### The Labour Party

#### **Head Office**

Southside, 105 Victoria Street, London SW1E 6QT Labour Central, Kings Manor, Newcastle Upon Tyne NE1 6PA 0345 092 2299 | labour.org.uk/contact

Dr Moshé Machover 5 Milman Road LONDON NW6 6EN

03 October 2017

REF: L1627330

#### Dear Dr Machover,

Allegations that you may have been involved in a breach of Labour Party rules have been brought to the attention of national officers of the Labour Party.

These allegations relate to an apparently antisemitic article published in your name, by the organisation known as Labour Party Marxists (LPM). The content of these articles appears to meet the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of antisemitism, which has been adopted by the Labour Party. Evidence relating to these allegations can be found in Section 1, overleaf.

Antisemitism of any form – whether direct attacks or pejorative language which may cause offence to Jewish people – is not acceptable and will not be tolerated in the Labour Party. Language that may be perceived as provocative, insensitive or offensive falls short of the standards expected of us as Party members and has no place in our party.

Labour Party members suspected to be involved in the in the writing, editing or publication of the material in question may be in breach of Clause 2.I.8 of the Labour Party rules, and would be placed under formal notice of investigation so as to properly investigate these allegations.

However, in the course of preliminary investigation of these complaints, it has come to our attention that LPM's expressed aims and principles are incompatible with those of the Labour Party, as set out in Clause IV of the Labour Party constitutional rules. Supporting evidence can be found in Section 2, overleaf. It has also come to light that LPM is in fact a front organisation for the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Your involvement and support for both LPM and the Communist Party of Great Britain (through your participation in CPGB events and regular contributions to the CPGB's newspaper, the *Weekly Worker*) is documented in Section 3 of the attached evidence. Membership or support for another political party, or a political organisation with incompatible aims to the Labour Party, is incompatible with Labour Party membership.

Chapter 2.I.4.B of the Labour Party's rules states:

"A member of the party who joins and/or supports a political organisation other than an official Labour Group or unit of the Party or supports any candidate who stands against an official Labour candidate, or publicly declares their intent to stand against a Labour candidate, shall automatically be ineligible to be or remain a party member, subject to the provisions of part 6.1.2 of the disciplinary rules".

You are therefore ineligible to remain a member of the Labour Party and have been removed from the national membership system. You are no longer entitled to attend local Labour Party meetings.





Under Clause 6.1.2 of party rules you may apply for re-admission but this must be made directly to the National Executive Committee (NEC) for their consideration. Clause 6.1.2 of the Labour Party's rules states:

"When a person applies for re-admission to the party following an expulsion by the NCC on whatever basis or by automatic exclusion under 2.I.4.A of the membership rules, the application shall be submitted to the NEC for consideration and decision. Such applications shall not normally be considered by the NEC until a minimum of five years has elapsed. The decision of the NEC shall be binding on the individual concerned and on the CLP relevant to the application."

The NEC will only relax the "five year" exclusion period in what it deems to be exceptional circumstances. Any application to re-join should be sent directly to the Governance and Legal Unit.

The evidence relating to your alleged involvement in the creation and publication of antisemitic material will be kept on file, and the investigation into those allegations may be reopened in the event that you reapply for membership in future.

If you would like to challenge the validity of the evidence attached to this letter, please submit a written statement to the Governance and Legal unit at the London address above or to <a href="mailto:legal-queries@labour.org.uk">legal-queries@labour.org.uk</a> within 14 days of the date at the top of this letter.

Yours sincerely

Sam Matthews Head of Disputes

c.c. London Labour Party
Hampstead and Kilburn CLP

#### Section 1: Evidence relating to alleged breach of Clause 2.1.8

LPM-17, 21 September 2017



labourpartymarxists.org.uk

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# Anti-Zionism does not equal anti-Semitism

Progress, the Jewish Labour Movement and the rightwing media have been running a completely cynical campaign, argues Moshé Machover



LPM-17, 21 September 2017 continued

#### LPM SEPTEMBER 21 2017

#### Anti-Semitism

that reason; and, on the other, people like the vile blogger, Guido Fawkes, whose real name is Paul Staines - a rightwinger who would do anything to discredit the Labour left. He is using 'anti-Semitism' smears for opportunistic reasons, not because he really carres one way or the other about Inrae/Palestine.

The campaign has been remarkably successful and, of course, the biggest scalp so far is that of former London mayor and with the campaign has been remarkably successful and, of course, the biggest scalp so far is that of former London mayor and What did he say that got him suspended! Hiller came to power in 1932 and 'aupported Zionism until he went mad Of course, he got the date wrong, Hiller came to power in 1933. It was also wrong to personalise the shift in policy. But the point he was making about the Nari regime and Zionism is basically correct, as I shall demonstrate. lly correct, as I shall der

### Don't mention

Zionism

How should the left react under such circumstances? A good friend of mine, who is on the left and has been a co-signatory of some of the statements we have been issuing, said to me that maybe we should not talk too much about Zionism, because people do not understand it and can get confused. Maybe we should just concentrate on the actual evils carried out by Jarael.

You will not be surprised to learn that this person belongs to that part of the left which is happy to talk about austerity, but does not want to mention capitalism. Everyone understands austerity and it is good to organise demonstrations against it, but capitalism is too much of a political word.

I full to see how dropping mention of Zionism can work. Even the Zionists acknowledge that it is acceptable to criticies larsali policy and would not be too concerned if we criticies, asy, larsel's continuing colonisation - building settlements on the West Bank and so on. But I ask a question why does larsel persist in this? It is a policy which earns it the most criticies in the United States. Branck O'Sama and Bernie Sanders have criticies id tidrectly and the British governments official policy and the British governments official policy.

in this? It is a policy which earns it the most criticism in the United States. Branck Obama and Bernie Sandern have criticised it directly and the British governments official policy is that these settlements are 'illegal' - they are an 'obstacle to peace, etc. So why does lared do it? How can you explain it? It can be explained by the fact that it is an essential part of Zionists folicy. In carrying out this policy Israel is, if you like, following an imperative of Zionism from the very beginning. Once you accept that this is an integral part of Zionism, then you realise it would be strange if Israel did not attempt to implement it. It is not as if it were a policy specific to the current government of Binyamin Natanyahu. It has been carried out by all Israeli governments since 1967 and it took place within the former borders - the so-called green line' - before 1967. It has been an ongoing policy of Zionist colonisation from the very beginning.

You cannot explain why Israel is continuing with a policy that is not winning it any friends without mentioning Zionism. Onthe contrary, I think what we should do is not apologiss; instead we should go onto the offensive and be agressive directly

is not apologise; instead we should go onto the offensive and be aggressive; directly

is not apologise; instead we should go onto the offensive and be aggressive: directly attack Zionism.

And you can also attack Zionism precisely because of its collusion and collaboration with arti-Semitism; including up to a point with Naii Germany. We should not respond to the attacks by swing. We are against anti-Semitism, as we are against all racism, which is to accept that anti-Semitism is actually a problem on the left. While, of course, we oppose such racism, the fact is that its proponents within the left and the Labour Party account for a minuscule proportion. We can deal with arti-Semitism if it shows its head, but we should not make gestures as a kind of apology in the face of the current assault. The handful of people on the left who propagate a version of the Protocols of the Edders of Zioni carry no weight and are without any intellectual foundation.

The Protocols contained claims of both

toundation.

The Protocols contained claims of both capitalist and working class conspiracy. Jews were 'overrepresented' among capitalists, but they were also 'overrepresented' in the



Israel is a colonial-settler state that seeks to displace the native population

revolutionary movement. The anti-Semitic revolutionary movement. The ariti-Semitic slogan in revolutionary Russia wars. "Sugar - Brodsky, tea - Vissotsky, Russia - Trotsky" - the first two were magnates and all three were Jews. We can deal with similar nonsense on the left in our own time, but not as an apology in response to sitacks on the left. On the contrary, we need to go on the counteroffensive.

We should take the side of the Board of Deputies of British Jews - not the current one, but the Board of Deputies of Deputies or, the Board of Deputies of 100 years ago! It put out some very pertinent statements about Zionism and its connection with anti-Semitism. When the negotiations on the 1917 Balfour Declaration were taking place, a prominent member of the Board of Deputies, Lucien Wolf, wrote:

on, wroce:

I understand ... that the Zionists
do not merely propose to form and
establish a Jewish nationality in
Palestine, but that they claim all
the Jews as forming at the present
moment a separate and dispossessed
nationality, for which it is necessary
to find an organic political centre,
because they are and must always be
aliens in the lands in which they now
dwell, and, more especially, because
it is "an absolute self-detusion" to
believe that any Jew can be at once
'English by nationality and Jewish by
faith'.

I have spent most of my life in combating these very doctrines, when presented to me in the form of anti-Semilism, and I can only regard them as the more dangerous when they come to me in the guise of Zionism. They constitute a capitulation to our enemies, which has absolutely no justification in history, ethnology or the fact of everyday life, and if they were admitted by the Jewish people as a whole, the result would only be that the terrihle situation of our co-religionists in Russia and Romania religionists in Russia and Romania would become the common lot of Jewry throughout the world.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time, Alexander Montefiore, president of the Board of Deputies, and Claude, his bother, who was president of the closely associated Anglo-jewish Association, wrote a letter to The Times. They stated that the 'establishment of a Jewish nationality in Palestine, founded on the theory of Jewish homelessness,

must have the effect throughout the

must have the effect throughout the world of stamping the Jews as strangers in their native lands and of undermining their hard-won positions as citizens and nationals of those lands."

They pointed out that the theories of political Zionism undermined the religious basis of Jewry, to which the only alternative would be "a secular Jewish nationality, recruited on some loose and obscure principle of race and of ethnographic peculiarity."

They went on:

But this would not be Jewish in any spiritual sense, and its establishment in Palestine would be a denial of all the ideals and hopes by which the survival of Jewish life in that country commends itself to the Jewish conscience and Jewish sympathy. On these grounds the Conjoint Committee of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association deprecates earnestly the national proposals of the Zionists.

The second part in the Zionist programme which has aroused the misgivings of the Conjoint Committee is the proposal to invest the Jewish settlers [in Palestine] with certain special rights in excess of those enjoyed by the rest of the population ...

In all the countries in which Jews live the principle of equal rights for all religious denominations is vital to them. Were they to set an example in Palestine of disregarding this principle, they would convict themselves of having appealed to it for purely selfish motives. In the countries in which they are still struggling for equal rights they would find themselves hopelessly compromised ... The proposal is the more inadmissible because the Jews are and probably long will remain a minority of the population of Palestine, and might involve them in the bitterest feuds with their neighbours of other races and religions, which would severely retard their progress and find deplorable echoes throughout the orient. In all the countries in which lews

This turned out to be highly prophetic Nazi collaboration

Let us turn now to the Zionist-Nazi connection. In fact it sounds more shocking

than it is, because we are talking about the than it is, because we are talking about the early days of the Nazi regime. Today the holocaust is taught in schools, so people mayknow when the policy of extermination of lews actually started officially—in January 1942, when a Nazi conference was convened in Wannsee under the chairmanship of Reinhard Heydrich. Heydrich was second in command to Heinrich Himmler, the head of the St.

in Wannisee under the chairmansh of Reinhard Heydrich. Heydrich was second in command to Heinrich Himmler, the head of the St.

The minutes of this conference are actually online and in them a change in policy towards the Jews, ratified by the Führer, was declared. Although it is phrased euphemistically, it is clear that what was being talked about was both deportation to the east and extermination. This change occurred following the attack on the Soviet Union, when the Nazis felthey had be following the the stack on the Soviet Union, when the Nazis felthey had be policy was for the exclusion of the Jews from political and civic life, for separation and for emigration. Quite naturally the Zionist lesdership thought this set of policies was similar to those of other anti-Semitic regimes - which it was - and the Zionist approach was not peculiar to the Nazi regime. The founder of political Zionism, Theodor Herzl, had pointed out that anti-Semitic regimes would be allies, because they wanted to get rid of the Jews. That was the common interest. In 1934 the German rabbi, Joschim Prinz, published a book entitled WirJuden (We, the Jews), in which he welcomed the Nazi regime. That regime wanted to separate Jews from non-Jews and prevent assimilation - as did the Zionists. Philip Roth's novel, The plot Zionists. Philip Roth's novel, The plot Zionists. Philip Roth's novel, The Pole Zionists.

and prevent assimilation - as did the Zionists. Philip Roth's novel, The plot

Zionists. Philip Roth's novel, The plot against America is based on actual people, including Prinz, who emigrated to America and became a leader of the US lewish community—the fact that he was a Zionist is not mentioned.

Anyway, the Zionists made overtures to the Nazi regime, so how did the Nazis respond? Here are two relevant quotations. The first is from the introduction to the Nuremberg laws, the racist legislation introduced in Nazi Germany in 1935. This extract was till present in the 1939 edition, from which I am quoting:

If the Jews had a state of their own, in which the bulk of their people were at home, the Jewish question could already be considered solved today ... The ardent Zionists of all people have objected least of all to the basic ideas of the Nuremberg laws, because they know that these laws are the only correct solution for the Jewish neonlet to. § only correct solution for the Jer

Heydrich himself wrote the following in an article for the SS house journal Das Schwarze Korps in September 1935:

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National socialism has no intention of attacking the Jewish people in any way. On the contrary, the recognition of Jewry as a racial community based on blood, and not as a religious one, leads the German government to guarantee the racial separateness of this community without any limitations. The government finds itself in complete agreement with the great spiritual movement within its recognition of the solidarity of Jewry throughout the world and the rejection of all assimilationist ideas. On this basis, Germany undertakes measures that will surely play a significant role in the future in the handling of the Jewish problem around the world.

In other words, a friendly mention of Zionism, indicating an area of basic agreement it shared with Nazism. Of course, looking back at all this, it seems all the more sinister, since we know that the story ended with the gas chambers a few years later. This overlap is an indictment of Zionism, but the actual collaboration between the two was not such as control of the property of collaboration between the two was not such an exceptional thing, when you accept that the Zionists were faced with the reality of

the Zionists were faced with the reality of an anti-Semitic regime. By the way, half of what Ken Livingstone said is not very lar from the caricature uttered by Netanyahu in 2016 during an address to delegates at the World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem. According to Netanyahu, "Hitler didn't want to exterminate the Jews' until he met the grand mufit of Jerusalem, Haij Amin al-Husseini, in 1941. Netanyahu claimed that "Al-Husseini went to Hitler and said.

all-Husseini, in 1941. Netamyahu claimed that "Al-Husseini went to Hiller and said, 'If you expel them, they'll all come here.' Of course, the allegation that the idea of extermination originated with the grand multi has been rejected with contempt by serious historians, but Netamyahu was at least correct in saying that emigration, not extermination, was indeed Nazi policy until the winter of 1941-42.

Let me repeat: we must go on the counterattack against the current slurs. It is correct to expose Zionism as a movement based on both colonisation and collusion based on both cotonisation and collusion with anti-Semitism. Don't apologise for saying this. If you throw the sharks blooded meat, they will only come back for more. At the moment the left is apologising too much, in the hope that the right will let up. They never will •

#### Notes

INVOICS

I. Reproduced in B Dostasi (ed) The Zientel mocement and the foundation of Irenal 8189-8790 Cambridge arough Vol. 1, 1979.

2. The Thime May 24 1017.

3. See www.godileperductions.com/forum/massaged550/1971.

3. See Machiner and M Officibung Zientem and its accuracy Lundon 1978, 1981, which directly quests but Nilmburger Genetics. Been also P Homes & Third Rock and the Insiented and its American See 1981, 19

#### LONDON COMMUNIST FORUM

Sundays, Spm: Weekly political meeting and study group organised jointly by Labour Party Marxists and CPGB. Details in Weekly Worker.

WHE: The Calthorpe Arms, 252 Grays Inn Road, London WC1X 8JR

# Section 2: Evidence relating to Labour Party Marxists' incompatibility with Labour Party membership

#### Labour Party Marxists' aims and principles

# AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

- 1. The central aim of Labour Party Marxists is to transform the Labour Party into an instrument for working class advance and international socialism. Towards that end we will join with others and seek the closest unity of the left inside and outside the party.
- 2. Capitalism is synonymous with war, pollution, waste and production for its own sake. Attempts to rescue the system through Keynesian remedies are diversionary and doomed to fail. The democratic and social gains of the working class must be tenaciously defended, but capitalism must be superseded by socialism.
- 3. The only viable alternative is organising the working class into powerful and thoroughly democratic trade unions, co-ops, and other schools for socialism, and crucially into a political party which aims to replace the rule of the capitalist class with the rule of the working class.
- 4. The fight for trade union freedom, anti-fascism, women's rights, sexual freedom, republican democracy and opposition to all imperialist wars are inextricably linked to working class political independence and the fight for socialism.
- 5. Ideas of reclaiming the Labour Party and the return of the old clause four are totally misplaced. From the beginning the party has been dominated by the labour bureaucracy and the ideas of reformism. The party must be refounded on the basis of a genuinely socialist programme as opposed to social democratic gradualism or bureaucratic statism.

- 6. The aim of the party should not be a Labour government for its own sake. History shows that Labour governments committed to managing the capitalist system and loyal to the existing constitutional order create disillusionment in the working class.
- 7. Labour should only consider forming a government when it has the active support of a clear majority of the population and has a realistic prospect of implementing a full socialist programme. This cannot be achieved in Britain in isolation from Europe and the rest of the world.
- 8. Socialism is the rule of the working class over the global economy created by capitalism and as such is antithetical to all forms of British nationalism. Demands for a British road to socialism and a withdrawal from the European Union are therefore to be opposed.
- Political principles and organisational forms go hand-in-hand. The Labour Party must become the umbrella organisation for all trade unions, socialist groups and pro-working class partisans. Hence all the undemocratic bans and proscriptions must be done away with.
- 10. The fight to democratise the Labour Party cannot be separated from the fight to democratise the trade unions. Trade union votes at Labour Party conferences should be cast not by general secretaries but proportionately according to the political balance in each delegation.
- All trade unions should be encouraged to affiliate, all members of the trade unions encouraged to pay the political levy and join the Labour Party as individual members.
- 12. The party must be reorganised from top to bottom. Bring the Parliamentary Labour Party under democratic control. The position of Labour leader should be abolished along with the national policy forum. The NEC should be unambiguously responsible for drafting Labour Party manifestos.

- 13. The NEC should be elected and accountable to the annual conference, which must be the supreme body in the party. Instead of a tame rally there must be democratic debate and binding votes.
- 14. Our elected representatives must be recallable by the constituency or other body that selected them. That includes MPs, MEPs, MSPs, AMs, councillors, etc. Without exception elected representatives should take only the average wage of a skilled worker, the balance being donated to furthering the interests of the labour movement •





# Section 3: Evidence relating to breach of Clause 2.1.4 (involvement and support for Labour Party Marxists and Communist Party of Great Britain)

## **Labour Party Marxists**

Refound Labour as a real party of labour

Sign up!

> LPM bulletin







**worker 1153** May 4 2017

#### **PALESTINE**

# Class struggle or national war?

Moshé Machover replies to Tony Greenstein

#### Weekly Worker 1135, 15 December 2016



### **Immeasurable loss**

Sadiq Jalal al-Azm, 1934-2016

am deeply saddened by the death on December 11 of my dear friend and comrade, the Marxist philosopher and radical militant Sadiq Jalal al-Azm.

Although Sadiq was a scion of a family belonging to the Syrian Arab elite, his leftwing radicalisation is not unprecedented: his uncle, Khalid al-Azm, who was six times prime minister of Syria, was nicknamed 'the red millionaire'. Sadiq (who belonged to a less prosperous branch of the family) took radicalism much further.

A distinguished scholar of modern European philosophy, he became known as a fearless critic of Arab reaction and clericalism. His 1968 book Al-Nakd al-dhati ba'da al-hazima ('Self-criticism after the defeat') mounted a sharp critique of the Arab regimes and Arab reaction, which he held responsible for the crushing defeat in the 1967 war. His 1969 book Naqd al-fikr al-dini ('Critique of religious thought') cost him his job at the American University of Beirut, and won him

a spell in prison. In this book he does not attack ordinary believers, but rulers, religious leaders and the media who exploit the people's religious sentiments in order to mislead and oppress the masses.

mislead and oppress the masses.

I met Sadiq in the early 1970s in Paris, when both of us were among the planners and founders of Khamsin, a journal of socialist revolutionaries of the Middle East - a joint venture of Arab, Iranian and Hebrew militants. It is in this journal that Sadiq published in 1981 one of his most important political essays, 'Orientalism and orientalism in reverse', a penetrating Marxist critique of Edward Said's influential book Orientalism. This is a mustread classic, in which Sadiq deployed his profound knowledge of both western and Arabic cultures.

In the first part of his essay he criticises Said for his philosophical idealism and offers a robust defence of Marx, whom Said had lumped together with orientalist ideologues of western superiority. In the second

part Sadiq turns his biting criticism against his 'favourite' target: Arab reaction. He shows how Arab ideologues (some of whom had regressed from left positions) use the very same conceptual approach of the orientalists to assert the exact opposite claim: the superiority of Arab culture and Islam. Here is one of the earliest critiques of the rising Islamic fundamentalism.

Although the style is respectful and courteous to Said, the latter took umbrage at being so robustly challenged, and broke off relations with Sadiq - who regretted the loss of a friend, but did not take back one word of his critique.

His death is a great loss for the left of the Middle East, and an immeasurable personal loss to me

Moshé Machover

#### Notes

 For details see www.matzpen.org/english/ khamsin.

 www.matzpen.org/english/1981-07-10/ orientalism-and-orientalism-in-reverse-sadikjalal-al-azm/#fnref-203-36. June 23 2016 **1112 Wörker** 

#### **STRATEGY**

## The decolonisation of Palestine

Zionism constitutes a unique colonisation process, argues **Moshé Machover** - which means that the route to Palestinian freedom must be equally unique

#### Weekly Worker 1097, 10 March 2016

hile the agenda of the CPGB's March 6 aggregate had to be juggled at the last minute due to a speaker's illness, the two openings presented were thought-provoking and sparked plenty of discussion.

Jack Conrad kicked off the day on the situation in the Labour Party and our role in the civil war that the right has launched (and is more energetically prosecuting than the left, it must be said). Early in his talk, he noted that - in view of the surprise landslide victory of Corbyn - it was perhaps worthwhile comrades rereading Plekhanov's On the role of the individual in history, and in particular his comments on the interplay between the talents and attributes of the particular humans involved, the objective circumstances that they are presented with and accident. In an intervention later in the day, Moshe Machover added the qualification that, while Corbyn's addition to the leadership ballot courtesy of the "morons" was an accident, his crushing victory certainly was not. It was to be explained by the contradictions inherent to the Labour Party: "necessity sometimes makes itself apparent through contingency", as the comrade put it - another example he pointed to being the success of Bernie Sanders in the US.

In the discussion that followed. friend of the CPGB Moshé Machover wanted clarification on what we were calling on individuals rather than organisations to actually do: "People who read the Weekly Worker - what should they do?" ("Definitely join Labour!" the reply came later.) Alluding to comrade Conrad's comments on the left's tendency to tout activism as 'proper' working class politics, comrade Machover put forward the notion that this was actually an expression of them having "internalised the defeats" of the previous period - an idea that comrade Farzad Kamangar picked up on and developed in her immediately following intervention.