

Revolutionary Solution To Palestine Question

By H. Vallin

The analysis of the social forces on the Palestinian chessboard has disclosed how vitally the imperialists are interested in maintaining control over this part of the world. It has likewise shown why neither the terrorists, nor the Zionist leaders, nor the great landowning and bourgeois Arabs, nor even the Zionist labor movement is capable of organizing and unleashing the revolution of the Arab masses which will achieve the national and social emancipation of the Middle East.

But a Marxist analysis cannot limit itself to a criticism of existing relationships. It should first and foremost present a program of immediate action to the masses which shows them a concrete way out of their present difficulties.

For the right of the Palestinian masses to decide their own fate!

Successive conferences bring together the heads of the Jewish Agency, the emissaries of the Arab High Committee for Palestine and the representatives of British imperialism. Finding no solution, British imperialism puts the Palestinian question before the Assembly of the United Nations. The envoys of American imperialism and the emissaries of the Kremlin assure the Zionist leaders and the Arab chiefs of their disinterested "sympathy." But no one speaks to the Palestinian masses themselves about their freely determining their own fate!

A revolutionary socialist program for Palestine should take as its point of departure this basic proclamation:

Down with the plans of "compromise," of "partition" and of "gradual independence" elaborated by the UN and the conferences of oppressors and exploiters! For the right of the people of Palestine to decide their own fate! For the immediate election of a Constituent Assembly, for universal and secret voting by all the men and women over 18 years of age and living in the country before January 1, 1947. The Palestinian Constituent Assembly as the sovereign body must determine the fate of the country in accordance with the wishes of the population!

For the immediate withdrawal of the imperialist occupation troops!

But "free" elections cannot be held in an atmosphere of police terror, espionage and suppression of the most elementary democratic rights. That is the atmosphere of the British occupation. The replacement of the British occupation by American or Russo-American or "international" occupation troops would further intensify this atmosphere of insecurity and oppression. The Arab and Jewish masses are capable of governing themselves. Out with the troops and the imperialist government, the main instigators of the fratricidal war between the Jewish and Arab masses!

For Workers and Peasants Committees!

But the sovereignty of the Palestinian masses is not men-

aced by foreign imperialism alone. It cannot be realized within the framework of the reactionary aims pursued by the dominant classes of the Arab and Jewish communities.

The Arab *effendis* and the heads of the great feudal "parties" will do their utmost to prevent the politicalization of the mass of poverty-stricken peasants. They will make strenuous attempts to gain the peasant vote through intimidation and coercion. To make the mass of Arab peasants conscious of their interests and to get them to really participate in political life, they must be set in motion by the slogans of the agrarian revolution.

As for the Zionist leaders and the Jewish capitalists, rather than unleash the agrarian revolution, which would stop all sales of land, and rather than risk facing the revolutionary action of the toiling masses, which would forever dry up the source of their profits—they will enter into alliances with the Arab landowners. Continuing their nationalist and racist propaganda they will attempt to pursue their work of dividing the Arab and Jewish toiling masses and to perpetuate the tension in the country.

To combat these reactionary tendencies effectively, it is necessary to give a new impetus to the proletarian struggle which must relegate the tendencies of national and racial struggle to the background.

For committees of poor peasants, who will confiscate the lands of the *effendis* and will supervise free elections in the countryside!

For Jewish-Arab workers committees, who will organize the proletarians regardless of their national lines, who will take over the administration of industry and will guarantee free elections in the cities. These are the two slogans which make possible the revolutionary mobilization of the Jewish and Arab masses.

Break with the Jewish Agency! Break with the Arab League!

The Jewish workers, however, cannot unite with the Arab proletariat so long as they continue to participate in the same organization with the Jewish capitalists. And above all they cannot pursue the common aims of the Palestinian revolution if they continue to pursue the special aims of the Zionist "national" movement.

Their breaking with the Jewish Agency and publishing of all its documents and secret minutes—these are acts which would immediately convince the Arab workers of the sincere reorientation of the Jewish workers; and which would also deal a mortal blow to the reactionary

anti-Semitic propaganda of the Arab feudalists.

The Arab workers and poor peasants cannot for their part effectively combat their own ruling classes if they remain united with them in the Arab High Committee for Palestine and in the Arab League. They cannot struggle effectively for the complete independence of Palestine if they remain within the Arab League, which is the instrument of imperialism for perpetuating its domination of the Middle East.

Their breaking with the Arab League and publishing of all its documents and secret minutes of this organization would immediately dispel the feeling of insecurity which permeates the Jewish masses and would show them that never again will the Arab toiling population engage in pogroms against the Jews. Such acts would show, on the contrary, that the Arab toilers in city and country are ready to really unite with the Jewish workers on the road to their emancipation.

The publication of the secret documents of the Jewish Agency and the Arab League would deal a death blow to both these organizations. It would show the Arab and Jewish masses how these two organizations are besmirched with horsetrades and deals with the great powers, how ready they are to sell the Palestinian population to the highest bidder. It would teach the masses to place trust only in their own forces and to pass resolutely from nationalism to internationalist unity of all the workers against their exploiters.

Of course it is difficult at the moment for the mass of Jewish workers to abandon the defense of their privileges. But their final experience with terrorism and its futility, along with other equally futile methods of struggle, is preparing them for the revolutionary road.

Only one revolutionary party of the Middle East, the section of the Fourth International is capable of advancing this program of immediate action and of achieving on this basis the unity of the Arab and Jewish workers. This party is at present in its formative stage, with nuclei in Egypt and Palestine. It will more and more attract the advanced elements of the Jewish and Arab workers who become aware of the blind alley into which nationalism has led them.

This revolutionary party will know how to organize the anti-imperialist struggle within the framework of the Arab revolution of the Middle East and will prepare the fusion of the revolutionary forces of the Middle East with those of the whole insurgent colonial world. This fusion will assure the final victory over world imperialism by the masses of Africa, Asia and the Pacific.

(This is the fourth and last in a series of articles on The Palestine Question. Translated by George Lavan.)