struggle of the Palestinian people against the discrimination and exploitation endured by them. It encourages readers to support the Palestinian cause and fight against the injustice and oppression.

Overall, the text is a call to action, urging people to recognize the suffering of the Palestinian people and to work towards a just and equitable solution to the conflict. It is a reflection of the socialist-minded perspective of the time, advocating for a society that is free from exploitation and discrimination.
8. Communist League of America 1929

Pogrom or revolution?

THIS article expressed the response of the American Trotskyists to the Stalinist-Cosmopolitanist line to a new type of "anti-Zionist". It was the beginning of a series of essays to be "the most noticeable in the extensible Trotskyist movement. The Communist League of America regarded itself as an expression of the political and cultural tradition of America. Shachtman's "solidarity" with the party and affair of a bunch of Uganda sympathizers enabled him to take a too even-handed "balancing" approach to the conflict between the Stalinist Jewish paper Freiheit and the Social Democratic faction of the anti-semitic cartoons published in the Freiheit and the Social Democrats amalgamated Two Nations Two States. What is important here is the attitudes such as support for free Jewish immigration to Palestine.

POGROM or national revolution? The answer to this question, which was part of the wave of the recent events in Palestine, has brought confusion and sharp division into the headlines of the newspapers and other countries. An understanding of the present situation is prerequisite for an answer.

The artificial Jewish state is known today as Palestine, but it has been inhabited by Arabs for more than two centuries.

Palestine and the Empire

With the aid of the American Monroe Doctrine, the triangular protective collier of the jaguar vein of British imperialism the Suez Canal, the great route to India and China, the other end of the long Mediterraneans gap guarded on the Atlantic by Gibraltar. Moreover, after the end of the war for the control of the Empire, the pipeline for the liquid in the Empire will terminate at the slag of Host, with the military and imperialist connections, a hot subject in Palestine, over which lies the Arab hashemite but not under British control. Palestine by shouting any Arab movement for independence has become the declared policy of the British government. Largely to this end, as well as for the purpose of distraction, the Zionist movement is by the leading Bolshevik revolution, Lord Balfour issued his notorious declaration on 2 November 1917, which proclaimed to the Jews of the world that a Jewish "national homeland", that is, by their domination of the Zion movement to invade into Palestine a solid base for British imperialist support, and a source of friction with the Arabs, a breakup against the nationalist wave. The reactionary-utopian character of the Zion movement was by the Zionists themselves put to the test. Mised by the glowing promises of the Zionist leaders, thousands of Jewish immigrants were brought to Palestine to serve as the instruments of British imperialism against the Arab natives and the reactionary arm of well-fed Jewish money. The government of the Zion movement is dominated largely by religious and Pan-Islamic notions, there is no substantial anti-imperialist movement except the Communist Party of Palestine. Today there is not even as advanced a movement in Palestine as was represented in China by the Kuomintang.

The nationalist misleaders

The natural growth of the Arab resistance movement against British imperialism and its Zionist trail-blazers, expressing itself in a movement for national liberation by the undaunted of England's millions, was checked, prevented and emasculated by the Arab feudal landlords, the religious leaders, and the so-called "leaders of the Arab" Mufti to the lower-caste Sheiks, there is hardly one of the leaders of the Arab and Zionist nationalist movement who has not at one time or another been a state in Palestine dominated by the Jews—whos who this day form only one-seventh of the population—and serving the cause of the Union Jack. The expulsion of the Arab population began on a big scale. Their land was "bought" by Zionist speculators at incredibly low prices, usually paid to the rich Sheiks and Efficient, leaving the poor peasant without land, with no possibility of livelihood. Together with thousands of Jewish workers, the Arab workers have been victims of almost limitless exploitation as agricultural workers and proletarians in the ingendant industry of the country.

The role of The Forward

I t is, therefore, the lowest kind of reactionary nationalism, jingoistic incitement of backward sentiment, and contemptible insult to an "inferior race", when the "socialist" Forward writes in its leading editorial (31 August 1929): "The main motive (of the pogromists) is todrvise them to their bloody work, was "Gold and women. In the Jewish houses we will find bodies of gold and sex, the blood is the first that excited the blood of the mob and drove it to carry out its diabolical work. The Southern Boer war reaction always used the same trick, to kill the "Germans" when they proceed to Lynch Negroes. And every worker to whom the cause of the pogromists is a lie, who is used to denounce the scoundrels lynching campaign of the Forward and its Zionist allies against the Communist Party, and its Jewish Organization, is the reactionary and the betrayer of the Forward and the Jewish Day, added, as in Chicago, by the Western European and Russian attacks against the Freiheit office in Chicago, intimidating newcomers from other papers, printers, to advertise and win their contracts. A government was appointed to the protection of the Forward and the Jewish Day, even, as in Chicago, by an agreement with the government. The 26 Russian attacks against the Freiheit office in Chicago, intimidating newcomers from other papers, printers, to advertise and win their contracts. A government was appointed to the protection of the Forward and the Jewish Day, even, as in Chicago, by an agreement with the government. The 26 Russian attacks against the Freiheit office in Chicago, intimidating newcomers from other papers, printers, to advertise and win their contracts. A government was appointed to the protection of the Forward and the Jewish Day, even, as in Chicago, by an agreement with the government.

The Arab leaders

NOW, is the Arab uprising a national revolutionary movement, as the official Party press denies? No. Not every movement led by spokesmen of an oppressed nationality is a revolutionary movement. It is a lamentable fact that the Zion movement is directed by unscrupulous reactionaries, with no material left wing of revolutionary forces to challenge its leadership. In fact, the Zion movement has virtually no influence upon the recent events and which there are no revolutionary forces to challenge its leadership. The Arab leaders have carried the goy movement of the masses, they have astounded their growth and prevented the development of an independent revolutionary struggle, they have repeatedly misled and disillusioned it. They are still the conscious agents of the British imperialist movement, and they speak for reactionary aims. They fight for an "Arab Zionism". They have compromised with imperialism and are willing to do it again. They are against all Jews as Jews. They set up the reactionary demand for the "restoration of the Jewish immigration into the Holy Land."

They do not even pretend to a programme one-tenth as advanced as that of the General Zionists, the leading Jewish movement, behind the Zionist movement. By and large, it is a national revolutionary uprisings against British imperialism. And endless as the American dreams are, the Jewish movement is not only theზ

But who is leading this movement against national revolutionary lines? To answer this question, we need to examine the events in the late summer of 1929, the turn of the Third Reich, and the 1931 Palestine. The London conference of the British Communist Party, after a series of resolutions condemning the Zionist movement, decided to call a general strike on the Third Reich, and the British Communist Party, after a series of resolutions condemning the Zionist movement, decided to call a general strike on the Third Reich, and the British Communist Party, after a series of resolutions condemning the Zionist movement, decided to call a general strike on the Third Reich, and the British Communist Party, after a series of resolutions condemning the Zionist movement, decided to call a general strike on the Third Reich, and the British Communist Party, after a series of resolutions condemning the Zionist movement, decided to call a general strike on the Third Reich, and the British Communist Party, after a series of resolutions condemning the Zionist movement, decided to call a general strike on the Third Reich, and the British Communist Party, after a series of resolutions condemning the Zionist 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The Freeheit's zig zag

This means that we have the same viewpoint as that of the Freeheit before it was condemned by the Party and Political Bureau! By no means. The viewpoint of the Freeheit was indistinguishable from that of a reformed rabbi with beans towards the labour movement. "The Arabian attacks bear all the signs of the Tsarist pogroms of 1905 (26 August). "Protest against the British government with personal responsibility by every one of you people!" (Aloibohontrat MacDonald, why don't you send some warships and troops to shoot down these condemned Arab pogromists?)

But who has seen that when the incendiary Meshali Olgin, and the Zionist-traitor-diplomat, who scratched by a struggle, their tiny coast of Bolshevik venge was scraped off to reveal the Buddhist underclass. The fact that Odgus and Epstein (there are many of them, all specialists in Rosenberg's control) could be assassinated by bee stings inside of an hour with so much worse as soon as they found they were ordered to by the Political Commission, was that the Freeheit was "joined" to a government and made them throw away the speeches prepared for the Plaza Hall meeting and take a position that was afterwards used on new slogans furnished them by the agitprop department. But you will never make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, or a Bolshevik out of a Cossack. British imperialism, with the help of god and "comrade" MacDonald and Webb and others. But the Zionists, will suppress the present uprising, but since its own advertising department will still continue to cast up new and greater insurrections but the Arab masses will win their liberations only under the banner of Bolshevikism.