

Resolution on the Jewish Question

EUROPEAN JEWRY

Rising capitalism brought about a partial emancipation of the Jews from their feudal restrictions. The expanding economy required that feudal barriers, limitations and concepts be abolished; it demanded the creation of national markets and economics, greater freedom of opportunity than feudalism had offered, so as to speed up its own development; it demanded the abrogation of laws restricting freedom of movement and action. The Jews, who were caught in the web of lawful discrimination under the feudal system, benefited greatly from the rise of capitalism. Blinded by the glorious French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, this long persecuted minority finally considered the millenium to be at hand.

But as soon as the capitalist system began to decline through the clashes between the growing productive forces and the outmoded property relations, the Jews began to be forced out of their unstable positions. The sham of equality of minorities in a class society was fully revealed when the contradictions inherent in the anarchic capitalist system of production finally came out into the open and established themselves as the dominant features of society. Concentrated in secondary industries, politically and socially powerless, subject to increasing discrimination and oppression, the Jews were the first to be blamed, the first to be driven out, the first to be crushed in the maelstrom of the economic structure toppling overhead.

In this period of capitalist decline and protracted doom, the inertia of Jewry's "mind" — the superstructure lagging behind actual development — still forces them to operate with such outdated commodities as emancipation, assimilation, equality and freedom. But reality eventually forces thought processes to obey it. The cruel reality of declining capitalism shows the fate of modern Jewry to be the complete opposite of the glorious promise of the French Revolution. From the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Capitalism has led six million Jews to death in gas chambers and pogroms.

With more than six million Jews killed by the fascist scourge, the last remnants of European Jewry are getting the full measure of the Allied victory. Completely destitute, ridden with disease, and spiritually broken, these emaciated survivors find themselves in concentration camps set up by the Allies. What is left of European Jewry finds itself completely uprooted and without means of livelihood, their property stolen by the Nazis and not returned to them — outcasts of a society in the throes of a precipitous decline. The continued existence of anti-semitism in Western and Central Europe offers them concrete

proof that capitalism and anti-semitism are twins. Likewise, anti-semitic outbreaks in the Soviet sphere of influence give added proof to European Jewry that the end of fascism does not signify the end of their suffering.

Having no homes to return to, the memory of Nazis gas chambers and slaughtered families still fresh in their minds, with the reality of Allied concentration camps before their eyes, these pariahs have but one wish; to escape Europe.

Recognizing these conditions, the party advances the following program for the Jews of Europe:

- 1 Free Immigration to all countries of the earth including Palestine. We oppose the exit and inter-continental travel prohibitions and limitations for these people; the visa and quota system as well as other immigration restrictions. We urge the world labor movement to adopt this slogan and to demand of their respective governments and the Allied overlords to open the doors of all countries to these outcasts.

- 2 The party demands the break-up of the fascist-like concentration camps.

- 3 The party will expose and combat any anti-semitic acts perpetrated in Europe. It calls upon the European workers to stamp out anti-semitism around which neo-fascist trends are bound to crystallize.

- 4 The party calls upon all Jews left in Europe to fully participate in the class struggles of the European proletariat — as far as their anomalous position in present-day Europe permits them to. It calls upon those Jews who tasted the full meaning of "democratic" victory to ally themselves with the European workers in the class struggle; to support the slogan of "Withdraw the Occupation Troops;" to support the struggle against Allied imperialism and Soviet aggrandizement and for a free socialist Europe — which alone can give the Jews the chance to live freely.

AMERICAN JEWRY

Despite a transitory economic prosperity period, capitalist post-war America cannot escape the consequences of its own internal contradictions in the long run. When the inevitable economic depression strikes the U. S., the 1929-1933 catastrophe will appear as mere child's play by comparison. Contraction of the economy, a minimum of 15-20 million unemployed; the discharged war workers and the jobless veterans — the combination of these factors could provide fertile territory for the native American fascists. The utter disillusionment with the "fruits of victory" will have turned into ever-increasing resentment against the "war for democracy."

It is against this somber background that American Jewry's fate in the post-war period has to be evaluated. The economic crisis will bring as its inevitable concomitants a tremendous growth of racial tensions, anti-semitism and discrimination. The forerunners of these tendencies are already evident. Contraction of the economy will mean to Jews as it does to Negroes: "Last to be hired, first to be fired." Gang assaults on Jews and pogrom-like outbreaks will mount as the Jews will continue their customary role as the scapegoat for the crimes of capitalism. Because the main struggle in this period is the one between the capitalist forces of reaction and the power of the American working class, led by the revolutionary party, the struggle of the Jews will be successful only if tied to that of the working class. Without the destruction of the decadent capitalist system, American Jewry's position will become ever more precarious and unstable.

To provide an answer to American Jewry's need in the post-war period, the SWP advances the following program:

- 1 The struggle against anti-semitism and discrimination. The party will intensify its persistent struggle against social, political and economic discrimination and against anti-semitism in all its forms. The party will fight discrimination in jobs, housing, schools; it will take concrete actions on behalf of the Jews; it will protest all oppressive measures instigated by law-making agencies and join in or organize the struggle against anti-Jewish political propaganda and activities. It will continue the struggle against the native fascist groups such as Coughlin, Smith, Rankin, etc. It will coordinate this activity with the party's over-all struggle against fascism.

By carrying out this program in action, the party will give the lie to those "assimilationist" American Jews who still deny the existence of a Jewish problem. The party will thereby fight the ostrich policy of "hush-hushing" the problem out of existence. The party thereby states openly that there is a specific Jewish problem which requires specific measures to solve it.

- 2 Open the doors to the U. S. The party stands for the right of free immigration into the United States and opposes the present stringent restriction on immigration as well as the entire repressive quota system. For the free and unlimited immigration to America of Europe's homeless Jews! We will oppose the cruel sham of the Roosevelt and Truman policy toward Jewish immigration. While mouthing countless honeyed words and sugary phrases they have not taken one serious step to allow any part of the Jewish refugees into this country. American imperialism would like to embarrass British imperialism by appearing as a supporter of Jewish immigration into Palestine. American revolutionists will expose this hypocrisy and demand the lifting of all barriers to immigration into the United States.

- 3 The community of interests between Jews and American working class. In its approach to American workers the party will point out to them the historical identity of interests between the working class and a persecuted minority such as the Jews. The party will point out to anti-fascist workers the close relations between fascism and anti-semitism and the necessity for fighting the one as well as the other. The party will, in its propaganda, explain the need for the breaking down of racial and national prejudices within the working class and the necessity for the unity of all workers and oppressed minorities against the capitalists. Conversely, in its approach to Jewish workers, the party will stress the common needs of the entire working class, of which the Jewish workers are a part. While fighting for specific Jewish demands, the party must point out to the Jewish workers that they are not a separate entity, but a specific group within the U. S. working class. In order to gain the alliance of the American workers in the struggle against anti-semitism and discrimination, the Jewish

workers must ally themselves with the former in their class struggle against the common enemy of both — the capitalist class of the United States.

The Jewish question has its root in the capitalist system and especially in the exacerbated decline of the capitalist system. The key to the solution of the problem — the only road to the normalization of Jewish life — lies in the struggle against capitalism and its final destruction.

Capitalism can offer no solution to the Jewish problem. The economic "maladjustment" of the Jews, which is the cause of their specific problem in class societies, cannot be removed by capitalism in its decay. Instead of abolishing discrimination, destroying anti-semitism and giving the Jews the right of free self-determination decaying capitalism provides them, as it does the rest of mankind, with protracted world crises, recurrent wars and the specter of world fascism.

Bourgeois pen-prostitutes in the Jewish field no longer dare speak even of "equal rights" for Jews. Their "cure-all" for Jewry's needs is expressed in the call for "mass migrations." But the period of mass migrations is at an end. Liberal capitalism will never return. To speak of migrations at the present moment as a solution to the Jewish problem means to fight for capitalist reconstruction. However, it is impossible to "escape" capitalism, utterly utopian to emigrate from world fascism. To ask of anarchic capitalism in its decay to carry through the "peaceful" and "organized" migration of millions of Jews is thoroughly utopian and reactionary to the core.

With the need for refuge greater than ever, more and more Jews begin to see in Palestine their Promised Land. Under Zionist leadership they have — with but a small minority dissenting — proclaimed as their aim the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. We are presented with the tragic historical picture of the Jewish people setting up a goal which is unrealizable under the capitalist system both in terms of the conflicting (and dominant) interests of Great Britain in Palestine, as well as in terms of the interests of the Palestine Arabs. Not only do Zionists fail to understand imperialist England's role in Palestine, but — themselves the butt of national persecution for the ages — are now ready to ride roughshod over the interests of another people: the Palestine Arabs.

GREAT BRITAIN IN PALESTINE

Palestine lies at the crossroads of the continents in more ways than one. Its position vis a vis the narrow Mediterranean and the Suez Canal gives it strategic importance in imperialist world politics. Guarding the Suez and hence the shortest route to India, Palestine is one of England's principal bases. It represents the very key to empire politics especially in view of Egypt's changed position. In its recent treaty with Egypt, England granted that country a sham independence, consisting of continued economic subjugation accompanied by a partial withdrawal of troops to appease the nationalist sentiment. Since England intends to hold on to its empire, the troops to be withdrawn are to be shifted to the other side of the Suez: Palestine. Thus Palestine has become the focal point in Great Britain's empire communication system with India. Palestine is being transformed into a veritable armed camp with new English troops constantly pouring in. Newly built sea bases, air ports and pipe lines from the oil wells of the Middle East round out the picture. Never was the ludicrousness of the Zionist dream of an "independent Jewish State" in Palestine more fully exposed than at the present moment.

In this period of the Empire's worst decline, the British — in order to hold on to the tattered shreds of their domain — are faced with the inevitable necessity to appease the Arab world. While the Jews are weaker than ever and carry no weight in the game of power politics, the Arab states with

their vast oil regions, their strategic location; their as yet weak but budding nationalism, are forces to be reckoned with. England as well as the United States, also view with some concern the behind-the-scenes get-togethers between the Soviet Union and the Arab states. This, coupled with the other factors drive the British on to the path of anti-Jewish and apparently pro-Arab politics. In reality, however, the real policy is determined by what suits imperialist England best. As many concessions as are necessary to harness the Arab ruling classes to England's chariot are being made. Hence, the treaty with Egypt, the leniency to the Mufti, the anti-Jewish White Paper and Britain's continued adamant stand against further Jewish immigration.

England's efforts to form a bloc of Arab states to support her policies in the Near East (the Arab League) help her traditional divide and rule policy. As with the Moslems and Hindus in India, Kurds and Arabs in Syria, so also with the Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Great Britain hopes to keep them at each others' throats instead of unitedly fighting England. Thus England erects artificial barriers between the two peoples, deepens existing ones and introduces further points of conflict. The fanning of chauvinistic sentiments and racial prejudices as well as the continued separation of the two peoples are furthered by and of immense benefit to Great Britain and its imperialist rule in Palestine.

ZIONISM AND THE JEWS IN PALESTINE

Today as it has been since 1917, Palestine remains a British colony guarding Britain's life line to India and "promised" by British imperialism to both Jews and Arabs. On the basis of the Balfour declaration, continuous waves of Jews have entered this feudal Arab country until today one-third of the population consists of Jews. This newly created community of almost seven hundred thousand people introduced capitalist methods of production into a feudal country, converted swamps and arid land into fertile agricultural regions; has lowered the mortality and disease rate, improved housing and living conditions; has resulted in the creation of a strong working class with powerful trade unions and political parties. While the Arab ruling classes are uniformly opposed to the Jewish community due to their fear of a rival basing itself on a more progressive mode of production, the Arab masses have in part benefited by Jewish immigration. Of all the Arab countries, Palestine is the only one that shows a high yearly immigration of Arabs from surrounding countries. Health, schooling, living conditions have been improved for the Arabs. Concomitant with the rise of the Jewish working class has been the growth of the Arab proletariat. But these partly good results of Jewish immigration are more than offset by the rest of Zionist policies.

The program and policies of political Zionism are, if analyzed from a Marxist point of view, thoroughly reactionary, Zionism is revealed as a bourgeois movement, a status-quo ideology that bases its solution to the Jewish problem on the continued existence of capitalism and follows a class collaborationist policy within Jewry as well as with the imperialist powers. It has always been the tool of imperialism. Zionism supported the imperialist war and in the face of reality continues to pretend to the Jewish masses that capitalism in its decay can provide the Jews with freedom and a homeland. Zionism stands in inverse relation to social progress; every defeat of the working class has meant an increase in the need for emigration to Palestine.

Zionism reveals itself openly in Palestine where it sets Jewish against Arab workers for the sake of the "Jewish National Home." The reactionary Zionist slogan of "Conquest of Labor" has meant a driving out of Arabs from employment, inter-working class competition for jobs on a racial basis,

establishment of all-Jewish trade unions and other measures used to "cement" the Jewish National home.

Zionism must be openly exposed and combatted by the party as a nationalistic trap for the Jewish masses, whose problems cannot be solved in this manner. Zionist aims, dependent for their realization upon a historical impossibility — the peaceful perpetuation of bourgeois democracy — count for nought. The decay of capitalism has wrung the main weapons out of the hands of the Zionists. Mass migrations have become impossible, while a "free" Palestine is inconceivable unless coupled with the struggle to oust imperialism from the country. Zionism has reached a dead end in theory and in practice.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE IN PALESTINE

Like all national oppression, the subjugation of the Jews at the hands of the brutal British overlords in Palestine has given birth to a renewed national consciousness and national struggle. In countless struggles, from the hopeless battle of the Warsaw Ghetto to the present day fight in Palestine the Jews have served notice that they will not go down without a fight. Their striving for national freedom will, if directed along correct lines, be a significant part of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society.

The Jewish workers and farmers were not slow to react to the dictatorial and terroristic rule of the British — especially to their cruel attacks and imprisonment of incoming refugees. An underground defense movement formed many years ago for the protection of Jewish settlement — The Hagana — developed into the main core of opposition to Britain's immigrant restrictions. It is a mass organization with unquestioned support of virtually the entire Jewish population. It is in many respects similar to the European resistance movements and carries on a campaign, not of individual terror as does Irgun Tzvai Leumi and the Stern gang but of mass terror, designed to open an avenue for Jewish immigration. To that extent it must and does fight against British imperialism. With its branches and ammunition depots in every Jewish communal settlement, with its roots in every city block and union, with its strict discipline and its heavily armed and tightly-knit membership, the Hagana represents the real ruling force of the Jewish community today.

But in spite of its predominantly proletarian and working farmers composition, the Hagana, in its program, carries out the class collaborationist and chauvinist line of the Zionists. It has the complete confidence and support of the Zionist movement; for it is a subservient agent of the policies of the Zionist movement. Its program is the official Zionist program of immigration, land purchase, domination over the Arab and — collaboration with imperialism: British and American. It does not advocate a joint struggle with the Arabs. The class struggle finds no place in its program. Despite the anti-imperialistic mood of the Jewish masses, the Hagana has not adopted the slogan of "Drive the British out of Palestine." The source of the present conflict lies in Britain's determination to maintain its position by denying free immigration to the Jews. The Hagana is brought whether it likes to or not to challenge the British by its activities to continue the flow of immigration. It thereby, in spite of itself, heightens the anti-imperialist mood of the Jewish masses.

As long as the Hagana continues its present challenge to British rule in Palestine it is our revolutionary duty to critically support it. At the same time we must expose Hagana's Zionist program. We can be certain that the Zionist bourgeoisie would at any moment forsake the struggle against Great Britain and accept some cheap compromise — if they can get it. The dynamic factor in this situation is that Great Britain is hardly in a position to offer a suitable compromise. For

this reason, the Hagana may very well become the force around which the Jewish people will gather in an effort to throw off England's rule. By weakening the British military machine in Palestine, Hagana prepares the way for such an upheaval, even though that is not the design of the leadership. Today the avowed aim of the Hagana is only to force the British to allow unlimited immigration within the framework of the Balfour declaration. Tomorrow when the struggle rises to a higher level the working class rank and file, whose interests differ from those of the bourgeoisie may force the leadership to pose the problem as one of throwing the British out of Palestine. It is our duty to be in the forefront of such a struggle and to focalize the anti-imperialist aspirations of the Jewish masses.

To support the present struggle of the Hagana with our program does not mean support of Zionism. It means that we consider the present struggle of the Hagana against the British forces to be progressive.

Our support of the Hagana would necessarily include an uncompromising criticism of its Zionist program. We would repeatedly demonstrate the utopian and reactionary character of Zionism. We would show how its position on the Arab question dooms the Jews of Palestine to constant struggle with their neighbors. We would constantly recall the Zionist attitude to Great Britain before, during, and after the war. We would prove to the masses that Great Britain was always the enemy of the Jews as well as of the Arabs in Palestine. Most important of all: we would tell them that the Zionist movement, though now engaged in a skirmish with Great Britain is organically incapable (because of its bourgeois character) of conducting a finish fight against British imperialism. We would show them how such a fight is necessary in the defense of the rights of the people of Palestine and prove to them that only by breaking with the Zionist movement; by following the leadership of the revolutionary socialist party; by substituting class struggle methods for the present terrorist methods could they consummate the struggle successfully.

Support of the Hagana with our program means then, not support of Zionism, but a tactic to dislodge the hold of Zionist ideology on the Jewish masses — to drive a wedge between reactionary Zionism and the Jewish masses of Palestine and the world. To abstain or to be hostile to what is clearly a progressive struggle is to doom ourselves to impotence in relation to the Jewish masses and to allow a clear field to the Zionists.

THE ARABS IN PALESTINE

The rise of Arab nationalism, though reflected but weakly in Palestine, introduces a new phase in the historical development of the Near East. We face a period of turbulent struggle — on the one hand on the part of the Arab ruling classes, at present supported by the proletariat in an effort to win greater concessions from the imperialist powers; on the other, the class struggle of Arab proletariat and peasant against his native oppressors, as well as against the imperialist rulers. The Arab landlords and their satellites, the compradores make every effort to suppress the mass movement, to keep it within bounds. At the same time they use its potential as a threat in the bargains with the imperialist powers. They fear the masses most of all and are quite content with a "place" — though they would like a larger one — in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The bourgeois and even radical press have attempted to create a myth about the Arab people — the myth of homogeneity. The truth is that the widest possible gap separates the Arab fellah from the feudal landlords, the effendis. The effendis own the land, loan the money, market the product and perpetrate the blackest exploitation of the fellahin. They in

turn work the land, and give as much as 60% of the produce to the effendis in feudal tithes and interests. The fellah himself lives on the lowest of human standards, constantly mortgaging himself and his family into greater debt.

The growth of industry in Palestine highlights the same divergence of interests between the rising Arab bourgeoisie and the rudimentary Arab proletariat. Whereas the effendis and the bourgeoisie are only interested in perpetuating their rule, in keeping the masses suppressed, the workers and peasants are interested in the very opposite. Whereas the former wants to keep England as a senior partner in the business of domination, the latter need more than anything else to break the chains of colonial rule and exploitation. The class line is drawn no less sharply in colonial Palestine than any where else.

The Arab upper classes (whose representatives sit in conference with England) are 100% opposed to Jewish immigration. The Jewish bourgeoisie and landlords represent to them not only economic competitors, but also competitors for the good graces of the imperialists. The Jewish proletariat and working farmers, with their European background, appear as a constant threat to unquestioned domination. Their standards of living, their trade union and political experience will without doubt "infect" the Arab masses, who will in turn threaten the existing class rule.

Do the Arab masses share these presentiments? Beyond any doubt the influence of the effendis (until recently the sole source of propaganda among the Arabs) is strong. Without doubt many fellahin continue in the traditional path of following their lord blindly. However, the growth of industry and of the Arab proletariat has rent asunder the shell which enveloped the Arab masses and isolated them from the currents of class struggle and progressive ideas. As a result of the recent industrial development and the growth of the Arab proletariat, Arab trade unions and Arab socialist organizations have appeared, by means of which the Arab masses are becoming vocal for the first time. These are the bodies, which must speak for the Arab masses.

A TROTSKYIST PROGRAM FOR PALESTINE JEWRY

1 For the independence of Palestine from all imperialist domination. For a Jewish-Arab anti-imperialist struggle: Drive out the British!

This slogan must represent the fundamental axis around which our program is to revolve. Without a break with British imperialism and a Jewish-Arab struggle for independence there can be no talk of Palestine's future except in terms of its existence as a British colony.

The existing Jewish and Arab national struggles must be transformed into this all-embracing anti-imperialist struggle. To the Jews — while participating in Hagana and supporting any anti-imperialist act on its part, the limited nature of such terroristic acts and the ineffectual episodic "needling" of Great Britain must be explained; the vast scope of an anti-imperialist struggle must then be counterposed to it. To the Arabs, the correct program for a national struggle for independence must be pointed out. At the present stage, the Arabs' weak but growing national movement, is being conducted under the slogan of "No Jewish Immigration." It must be understood, however, that this anti-Jewish slogan, originates to a great extent in the equally reactionary anti-Arab policies of the Zionists and the Jewish labor movement. Far more important, however, is the fact that the slogan "Drive the British out of Palestine" has been introduced into the Arab national struggle. However demagogic the use of such a slogan on the part of the Arab upper classes may be, it must be grasped and fought

for in earnest by the progressive Arab elements — for the realization of this goal is the precondition for the solution of all the Arabs' as well as the Jews' problems.

Despite the partly contradictory slogans under which the two movements are launched, Trotskyists must critically support the national struggles of both Jews and Arabs and must transform them into a genuinely anti-imperialist mass movement by uniting these two struggles under the only slogan that can bring victory to both: **DRIVE OUT THE BRITISH.**

2 For unity between Jewish and Arab workers! For a United Labor movement and multi-racial unions! Against the slogan of Conquest of Labor! For equal rights of Jews and Arabs to jobs! For a united Jewish-Arab class struggle against the Jewish and Arab exploiters!

It is here that revolutionists must draw the sharpest line between themselves and the chauvinistic Zionists. The latter intend to rule over the Arabs. We have as our aim that Jews will rule Palestine together with the Arabs.

The precondition for Arab-Jewish unity is the abolition of all chauvinistic measures, especially on the part of the Zionists. The regulations which prohibit Arabs from joining Jewish Unions, segregate them in "Jim-Crow" locals of the Histadrut, and try to exclude them from working in Jewish-owned enterprises must be unconditionally abrogated. The first steps in uniting the masses of both people will have to be taken by the urban and rural proletariat. On the job — where class interest overshadows artificial barriers and the need for class unity becomes part of the very struggle for existence — will the ground for the united struggle be broken. If unity can be cemented on the lowest level of economic struggle, this can be taken as an example for the political struggle to be waged.

3 The convocation of a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage and majority rule.

The party opposes the demand for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. The party opposes the sham of "bi-national" state proposed by the left-wing Zionists which is based on equal representation of Jews and Arabs although the Jews constitute but one-third of the population. The party counterposes to these reactionary dreams the democratic formula of: the problems of Palestine (including state form, immigration, etc.) must be freely and democratically solved by the people of Palestine.

The party favors a constituent assembly based on majority rule to determine Palestine's future. A "Jewish Home" cannot be established as against the majority of the population. It can only come about as a Jewish-Arab home in Palestine — i. e. through equal rights and full equality of Jews and Arabs in Palestine, regardless of numbers and subject to the democratic decisions of the whole population. This type of "bi-national state" represents the only solution to the Palestine problem. It can only be achieved in the framework of a Socialist federation of the Middle East which in turn will form an integral part of the coming of USS of Asia.

4 For free immigration into Palestine as to all other countries! Against the British White Paper! Against the machinations of the imperialists and their "plans" and "inquiries!"

Following the first world war, the revolutionary movement opposed the slogan of "Free Immigration into Palestine" as advanced by Zionists. There was still a reasonable possibility for the Jews to stay in the various countries and fight for socialism where they were, instead of lending aid to the Zionist movement. With the continued deterioration of the situation of European Jewry, the justification for this slogan grows until today the catastrophe of continental Jewry makes it imperative that the doors of Palestine as of all other countries be opened to them.

Revolutionists must be advocates of the demand for unrestricted Jewish immigration. But we do not become advocates of free Jewish immigration in the Zionist way — a "plea" di-

rected to imperialism without consulting the Arabs. In our hand the slogan becomes another expression of the demand "British hands off Palestine." We do not hail even as a partial victory the decision of the Anglo-American Committee to allow 100,000 Jews into Palestine. We challenge in principle the right of the British to set any limits — be it even one million — to immigration or to anything else in Palestine. Given continued British rule, the admission of 100,000 Jews by British consent is a provocation to end an imposition upon the Arabs who have no control over a country in which they are a majority. It facilitates throwing the Arabs into the arms of the chauvinistic Arab League, which dangles before them the specter of a Palestine dominated by their Jewish counterparts, the Zionists. We emphasize that the problem of Jewish immigration can be solved only in the framework of a free Palestine.

The slogan of "Drive out the British" must be made the rallying point for the masses of both Arabs and Jews. The joint struggle and the obvious community of interests will eliminate the present sources of conflict and antagonism between Arabs and Jews. For the Arabs will see that if the British are driven out, they (being a majority) would have nothing to fear from Jewish immigration — since they would be in position to permit or prohibit such immigration. No longer under the imperialist yoke and freely deciding the country's destinies, the Arab masses would more objectively evaluate the benefits of Jewish immigration in the form of more advanced productive methods, higher living and health standards, etc. The Jews, on the other hand, would become aware that the very course of this joint struggle changed the attitude of the Arab masses — once the dagger of Zionist domination was taken from their throats. The Jewish masses would then be able to demonstrate that the immigration of politically advanced workers, even if they become a majority in the country, could not be detrimental to the interests of the Arab masses, but to their exploiters.

What would be the place of the demand for free Jewish immigration in our program? Our fight for this demand would be accompanied by a determined struggle against all discrimination and against all barriers to cooperation between Arab and Jewish masses; by a struggle to get the British out of Palestine; by a struggle for a Constituent which for the first time would allow both peoples to determine their own destiny.

The key to a solution of the whole Palestine problem lies in the revolutionary party itself. The party must regard itself from the very beginning as the direct organizer of the Arab-Jewish struggle. No one else will accomplish this task — neither the Arab nor the Jewish nationalists. The revolutionary party puts itself forward as the most consistent and intensive organizer and supporter of both Jewish and Arab demands. The unity of the two struggles will be achieved through the revolutionary party itself. All philistine assertions that uniting the two struggles constitutes a practical impossibility, stem in the last analysis from a conception of the party as a tailender of these struggles instead of its vanguard.

To become the champion of all the oppressed everywhere and not to permit one to be set off against the other; to become the force which combines all progressive demands and through which are eliminated all reactionary antagonism; to struggle for racial and national equality, against chauvinism and for international solidarity — such is the task of the Fourth International. This task is clearly epitomized in the Jewish problem where the Fourth International can ignore the legitimate demands of either section of the oppressed (Jews or Arabs) only at the cost of throwing them into the arms of the reactionary demagogues and thus disarming the revolutionary vanguard. The Palestine problem thus becomes a touchstone for the ability of the Fourth International to become the champion of oppressed mankind.

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