PAUL
NOVICK

PALESTINE

THE COMMUNIST POSITION

THE COLONIAL QUESTION

FIVE CENTS

Published by
THE JEWISH BURO OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.
New York, 1936
209

Palestine: The Communist Position; the Colonial Question

By PAUL NOVICK

"The policy of suppressing nationalities is the policy of *dividing* nationalities. It is at the same time a policy of a systematic demoralization of the consciousness of the people." (Lenin.)

I.

WHAT is the role of the Communists in Palestine?

The role of the Communists in Palestine is the role of the Communists in the struggle for national liberation of *all* nations. It is the role of Leninism, which has liberated—and only Leninism has liberated—the 150 nationalities in the Soviet Union, and has for the first time in history brought about fraternal relations between nation and nation. It is the role of Leninism in the struggle of the colonial peoples for their liberation.

While marveling at the achievements of the Soviet government in solving the national question one must not for one moment forget that this was no accident, no "miracle," but a result of the program and tactics of *Leninism,* a program which was hammered out in the course of years, through a struggle which was begun long before the October revolution, against the chauvinists and nationalists, as well as against those who ignored or negated the national question.

Stalin, who was Lenin's closest collaborator in the struggle for a Bolshevik line on the national question, states in his lucid style:

"Formerly, the national question was usually confined to a small group of nations, chiefly affecting "cultured" nationalities.

The Irish, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Finns, the Serbs and several other nationalities in Europe made up the list of disfranchised nations, in whose destinies the heroes of the Second International were interested. The countless millions of Asiatic and African peoples who were suffering under the yoke of national oppression in its crudest and most horrible form usually remained outside of their field of vision. They could not make up their minds to put whites and blacks, "cultured" and "uncultured" on the same plane. Two or three meaningless noncommital resolutions, which carefully evaded the question of colonial emancipation, were all the leaders of the Second International could boast of. Such duplicity and half-measures with respect to the national question must now be considered a thing of the past. Leninism laid bare this shocking incongruity, tore down the wall between whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the "cultured" and "uncultured" slaves of imperialism *and thus linked the national question with the question of the colonies.* By this the national question was transformed from a specific question, affecting the internal policies of a particular state, into a general and international question, into a world question of the emancipation of the oppressed people in the dependencies and colonies from the yoke of imprialism." (Stalin: *Leninism, I,* International Publishers, pp. 135-136.)

". . . Leninism brought the national question down from the lofty heights of high-sounding declarations to solid ground and declared that pronouncements about the "equality of nations" *which are not reinforced by the direct support of the proletarian parties to the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations are meaningless and false.* In this way the question of the oppressed nations became a question of rendering *support* and *assistance, real* and *continuous,* to the oppressed nations in their struggle against imperialism, their struggle for real equality of nations and for their independent existence as states.

". . . Leninism has proved, and the imperialist war and the revolution in Russia has confirmed it, that the national question can be solved only in connection with and on the basis of the proletarian revolution, and that *the road to victory in the West leads through the revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism.* The national question is *part and parcel of the general question of the proletarian revolution* and of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (*Ibid.,* pp. 136-137. My emphasis.)

These are *foundations* of Leninism. Upon these foundations the marvelous edifice of brotherly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the healthy reconstruction and the resurgence of their national life—national in form, socialistic in content—has been built. It is surprising, however, to find how little these *foundations* are taken into consideration even by people usually generous in their praise of the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union.

Surprising—because Lenin *for years* conducted a struggle against the Mensheviks, against Trotsky, against the Bund (Jewish Socialist organization in Russia), against Zionism, and—on the other hand—against Rosa Luxemburg, on this very question of national and colonial liberation. Between 1903 and 1920 Lenin wrote numerous articles, thesises, pamphlets on this question. One might have expected the "theoreticians," the dealers in "Communist documents," who are fighting the Communist position on Palestine to at least *know* that the struggle for colonial liberation occupies an enormous and organic part in the Leninist program for the solution of the national question.

The Communists are asked to occupy themselves with the struggle for national liberation in the "civilized" countries alone, leaving out the colonies. The Jewish Communists are asked to assist in the struggle for national liberation, in the struggle against discriminations against national minorities in the United States and other "cilivized" countries, *but*—not in Palestine, not in the interests of the "uncivilized." Some even pose as 100 per cent revolutionists, trying to prove that the Communists deviate from the revolutionary line, or even betray the revolution, by leading the struggle of colonial peoples, by mobilizing the masses of the peasantry, as well as the middle class, the intelligentsia and parts of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism.

Is *such* "revolutionary" talk anything new? Did not Lenin, in his "Summary of the Discussion for Self-Determination," written in October, 1916, deal with this question? Didn't he, in

his thorough and decisive manner, prove that such "revolutionary" babblers *do not even think of the social revolution?*

Lenin polemized with the Kautskians and their Russian colleagues (Axelrod, Martov, Tshkheidze), with Trotsky and the *open* social imperialists of Germany. He sharply criticized the Russion liberals and the German Social-Democrats who termed the uprising in Ireland (1916) a "putsch." Lenin declared:

> "Whoever terms *such* uprising a putsch is either an outright reactionary or a doctrinaire, hopelessly incapable of visualizing the social revolution as a live phenomenon." (Vol. 19, p. 269, Russian, second edition.)

Lenin immediately goes over to the general question of the national and colonial struggle *as part and parcel of the social revolution,* and he continues:

> "To believe that a social revolution is *thinkable* without uprisings of the small nations in the colonies and Europe, without revolutionary explosions on the part of sections of the petty bourgeoisie *with all their prejudices,* without the struggles of the politically undeveloped proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against national and other oppression of the landlords, the church, the monarchists—to believe so means *to give up the social revolution.*
>
> ". . . And those who wait for a 'pure' social revolution will *never* wait long enough to see it. They are revolutionists in words alone who do not understand the actual revolution." (*Ibid.*, p. 269.)

But the people whom Lenin fought in 1916 and smashed in 1917—the October revolution, too, was considered by them an "impure" social revolution—come to life again and again, usually in a cheaper edition, and find faults in the uprisings in the colonies which are not "pure" because of the non-proletarian elements participating in such uprisings. These "purists," "left" Poale-Zionists, Trostkyites, S. P. Old Guardists, even go to the extent of quoting the speeches of the Arab delegates to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International who declared that the Communists must support "the anti-imperialist

demands of the national reformist Arab bourgeoisie" (delegate Ramsi) and that the Communists "must struggle for the leadership of the national liberation movement of the Arab masses" (delegate Hadyar). The "purists" seek to prove thereby that the Communists are not conducting a revolutionary struggle (not to speak of those who by the flight of their chauvinistic imagination interpret the statements of the Arab delegates to mean that Communists are calling for pogroms on Jews . . .).

The statements of the above delegates merely prove how truly Leninist the Communist approach is to the struggle against imperialism.

Lenin dealt with the question of the attitude towards bourgeois elements in his speech at the Second Congress of the Communist International (in 1920) and in his theses before the Congress. In those theses he declared that in the countries where feudal or patriarchal and patriarchal-peasant relations dominate it is necessary: 1. "To assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries"; 2. "To struggle against the clergy and other reactionary and medieval elements who exert an influence in the undeveloped countries"; 3. "To struggle against Pan-Islamism"; 4. "To support the specifically peasant movements in the undeveloped countries against the landlords"; 5. "To support the bourgeois-democratic national movements in the colonies and in the undeveloped countries" (under the condition that the truly Communist elements shall be educated "in the consciousness of their special tasks").

In his speech at the Congress Lenin pointed out that because of the objections of certain delegates it was decided that the term "bourgeois-democratic" (movement) be substituted by "nationalist-revolutionary." But Lenin immediately added:

> "There can be no doubt that every nationalist movement can be exclusively a bourgeois-democratic one, because the main mass of the population in the undeveloped countries consists of the peasantry which is a representative of bourgeois capitalist relations. *It would be Utopian* to think that the proletarian parties, if they could at all be developed in such countries, could carry

out Communist tactics and the Communist policy in such undeveloped countries without finding themselves in definite relations with the peasant movement, without supporting it in deeds." (Vol. 25, p. 352, Russian second edition. My emphasis.)

It will be seen that the statements of the Arab delegates at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International were no "invention" on the part of the Communist Party of Palestine. Their statements merely prove that the Communist Party of Palestine holds to the line of *Leninism!*

We are dealing with the ABC of Leninism. We are dealing with the struggle Lenin and Stalin have *for years* conducted against chauvinism and Luxemburgism. We are dealing with their struggle against Trotskyism—because the national-colonial question is organically connected with the peasant question. We are dealing with a struggle against *counter-revolutionary* and *imperialist* forces who are fighting the Communists, the Communist Party of Palestine, the Communist International under a "socialist" or "revolutionary" cover, under a cover of "pure" socialism, or "pure" social revolution.

2

Is the situation in Palestine ripe for uprisings, revolution?

The very question alone must sound strange to anybody in any way acquainted with the movement in the colonial countries.

Palestine is a colony of British imperialism, even more so than Egypt and India, which possess some or other (crippled, of course) form of self-government. It would therefore be *unnatural* for the population of Palestine *not* to conduct a struggle against the autocratic rule of a British High Commissioner, against British imperialist rule. It would have been *unnatural* for that population *not* to conduct a struggle for *national liberation.*

Palestine is a semi-feudal country. The soil mostly belongs to the landlord, the Effendi. The Fellah (peasant) is mostly a

tenant-farmer. He pays rent, taxes. He is exploited to the utmost. The situation of the peasantry of Palestine, because of the semi-feudal conditions and because of the imperialist rule, is even worse than was the situation of the peasantry under Czarism. It would have been therefore *unnatural* for the population of Palestine, which in its majority is a peasant population, *not* to conduct a struggle for *national* and *social* libeartion.

Here are two elements which served as the driving forces of the greatest revolutions, each organically connected with the other. They are the driving forces of the revolutions and uprisings and the general ferment in almost all colonial and semi-colonial countries (China, Egypt, India, Latin America, etc.). Palestine is in the orbit of this ferment and unrest among the hundreds of millions of people in these countries. Palestine is in the sphere of colonial uprisings and revolutions for national and social liberation. How *can* one overlook such fundamental facts?

Particularly the Jews who are themselves an oppressed nationality—how can *they* close their eyes to such facts? And when certain Jewish organizations, or movements, *do* commit this crime—is it not bound to lead to serious results?

Communists, who never lose sight of the national question, surely are not apt to overlook the Jewish question. Jewish Communists in particular are vitally interested in this question. They have a solution for it, *a real solution.* And *because* of this solution, Jews who know so well the meaning of national oppression should not take the same road as that of the oppressors and imperialists, overlooking the national problems of *others.*

But this is precisely the crime of Zionist leadership which has *from the very beginning* overlooked the population of Palestine. And when that population does not allow itself to be overlooked Zionists express wonderment, are amazed at the effrontery of the "uncivilized," the "barbars" who do not wish to live under imperialist rule. . . .

One of the first slogans of Zionism was: "The land without

a people to the people without a land." This was the *foundation* upon which Dr. Theodore Herzl, father of political Zionism, built. This *is* the foundation upon which the Weizman's and the Ben-Gurions are building. (Dr. Chain Weizman is the president of the world Zionist organization; David Ben-Gurion, leader of the strongest, "socialist," faction of Zionism, is the actual leader of the world Zionist movement and the official political spokesman of the Zionist Executive Committee in Jerusalem.)

There are over 900,000 Mohammedan Arabs in Palestine, as well as over 100,000 Christians, Arabs among them. There are over 350,000 Jews. In proportion, the very limited area of Palestine is as densely populated as, let us say, Lithuania, or even more so. (Lithuania has an area of 20,000 square miles with a population of about 2,500,000; Palestine has an area of 10,000 square miles with a population of 1,400,000.) And because Palestine, in addition, possesses sand dunes, swamps, desert land, barren hills, it is proportionally *much more densely populated than Lithuania.*

Let the reader who is acquainted with the situation in Lithuania consider if emigration into such a country can be even seriously planned, not to speak of settling an entire nation. . . . But the main question before us now is: does the "land" possess a "people"? Ther can be but one answer: yes, indeed! But the Zionists do not want to hear of such an answer, and are using all means to justify their criminal attitude towards the Palestinian population. This is the *source* of many other crimes Zionism, in all its shadings, is committing.

It will not do to justify such action by finding fault with the Arab national movement. Of course this movement still has faults. It is only natural that the Effendi elements, the "high" clergymen (who are ever ready to serve the British oppressors) should try to divert the movement of the masses, a movement directed against *them,* into the channels of race struggle, of pogroms. In such a situation, what should be done? Must the movement be condemned together with its misleaders?

Real revolutionists must, of course, take part in such a movement, weaken the influence of the misleaders, remove them, place themselves in the leadership of the movement in order to keep it within the orbit of struggle against the real enemy—imperialism—and all its servants. *This is what the Communists in Palestine are doing.* But in the eyes of the Zionists of all factions and shades, who do not "recognize" the people of Palestine and its movement, and who have hitched their policies to the chariot of British imperialism, this is considered "treachery."

The leaders of Zionism, including the "socialists," including the "left" ones, want *Great Britain* to maintain its rule over Palestine. They are afraid of the introduction of any form of democratic rule, of any kind of a Parliament. They openly appear before the Arab masses and before the whole world as partners in oppression, as adherents of despotic rule.

Surely, this cannot do much good to the Jewish masses—in the United States and other countries, who are vitally interested in *fighting* despotism, autocracy, and reaction!

The fear of the Zionist leaders of any self-expression of the Arab masses tears to shreds the Zionist legend that the Arabs are benefiting from Zionist activities in Palestine. If that were true, if the Zionist form of colonization were to bring the Arabs a higher standard of living, as the Zionists pretend it does, why, then, should the free expression of the Arab masses be feared? On the contrary, such expression would only benefit Zionist activities!

But the legend that the colonization of Zionist conquest with the aid of British imperialism is benefiting the Arab masses is just as offensive to anyone's intelligence as the legend about the "land without a people. . . ."

Zionism has entangled itself in its own contradictions. The net result is that the Weizmans and the Ben-Gurions, as well as those to the "left" of them, appear in the role of oppressors, in the role of agents of imperialism. They say to British imperialism: "Continue your rule over us! No parliament for Palestine!"

With all their "liberal," "democratic," "socialistic," and "almost Communist" phrases, they appear as a *reactionary* force, while those elements of the Arab bourgeoisie who want an independent Palestine and are therefore ready to fight imperialism are objectively, at this juncture, a *revolutionary* force. And whoever does not understand the *revolutionary content* of the struggle of such elements in the colonial countries *understands nothing* about colonial uprisings, *understands nothing* about social revolution. Such people belong to those "revolutionary" babblers whom Lenin fought. They belong to those fastidious "revolutionists" who eternally insist on a "pure" social revolution—because they want no social revolution whatever! The Zionists in and out of Palestine, including the most desperate "lefts," *surely* don't want that!

But the Arab masses and the Communists of Palestine cannot and will not be so obliging as to take into consideration the wishes of agents of imperialism. This would have been *treason* to the colonial revolution, that is—treason to the social revolution, that is—treason to the real solution of the national question, the Jewish question!

Zionists deny that they are conducting an *economic* struggle against the Arab peasants and workers. They cannot now, however, deny their *political* struggle against the Arabs. The press of the entire world is blazing forth the facts that the Zionist leaders are fighting desperately attempts of Great Britain to pacify the Arab masses with some (crippled, of course) form of self-government. *All* the Zionist leaders, without exception, demand the maintenance of the *status quo,* advocate Britain's continuance of imperialist rule under the guise of the "Mandate."

It is not because the Legislative Council is not democratic *enough* that the Zionist leaders are fighting it. Such objection would be commendable. The Council, the way it is planned by the British High Commissioner, will make a travesty of self-government. The Zionist leaders, however, do not want a *better* Council—they want no Council at all!

The Zionist leaders appear before the Arab masses in a worse light even than their master, British imperialism. And the more the colonial and semi-colonial countries are filled with unrest, the heavier the Zionist leadership leans on British imperialist force, the more it must continue its colonization of conquest by means of race hatred and race discrimination.

Because of the crash of the inflated speculative "prosperity" in Palestine, Zionism, particularly the Histadruth (Jewish "socialist" labor federation) is trying to solve its economic problems by intensifying its *racial* activities. The slogan: "Buy Jewish" is more extensively enforced. The fight against Arab labor is being conducted with greater bitterness than ever. Even in certain *Zionist* newspapers one glimpes expressions of fear anent this intensified racial activity.

The "left" Poale-Zionist, M. Erem, for instance, writes about the slogan: "Buy Jewish" as follows:

> "Either of the two: If it (the slogan) is to serve mere purposes of declamation, then we must consider it as the *babblings of provocateurs* (even if its authors do not intend that) since it aggravates the already tense atmosphere of national hatred in Palestine, a hatred which may wreak its initial vengeance on the Jewish community. If, however, the slogan is to serve as a line of action in this (economic) field, then its authors seem to have lost their political senses. They do not themselves understand that they are playing with a fire which can destroy the very industry they seek to protect." (*Proletarischer Gedank,*" organ of the "left" Poale-Zionists of the United States and Canada, November 15, 1935.)

In a subsequent article in the issue of December 1, 1935, the same writer states:

> "Only the blind and naive can make themselves believe that the Arab market will not react, sooner or later, against this 'noble' slogan. The danger appears ever greater because this reaction will not limit itself to the economic field, but will most definitely have its repercussions in the political alignments in the country. What will happen then? It is not difficult to foresee.

Our very existence is charged with explosives, which need but a spark to ignite."

The same newspaper which is alarmed about the "babblings of provocateurs," that is, the slogans of the leaders of the Histadruth (who are *the* leaders of Zionism), has in the course of 1935 printed a number of articles testifying (if any testimony were at all necessary) to the fact that *the unions of the Histadruth do not accept Arabs as members,* that these are *racial* "unions," and that "instead of getting the Arab toilers closer to the Jewish toilers the policies of the Socialist leadership of the Histadruth are widening the gap between them; instead of smothering the flames of race hatred and curbing reckless Zionism, the Jewish Socialist Party is pouring oil on the fire" (Dec. 15, 1935).

Similar expressions of restlessness on the part of certain sections of the Zionist movement are to be found in other publications. The "left" Zionist writers, when dealing with such criminal matters as racial "unions," race hatred, and a veritable war against Arab labor conducted by the leadership of the Histadruth, seem to be satisfied with pious lamentations. But these "lefts" are just as guilty as the Ben-Gurions, if not more! Their lamentations serve as a safety valve, giving futile expression to the dissatisfied elements in the Zionist movement who feel that something is basically wrong. The "lefts" prevent many of them from seeing that it is not a question of reforming Zionism, of fighting "reckless' Zionism, but of combatting *the entire Zionist adventure,* which *must* rely on British imperialism and is *forced* to operate with racial slogans if it is to conduct any colonization in a poor and densely populated country.

The Zionist leadership, the leadership of the Histadruth, continues its racial discrimination. The following is a news item printed on the front page of the New York Jewish *Morning Journal* of April 8, 1935:

"ZION PARTY WILL EXPEL JEWS EMPLOYING ARABS."

The cable which was sent from Jerusalem by the official

Zionist news agency, Palcor, states that the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization "has taken decisive steps to discourage Jewish employers from employing non-Jewish (Arab) labor."

This decision on the part of the Zionist Actions Committee speaks for itself. So do the boycott lists published in the "socialist" organ of the Histadruth, the daily *Davar*—lists of names and addresses of Jews of Tel Aviv employing Arabs. The Communist Jewish daily *Morning Freiheit* reproduced on December 15, 1935, a photostatic copy of such a list. In the same issue there was printed a photostatic copy of part of a speech delivered by Ben-Gurion in the Asifath Hanivcharim (Jewish Assembly), wherein he stated that if a Jewish colony employed "foreign" (that is Arab) labor, it committed a worse crime than if it were to maintain a house of shame. (The speech appeared in the Tel Aviv daily *Haaretz,* March 10, 1932.)

The Zionist leaders are not always so careless with their speeches, decisions and statements. But their *deeds* are becoming more desperate and criminal than ever. They conduct themselves as *incendiaries.* They continually *drive* towards racial struggles. *Only the Communist Party,* which is bending all its efforts to forge solidarity between Arab and Jewish toilers, acts as a bulwark against these racial struggles.

Beside its enmity against Arab labor, Zionism (because of a growing lack of free land) intensifies its struggle against the Arab peasant. Here, too, Zionism tries to conceal its activities. It attempts to hide the fact that colonization drives the Arab peasants from their soil. But even while denying these facts they must admit them.

In December, 1935, when the Zionists conducted one of their periodic crusades against Communism, the organ of the old guard of the Socialist Party of the United States, the Jewish daily *Forward,* which (of course!) joined in the anti-Communist crusade, made on December 8 some very damaging admissions. The anti-Soviet "expert" of that paper, a certain "socialist" white-

guardist by the name of D. Shub, in trying to refute the facts of the Zionist colonization of conquest in Palestine, in a full-page article bristling with quotations from Zionist and other spokesmen, stated:

> "In whose hands did the land bought by the Jews formerly find itself? *Over 88% of the land formerly belonged to the rich estate owners and only over 9% to the peasants.*" (His emphasis.)

Which is precisely what the opponents of Zionism are pointing out! There *is* no land to be bought other than Effendi land! Palestine is a semi-feudal country. Almost all of the peasantry, with the exception of an insignificant minority, consists of tenant farmers who are being ruthlessly exploited by the landlords. When the land is bought from the landlord the peasants are chased off their farmsteads.

We are dealing with a semi-feudal country, whose peasantry is starved for land. Into this situation Zionism projects itself with its colonization of conquest, building its "economy" with the aid of racial slogans and British bayonets, pouring oil on troubled waters, fanning ever higher the flames of race hatred.

This dangerous activity of British imperialism and its agent, Zionism, has turned Palestine into a powder keg. All kinds of provocateurs are taking advantage of this situation. First come the provocateurs of British imperialism, the agents of the type of Colonel Lawrence and other "Arab chiefs" created in England. The provocateurs of Italian imperialism which is now in a life and death struggle with British imperialism, are doing their bit. And there are the fascists of all kinds—Arab and Jewish. The Jewish fascists are—the followers of Jabotinsky, the Revisionists, who have been brought up inside the Zionist movement of which they were until recently a part. These Revisionists are marching over Tel Aviv in brown shirts, singing (in Hebrew):

Germany for Hitler,
Italy for Mussolini,
Petakh Tikva for us,
Heil, Heil, Jabotinsky!

4.

The inflamed atmosphere of Palestine, with provocative racial fascist slogans, with its war on Arab labor and the Arab peasantry gave birth to another adventure—*the smuggling of arms into the country.*

In November, 1935, the president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Dr. Judah L. Magnus, published in the *Manchester Guardian* a reply to a letter by Lord Melchett, head of the Zionist Jewish Agency in Great Britain. The answer reads (I am quoting from the Philadelphia Daily *Jewish World* of December 17, 1935):

> "I have seen the telegraphic account of a letter to you by Lord Melchett, in which in commenting on my suggestion for permanent neutrality for the Holy Land in all international conflicts, he says that if Great Britain became involved in war housands of young Jews would march to Government House to enlist and fight for Britain.
>
> ". . . Is it for this that Great Britain holds the Mandate for the Holy Land? If this is so, then many of the worst charges brought against Great Britain by her enemies are true. I for one do no want to believe it.
>
> ". . . Lord Melchett recently advocated making Palestine a 'self-governing institution within the British Empire' and he says that this 'imperial solution of the Palestine problem would provide the British Empire with a healthy and intelligent population in the Near East, always ready in case of necessity to take up arms in an imperial cause'. Colonel Wedgewood wrote a book some years ago about Palestine's becoming Britain's 'Seventh Dominion'. Lord Melchett has also said that what Singapore is to the British Empire in the Far East, Palestine could and should become in the Near East.
>
> "This poses the problem very neatly. The Holy Land a second Singapore. What Lord Melchett says is doubtless good news to armament firms and the makers of chemical poisons. But does he represent true British opinion as to Palestine? Are the Jewish people in Palestine to become in fact the outpost of British imperialist policy, or is Palestine, as a Mandated territory and as the Holy Land of three great religions, through its neutralization,

or in some other way, to be given a chance to help the revival of mankind's intellectual and moral destiny?"

We shall not engage ourselves here with this "destiny". We shall further quote from a correspondence by the well-informed authority on British imperialist policy, Augur, printed in the New York *Times* of January 19, 1936. Augur writes:

"Tension between Great Britain and Italy in the Mediterranean has produced results which will endure. Among these will be the enhanced importance of Palestine in the structure of the British Empire—an importance which may equal that of any one of the great dominions.

". . . The air force, even more than the navy, needs solidly established bases. The safety of an air base depends upon its being situated in territory that is completely dominated and that contains a friendly population. These conditions cannot be found in Egypt. In that part of the world they exist only in Palestine.

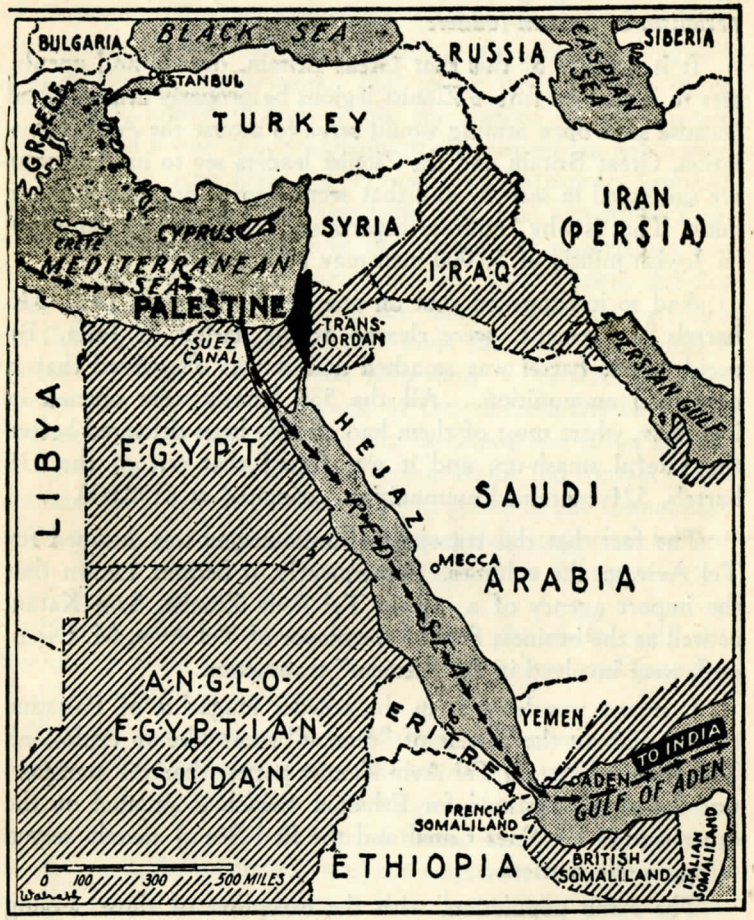
"Britain governs the country and the Jewish population represents an element which can supply a guarantee of safety for the establishments of the air force. In the sea of the native population of Arabia the Palestinian Jews stand isolated, an outpost of Europe, and, if rightly handled, an element of strength for the empire.

". . . Already the possibility is seen that the Jewish population will provide the physical force sufficient not only for its own protection but also for the defense of the Palestinian citadel against any foreseeable attack from oustide. Military experts say a Jewish militia of 50,000 men may be a reality tomorrow."

Clear enough.

Lord Melchett (who has invested heavily in the British colony in Palestine) and Augur were not engaging in any "revelations". Because of the general tension and the conflicting imperialist interests they merely stated a bit more openly what has been stated before them and what has been *done* by British imperialism ever since the legions of Lord Allenby marched into Jerusalem. Great Britain holds Palestine as an instrument of the British Empire, *for* the British Empire. The very strategic position of Palestine on the Suez Canal, along the "life line of the Empire";

the only section of Arabistan (outside of Syria) on the Mediterranean Sea; lying along the land route to India; with the harbor of Haifa where the pipe line for Mossul oil, in Iraq



Map accompanying Augur's article in the *New York Times* of January 19, 1936, indicating the strategic importance of Palestine for British imperialism. (Palestine is shown in black while all other countries under British influence are shaded.)

(Messopotamia) terminates—this strategic position *is* being turned into a Singapore of the Near East. The Halutzim which Zionism is bringing to Palestine *are looked upon by British imperialism as cannon-fodder.*

It is because of this that Great Britain, overtly and openly, sees to it that its future Zionist legions be properly armed. And because such *open* arming would serve to arouse the Arab population, Great Britain and the Zionist leaders see to its that arms are smuggled in secretly and that secret armed organizations are built. That is why "military experts say" that already *tomorrow* "a Jewish militia of 50,000 men may be a reality."

And so it happened that on one day in October, 1935, 536 barrels of "cement" were cleared at the harbor of Jaffa. By accident one barrel was smashed and it was discovered that it contained ammunition... All the 536 barrels were opened in *Tel Aviv,* where most of them had already been delivered before the fateful smash-up, and it was found that out of the 536 barrels, 521 contained ammunition, estimated at $150,000.

The fact that this transport of ammunition was destined for Tel Aviv speaks volumes. Subsequently, it became known that the import agency of a certain Tel Aviv Zionist, Sam Katan, as well as the business firm of the mayor of Tel Aviv, M. Disengoff, were involved in the "cement" transaction.

Is it any wonder that in the powder magazine of Palestine the news about the barrels of "cement" came like an explosion? The claim of certain Tel Aviv Zionist papers that the transport was "possibly" destined for Ethiopia (which is situated on the other side of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea...) merely served to aggravate matters.

The Arab population, with the execption of those serving British imperialism, declared a general strike. Demonstrations took place. The Communist Party would not have fulfilled its duty if it didn't try to place itself at the head of the movement, to see that the struggle should *not* turn into racial channels, but

should turn into a definite and decisive struggle against imperialism and all its servants, including the smugglers of arms.

During those days of turmoil and fury the Communist Party, of course, issued many leaflets and posters. Such leaflets, be it remembered, had to call for an uprising, for revolution, against imperialism and its servants. The Jewish press of New York —*and particularly of New York,* for reasons we will explain later—raised a hue and cry against the statements in one leaflet. These papers (the *Day,* the *Forward,* the *Morning Journal*) deliberately overlooked the *main* issue, the racial activity of Zionism, the smuggling of arms in the interests of imperialism and for the purpose of race war. Likewise, these papers did not want to take into consideration the difficult situation in which the Communist Party of Palestine finds itself, working under a system of illegality and terror, with most of its leading forces thrown into the medieval prisons of this unfortunate land. All that could be learned about the vicious Zionist campaign against the Communist Party was that a certain leaflet did contain formulations which were not in line with the policy of the Communist Party and that this leaflet was immediately corrected by another. It was also learned that the Zionist press did some "free" translating of the first leaflet.

That is what could be learned from the short cable the *Morning Freiheit* received from its correspondent on December 12, 1935, wherein it was stated:

"Leaflet contained error in principle. Zionists additionally crippled it in translation. Error was rectified by another leaflet."

It is quite possible that a local group, or even Communist organization, because of the lack of forces outside of the prisons, did issue a leaflet wherein it was not emphasized clearly enough that the Jewish masses are not at fault, but that it is imperialism and Zionist adventurism that must be combatted. But as far as the Zionist leadership and the Zionist press are concerned, *this* is precisely what the "treachery" of the Communists consisted of! Any condemnation of the provocative and dangerous

racial activity of the *Zionist leadership* is, according to the Zionist press, "treachery" to the "Jewish peaple", a "pogrom"!

But it would have *really* been treachery to the interests of the Jewish masses if the Communists would not say to the Arabs and the whole world that the Jewish masses are not guilty of the crimes of the Zionist leadership! It would have really been treachery to the social revolution—and thereby treachery to the solution of the Jewish problem—if the masses of a colonial country were not aroused to a struggle against imperialism and its servants, whoever they may be, Zionists or Arab Effendis.

5.

The Communist Party is *the only force in Palestine which is trying to avert pogroms,* which is bending all its forces to nullify the dreadful racial activities of Zionism and imperialism.

The line of the Communist Party of Palestine is the line of the Communist International, the line of the Communist Parties in the Soviet Union, the United States, everywhere. This line was clearly expressed in the following words of the Arab delegate, Comrade Hadyar, who in his speech at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in August, 1935, declared:

> "The Arab masses are filled with a burning hatred towards the Arab capitalists, feudalists, towards the Zionist bourgeoisie, who has taken upon itself the gendarme role of imperialist oppression. The struggle against the Zionist bourgeoisie is something which can be directly understood by almost all the oppressed social strata of the Arab people. This struggle is taking place daily, and is basically an anti-imperialist struggle. By supporting this struggle we must lead, extend and direct it along the proper channels—*towards the struggle against the main enemy, against imperialism.*
>
> "We hate the Jewish Zionist bourgeoisie, but we extend a fraternal hand to the Jewish toilers for a joint struggle against imperialism, against Zionism, against the bitterest enemies of the Arab and Jewish peoples in Palestine.* The Communist Party is building the Arab national peoples' front against imperialism and against Zionism. It actively works among the Jewish toiling masses in order to liberate them from the influence of the counter-revolutionary party of the Jewish Zionist capitalists, in order to draw the toiling Jews into the national emancipation struggle of the Arab masses. The Jewish national minority in Palestine is faced with great prospectives when the national emancipation movement under the hegemony of the proletariat will be victorious. *Our task is to show and convince the Jewish toilers that their class and national interests are linked up with the victory of the national liberation movement of the Arab masses and the democratic transformation of the social system in Palestine. We must work particularly to form the united front between the Arab and Jewish workers."*

Clear enough. A real revolutionary line, the line of struggle agains imperialism, the common struggle of Arab and Jewish toilers. *This* is the line of the Communist Party of Palestine! And when it happens that in the midst of turmoil and excitement somebody, because of lack of forces, commits an error, the Communist Party is the first to admit such error and to rectify it!

But it is not the *error* that is troubling the Zionist inciters! It is the *correct line* which is troubling them! Every struggle against Zionism, against Zionist racialism, against leaning on and supporting British imperialism they consider "treachery".

On December 15th, 1935, the *Morning Freiheit* printed an article by M. J. Olgin: "A Program How to Safeguard Against Pogroms in Palestine." In this article Olgin declared: We,

---

* The *Jewish Daily Forward*, in its article of December 8, 1935, attacking the C.P. of Palestine with the aid of "quotations" omitted from this phrase of Hadyar's speech the words "and Jewish," creating the impression that the speaker was concerned about the Arab people only. This will give an idea how a Communist document, be it a speech or a leaflet, can be mutilated by the slightest "touch." On December 9 the *Morning Freiheit* drew attention to the "omission" and it was only on December 17 that the *Forward* mentioned that the "mistake" occurred because of the fault of the "linotyper or corrector."

Communists, have a long-range program for Palestine, a program for revolutionary uprisings. But you, Jewish leaders, Jewish editors, must say what *you* think of the Palestine situation. You must help find a way to extinguish the fires of race hatred.

And Olgin proposed to the so-called Jewish leaders and the Jewish editors the following elementary democratic means of alleviating the situation:

1. All workers, regardless of race and nationality, shall be accepted into the unions of the Histadruth.

2. Likewise, all agricultural workers. Arab tenant farmers should be organized together with Jewish tenant farmers in one body.

3. The Zionist leaders must declare that they are for a truly democratic parliament in Palestine which should safeguard the full equality and all rights for the Jewish minority and its national development.

4. Struggle against British imperialism, for a free Palestine.

5. Free immigration under conditions 1 and 2. (At present *there is no free immigration,* since immigration is a monopoly of the Zionist Organization which selects the immigrants along Zionist lines; only the immigration of Jewish capitalists is free.)

6. No land shall be bought without the previous consent of the peasants working the land.

7. The rule of the church (Mohamedan, Christian, Jewish) to be abolished.

8. The shameful transfer-agreement with the Nazi government, which has turned Zionism into an agency for Nazi export for the entire Near East, to be cancelled.

These, in short, were the proposals put before the Zionists and the Zionist press, elementary democratic proposals upon which every liberal and every progressive must agree. But the Zionist leaders and the Zionis newspapers did not even comment on the proposals, not to mention reply!

They are trying to evade the main issue. They are attempting to befuddle the Jewish masses with a red hysteria. They are trying to support their slanders with their 1929 model fabrication against the Communists who in that year were supposed to have "called for" or "supported" a "pogrom." But one of the chief inciters, the Zionist *Day,* itself stated on August 29, 1929, on its front page:

> "From various sources news was received yesterday which makes it obvious that the attacks of Arabs upon Jews have taken the shape of a revolt against the British government. These reports are based mainly on the following occurrences: first, the Arabs yesterday made an attempt to attack the government buildings in Tel Kerem and Nablus and have occupied the Allenby Bridge on the Tran-Jordanian frontier."

One hardly needs the support of the *Day* or a similar Zionist organ in order to prove that in 1929 there was an *uprising* in Palestine. The *conditions* for an uprising are there! It is true that at that time certain agent-provocateurs—British, Zionist, Arab—succeeded in organizing bands for the purposes of racial attacks. Among those provocateurs the Zionist-Revisionists, who are openly fomenting racial struggles, played no minor role. But just as it was criminal to brand the revolution in Czarist Russia a "pogrom" because certain dark forces, organized by Czarism, committed pogromist acts, so it is criminal to brand the revolution of a colonial land in similar terms. We must bend our forces to *eliminate* racial conflicts, and this is what the Communist Party of Palestine is doing!

In old Russia, it was the same Zionist leadership which tried to slander all Russians as "pogromites." They sought to discredit the *Russian* revolution by shouting that the revolutionists want to "grease the wheels of the revolution with Jewish blood". This was an unspeakable slander against the revolution on the part of counter-revolutionists and supporters of Czarism. Now the very same elements, supporters of imperialism, are manu-

facturing similar slanders against the revolutionary struggles in Palestine!

"The policy of oppressing nationalities is the policy of dividing nationalities," Lenin said. "It is at the same time the policy of systematically demoralizing the peoples' conscience." These are the means British imperialism is employing in Palestine: divide and rule. The Zionist leaders and the Zionist press do their bit for British imperialism by inciting the Jews against the Arabs and by pointing to the "Reds" as the enemies.

In New York, the Jewish press has a particular reason: *circulation.* The Communist *Morning Freiheit,* in this period of the radicalization of the masses, is a sharp competitor. The New York Jewish press has another weighty reason: *the United Front.* It does not want the United Front which is growing ever wider and which is diminishing the influence of this (non-Communist) press with the Jewish workers and other honest elements. It therefore waves the Zionist flag, shouts "Reds" and "pogroms" in order to stop the growth of the United Front.

The Jewish toiling masses must not yield to the demoralizing machinations of the imperialist-Zionist combination. Their attention must not be diverted from the main issue, the criminal Zionist racialism in Palestine, the collaboration of the Zionist leadership with British imperialism. *They must not be utilized as cannon-fodder in the British Singapore of the Near East.*

The Jewish toiling masses should always keep sight of the main issue, the *social revolution* which alone will liberate the nationalities and will solve the Jewish question. Social revolution is *not possible* without the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples.

Zionism is a counter-revolutionary force. Zionism which, in Palestine, is basing itself on imperialism and racialism, is, in the so-called Diaspora (all lands other than Palestine) staking on reaction and fascism. *A revolution in Germany, in Poland, will deal a death blow to Zionism.* Zionism will lose two of its most

fertile sources, sources of pogroms, discrimination, anti-Semitism, ghetto laws, extermination. *This* is what is now feeding the Zionist movement.

It is to the *interests* of Zionism that the situation of the Jews in the "Diaspora" shall *not* improve. Zionism builds on reaction and fascism. Zionism is the *enemy* of revolution. That is why there is such close collaboration between the Zionist leadership and Nazism, that is why the transfer agreement was concluded, that is why the Zionist organization and its press is legalized in Germany, that is why Zionism gave birth to Brown-Shirted Revisionism.

The Jewish masses, including the Zionist rank and file, which is sincerely striving for a solution of the Jewish problem, must realize that *their problem will be solved in the countries where they live,* as the problems of the Russian Jews were solved. The Jewish masses who are now witnessing the inspiring results of the social revolution on one-sixth of the globe, the results of the Leninist line of the Communist International which alone leads to national and social liberation, must try with all their might to combat the red baiters, to build *the united front* with the toiling masses of all nationalities, regardless of race and color. Only thus *immediate* improvement and final national liberation will be attained.