

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Theoretical Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Fourth International.

Vol. 5. No. 7.

December, 1944.

THREEPENCE

In this Issue :

THE BOMBAY PLAN
By M. Naidu.

ZIONISM — AN
OUTPOST OF
IMPERIALISM.

WORKERS OF
EUROPE!
GERMAN AND
ALLIED SOLDIERS.

Open Letter to Labour
Party Conference.

STATEMENT OF
INDIAN
TROTSKYISTS
ON TRIAL

The Bombay Plan

By M. Naidu

India presents, in common with all other industrially backward countries, a spectacle during the war of an unprecedented industrial expansion, accompanied by the intensified impoverishment and the starvation of the masses.

The entire resources of the world are drawn into the struggle of the Imperialists for the redistribution of the economic spheres of influence. In India, the picture presented today is one comparable to the early hectic days of American industrial expansion. The same feverish activity, the same growth of mushroom companies, the same grab, irrespective of the human consequences. The essential difference is that the Americans had a continent to exploit, by driving and expropriating the native population. In India the land relations and methods of production are fettered by the feudal and Asiatic relations. Consequently, the Indian scene presents the possibilities of violent upheavals. This polarisation between the masses reduced to the lowest level of human misery, and the unprecedented prosperity of the bourgeoisie will lead to new revolutionary struggles of the masses which will sweep away the power of British Imperialism in the East.

Temporarily, this artificial prosperity gives a tone of confidence to the Indian bourgeoisie. Today they can contrast

their position with the British bourgeoisie and acclaim satisfactorily that they have strengthened themselves. Britain has lost most of her foreign investments, and she will emerge out of the war the greatest debtor country in the world; India will have a sterling balance of a £1,000,000,000, and considerable dollar assets. The ownership of the various Indian industries, the railways and public works have changed hands. In the production of various consumers' goods for which India previously depended upon British exports, the volume of her internal production exceeds Britain's, and in the post-war period they look confidently to out-compete Britain in the Asiatic and African markets in many of these commodities.

In addition to this changed relationship of forces between Britain and India, the Indian bourgeoisie have established direct links with the American capitalists. In the development of aircraft and the manufacture of automobile parts, Americans have established the necessary factories in India. The capital is predominantly American, and the management is entirely in American hands. A purchasing Commission of Indian industrialists is now in New York, to place large scale orders on American industry. The composition of the Indian imports clearly reveals the measure of this process. The need of Indian in-

dustries is now mainly for machine tools and heavy equipment. American products in this direction have far outstripped the out-moded British models.

This changed position in relation to America is revealed in the insistence of the Indian delegates at the Bretton Woods Conference that the sterling assets of India should be convertible into dollars. Though this was scotched at the Conference, leading American Wall Street journals have taken up the argument. A second aspect of the same problem can be presented in a different way. Until recently, Indian dollar assets were turned over to Britain to finance the British purchases in America. This resulted in a corresponding increase of Indian sterling assets. But now the Indian industrialists have insisted, and with the support of Wall Street, have obtained the retention of the dollar assets by the Reserve Bank of India for the **direct placing of orders in America.**

This change in the economic position of Britain and India started with World War I. Temporary dislocation in the flow of goods from Britain to India and the needs of the armed forces in the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian campaigns, compelled the extended growth of an indigenous Indian industry. Undoubtedly, the entire range of production was controlled by the Munitions Board. The industry itself was fostered behind tariff walls, in-

tended at that time only for the purposes of revenue. This reversal of the enforced free trade of the previous period gave an impetus to Indian industry.

The end of the war and the re-opening of the World Markets revealed the shaky position of the Indian industries. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission in 1918 revealed the great industrial potential of the country. The Indian bourgeoisie, who were represented on the Commission, opened a campaign for control over tariffs and foreign exchange as a means of consolidating their position, and extending it. **Basically the participation of the Indian bourgeoisie in the struggles of 1919-21 was to obtain these results.** But the Civil Disobedience movement went further than they intended, and the peasant rebellion forced them to seek a compromise.

The British Imperialists met them half-way. The Fiscal Committee Report (1922) granted them a "discriminate protection" and a Tariff Board was set up in 1924. For a period the rupee-sterling ratio was maintained at 2/- to the rupee. The Indian bourgeoisie were demanding a devaluation at 1/4d. to the rupee. This was intended to give favourable terms in external markets. The fantastic 2/- exchange rate was given up and a new exchange rate was set up at 1/6d. Even with these moderate concessions Indian industrialists reaped a rich harvest of profits. New fields of enterprise grew apace, in cotton, jute, matches, cement and sugar.

While the industrial expansion of India was increasing, correspondingly the British position as the leading industrial country in the world was being undermined. As early as 1927, the Liberal Enquiry Commission approached the problem with apprehension. The rate of investment was falling and no surplus was available for exports of Capital. In the thirties, the situation was aggravated by the Japanese encroachments in the Eastern markets; German domination of the Balkan and Scandinavian Markets; and the American penetration of Latin America. In short, before the beginning of World War II, Britain had already lost her leading role in World Economy.

A plan for the post-war industrialisation of India has been published by a group of Indian industrialists. The signatories include G. D. Birla, with wide interests in the textiles, jute and insurance; J. R. D. Tata, with interests in iron and steel and internal air liners, and Kasthuribai Lalbai, with interests in textiles and shipping. This is the well known "Bombay Plan".

The material base of the optimistic note in the plan put forward by the Indian industrialists can now be summed up. **Firstly, it is based upon an**

increased industrialisation of India accentuated by the war: Secondly, on the weakened position of British capitalism. Finally, on the possibility of a deal with the American Capitalists. In fact, the fear of a revolution at home has forced them to seek the alliance of the American bourgeoisie. Putting the renegade M. N. Roy on the back, the "Economist" of London writes on May 13th, 1944:

"The question is whether these Indian Democrats (M. N. Roy & Co.), who are turning to co-operation with the British in order to avoid 'the millionaires' exploitation of India' or the possibility which they also envisage, of a deal between Indian and American business men are sufficiently important in the turbulent stream of Indian politics to offer the chance of a solution on the old lines." ("Liberal democratic on the basis of co-operation with Britain.")

The political setting for the present plan for the industrialisation of India in the post-war period is clear. In 1942, the Indian bourgeoisie, speaking through the Congress, for a while assumed the historic tones of the bourgeoisie of the West in the 18th century. They paraded their programme in terms of justice, liberty and human dignity. The tremendous pressure from the impoverished masses forced them to seek power in the name of the workers in the factories and the fields. For a while, forgetting the belated nature of their appearance on the world scene, when capitalism is cracking on a world scale, they promised to unify the nation, clear away the feudal and Asiatic fetters on the productive forces and drive the British Imperialists out of India. Once again as in 1921, but on a higher plane, the workers and the peasants demonstrated that a revolutionary struggle would sweep away the bourgeoisie along with British Imperialism. While in grandiose words, announcing their intention to fight, at the same time, the Indian capitalists could not cease collaboration with the Imperialists. After all the war is a profitable business. Millions are made out of it and their representatives on the various Government Boards are securing the best terms for them. It is ironic that in India today this parading of high sounding noble phraseology, and bare and cringing collaboration go hand in hand.

Having been frightened out of their wits by the revolutionary energy of the masses in 1942, now the Indian bourgeoisie attempt to by-pass political power through an economic weapon. This is the back-ground of the famous "Bombay Plan" put forward by the Indian Industrialists.

The plan aims to provide a minimum standard of living in terms of food, clothing, housing, health and social

services within a period of 15 years. To provide this minimum with some extra money for the enjoyment of life and cultural activities, "the plan assumes that it is necessary to double the per capita income of the population. (Taking the most thorough going investigation and the latest figure of Dr. Rao in 1939, 117/- Doubled it is to be 234/-). At the present rate of increase in the population, the total national income has to be trebled in 15 years. To achieve this result the Planners aim at an increase of 135 per cent in agricultural production and 500 per cent in industrial production.

The total Capital investment proposed for agriculture, industry, and public services is estimated at £7,500,000,000. This is calculated on the basis of the 1939 prices. If the figure is to be brought into line with the post-war prices, it will have to be doubled. That is to say the actual investment required would be £15,000,000,000. The distribution of the investment between different fields and the method of obtaining it is summarised in the following table taken from the "Banker" (July 1944).

In Million Pounds	
Capital required	
Industry	3,360
Agriculture	930
Communications	705
Education	367½
Health	337½
Housing	1,650
Miscellaneous	150
Total	7,500
Method of finance	
External hoarded wealth	225
Sterling securities	750
Balance of Trade	450
Foreign borrowing	525
Internal Savings	3,000
"Created Money"	2,550
Total	7,500

The plan based upon an attractive schematism, ignores two vital questions. It bases itself on the assumption of a continuation of capitalism internationally but fails to examine the relation of Indian economy to international competition. In this sense it is an attempt to create an economic autarchy. Secondly, it does not examine the most important problem for a prosperous development of Indian Capitalism—the agrarian revolution and the creation of a prosperous peasantry to provide the necessary internal market.

It is obvious at the outset that the hopes of the Indian bourgeoisie are belated and out of tune with the economic realities of the world. At the end of the last war, even at a

much smaller tempo of international competition, they were shaken and had to retire behind a tariff wall. The extent of their fright can be gauged from the level of tariffs between the two wars. The Textile industry enjoyed a protective duty of 50 per cent ad valorem, (for a short period 75 per cent), the steel industry was given both protection and bounties. Besides these two important industries the chemicals, paper, matches, tanning and sugar received protection. But none of these measures could save the weakest section of them from bankruptcy. The highly rationalised textiles of Japan, steel from America and Germany, matches from Sweden flooded the Indian markets. The Indian bourgeoisie, unable to compete with the more highly developed technique of the competitors could only turn on the workers and attempt to slash their wages. Miserable as the pittance of wages offered to the workers prior to 1929, they were lowered still more, in the period of depression.

The Indian bourgeoisie will face a far more serious situation at the end of this war. All the paper millions made during this war are shadows without substance. The accumulation of reserves and surplus is not based in great part upon the increased productivity of Labour or of technical developments. It is the direct result of inflated prices due to war time conditions; (an inflation which has ruined the masses) and a general economic and social chaos in the country. **Basically no alteration has taken place in the industrial structure of the country.** No heavy industry of considerable importance has developed. In iron and steel the total output has increased only due to a fuller utilisation of plant. Even then compared to the steel production of highly industrialised countries, it remains infinitesimal. (Just over 1,000,000 tons) ship building is confined to the production of coastal barges, useful only because of the pre-occupation of the giant ships of America, Britain, Japan and other countries with the carrying of munitions. Above all machine tools production has not even passed the experimental stage. (All these facts are revealed and significantly traced to deliberate British policy in India in the report of the American Economic Mission in India). It is with these crude instruments that the Indian bourgeoisie intend to pit themselves against the competition of the powerful capitalists abroad.

In contrast with their weak base in industrialisation, what have they to face abroad? The American productivity has reached a stage where no continental market is enough for it. The British bourgeoisie through their mouthpiece Halifax, announce that they must export or die. Already the commercial rivalry between these two

"allies" is expressing itself through their contradictory policies in China, in the Middle East, in India and in South America. Besides, there are many lesser claimants for the same markets. In every capitalist country in the world the same naked contradiction is revealed. Everywhere productive forces and national boundaries are in conflict. It is into this world of economic realities, where capitalism is facing its death agony on a world scale, that the Indian bourgeoisie is entering with a naive faith, to solve its own problems. It is obvious that in face of this scramble for world markets, the Indian industries will be left behind even in the **internal market of India.** This is the unsurmountable obstacle on which the Bombay plan will be smashed to bits.

Not touched on by the writers in the document but running through the whole plan is an assumption that after all India has an internal market larger than any other country in the world with the exception of China.

The question can be raised, the creation of a prosperous peasantry will solve this problem. The debts can be abolished; the absentee, parasitic Zamindars can be expropriated and the land handed over to the peasants. This is a lesson they can take from the bourgeoisie of the West in the 18th century.

A closer historical analysis of the rise of the Indian bourgeoisie and their position in Indian Society will reveal the insoluble contradictions they face. The predecessors of the present Indian bourgeoisie were the old Dubasies under the East India Company and later under the British Capitalists who had the monopoly of the Indian market. The Dubasies were the link between the Indian market and the British industries. As commercial agents they made fortunes.

In the later part of the nineteenth century, when export of capital began from England with a falling rate of profits in home Investments, the growth of the Indian industries was fostered by the combined capital of the British interests and the Dubasies. Most of the big millionaire families of India today can be traced in their origins to the Dubasies. They had changed from being commercial agents into Junior partners in the ownership of Capital.

Even then they had no independent access to the markets of the World. The Indian Capital market was undeveloped and the necessary corollary of this situation was the development of an institution called the Managing Agency System. It is a private partnership of three or four members usually related to each other and the ownership is hereditary. They hold a large number of shares in the mills and make themselves responsible for the

supply of materials and sale of goods. The Managing Agents act through the Exchange Banks for financing the entire World trade of India. They rely on the banks for the necessary current expenditure. In the ultimate analysis the link between the world markets and the Indian products are the five Big Exchange Banks with their headquarters outside India. **There is not one of them controlled by Indian interests.**

This is only one aspect of the problem. This simply indicates the reliance of Indian Capital on foreign banks and their inability to break away from these chains. The second aspect is rooted in their position in Indian Society. The above analysis reveals the position of the Indian bourgeoisie. Within the country, the necessary accumulation which flows into the Capital market is drawn **mainly** from the big landowners. The landowners themselves combine in many cases, the functions of money lenders and grain dealers. Consequently a large part of the Capital accumulation in India is drawn from the heavy rents extracted from the peasants; indebtedness of the peasantry and the land mortgages. Socially it has resulted in an integration of the families of the old Dubasies and the big Zamindars.

By financial and family ties, the land-owners and the bourgeoisie have merged together. This is an incapable contradiction in which the Indian bourgeoisie find themselves. The crux of the agrarian revolution in India is to sweep away the power of the land-owners and the money lenders. That is why every national struggle in India from 1920 onwards results in the direct seizure of land by the peasants. **That is why every struggle leads the bourgeoisie to seek a compromise. Every peasant uprising strikes terror into the hearts of the Zamindars and the bourgeoisie!** There can be nothing more clear than the words of the Bardoli Resolution in 1921 calling off the mass Civil Disobedience Movement:

"The Congress Working Committee advised Congress workers and Organisations to inform the ryots (peasants) that withholding of rent payments to the Zamindars is contrary to the Congress resolutions and injurious to the best interests of the country.

The Working Committee assures the Zamindars that the Congress Movement in no way intended to attack their legal rights. (Resolution of the Working Committee Feb. 12th, 1921).*

The contradictions and antagonisms of the Indian social fabric have deepened since then. The war has rooted up the agricultural labourers who have flocked to the industrial cities. Evictions and sales of land have increased the numbers of the agricultural proletariat. The inflation of war time has impoverished the small middle class.

Considered either from the point of view of international competition or of the domestic market, the Bombay plan is a utopia. The Indian bourgeoisie can neither carry through an agrarian revolution nor can they clear the British out of India. That is a task which can only be accomplished by the Indian working class leading the peasantry in a struggle against the Imperialists. 15 year plans as envisaged, are incapable of realisation under Capitalism. But by the nationalisation of all the means of production after the conquest of power by the workers, a planned economy is possible. Even in a backward country such a plan can lead to tremendous increases in productive capacity as demonstrated by Russia. With the technical and cultural aid of the workers of the more advanced countries, it can increase the standard of

living of the Indian masses at a tremendous pace.

Therefore when the Bombay plan sounds a note of confidence it is an artificial note. It is more a sign of bravado like the voice of Nick Bottom in the "Midsummer Nights Dream". All over the world the bourgeoisie is facing a crisis. Even in mighty America and in Britain which held the hegemony of the world for a century, signs of cracks and crisis are evident. How much more so in India, one of the last to enter the field?

All these contradictions contain within themselves a social dynamite ready to explode at the slightest provocation. Desperate political and economic deals with the British and the American bourgeoisie will not save the Indian Capitalists. The revolutionary masses of India, steeled in the

struggles of the last 25 years will sweep them into the dustbin of history. In those struggles they will have mighty allies in the workers and peasants of other Asiatic countries and of America and Europe. The Bolshevik-Leninists of India will play their part in leading the masses to a victorious conquest of power.

* This contradictory position of the bourgeoisie and their support of the reactionary landlords is common to all backward countries. In Spain a similar tendency operated during the Civil War. "Strangely enough, Spain's small industrialist class supported the reactionary position taken by the landlords. The industrialists should have welcomed a land reform which would create a home market for their goods. But they believed more than economics was involved. They found that the granting of land to the peasantry would rob the owning classes of political power." (Louis Fischer "The War in Spain," published by the Nation.)

Zionism—An Outpost of Imperialism

Open Letter to Labour Party Conference

By a Group of Palestine Socialists

The article printed below has been received from a group of socialists in Palestine addressed to the Labour Party Conference. A solution of the Palestine problem is not only a crucial question to the Arab and Jewish masses of Palestine; on it depends the fate of the entire Middle East. Palestine is the Mediterranean gateway for the imperialist domination of the Middle East.

The problem of Palestine raises two important issues. On the one hand it involves the struggle of the Arabs in Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Egypt against imperialist domination and in this sense it directly raises the question of the struggle for national liberation. On the other it involves the struggle of the Arab peasants for land and against the stranglehold of feudal domination.

Zionism strikes at the root of these two main streams of struggle. By a thorough analysis of the factual material available, the document traces the roots of Zionism and its impact upon the Arab struggle. It provides the most powerful argument against Zionism in relation to the Arab struggle.

Here and there details in the document may be questioned but the main contention that Zionism and the Arab struggle are incompatible is proved conclusively. This is not to say that the Arab and Jewish workers cannot be welded together for a common struggle against British imperialism and for socialism. In fact one of the main planks of attack against Zionism is that it helps in fostering a disunity among the workers for its own reactionary ends.

The main controversy over the document may be raised on the question of closing the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration. A final solution to this problem can only be found by a voluntary agreement of the Arabs. In the meantime, the American and British imperialists who parade the misery of refugees must throw open their doors to Jewish immigration.

The weakness in the document is that it does not raise sharply enough the question of a joint struggle of the Arab and Jewish workers. Increasingly, such a class alignment without distinction of race will find expression in Palestine and it is the duty of the

Revolutionary Socialist in Palestine to raise this class solidarity in the forefront of the struggle.

The draft resolution on Palestine which is to be submitted by the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party to its Annual Convention, has caused a storm of excitement here in Palestine and will probably have wider repercussions in the Near East.

The draft resolution, which contains the demand to transform Palestine into a Jewish State and to promote the emigration of Palestinian Arabs into the neighbouring countries, is nothing but a copy of similar Zionist resolutions. It represents in fact the climax of Zionist expansionist effort, which began as a moderate movement and has now, after dozens of years, taken on a definitely aggressive character.

The purpose of this letter is to unmask the real face of Zionism.

PROMISES MADE BY ZIONISM TO THE ARABS

For many years the Zionist movement has been endeavouring to prove that it does not prejudice the interests of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine;

that it even benefits them. Thus for instance, the head of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency, Ben Gurion, wrote: "Under no circumstances must the rights of these inhabitants (i.e. the Arabs) be touched. Only "ghetto-dreamers" like Zangwill could imagine that Palestine can be given to the Jews in addition to the right to drive the non-Jews out of the country. No state will agree to this. Even if it seemed that this right would be given to us . . . the Jews have no justification and no possibility of exercising it. It is not the task of Zionism to drive the present inhabitants out of Palestine; if it had this aim it would merely be a dangerous Utopia, a harmful and reactionary Fata Morgana." (From "We and our Neighbours"—Speeches and Essays, New York, 1915, Hebrew).

Honeyed phrases!

About the Fellah (Arab peasant) and his land, Ben Gurion wrote in 1920 in New York as follows:—

"Under no circumstances must the land be touched which belongs to the Fellah and which he tills. Those who live from their hands' toil must not be torn away from their soil, not even for financial compensation." (Ibid.)

"The fate of the Jewish worker is tied up with that of the Arab one. They will rise together and fall together" he said in 1924. (Ibid.)

Later on (in 1926) he said: "The Arab population is an organic insoluble part of Palestine. It is rooted here, it works here and will stay here. Though it is not impossible at the present time to expel great masses of people from a country with the aid of physical force, only lunatics or political quacks could accuse the Jewish people of harbouring such a desire." (Ibid.)

If that is the case, were those Zionists who inspired this Labour Party draft resolution, lunatics or political quacks?

Dr. Weizmann, President of the Zionist organisation, said in a speech in London on December 11, 1929:— "Up till now there has been no case—and I hope there will be none in the future—where an Arab has been ousted from his land, either directly or indirectly."

If such declarations had any value at all, we could even cite Jabotinsky, the representative of the most extreme and greedy Zionist wing—the Revisionists—who once declared one of his fundamental principles to be:—

(a) Equality of all citizens.

1. Equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, religion, language and class, in all walks of public life of the country must be maintained.

2. In every Cabinet where a Jew is Prime Minister, an Arab will be his deputy and vice versa, etc." ("The war front of the Jewish people", Hebrew.)

These were the lullabys sung by Zionism to the Arab population of the country.

What was, however, the effect of Zionist development in reality!

ZIONISM AND THE ARAB VILLAGE

The overwhelming majority of the Arabs are villagers. The Zionists proudly point to the fact that they have brought combine, threshing machine and incubator to Palestine, that they introduced gigantic progress—in short that Zionism is progressive. It can be argued on this line that Italians have brought motor cars, tractors, modern ploughs as well as the radio to Abyssinia and Tripolitania, which does not at all mean, however, that their colonisation was progressive. The decisive yardstick is, whether the indigenous population—here in Palestine the Arabs—derive any advantage from this progress, and whether this colon-Imperialism or rather its consolidation.

Let us consider this first point. The Arab Fellah still ploughs with a wooden plough, consisting of a thick branch into which he drives a big nail, and he scratches the surface of the earth to a depth of 10 centimetres at the utmost. An expert who surveyed Arab agriculture makes the following comment about this fact: "The Arab plough resembles that of the ancient Jews, and it may be assumed that the antique plough was even better" (Vilkanski: The Fellah's Farm, page 18). Instead of a threshing machine the Fellah uses a wooden plank with stones fastened to it from below, which is being drawn by a donkey or a horse. On this plank the Fellah or his son rides for days and days over his threshing floor. Neither has the incubator penetrated the Arab village at all.

Technical progress multiplies the productivity of labour. Yet the Arab does not profit from the blessings of modern technique. A ton of wheat requires 5.2 working days on a Jewish farm, whereas the Fellah needs for the same quantity 55.9 working days, i.e. ten times as much. (Dr. Horovitz and Rita Sinden: Economic Survey of Palestine, page 41). Not only is his productivity low, his inventory poor, but so is his livestock: his cow—if he has any—produces 600-700 litres of milk annually; while a cow in a Jewish dairy gives an average of 3,000-4,000 litres. The ordinary hen in an Arab farm lays 40 eggs a year—the good breed on Jewish farms lays 150!

The Fellah's entire possessions including his house are valued at £P55. (Vilkanski, The Fellah's Farm). This is less than a Jewish farmer invests into the building of a cowshed for a single cow (over £P60.)

This proves the Zionist propaganda

to be an absurd lie which says that the Fellah can improve his farm under the existing social and economic conditions by the use of the tractor and combine, by breeding cows of first class stock (one cow cost even before the war £P75-150 or planting orange groves. (1 dunam i.e. 1/10 hectare of orange plantation cost £P75-85). Only rigorous agrarian reforms could open up the way to technical perfection of his farm.

Zionist settlement not only does not further the improvement of the Fellah's farm—but even results in driving the Arabs from their land and represents a hindrance to agrarian reforms.

In spite of all the Zionist leaders' declarations that no Arabs will be driven from their land, they were forced to admit to the Government Commission enquiring into these matters in 1930 that 688 Arab tenant families had already been removed from their farms in the Jesreel Valley (Report of the Jewish Agency forwarded to Sir John Hope Simpson). We may assume this estimate to have been made too low. Since 1930 Zionist colonisation has also increased. We may therefore reckon that a few thousand Arab tenants have lost their land.

The Zionist demagogues always reply to this: "But we have paid full compensation for the land!"

What does this compensation look like? In his book "Land and the Jewish Construction in Palestine", Dr. A. Granovsky, Director of the Jewish National Fund, writes that compensation amounted to an average of £41,700 per family.

Now, this amount was by no means distributed equally among the tenant farmers. Some families were bribed to assist the Zionists while others had to get off with little or next to nothing. Taking this into consideration it can be imagined what the majority of the ousted tenants received as compensation.

Moreover, debts had to be paid from these amounts. The Government Commission studying the farmers' situation in 1930 estimated these debts at an average of £P 27. (Report of a Committee on the Economic Conditions of Agriculturists in Palestine etc., Jerusalem 1930, Johnson-Crosbie Report).

After these deductions—what real compensation remains in the hands of the tenants?

Not even substantial evidence to the contrary will stop the Zionists from arguing that Zionism brings advantage to the Arabs. They will invent new ones, as soon as an old argument has been refuted. They will even say: The Zionist land purchases have put huge sums of money into the hands of the Arabs.

But who sells land to the Zionists? The Fellah or the big land-owners?

For instance, the Jesreel Valley was bought almost solely from the big

Beirut bank owners Sursuk who had acquired vast stretches of land from the Turks in 1872. Thus one family sold an area containing 20 villages, their inhabitants and farms.

Concerning the total surface of acquired land, one of the leaders of Zionist settlement, Mr. Smilansky, stated that 90-95 per cent had belonged to big landowners and only 5-10 per cent to Arab smallholders. ("Zionist settlement and the Fellah"). Therefore the profit goes to the big landowners exploiting the small peasant who only suffers from the whole transaction.

All this goes to explain the strong opposition put up by the Zionists against the Tenants Protection Ordinance. It also explains why the future of Zionist settlement depends on the existence of big feudal Arab estates.

If the Fellah owned the land he tills, he could not be seduced to sell the plot to which he is attached.

Therefore Zionism opposes every agrarian reform and any amelioration of the situation of the Fellah.

Ussishkin, former president of the Jewish National Fund spoke quite openly and frankly during a teachers' conference. This frankness can be explained by the fact that this speech was not intended as propaganda material in England but only for the internal consumption of faithful adherents of Zionism. He said: "In this country there is a certain organisation taking care of the sale of chemical fertilisers. It employs a whole staff of agronomists who travel from village to village and teach the Fellah to manure his soil; furthermore, they give him the fertiliser on credit, with easy terms of payment. This surely is a good and civilizing activity and the Arab who yesterday drew almost no profit from his land, has now adopted methods of amelioration and manure, and his income rises year after year. It is obvious that as agricultural conditions improve, the conditions for the purchase of land deteriorate. Besides, considerable propaganda is being made amongst the Arabs for the foundation of an agricultural bank, to serve the Fellah as well as the big land-owner, and if this is realized it will be even more difficult to buy land."

The improvement of the Fellah's condition is "surely a good and civilizing activity" but "as agricultural conditions improve, the conditions for the purchase of land deteriorate". This shows how far the identity of Zionism and progress goes.

It is therefore quite consistent for Zionism to boycott the products of the Fellah, for this contributes backwardness and poverty of the Fellah's farm; without this boycott it would be difficult to carry on with Zionist expansion. Furthermore, without this boycott it would be impossible to keep

the Zionist economy isolated and maintain two absolutely different standards of life—the Jewish way and the Arab.

The difference between the dungheap—the playground of the poverty-stricken Arab village child, and the pompous children's house in the Jewish settlements—the difference between the income of a Jewish farmer's family (£100-150 a year) and the net income of an Arab Fellah (£15-20 before the war) is too great to be bridged by modern technique alone. Another bridge is necessary namely that of the high prices obtained for the agricultural produce of the Jews. Thus, before the war, an egg from a Jewish farm was worth 2-3 mills. Prices of vegetables and fruit were also much higher if produced by Jews than by Arabs.

In order to keep the product of Arab agriculture out of the Jewish economy, the Zionists employed the "progressive and civilized" means of pouring kerosene over the vegetables brought by Arabs to the Jewish market; kicking and beating up those Fellahs and their womenfolk who dared come to the market to offer their products for sale.

This does not prevent the Zionists, who are used to double-entry book-keeping, from saying that the Fellahs profit by the sale of their products to the Jews, a sign of the benefits conferred upon them by Zionism.

True enough, in spite of picketing and boycott, a certain amount of Arab agricultural products found their way into Jewish economy—but why? The answer is simple: before the war, Jewish agriculture was unable to meet the demand of the Jewish population; this necessitated the importation of such products and the Arabs too got a certain share in filling this shortage.

Therefore, if the Jews still bought a certain quantity of Arab products, this was not thanks to Zionism, but in spite of it, a consequence of the fact that Zionist expansion had not yet been wide enough.

It is clearly impossible to cover in the limited space at our disposal all the diverse factors in the relations between the Arab village and Zionism (e.g. the question of land hunger, taxes etc.). We believe, however, that the points mentioned above clarify the nature of the "cultural mission" carried by Zionism to the Arab village.

ZIONISM AND ARAB INDUSTRY

The Zionists declare with pride that they have transformed Palestine into an industrial country. But there is a very simple question which arises in the mind of every Arab worker: what is his share in this development?

Only 18,000 persons are occupied in Arab industry, out of whom 10,000 are workers. That alone shows how small these "industrial" undertakings are. Most of them occupy 1-2 labourers;

and none of them more than 100. The capital of this industry amounts to £2,500,000, or an average of only £500 to £600 per establishment. It is a primitive industry with little machinery, run mainly on handwork. (Abramovitz-Gelfat—The Arab Economy, page 61, Hebrw).

On the other hand, 60,000 persons work in Jewish industry and its production reached the value of £40,000,000. It is equipped with the most up-to-date machinery.

The backwardness of Arab industry in Palestine is brought out more strikingly by a comparison with Egyptian industry. For instance, in June 1939 an inquiry into 250 big Egyptian industrial undertakings revealed an invested capital of £125 millions, i.e. an average of £500,000. If you compare the textile factories of Mahalla el Kubra in Egypt employing twenty thousand labourers, with the weaving workshops of Majdal near Gaza, with one to two workers apiece, you will get an idea of the vast difference!

In Syrian industry approximately 170,000 persons were employed in 1937, or more than ninefold the number working in the Arab industry of Palestine, while the Syrian population is only thrice that of Palestine.

We do not want to prove by these statistics that the neighbouring countries are on a high stage of industrial development. On the contrary, in these countries too, industry suffers from many factors—social and political, interior and exterior. We only want to show that Zionism has by no means improved the state of Arab industry.

And that is quite obvious. How could the Zionist economy support Arab industry while completely boycotting its products and to a lesser degree, the products of the Arab fellah and the work of the Arab labourer? The only "aid" could be . . . competition.

ZIONISM AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF ARAB WORKERS

The number of Arab workers now employed by the Government gives some idea of how widespread unemployment must have been among them before the war. Some of them were totally without work, while others were idle part of the year and worked partly on their little patch of land. Fourteen Government Departments employed in September 1942 103,411 persons, amongst which about 90,000 Arab workers (Government Statistics). Another 30,000 work for the Army, making a total of 120,000.

Even at the time when Jewish labour was extremely scarce, there were never more than 8,000 to 10,000 Arab workers employed by Jews. They worked there in spite of very extensive opposition exercised by the Zionists (picketing in orange groves and con-

struction works, beatings up of Arab workers etc.).

Ben-Gurion has often made socialist-sounding statements like this: "The Jewish workers will never be able to work 8 hours a day if the Arabs are forced to work 10 and 12 hours a day. The Jewish worker will not be able to make his 30 Piastres a day if the Arab sells his work for 15 Piastres and less." (We and our Neighbours, page 74).

And not only this. On page 79 we read: "The Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz Israel) is willing to accept all workers of Palestine, without distinction of nationality and religion."

However, these are only empty words intended to cover up the facts: In Tel-Aviv town, where there are 200,000 inhabitants, there is not a single Arab worker; no industrial undertaking belonging to the Histadrut employs Arabs; no co-operative connected with the Histadrut has any Arab members. And when Solel Boneh (the contracting agency of the Histadrut) which gets contracts for millions of pounds, is obliged to take on Arab workers for its military, government and municipal contracts, then it pays these Arab workers one third to one half the wage paid to a Jewish worker for the same work. Do the members of the British Labour Party know this?

ZIONISM AND THE QUESTION OF ARAB HEALTH, EDUCATION, ETC.

It is true that the health, education and general standard of living has slightly gone up in Palestine as in all the other countries of the Near East during the last 20 years. It is not our task now to examine what the Government has done or has not done in these fields, but the question is: What was the share of Zionism in this?

First of all, here are figures of direct influence: out of 655,175 persons visiting Jewish hospitals in 1940, there were 2,038 Mohammedans, i.e. one third per cent. (Statistical abstract of Palestine 1941). It should not be forgotten here that some of the most modern Jewish hospitals, like the Hadassa in Jerusalem, are sometimes honoured by the visits of eminent Arab personalities of the neighbouring countries like the Emir Abdulla, Premier Nuri Pasha es-Said, etc.

There is not a single Arab pupil in any of the numerous Jewish schools of the country. It is significant that when a rich Iraqi Jew—Kadoorie—left in his will a substantial sum for the erection of an agricultural school in Palestine, and the Government, in compliance with his wish, opened not only a Jewish but also an Arab school, the Zionist press from right to left raised a hue and cry.

Obviously Zionism is interested in

a low level of health and education for the Arabs; a healthy people, with a certain degree of education, will not suffer to have its country taken away.

ZIONISM AND THE DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION FOR PALESTINE

There is hardly a colony in the British Empire where we find an autocratic regime in such a pronounced form as in Palestine. There is no representation through parliament nor is there any advisory body. For this lack the Government advances the explanation that the Zionists would not agree to democratic institutions because they would then be in the minority.

These same Zionists in the whole world base their claim to Palestine and their demand for unlimited Jewish immigration on "democratic rights".

For twenty-six years, Palestine has been ruled with emergency regulations. In this country it is possible to arrest anybody at any time and keep him in prison for years "administratively"—without the possibility of having his case dealt with through the ordinary channels of justice. All this is being "democratically" suffered by the Zionists, who ask for it for the sake of "maintenance of law and order".

The Zionists very adroitly speak about their solidarity with the peoples fighting for their freedom, such as the Abyssinians, Chinese etc. At the same time, they demand a strong hand against the Arabs. There are unfortunately many people abroad who do not realise how cynical the Zionist arguments really are.

Ben-Gurion surpassed himself when he said in an article in 1928: "For the maintenance of peace in the country, for the protection of the masses of Fellahs from the big land-owners, for securing the immigration and settlement of the Jews and the right to a Jewish National Home—it is necessary to continue the control of the Mandatory Power" (!). Undemocratic regime—protection of the toiling Fellah—Zionist expansion (i.e. expulsion of the Fellah!)—What do you make of it? Hypocrisy, cynicism or worse?

ZIONISM AND THE ARAB CLASSES

The almost complete isolation of the Jewish sector from Arab life has created a deep abyss between all classes of Arabs and the Jews in Palestine.

The Feudal Land-Owners—The majority of these are not only anti-Zionist but also anti-Jewish. They hate every change in the life of the country, longing for the past conditions of the feudal system. They therefore widely propagated terror and the annihilation of the Jewish population.

However, there are sections who are willing to compromise either with British Imperialism at the cost of

Zionism, or even with both. An example of the former is Jamal Husseini, who has stated that he would be agreeable to see Palestine transformed into a Crown Colony of the British Empire if Jewish immigration were stopped. On the other hand, a number of land-owners have been found to co-operate with the Jews, since land sales to them is quite a profitable business. They enriched themselves with a few millions of pounds—so what did it matter to them if the Arab tenant was chased away and was, moreover, prevented from finding his way into the Jewish colony which arose on the land which he had tilled before? This latter section has many ties with the bourgeoisie and its most notable representatives are the Nashashibis.

The Bourgeoisie—It is neither developed nor independent. In its large majority it is of feudal origin and connected with the feudal class. It is mainly the comprador of foreign capital. The Arab bourgeoisie is shut out from key positions in industry, which are held by the British; the light industry is almost completely in the hands of the Zionists, and this naturally causes dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Arab bourgeoisie. However, due to its economic weakness, its dependence on foreign capital and its ties with the land-owning class, its opposition is not very consistent and often ends in bargaining and compromise.

The Arab Working Class—The strongest resistance against the Zionists comes from the lowest class of Arab society, which has suffered most from the impact of Zionism. The tale told by Zionists abroad—that the Fellahs are not in themselves anti-Zionist but that they are being influenced by agitators from the feudal classes—is a brazen lie. Gradually an Arab workers' movement is growing and so is its resistance to Zionism.

ZIONISM AND THE PROBLEM OF WORLD JEWRY

With the tremendous suffering of the Jews under the Hitler terror, the Jewish Problem has become burning and vital, and Zionism claims to solve this problem.

The revolutionary socialists have always declared that the fate of the Jews is linked with that of capitalism. Rising capitalism gave the Jews the opportunity to be absorbed into the economic life of America and Western Europe. (From 1881 to 1914 about 100,000 Jews emigrated to the United States every year). With the decline of capitalism, in the time of crisis, fascism and war, the world has become narrow and the problem of a people constituting less than 1% of humanity seems insoluble. The question of a few hundred thousand refugees looms large in the headlines. Countless conferences are held—instead of opening the

doors of the U.S.A., England and her Dominions, with their vast spaces and great natural resources. You may ask: Open the doors of the United States and the British Empire—why not of Palestine? From all that we have said above it should have become clear that the immigration of Jews to Palestine is fundamentally so different from that to all other countries that it is every socialist's duty to oppose it.

Zionism exploits the utter misery of these refugees from its own propa-ganda. Its whole apparatus, its huge funds, the weight of its influence are used to convey the false impression to the world that only in Palestine can the Jews be saved. Concentration Camps—Transdnestrin—death on the bottom of the sea as in the case of the Struma death-ship, on one side—or salvation in Palestine on the other side: this is how Zionism represents the problem.

ZIONISM AND WORLD REACTION

During its whole history Zionism has always supported the reactionary forces of the world. Dr. Herzl, founder of Zionism, made a secret deal with the Tsarist Minister Plehwe (organiser of the pogrom against the Jews of Kishinev) to the effect that the Zionist Movement be used as a lever against the Jewish socialists, in return for which Plehwe would use his influence with the Sultan to obtain a charter for Zionism on Palestine.

Not only did Herzl agree to help the Tsar but also the Turkish Sultan. At the time of the Turkish massacre of the Armenians, he was asked to help suppress this fact in the Austrian press. Herzl did everything he could to comply with this request, as he hoped that this might further his plans. (Proof of this can be found in his Diary, 2nd volume—7th May to 8th July, 1896).

It is not an accident that one of the most ardent admirers of Herzl was the Aga Khan who was and still is a steadfast supporter of the British rule over India.

Neither was Herzl's letter to the Grand Duke of Baden dated 10th July 1895 an accident. "It is clear that the settlement of a neutral people on the shortest road to the East can be of immense importance for the German Orient policy. Who may be meant by this? I mean the people which, par la force des choses, is obliged to join the revolutionary parties almost everywhere."

Herzl found most of his allies amongst reactionaries and anti-semites will make propaganda for it with the governments, on meetings, in the parliaments and newspapers." (Diary, June 15th, 1895). Herzl wrote the following about the realisation of Zionism: "The anti-Semites

have won. Let them enjoy it, for we too will be happy. They won because they were right". (15th June, 1895).

In view of such statements, was Lenin not right when he said that Zionism is the reverse side of the coin of anti-semitism; that Zionism is built on the belief in the continued existence of anti-semitism and hatred amongst the nations?

One could give many more examples of the close relation of Zionism with the leaders of world reaction. We shall, however content ourselves with one important illustration from history: the Balfour Declaration.

Who was Balfour? The cruel oppressor of the Irish, who called him Balfour the Butcher. This British Foreign Minister, who had, during the last war, associated with the Endeki government (the reactionary, anti-semitic, pogromist Polish party) granted "freedom" to the persecuted Jewish people!

It is not surprising that the Zionists, just as they sought British support, tried to get German aid too. This was the origin of the German "Balfour Declaration" by the then Prime Minister, Bethmann-Hollweg.

For the last 27 years, the Zionists have based themselves on the Balfour Declaration, which was signed by 52 capitalist governments, but not by the representatives of the Palestinian population. How about submitting the fate of Great Britain to the decision of U.S.A., France, Italy, Chile, Ecuador, Brazil and Egypt? Is that democracy?

For 27 years the Zionists have been carrying out their aggressive expansion against the will of the Arab masses, supported by the bayonets of British Imperialism. Even when the relations between the Imperial master and his lackey are temporarily clouded, the Zionists never dare seriously to embarrass British Imperialism.

Thus, Mr. M. Ussishkin wrote; "A Palestine which is wholly Arabic means that sooner or later Great Britain will be forced to leave, just as it is gradually leaving Egypt. A Palestine which is largely Jewish means a political alliance cordiale . . . between the Jewish people and the English." (Palestine Review, July 3rd, 1936).

Moreover, Ben Gurion declared at the 19th Zionist Congress: "Whoever betrays Great Britain (i.e. her imperialist rule) betrays Zionism."

ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH WORKERS IN PALESTINE.

Almost all the Jewish workers in Palestine are Zionists. Why?

Firstly, they enjoy certain privileges over the Arab workers. The wage of a Jewish labourer is twice or thrice as much as that of his Arab fellow-worker; the Jewish worker benefits from the existence of a powerful labour

organisation which is recognised by government and supported by the Zionist organisations. Though his standard of life is lower than that of a worker in the U.S.A., England or the Dominions, it is still higher than that of the Arab worker.

Secondly, the Jewish workers live within a closed Zionist economy and society.

Thirdly, the indifference of the allied government towards the plight of the Jews in Europe makes the Jews here believe that there is no other rescue but Palestine.

Fourthly, the indifference met with strong enmity from the major part of the Arab population. Clever minds tried to direct this into the channel of hatred against the whole Jewish people. Instead of drawing the correct conclusion, namely that they should give up their ideas of Zionist conquest, the Jewish workers followed their Zionist leaders who declare that the strengthening of Zionism is a safeguard against the Arab danger.

However, an Anti-Zionist wing is bound to develop within the Jewish population, under the following conditions:

When the revolutionary wave of the fight against capitalism (the basic cause of anti-semitism) again rises in the world; when a strong proletarian movement will develop amongst the Arab workers of Palestine and the neighbouring countries, which will fight to the utmost any Zionist expansion but will defend the rights of national and religious minorities, including the Jews.

There is no doubt that the end of the war will see gigantic social upheavals all over Europe and beyond her boundaries; and it is likely that as a result a growing number of Jewish workers in Palestine will leave the Zionist camp.

If the Jewish workers do not join the Arab struggle for liberation, the Jewish population will be used by Imperialism to strengthen its position in the Orient, and if necessary, the Jews will be sacrificed to the hatred of the Orient. Thus the fate of the Jewish State may become that of the Armenian State which was set up at the end of the last world war and was completely annihilated as soon as Imperialism ceased to bolster it up.

The expansion of Zionism is therefore, ultimately, a disaster for the Jewish masses living in Palestine. Only the collapse of Zionism—the sooner the better—can save the Jewish population in Palestine from such a fate.

THE PROTAGONISTS OF "BI-NATIONALISM" AMONGST THE ZIONISTS

There is a wing in Zionism whose avowed aim is peace with the Arabs

and which opposes a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Instead its advocates the "bi-national" state.

This wing is composed of two main parts; on the one hand the movement of the Hashomer Hatsair, supported by approximately 20,000 electors, and on the other, a small group of bourgeois-liberals like Mr. Magnes and Kalvarisky.

Let us examine each one of them briefly:

The heading of the Hashomer Hatsair organ carries the following words: "For Zionism, for socialism and for solidarity between the peoples." How does the Hashomer explain these phrases in its actual programme? In the speech by M. Yaari, the leader of this movement, before the Inner Zionist Executive Council on Nov. 10th, 1942, he furnished some explanations for the programme of his party. Thus he said: "Even if the Arab Federation comes true, it will only include those Arabs living in these countries. Assuming that there will be 12 million Arabs in these countries (Yaari apparently does not count Egypt, Tripolitania etc. as Arab countries) there are not less than 12 million Jews in the world who are in need of Zionist salvation. We are striving after a complete solution in the frame of Palestine and the surrounding countries, based on the equality of the Jewish and Arab peoples." He also said: "The problem occupying all of us is: which is the most practical way for the Jews to cease to be a minority in Palestine? (Emphasis by M. Yaari): "We must not close our eyes to the fact that our fate will be determined by the victorious powers and we shall not be able to obtain in one day's time complete independence in Palestine."

Thus the Hashomer Hatsair is against a Jewish state in Palestine (1) because it is not satisfied with it; apparently its appetite is bigger than that of the official Zionists. It wishes not only a Jewish majority in Palestine, but also parity between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine plus the neighbouring countries. (2) It fears even more than official Zionism that it will be impossible to obtain in one day complete independence in Palestine. This is the essence of the doctrine of bi-nationalism and international solidarity of the Hashomer Hatsair.

Of course they are ready to live in peace with the Arabs on this basis. They only forget one small question: Can the Arabs accept this as a basis for peace?

Against the official Zionist programme known as the "Biltmore declaration" which demands the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth, they put up these points:

(a) To open the doors of Palestine for Jewish immigration.

(b) To establish in Palestine a political regime under international control which will give the Jewish Agency the right to carry out Jewish immigration according to the full economic absorptive capacity of the country and taking into consideration the extent of the plight of the Jews in other countries at the end of the war.

(c) To grant the Jewish Agency the necessary authority for the development and building up of the country, including settlement of all government owned lands and uninhabited spaces, in the interests of the two sectors of the population, which will make dense Jewish colonisation possible, and the development of Arab economy.

(d) To establish in Palestine after the war a regime based on the political equality of both peoples, which will enable Zionism to realise its aims undisturbed and will advance Palestine towards political independence in the frame of bi-nationalism. (Against the Stream, Hebrew, Collection of Articles)

Therefore, the basis on which the Hashomer Hatsair intends to establish Jewish-Arab collaboration is as follows:

Taking over of all matters of immigration and settlements by the Jewish Agency, which will be concerned (as was its concern until today) with the "development of the Arab economy". If the Arab workers despise the "socialists" of the Hashomer Hatsair and their ilk—do they lack class consciousness? And if the Hashomer Hatsair people do not take a single Arab worker, and participate in picketing and similar "civilising" activities, does this not prove that they are the real socialist revolutionaries?

There are others—liberal bourgeois personalities like Dr. Magnes and Kalvarisky, who profess it to be their intention to live in peace with the Arabs. These men are not backed up by any movement. What is the political programme of Dr. Magnes and his group called "Thud"? In his letter to the Editor of the "Economist" dated 31.1.44, Dr. Magnes says:

"The Thud Association is an ardent advocate of the Union of these four territories (Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and the Lebanon), not only because such a Union is historically sound, and perhaps inevitable, but also and primarily because we think such a Union can be of decisive help to the Jews. Such a Union would create the larger background out of which a more generous answer to the Palestine problem might be given. If there be this Union, which would bring together an Arab population of perhaps five millions, the Arabs of Palestine need no longer fear, as they do today, being swamped by a large Jewish immigration.

"Palestine has over 500,000 Jews and over a million Arabs. What the

Thud Association advocates is, that the Jewish population be permitted through immigration to catch up with the Arab population, that is, that another 500,000 Jews have the opportunity of entering Palestine."

But Dr. Magnes still owes an answer to the following questions:

(1) Assuming his plan will be carried out. What will then prevent the Zionists from saying that they are afraid of the big majority of Arabs within the Federation? Dr. Magnes may then propose parity between the Jews and Arabs within the entire Federation—and if the Arabs don't like it—will he ask them to establish a still wider Federation? It looks rather like masked Zionist expansion!

(2) What grounds has Dr. Magnes for the belief that Zionism, which created an abyss between the two communities by its economic, social and political boycott, will suddenly change its policy when the number of Jews will be increased here?

(3) If the Zionists really want the Arabs to be unafraid of them, then there is a very simple way: to liquidate all national boycott, to support the demand for democratic political institutions in the country, etc.—briefly, to become an organic part of the country, just as the Jews in Egypt are an integral part of Egyptian life.

On the basis of a closed Zionist citadel, no Arab will agree to the additional entry of 500,000 Jews to the country. If, on the other hand, the walls of this citadel should crumble, then the Zionist idea will die a natural death.

Not only is the programme of Magnes, Kalvarisky & Co. utopian, but it is also openly pro-imperialist, because only imperialism can balance the scale between Zionism and the Arab national aspirations.

In a Memorandum written by the Brith Shalom Society (the name of this group at that time) on an Arab Policy for the Jewish Agency in 1930, they propose the following as one of the fundamentals for mutual understanding:

"That the political status of the Mandatory Power in the country should be such as would ensure stability in the relations between the two peoples living in the country, maintain its public security, protect its frontiers and guard the specific interests, both British and International, of the Mandatory Power in Palestine."

They add:

"At present, it is quite impossible to transfer from the Mandatory, responsible to the League of Nations, the responsibility for the government of the country and the enforcement of the Mandate, and place it upon a local representative Government."

It can be seen that this group, out of its love for peace, shrinks back from

tackling the core of the problem, which is: **fight against Imperialism and Zionism.**

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND ZIONISM

The Communist International from its inception opposed Zionism. Its basic conception for this struggle was as follows:

1. Zionism, as a result of anti-Semitism, received its main impetus during the epoch of declining capitalism. The revolutionary overthrow of this system will mean the end of Zionism.

2. Zionism helps to keep down a colonial people and reinforces the position of Imperialism. In the fight against Imperialism it is the duty of every revolutionary to oppose Zionism.

3. The influence of Jewish nationalism alienates the Jewish worker in America, Europe, Australia etc. from his fellow-workers. The fight for international working-class solidarity therefore demands the repudiation of Zionism.

The new line of the Communist Parties no longer aims at the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. It has ceased to stand for the abolition of the empires (on the contrary, the French Communists support the Great French Empire and the British Communists support the unity of the British Empire). This new patriotic, pro-Imperialist turn, and the dissolution of the Comintern, furnish a fitting background for a pro-Zionist attitude.

The beginning of this development was already discernible in the preface by W. Gallacher to the book by I. Rennap "Anti-Semitism and the Jewish Question" published in April 1942. After paying lip-service to anti-Zionism, from force of habit, Gallacher then proceeds to say:

"As has already been observed, the 'peculiarity' of the Jewish minority in a capitalist country is that they are not a part of the main industrial army. It is a minority that follows on behind the main army. In Palestine the position is completely reversed. The 'peculiarity' of the Jewish minority there is that, because of its experience in modern science and Western technique, it is right in the vanguard, and could form the economic, social and cultural leadership of the Arabian peasant masses. What an opportunity the Jews have there yet, if they will but see it!"

Workers who live a completely different life from that of the Arabs, Jewish workers entirely out of touch with the national democratic problems of the Orient (such as the questions of the agrarian revolution, unity of the Arab countries etc.)! They are, according to Gallacher, supposed to be the vanguard of the Orient!

Instead of maintaining that only the

fight of the Arab workers' movement at the head of the masses of Arab peasants in Palestine and the Near East can end Zionism—and thus take the Jewish workers out of the Zionist camp—Gallacher calls the Jews the leaders of the Orient!

No wonder, therefore, that after such a preface, Rennap, whom Gallacher calls a good communist, recommends Magnes, Kaplansky and Kalvarisky (pages 86/87) as people who can show the way towards a solution.

We have already described their Zionist, pro-Imperialist position, and the Communists must be in a pretty bad way if they lean on such authorities.

As in everything, the American Communists have outdone their British brethren. For example, the paper "Morgen Freiheit" (the Yiddish organ of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.) printed in its issue of 26.2.44 an article by one of the editors, under the heading "The Struggle against the White Paper", attacking those non-Zionist Jews who dared oppose the draft resolution to the Congress Committee to transform Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth.

"The action taken by the anti-national elements in the Congress Committee was a blow for the persecuted and suffering Jewish masses, some of whom are trying to save themselves into Palestine." About the White Paper they write: "The White Paper was adopted in 1939 by the Chamberlain Government in England—the same Chamberlain who flew to Munich in order to establish permanent peace with Hitler, who pursued an appeasement policy in all fields. The White Paper was a result of his appeasement policy in Palestine.

"The White Paper, of course, was an injustice. The world has moved a long way from such appeasement policies. The democratic countries are leading a life and death struggle against Hitler. The White Paper, which is a relic of that shameful Chamberlain period, must be cancelled. The interests of thousands of persecuted Jewish refugees who are seeking shelter in Palestine, demand this. It is the wish of all American Jews, without difference of opinion—Zionists and non-Zionists. Even the heads of the Council of Judaism, who are doing harmful anti-Zionist work, do not dare stand up against the demand for the repeal of the White Paper.

"The Palestine Resolution which is under consideration by the Congress Committee, points to the persecution of Jews in Europe, and therefore the necessity of making available to them a Jewish National Home to save those who can escape. If the White Paper is put into force, it will indeed mean an aid for Hitler in his programme of

the annihilation of European Jewry.

"The resolution must be supported in its present form. Either there will be agreement on all points or not."

Thus, instead of demanding "Open the doors of America for the refugees", they support Zionism! Instead of the international socialist revolution which will solve the Jewish problem—the Jewish National Homeland!

It also seems that the Australian Communist Party has altered its standpoint towards Zionism. This is indicated by its support for the Zionist Youth Immigration Fund.

Unfortunately, the sparse news we receive from abroad is not very detailed, but it appears that this new line has met with no opposition from the Communist Parties anywhere, except of course, from those in the Arab countries.

It is also impossible to say to what degree the turn towards pro-Zionism in the policy of the Communist Parties is the result of an attempt of the Soviet diplomacy, without losing the sympathies of the Arabs to hinder as much as possible the Federation plans. (As is well known, the Soviet Union opposes regional federations in all parts of the world.) It should be remembered that when Maïski came to Palestine a few months ago, he only saw Ben Gurion and none of the Arab leaders. But it is impossible to say with certainty what the official Soviet policy is at present. They have no fixed line and their zig-zag movements may bring them sometimes nearer to the Zionists and sometimes nearer to the Arab cause—depending upon the circumstances.

In any event, the Kremlin rapprochement with Churchill, Roosevelt and Smuts, its support of imperialism against revolutionary upheavals including colonial rising, and the renunciation of the socialist revolution which alone can solve the Jewish problem—prepare the ground for the official recognition of the Zionist ambitions by the Communist Parties.

THE ULTIMATE AIM OF ZIONISM AND THE CONDITIONS FOR ITS REALISATION

For years, the Zionist leaders have been trying to veil their real aims. In this connection, Ch. Arlosoroff (who later became head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency) wrote in 1929:—

"Such a discussion (i.e. of the Final aims of Zionism) is out of place today. In any case, it is doubtful if a heated discussion of this kind will be of advantage to the vital interests of the Zionist movement. The later we start dealing with this subject, the better will it be for all those interested in Zionism. The final formula we shall reach will necessarily be influenced by the relation of political forces in Eretz

Israel." (Arlosoroff's Works "The Ninth Dominion", pages 85/86).

It seems now that the Zionists deem the time favourable for an open offensive and for the revelation of their final aims. Their estimate is based on the following considerations:

Churchill was from the beginning against the White Paper. His colonial policy was always non-conciliatory towards the Indians, Arabs and other colonial peoples. Smuts, oppressor of the negroes, who form the great majority of the inhabitants of South Africa, quite naturally sympathises with the Zionist aspirations. Roosevelt, who needs the votes of the Jews in the coming elections, and who wants to show his concern over the refugee under-dogs—to be sure, without letting them into the United States—Roosevelt who wants to establish a foothold for American imperialism in the Near East and for this purpose would like to have Zionist support, certainly declares his love for Zionism.

At the beginning of the war, these politicians did not dare to show their claws. As Chamberlain gave the Arabs of Palestine their White Paper, so Churchill gave India her Cripps. Today, with the prospect of winning the war much more certain than before, Churchill starts, to speak in a different language. He asserted that he did not become His Majesty's First Minister in order to preside over the dismemberment of the British Empire. Halifax recently said that the Indians will not be able to gain their independence after this war because of the Hindu/Moslem antagonism.

At the present moment, British Imperialism has escaped defeat by German Imperialism, and the danger of

its destruction by the revolutionary uprisings of the colonial peoples and proletariat at home seems to be firmly settled and the Zionists want to use this opportune moment for a gigantic effort to grab and secure the best possible positions in Palestine.

THE ZIONIST MARCH OF CONQUEST WILL BE STOPPED

But the Zionist march of conquest will be stopped.

During this war, the British workers have been increasingly demanding their rights; their collisions with the

bourgeoisie and government will multiply and become fiercer in character as well as with the Labour Party leaders who are calling for national unity and the maintenance of the Empire. The great strikes that have lately taken place in Great Britain are the first signs of their awakening.

The colonial peoples will demand their freedom with increasing vigour; they no longer want to wait for the coming of the "new world" promised at the beginning of the war.

The collapse of German Fascism will cause the revolutionary waves to go far beyond Europe; the downfall of Japanese Imperialism will set in motion a chain of colonial revolutions that will spread to the colonies under Allied rule.

The rising of the colonial peoples against all oppression and discrimination will help the revolutionary workers in the other countries. Britain's workers will support the colonies in their struggle for freedom, forging a new international solidarity for the building of a new society.

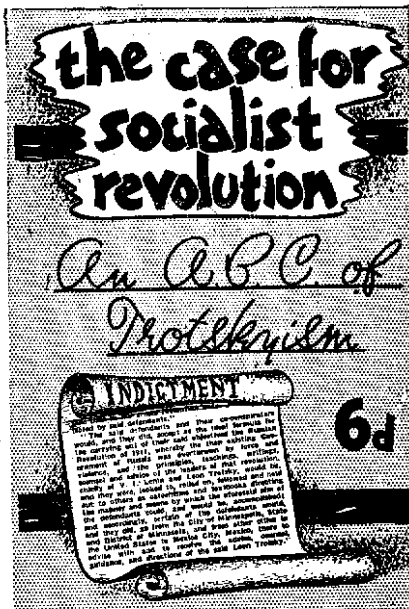
Zionism will perish together with the rotten capitalist order.

Members of the Labour Party, workers, who in your hearts hate all oppression and discrimination—we are asking you to protest against the draft resolution of the Executive Committee of your party to suppress and expel the Arab people from Palestine.

You will thus extend your hands to the Arab masses who are leading, together with their brethren in the other Near Eastern countries, a hard fight against oppression by a Zionist state.

With comradely greetings,

SOCIALISTS IN PALESTINE



NOW ON SALE!

GERMANY—The Key to the International Situation

By **LEON TROTSKY.** December, 1931

The background to the rise of Hitler and the responsibility of the Labour and Stalinist Leaders.

INTRODUCTION by **TED GRANT** - - 6d.



Workers of Europe! German and Allied Soldiers

*Leaflet being distributed in Europe, issued by the
European Secretariat of the Fourth International, June 1944*

We print below extracts from a leaflet issued illegally in France under the Nazi occupation by our European comrades. While all the other organisations of the working class have succumbed to nationalism and chauvinism, the Fourth Internationalists alone have carried on the traditions of socialist internationalism.

All over the world the forces of the Fourth International refuse to allow the outworn frontiers and boundaries to divide them, but stand united against the capitalists of all countries.

Under great difficulties and at the risk of their lives, our comrades have carried on the struggle against the Nazis. News has just reached us that more than 100 members of the Trotskyist Party in France were annihilated by the Gestapo as well as 30 German soldiers who were won to our position and were shot by the Gestapo. Our comrades published a special paper for the German army called "Arbeiter Und Soldat" ("Worker and Soldier").

But despite these blows, our comrades continue in their heroic work. 70 issues of the paper of our French comrades "La Verite" were produced illegally throughout the German occupation of France.

This leaflet, issued by the European Secretariat of the Fourth International is an annihilating indictment of the Vansittart policies of the Labour and Stalinist leaders in this and other countries. Had Stalin continued this policy, which is the policy of Lenin and Trotsky, Hitler would have been destroyed by the German workers and all Europe would today be socialist. But despite the sell-out of Stalinism, the ideas of international working class solidarity live and will be victorious in Europe and the world.

The battles that will decide the issue of the war in Europe have begun. The Western part of the continent has once again become the theatre of monstrous massacres, of untold devastation and suffering for the people.

The accumulated forces of the British and American imperialists, for long intentionally kept inactive in order to weaken both Germany and Soviet Russia, and render exhausted Europe, incapable of resisting their domination, are now being thrown with extreme violence into the assault for final victory.

The Yankee and British financiers, the big bankers and industrialists have long fed the Nazi war machine, permitting it to obtain via the "neutrals", Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Sweden and Argentine, oil, wolfram, chrome, manganese, and other materials essential for modern war, to be used against the Soviet Union.

They happily looked on while all the peoples of Europe were being crushed beneath the Hitlerite boot, while the continent was being drained of all its wealth and its undernourished populations physically weakened. They destroyed the most populous towns by heavy bombardments. They now think the time has come to consolidate their gains.

THE AIMS OF THE ALLIED "LIBERATORS"

The main aims which the big financiers of New York and London have in Europe are:

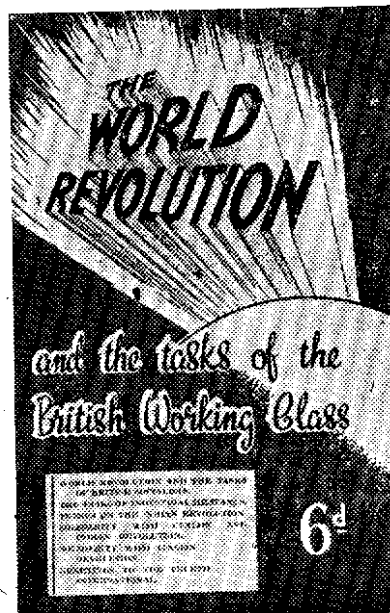
- To drive the Soviet Union out of Europe;
- To break the expansive power of German imperialism;
- To open the way in the whole of Europe to their capital and goods;
- Having eliminated all other competitors, to put the populations of the continent on short rations, so that by their intensive labour they may be able to pay the enormous debts which the capitalist states have contracted during the war, as well as the sums which they owe to the British and American armament manufacturers to whom they owe their "liberation".

The advance of the Red Army and the increasing ferment among the masses in all the occupied countries, Norway and Greece, Poland and France, endangered the realisation of these rapacious plans. They had to act, and act quickly.

WORKERS OF EUROPE!

For five years you have endured great sufferings under the Hitlerite tyranny. You have experienced terror, hunger, cold and death. Your organisations have been destroyed, your most elementary liberties have been trampled under foot.

Crowded in the war factories, you have toiled day and night,



without rest, underfed, bullied and exposed to the gravest dangers, in order to make the weapons which the Nazi dictatorship has used against the peoples of Europe and the German people themselves.

You have been uprooted from your native soil, you have been deported, you have been used as beasts of burden, as if you were not human. Hundreds and thousands of your brothers have fallen at the hands of the Gestapo and the S.S.

The prisons and concentration camps are crammed with the innumerable victims of the Hitlerite tyranny.

The extent of the fascist terror has merely given an indication of the terrible situation which the workers can expect if they do not succeed in destroying capitalism, the cause of fascism and war. **But the fate that awaits you under the rule of the British and American imperialists will be no better.**

THE VICTORY OF THE "ALLIES" WILL MEAN THE ENSLAVEMENT OF EUROPE.

It is a monstrous lie to say that those who in their colonies oppress more than 500 million people, who refuse freedom for Ireland, who starve India and drench her with blood, who covet China, who wish to re-impose their yoke upon the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines, who for their own profit deprive the "enemy" imperialism of Italy and the "allied" imperialism of France of their colonies, that they can bring liberty to the peoples of Europe.

It is a monstrous lie to say that those who fight their own workers, when they strike, with the police, army and prison, can ensure democratic "liberties" for the European workers.

It is a monstrous lie to say that Churchill and Roosevelt, who openly defend France, the sinister hangman of the Spanish proletariat, who embraced the fascist Badoglio and the reactionary Giraud, who maintain friendly relations with the most reactionary representatives of the Vichy gang, are fighting for "democracy" and against "fascism".

Their own statements and their own actions have already exposed their real face, even before they have succeeded in occupying Europe and establishing their rule.

Roosevelt and Churchill, these champions of "democracy", who proclaim that they have taken up arms for the sole purpose of crushing the "Hitlerite dictatorship", **now deny you the right to choose your own government and your own municipal representatives.**

In place of Hitler, of the Quislings and the Lavalis, their Gestapo, their S.S., their police and their militia, they are sending you Eisenhower and his generals who intend to assume for a whole period the powers of government in the "liberated" countries. De Gaulle himself has been compelled to protest against the humiliating treatment meted out to him by his ungrateful "allies". **Your action alone can force them to retreat.**

WORKERS OF EUROPE!

You are hoping for immediate Peace and Freedom.

They are preparing to mobilise you under the colours and orders of Eisenhower, to fight against their enemies.

You are hoping to breathe at last after five years of oppression under the fascist yoke and to resume your struggles to improve your social conditions.

They are preparing to set against you the same police apparatus which is oppressing you to-day, and pretorian hordes as ferocious as the Hitlerite S.S.

You are hoping for a lower cost of living, normal food supplies, adequate wages, and a considerable reduction in the hours of work.

Their first answer is the introduction of inflation by means of the fake money which they are printing in their banks in order to make you pay the cost of your "liberation" yourselves.

You want a stable peace, a united, free and prosperous Europe.

They plan the Balkanisation of Europe by a new Versailles Treaty which will split up Germany, multiply artificial frontiers, oppose any understanding between the peoples, excite national hatreds and antagonisms.

They plan a new super-League of Nations, the armed police of Yankee and British imperialism on the continent.

WORKERS OF EUROPE!

You understand by now what your immense labours and sufferings will lead to if you give the imperialist a free hand. You can see by now that this "liberation" is a gigantic fraud.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE U.S.S.R.?

In this critical hour, when the fate of Europe and of humanity is being decided for several decades at least, the eyes of the workers of the whole world are anxiously turned towards the U.S.S.R. and the Red Army.

What game is the U.S.S.R., the workers' state which emerged from the first victorious socialist revolution in 1917, playing in this robbers' war?

What resistance is it offering to the imperialist plans of robbery and enslavement of the working masses?

The workers should regard the Soviet masses and the Red Army as their best allies in their struggle against world imperialism, but they should have no confidence in the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in this war.

It is a policy of **submission and retreat** before the menacing advance of yankee imperialism.

It is a policy of **betrayal** of the working masses of the capitalist world and of the U.S.S.R. itself.

In spite of the brilliant victories of the Red Army, this policy of retreats and concessions to imperialism, **with the blows which it deals to the revolutionary movement by dissolving the Communist International and leading the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries on the road of class collaboration and chauvinism,** stands every day more clearly opposed to the proletarian Revolution in Europe and the world. The defeat of the Revolution would inevitably mean the destruction of the last Socialist conquests in the USSR.

To allow Yankee and British imperialism to triumph in Europe would mean tightening the noose around the U.S.S.R. in a much shorter time than it took capitalism after the last war to launch the assault against it.

WORKERS OF EUROPE!

At the moment when the war between the imperialists is entering upon its last phase in Europe, the so-called workers' parties, reformist and Stalinist, have nothing better to tell you than to line up behind the Yankee and British brigands in order to achieve your "liberation".

For years the Communist Parties endeavoured to gain your confidence by their fidelity to the Revolution.

But now, at the decisive moment when the power of the bourgeoisie, undermined and cor-

roded by five years of war, is decomposing, the Communist Parties are entering into the bourgeois governments of de Gaulle and Bonomi and placing their authority at the service of the exploiters.

You have other tasks to fulfil than to play the miserable role which the cynical agents of the bourgeoisie and the despicable Stalinist bureaucrats propose to you.

Your task is to oppose the imperialist solution of the war by your solution: the solution which will give you **Peace, Liberty, Bread by the victory of the Socialist Revolution and the Socialist United States of Europe and the World.**

WORKERS OF EUROPE!

This war which has destroyed millions of human lives and tremendous material wealth, which has marked the climax of barbarism in human history, should never have taken place. Only the impotence of the workers' movement allowed it. If you leave the capitalist regime intact once again, you will experience a short period of "peace", with economic crises, unemployment, poverty and fascist oppression, and then very soon the horrors of the **third imperialist world war**, already mentioned by Wallace, the recognised spokesman of Yankee imperialism.

Only the victorious proletarian revolution can release you from the hell of capitalism.

GERMAN WORKERS AND SOLDIERS!

Dragging out the imperialist war will only bring you new sufferings, death and devastation. **We must put an end to the war and Nazism.**

Overthrow Hitler by your own action, through the German Soc-

ialist Revolution, open the road to the European and World Socialist Revolution!

Fraternise with the working masses in the occupied countries!

Fraternise with the "allied" soldiers!


"ALLIED" SOLDIERS!

The financiers of London and New York have sent you, not in order to "liberate" bruised, ruined and devastated Europe, but in order to subject it to their exploitation.

Refuse to serve their plans of robbery and enslavement of the working masses of Europe.

Fraternise with them in all their struggles for their social emancipation!

Fraternise with the German soldiers!



I stake my life!

BY LEON TROTSKY

DEWEY REPORT on the Moscow Trials

6

WORKERS OF EUROPE, GERMAN AND "ALLIED" SOLDIERS!

Enough blood, ruins and death.

An end to the imperialist war, to the fratricidal struggle of the workers.

Unite in a powerful class Front against your common enemy: **capitalism!**

In the factories, districts, villages and the army, form your **committees** of representatives democratically elected by the mass of the workers, peasants and soldiers! Oppose them to the power of the bourgeoisie!

With the slogans of "liberation", "peace" and "democracy" on their lips, the capitalist criminals disarm you and try to crush the revolution of the European proletariat with their military machine and their pretorian guards.

The bourgeoisie itself has placed the class war on the order of the day.

Arm yourselves, form your Workers' Militias, disarm the reactionary forces, meet arms with arms, force with force!

The imperialists are waging their last battles for the robbery and enslavement of Europe and the World.

The workers are taking up the struggle:

FOR IMMEDIATE PEACE! AGAINST PENALTIES AND ANNEXATIONS!

FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD!

June 1944.

The European Executive Committee of the 17th International.

Statement of Indian Trotskyists on Trial

Below is the full text of a statement made in the magistrate's court at Kandy, Ceylon on Feb. 8 of this year by Comrades N. M. Perera and Philip Gunawardene, leading members of the Lanka Sama Samaja (Trotskyist) Party, who were tried and sentenced to prison on charges arising from their escape in 1942 from a British concentration camp.

I was arrested on the 8th of June, 1940. I was kept in detention till the 7th of April, 1942. No specific or precise charges were ever made against me. I was not tried before a court of law. My colleagues and I refused to appear before the Advisory Committee—that mockery of judicial tribunals.

Why were we kept in detention? I challenge the right of Sir Andrew Caldecott, agent of the Bank of England and tool of the capitalist class of Britain, to issue a warrant for my arrest and detention. What right has the ruling class of Britain to rule over this island except superior force? Britain has as much right to rule over the people as the Nazis to rule over the people of Denmark and Norway, or the Japanese imperialists to rule over Formosa and Java. NO MORE. The British ruling class came to this island as pirates and have remained here as plunderers. The British Empire was built up by perjury by day and forgery by night.

Ever since my return to this island in 1932, my colleagues worked with ceaseless endeavour to disseminate the idea of scientific socialism among the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and the advanced sections of the working class. The spontaneous labour movement which displayed tremendous vigour and militancy in the twenties had spent its force in the stagnant waters of trade union politics by the early thirties. After three years of work in the propagation of Marxism, we had developed a sufficiently large nucleus, imbued with the ideas of scientific socialism, that we were in a position to launch the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, in December 1935. The history of the party is known to the people of this country. Suffice it to say that it put itself at the forefront of every struggle against imperialism and the capitalist class in this country ever since the party was founded.

The leadership of the L.S.S.P. from its very inception refused to come under the leadership of the Stalinist Communist International and remained ever loyal to the principles Lenin and Trotsky stood for in their day. In March 1940 the party, under the influence of the teachings of Trotsky, expelled the Stalinists who were trying to smuggle into the party Stalinist contraband. In 1942 the L.S.S.P. became a section of the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky and the comrades of the International Left Opposition.

When the Second Imperialist World War broke out in September, 1939, the party characterised the war as an imperialist war and took a revolutionary defeatist line. My colleagues and I continued to intensify the class struggle and the fight against British imperialism. War is the continuation of politics by other means, i.e. by more forcible means. The character of the war is determined by the class that conducts the war. The war was and remains an imperialist war for markets, for sources of raw materials, for colonies. The "democratic" powers and the Axis powers are fighting to determine which group shall dominate the world. Democracy and Fascism are but two sides of the same coin. Over-ripe and decadent capitalism develops into Fascism when the working class fails to overthrow capitalism and set up its own form of government—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party refused to change its characterisation of the war on the entry of the Soviet Union into the war. It was quick however, in defining the war as an imperialist war on the part of every country involved in it except the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, though deformed. Thus the Soviet Union is fighting a progressive war in defence of the gains of the October Revolution. The Party supports the Soviet Union in this war and is doing everything in its power to enable the working class to render every independent assistance to the Soviet Union in this war. It stands for military victory against the counter-revolutionary forces of Hitler's Europe.

We support the war of the Chinese workers and peasants for national liberation from the yoke of Japanese

Imperialism. But the party works for the defeat of British imperialism in this war by the forces of the colonial masses and the working class of Britain.

The war has set in motion social and political forces that the ruling classes of the warring imperialist powers never bargained for. Fascism is already tottering in Europe thanks to the hammer blows of the Red Army. But Fascism is taking shape in Great Britain and America.

The fate of the Empire of the Mikado is sealed. The paper houses of the Mikado will go up in flames. But the working class in Japan is likely to settle accounts with the landlords and the capitalists of the Rising Sun—not the armed forces of America and the British Empire. Before this war is over civil war will spread over Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union will play a dominant part in the shaping of the world in the coming years.

Revolutions are on the order of the day. There is no room to believe that the European working class has not benefited from its experiences since the October Revolution in 1917. In the wake of the fall of Fascism working class revolutions will break out in Europe. The fall of Japanese imperialism will give rise to colonial revolution. Lenin characterized this epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions.

I escaped from prison in April, 1942, for the purpose of helping the tiny group of Fourth Internationalists in India to build a party of the working class that can take advantage of the crises in Indian society that are breaking out in rapid succession. My colleagues and I timed our escape to be in India at one of the most important crises in her history. We are glad that we were able to play an infinitesimally small part, no doubt, in the movement that took place in India from August, 1942.

We were arrested on the 15th of July, 1943. After spending five long months in the jails of British Imperialism in India, we are back in the dungeons of British Imperialism in Ceylon. Time is with us. IMPERIALISM IS DOOMED, THE FUTURE IS WITH THE WORKING CLASS. The working class of Ceylon under the leadership of the Sama Samaja Party will play its part in the coming years.

Obtain Your Copy NOW!

THE WORLD REVOLUTION

*and the tasks of the
British Working Class*

**WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS
OF BRITISH SOCIALISTS.**

THE TASKS OF INDUSTRIAL MILITANTS.

THESES ON THE INDIAN REVOLUTION.

**SOLIDARITY WITH CEYLON AND
INDIAN REVOLUTION.**

**SOLIDARITY WITH ITALIAN
REVOLUTION.**

**GREETINGS TO THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL.**

PRICE

6d.