

To Secure

Jewish
Rights

THE COMMUNIST POSITION

by

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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To Secure Jewish Rights

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

I. BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-FASCIST UNITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

It is tragic that in 1947 it should still be necessary to warn against a repetition of fatal mistakes committed by members of the Jewish bourgeoisie and Jewish social-democracy in many countries. Have we already forgotten the fantastic and suicidal ideas of the 30's that the Jewish people had no cause to be alarmed by the expansionist aims of Nazi and other fascisms—"so long as they do not touch the Jews"? Have we already forgotten the notion that the Jewish people could go along with the Munich policies of Western imperialism, policies which encouraged and finally helped to unleash the second world war—"so long as Jewish interests were not involved"? Do we not remember the incredible and almost insane idea that the Jews need not fear Nazi-fascism itself—"so long as its anti-Semitism remains within certain bounds"? This was the suicide program in 1930, and now we are threatened with the 1947 version. For reactionary Jewish social-democrats and Wall Street monopolists are now peddling the idea that the fascist-like attacks and persecutions of Communists and all genuine progressives under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan of "containing Communism," are of no concern to the Jewish people. And some people are so brazen as to propose that the Jewish people should support these persecutions.

The Jewish people must never forget that the day the "Anti-Comintern Pact" of the Axis powers was sealed, the day the Munich policies were instituted, the day that Hitler started his anti-Communist crusades—on that day the path was cleared for the establishment of crematoriums and con-

centration camps, which cost us six million lives, a third of our people—on that day the seeds of World War II were planted.

It would be folly not to learn these lessons, for the growing menace of war, reaction, anti-Semitism and fascism now face the American people as a whole and the Jewish national group within it. But if we are to have a clear perspective of the struggles ahead, we must recognize two basic propositions. First, the new danger of war, anti-Semitism and fascism can be challenged effectively only if Wall Street's imperialist offensive for world domination is checked and defeated. Second, Wall Street's imperialist drive can be resisted only by combating and defeating the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

Some people think that the growing menace of war, fascism and anti-Semitism can be warded off *without* coming to grips with and halting the drive of the American monopolies for world rule. Such people must be awakened to cold realities, to grasp the basic truths of the present world situation. The only way to secure the equality and survival of the Jewish people is to fight the new dangers of war, anti-Semitism and fascism at their very source—Wall Street's imperialist drive for world domination. And this can be achieved only by the most active participation of the Jewish people in the building of a powerful anti-imperialist and democratic front of the whole American people, within the framework of which Jewish anti-fascist unity must be an organic part.

There are also some who believe that the Roosevelt policy of world peace and American-Soviet collaboration can be reinstated without specifically combating the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

These people should consider the following:

First, the Truman-Marshall plans are not something apart from, but are on the contrary an integral part of, the imperialist offensive of Wall Street and the Midwestern trusts. With these instruments the Truman Administration seeks to promote the drive of the American monopolies for world domination. It is these policies that intensify the growing dangers of war, reaction, anti-Semitism and fascism.

Second, the Marshall Plan, far from being incompatible

with the Truman Doctrine is, on the contrary, in substance, the same, only better camouflaged to hide the openly aggressive nature of the Truman Doctrine, which aroused so much fear and opposition abroad as well as in the United States. The Marshall Plan aims to split Europe, to build up an anti-Soviet and anti-democratic bloc and to use American loans and other economic means to whittle away the economic and political independence of the Western European countries. The heart of the Marshall Plan is the rebuilding of an imperialist Germany. This plan seeks to turn western Germany and the Ruhr into a fortress of Wall Street for economic exploitation and expansion in Europe and for military adventures against the Soviet Union, the new democracies, against all developments toward Socialism.

The difference lies, therefore, not in their imperialist objectives nor in their aggressive expansionist policies but only in phraseology and to some extent in method of presentation. The Marshall Plan implements the Truman Doctrine specifically for the subjugation of Western Europe. The Truman Doctrine itself is being used to establish American imperialist domination in the Mediterranean, to transform Greece and Turkey into American fortresses, to carry on uninterrupted attacks upon the Balkan countries and the new European democracies. The Marshall Plan, like the Truman Doctrine, is Wall Street's policy for promoting a new World War.

Third, there are no essential differences between the foreign and domestic policies of the Truman Administration. The reactionary, anti-Semitic and pro-fascist offensive at home is the inevitable counterpart of the Truman-Marshall imperialist offensive abroad. The two complement each other. Together they work toward the same end—to increase the profits and power of the American trusts, who dictate to both major capitalist parties, the Democratic as well as the Republican. It is therefore especially important to point out that it is impossible effectively to oppose reactionary domestic policies while supporting reactionary foreign policies.

There are others who fail to see that Truman's so-called progressive acts in domestic policy are demagogic political gestures designed to deceive and mislead the masses of the American people. This demagoguery has been exemplified in

Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley slave labor bill, in his professions of concern for civil liberties and minority rights and in his declarations of support for certain economic measures favorable to the masses of the people, as well as his professed sympathy for the equal rights of the Negro people. And the hypocritical double-dealing of the Truman Administration, as well as of the Republican Party, in their so-called support of Jewish national aspirations in Palestine, was demonstrated with particular clarity in the recent American maneuvers in the United Nations, notwithstanding American support for the partition plan. Truman's "liberalism" in domestic affairs is sheer mockery in the light of his "loyalty tests" decree, of the fascist-like anti-Communist crusade which he has instigated at home as well as abroad. This crusade, spearheaded at home by the Thomas-Rankin Committee, threatens to emasculate every civil liberty of the American people, to encourage every fascist and anti-Semitic element in the country and to create conditions favorable to the coming to power of fascism in the United States.

Truman's "liberal" gestures on domestic policy are designed to inveigle the masses into supporting the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. And in order to break up the growing opposition of the people to Wall Street's warmongering and imperialist drive, the Truman Administration joins such "liberal" maneuvers with outright semi-fascist intimidation and attacks upon the more advanced sections of labor and the progressive movement. In this way, the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party hope to corral sufficient mass support to win the elections in 1948.

Fourth, it is impossible to fight for a return to the Roosevelt policies of international cooperation for world peace and of American-Soviet friendship without at the same time combating the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

What Is "Good" Jewish Policy?

There are certain Jewish circles which profess to favor a return to Roosevelt policies while at the same time they not only refuse to fight the Truman-Marshall plans, but even go along with them. They defend this vacillating and contradictory position by arguing that this is "good" Jewish policy.

This "good" Jewish policy is in fact neither good nor Jewish. It merely reflects the contradictions in the attitudes of certain bourgeois Jews whose membership in a minority national group leads them to support a return to the Roosevelt policies, while their class position enforces tendencies to support the Truman-Marshall plans.

"Good" Jewish policy, if it means anything at all, must serve the best interests of the masses of the Jewish people. It must serve the cause of the equal rights and survival of the Jewish people. How, then, can it be "good" Jewish policy to go along with or to remain silent in the face of the Truman-Marshall plans which menace the interests of the Jewish people, as these policies menace the vital national interests of the American people as a whole?

The unfolding Truman-Marshall plans are accompanied at home by a rising offensive of anti-Semitism (*e.g.*, the Hollywood investigation), of discrimination against and persecution of the masses of all national groups, of semi-fascist attacks upon the Negro people, of anti-foreignism, of Anglo-Saxon "superior" race chauvinism. Let us remember that the Truman-Marshall objective of "saving western civilization" from a so-called menace from the East is nothing but brazen imperialist ideology which apes the Hitler theories of race superiority and promotes the drive for world domination of the so-called superior Anglo-Saxon race.

The Truman-Marshall doctrine aims to split Europe in two. What are the implications of this for the Jewish people? Is it not clear that if this plan were successful, the overwhelming majority of European Jewry, our brothers and sisters who live in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia would inevitably be separated and split away from us?

By the attacks of the Truman-Marshall plan upon the people's governments of the new European democracies and by its support of the reactionary and fascist elements in those countries (those very elements which were responsible in pre-war days for savage pogroms), the Truman-Marshall plan endangers the security and survival of the Jewish communities in those countries. By its support of the reactionaries and fascists in Western Europe, the Truman-Marshall plan

also seriously endangers the Jewish communities in France, Belgium and Western Europe as a whole.

In the Far East the Truman-Marshall plan is underwriting the rebuilding of Japanese militarism and fascism and is bolstering the corrupt reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek in China. These reactionary regimes serve as bases for Wall Street against the colonial liberation movements and against the Soviet Union. This situation opens up a threat to the progress and well-being of Birobidjan, which is so dear to our people as the home of a growing Soviet-Jewish nation.

Our people in Palestine, on the threshold of statehood, are seriously menaced by the application of the Truman-Marshall plans to the Near East and the Mediterranean area. Anglo-American imperialism endangers the peace of that region by attempting to build up that area as a major base for a new world war. To this end, American and/or Anglo-American imperialism are determined to prevent the rising Jewish state from achieving full independence and self-determination.

Since these fatal anti-Jewish features are an inevitable and inescapable part of the Truman-Marshall plan all over the world, how can it be "good" Jewish policy to go along with this plan? Above all, how can a policy be good for the Jewish people, if it supports a program whose major and central purpose is the rebuilding of a fascist and imperialist Germany? For the central aim of the Marshall Plan is to rebuild this kind of a Germany!

How can it be "good" Jewish policy to go along with or to fail to oppose a plan whose aims are to subjugate and oppress all nations and peoples and to prepare a new world war? Since when have national oppression and imperialist wars become "good" for the Jewish people? Have we already forgotten that Hitler was a product of imperialism, that Hitlerism represented the drive of German imperialism for world domination and that Hitler's war cost us 6,000,000 lives? Can it be "good" Jewish policy to go along with a similar drive for world rule by Wall Street imperialism?

Certainly, progressive Jewish leaders cannot fail to oppose the brazen agents of Wall Street, the *Jewish Daily Forward*. The rulers of the *Forward* seek to intimidate the Jewish

masses and to blackmail them into supporting the Truman-Marshall plan on the grounds of "patriotism." They—the lackeys of the big bankers and millionaires, the allies of anti-Semites, fascists and White Guardists; they—who glorify the insane plans of an atom bomb attack upon the Soviet Union and who daily betray the best national interests of the American people—dare to teach the Jewish masses the meaning of American patriotism.

But is it really true that love for America requires support of Wall Street's plan for war and reaction? Is it really true that loyalty to our country demands hostility and warmongering against the Soviet Union? Who fosters such ideas? These are the ideas of Wall Street, of the agents of the American trusts and monopolies, of the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Committee and, naturally, of Cahan, Dubinsky, Chanin, Abramowitch and the whole gang that runs the *Forward*. But these are not the ideas or sentiments of Roosevelt, of Wallace, of the progressive American labor and people's movements. These are not the sentiments of genuine American patriots who consider Wall Street their chief enemy and who fight the American trusts and monopolies as the betrayers of American national interests, as those responsible for the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, for the increase of anti-Semitism, for the dangers of the approaching economic crisis, for the growing menace of war and fascism.

Genuine American patriotism demands opposition to the Truman-Marshall war plans. True American patriots believe with Roosevelt that the national interests of the American people demand American-Soviet friendship and collaboration. True American patriots agree with Stalin that nations with different social systems can live in peace and work together for the maintenance of world peace.

It was highly significant and gratifying that, in the midst of intensified imperialist agitation and intimidation of the Jewish masses, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver issued fresh and vigorous pleas for international co-operation, world peace and American-Soviet collaboration. Dr. Wise was especially eloquent in denouncing the imperialist swindle of identifying fascism with Communism. Dr. Silver made the Marshall Plan the butt of his main attack. But it was unfortu-

nate that Dr. Wise put himself in the contradictory position of lending his name to a statement of the Stimson Committee for the Marshall Plan—a step hardly reconcilable with his entire democratic and pro-Roosevelt political outlook. Likewise Dr. Silver contradicted his very admirable position on the Marshall Plan by not repudiating his past support of a champion of imperialism and a prominent candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, Senator Robert A. Taft. It was also unfortunate that a pro-Roosevelt Jewish labor leader like Mr. Potofsky, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, lent his name to the Stimson Committee for the Marshall Plan.

Dr. Wise and Mr. Potofsky are examples of pro-Roosevelt Jewish forces who either advocate the Marshall Plan or refrain from opposing it because they believe this to be "good" Jewish policy. Such attitudes are harmful and dangerous to the interests of the Jewish people. Dr. Silver is representative of those sections of the Jewish bourgeoisie who orientate politically on the Republican Party and who claim that this will advance Jewish national aspirations in Palestine. The truth is that political alliances of Jews with, and support of, the Republican Party, as well as the Democratic Party, are as antagonistic to the interests of American Jewry as to the interests of the American people as a whole. Such Jewish leaders as Wise and Silver, as well as Jewish labor leaders like Potofsky, could make their greatest contribution to the Jewish people and to America by joining with the consistently progressive, Left-wing and Communist forces of our people in the building of the anti-imperialist and democratic unity of American Jewry as an organic part of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp of America.

Changes in world relations as a result of and since the conclusion of World War II have crystallized and consolidated two major world camps. One is the imperialist, anti-democratic camp, headed by Wall Street in alliance with British and French imperialism. The other is the anti-imperialist, democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union, waging the struggle for national freedom and independence, for a democratic and durable world peace, for democracy, for uprooting and destroying fascism.

The fate of the Jewish people is inextricably bound up with the progress and success of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp everywhere. The central task, therefore, which faces the American Jews, is to unite and consolidate all their anti-imperialist and democratic forces and to join them with the anti-imperialist and democratic camp of the American people. To do so requires a consistent and determined struggle against the enemies of anti-imperialist Jewish unity within the American Jewish national group itself.

Reactionary Social-Democrats and Anti-National Bourgeois Forces

A militant struggle must be carried on against the reactionary social-democrats, the Right-wing socialists of the *Forward* and *New Leader*, the ruling cliques of the Jewish Labor Committee, the Dubinsky leadership of the I.L.G.W.U., and similar elements. These groups are the agents of Wall Street among the Jewish masses, the allies and collaborators of the Thomas-Rankin outfit and of various anti-Semites. They are the reactionary elements among the American Jews that seek to intimidate and blackmail our people into supporting the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. They give aid and comfort to the anti-Semitic and fascist elements in the new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe. They are active in every reactionary move to split the forces of labor and progress in the United States and abroad. They are using every means to split and prevent the consolidation of the democratic forces of the Jewish people in the cultural field. They are the champions and supporters of such pro-fascist agents as "Rabbi" Schultz of Yonkers, who was denounced and repudiated by 150 rabbis and who was rejected and finally forced to resign from his congregation.

A similar struggle must be waged against the reactionary circles of the Jewish big bourgeoisie who are part of the American trusts and monopolies and their imperialist offensive. Because of their class position and alliances, these Jewish bourgeois circles are enemies of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp of the American people as well as of the Jewish people.

In the recent period, some of these circles of the Jewish big

bourgeoisie have been making a concentrated effort to extend their political and ideological influence among broader masses of the American Jewish national group. These reactionary and anti-national Jewish big bourgeois operating in the leadership of the American Jewish Committee, the American Council for Judaism, and certain reactionary elements in the B'nai B'rith, have succeeded in imposing domination upon considerable sectors of the Jewish Welfare Board and Jewish Centers, of the Jewish youth and women's movements and upon the Jewish War Veterans. Trotskyites and reactionary social-democrats are being used extensively by the anti-national elements of the Jewish big bourgeoisie to penetrate the mass movements of the American Jews.

We must take particular note of the newer tactics and maneuvers of the American Jewish Committee and similar elements in their so-called mass activities. We refer to their demagogic association with, and use of, Jewish national aspirations, to the tactic of appearing to make certain concessions to the national sentiments and desires of various Jewish middle-class and professional groups (in the matter of Jewish culture in America and abroad). They have also consistently collaborated with the Right-wing social-democrats of the *Forward* and the Jewish Labor Committee. They have also adopted the tactic of penetrating and seeking to destroy the democratic content of such organizations as the American Jewish Congress.

We must also take note of the persistent efforts of the American Jewish Committee to build up a new world Jewish center, in collaboration with similar Jewish anti-national and reactionary forces in England and France, to displace the World Jewish Congress. These efforts look very much like the application of the Marshall Plan to the Jewish situation with the aim of creating a sort of bloc of "western" Jewish communities in opposition to the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the Jewish people.

Finally, we must begin to draw practical conclusions from the fact that the American Jewish Committee and its allies are trying to gain increasing influence over the American Jewish community through their tightening control of the collection and distribution of Jewish public funds. Elements

of the American Jewish Committee are trying and have in part succeeded in using the United Jewish Appeal and its tremendous funds to extend their power and to weaken and destroy the influence of the democratic, anti-imperialist, Left-wing and Communist forces.

The anti-national, imperialist and reactionary circles of the Jewish big bourgeoisie have their allies and agents not only in the labor movement (Dubinsky, Chanin, Rogoff, etc.), but also among certain reactionary and social-democratic elements in the American Jewish Congress—the anti-Wise elements. They also have allies among the reactionaries in the B'nai B'rith and in the Zionist movement.

The American Jewish Committee and its allies are attempting to establish their hegemony over the American Jewish national group and Jewish life abroad. They are trying to prevent the unification of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the Jewish people, to undermine and demoralize the progressive and labor movements of the Jewish masses and to break them away from the general anti-imperialist and democratic camp of the American people. Their objective, in short, is to tie the Jewish people here and abroad to the imperialist, reactionary and warmongering offensive of Wall Street.

It is therefore clear that the democratic forces of our people must with all their energies struggle against this expansionist drive of the anti-national Jewish big business circles, their agents and their allies in the *Forward*, Jewish Labor Committee and other organizations.

Social Forces, Program and Policies of the Anti-Imperialist Camp

The basic forces of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp of the Jewish people are the workers, the middle classes, the professionals, the intellectuals. These are the classes and groups, headed by the working class, whose class positions and most vital interests demand a struggle against Wall Street's pro-fascist offensive at home and abroad. They are therefore capable of uniting and fighting for the anti-imperialist and democratic unity of the American Jews. Finally, these are the classes and groups whose vital interests as

Americans and as Jews fully coincide with the interests of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp of the whole American people.

Life itself has already indicated the major demands, issues and policies which the Jewish people must undertake to achieve democratic unity. What is required is a struggle to defeat the domestic and foreign offensive of the imperialist and anti-democratic camp. This is a struggle against the Truman-Marshall plans and the warmongering offensive of Wall Street and for a return to the Roosevelt policies of world co-operation and American-Soviet friendship. This is a struggle for peace, for national freedom, for the uprooting of fascism. We must struggle to end all forms and expressions of anti-Semitism, and to have it declared a crime. We must fight against all forms of national, religious and racial discrimination, for the complete equality of the Negro people, against all discrimination, against the persecution of national groups and foreign-born. We must resist all reactionary and fascist theories and ideologies of "race superiority," "white supremacy," the superiority of "western civilization," and "Anglo-Saxon" domination in the life of the American people. We must advance the free and progressive development of the American national groups, socially and culturally, as organic components of the American nation. They must be free from assimilation forcibly imposed by Anglo-Saxon imperialist chauvinism and free from separatist tendencies manifested in national group nationalism and chauvinism. We must fight for the realization of the national aspirations of the Negro people in the so-called Black Belt of the South and for equal rights for oppressed national minorities in the United States such as the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

Important also is the struggle of the American Jewish masses for a friendly American policy toward the new democracies of Europe where significant Jewish communities are growing and flourishing.

The fight for the full right of the Jewish community in Palestine to national existence and statehood is and will continue to be a major objective of the democratic camp. It is particularly necessary to concentrate our efforts to secure and defend the true independence of the Jewish state from

American or Anglo-American imperialist domination (economic, political, military), to make it a truly democratic and people's state, and to create conditions favorable for the closest collaboration in all fields between the Jewish and Arab states.

Finally, a major field of struggle is to democratize the inner life of the American Jewish national group and its various mass organizations and institutions. The anti-democratic habits and traditions introduced and perpetuated in American Jewish life by Jewish philanthropists and upper Jewish bourgeois circles have become a serious obstacle to the anti-imperialist and progressive life and growth of the American Jewish national group.

In the struggle for the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist unity of the American people, the Communist Party emphasizes now the urgent need to build the unity of the masses from below, in the course of the daily struggle against the offensive of reaction. A self-critical analysis of our experience indicates that this is how we must fight for the democratic unity of the Jewish masses. We must go into the shops and factories, into the mass organizations, into the communities and their institutions, and there help to build the fighting organs of the anti-imperialist and democratic unity of the American Jewish masses. In this way we shall be able to extend and solidify our collaboration with various progressive and left leaders of the Jewish national group. Through the united front of mass struggles from below we must work for the unity of labor, for the united front of Communists, Socialists, Zionists, all progressives and anti-fascists. In this struggle for the broad democratic unity of the Jewish people, the Jewish workers must, and will, play a leading role.

Labor's leading role will be most effectively promoted by bringing to the fore the trade unions in which Jewish workers are organized. It is senseless to talk of winning leadership for the working class in the people's anti-fascist and progressive struggles and movements without building the strength and organization of the Communist Party. We must therefore realize that the advance of the workers to leadership in the democratic unity of the people will depend to a large extent

upon the growth of the strength and influence of the vanguard party of the working class—the Communist Party.

We must therefore systematically work to build our Party's strength—organizationally, ideologically and politically—and we must do so in the very process of fighting for the democratic and fighting unity of the people directly among the masses. We must thoroughly eliminate all the opportunist weaknesses flowing from failures to build the united front of struggle among the masses and to build the independent strength of the Communist Party.

The 1948 Elections

The 1948 elections, which will decide the next phase of the people's struggle, already present three simultaneous directions for progressive action. First, the fight for a progressive pro-Roosevelt Congress; second, the fight for the building of a third party, a people's anti-imperialist, democratic, peace party; third, the fight for the launching of an independent people's Presidential ticket. We must bend every effort to involve the Jewish people in these election struggles, especially in the large centers where most of the Jewish masses live.

An immediate, central task is to promote among the Jewish masses the Wallace-for-President movement, which is gaining momentum daily. Growing numbers of Americans look to Wallace to head a Presidential ticket on a program of peace, international co-operation, friendship with the Soviet Union, equality and economic security. This sentiment, which has deep roots in the ranks of labor, the Negro people, the working farmers and progressive middle-class people, as well as large numbers of Jews and of all other national groups, must be organized and given effective expression. This is our primary, immediate task among the Jewish masses.

Among the chief enemies of the organization of the Wallace-for-President movement within the Jewish community are the reactionary social-democrats. Therefore it is imperative systematically to expose the tactics of the *Forward*, the *New Leader*, and the Liberal Party in New York, which are trying to intimidate the Jewish masses into supporting the imperialist and warmongering Truman Administration and its Presi-

dential candidate, the candidate of one of Wall Street's parties—the Democratic Party. At the same time, it is necessary to expose and resist all reactionary efforts to win the support of the Jewish masses for the Presidential candidate of the Republican Party which was the first party of Wall Street and the monopolies during the Roosevelt period.

It is necessary to mobilize the Jewish masses to oppose both parties of Wall Street, its entire two-party system of enslaving the American people and its reactionary social-democratic agents (Liberal Party). It is necessary to rally the Jewish masses to fight for a third party and for a Wallace Presidential ticket.

We shall also have to criticize systematically the efforts of certain bourgeois circles to win support for Truman on the false and misleading ground that this is "good" Jewish policy. We must explain patiently that support for either the Democratic or Republican Party tickets means support for reaction which is preparing the ground for fascism in America. It means support for war incitements and preparation of a new world war.

Some people think that Jews should support Truman because he is less dangerous than a Republican candidate, because he represents a "lesser evil." Many people are misled by this idea and it is therefore important patiently to expose its fallacies.

The first thing to remember is that the Truman policies are thoroughly reactionary at home as well as abroad. This we have already demonstrated in considerable detail. Truman's entire political course is arousing and encouraging a rapid growth of anti-Semitism and fascism. Despite his demagogic professions of love for the Jewish people, Truman is building up in this country and abroad (Germany, France, Italy) the worst and most dangerous enemies of our people—the Nazis, the pro-fascists, the fascists. Truman, like the Republicans, is playing hypocritically with the needs and aspirations of the American Jews. His support of the national aspirations of the Jewish people in Palestine is not motivated by the needs of our people. Truman is seeking to obtain strategic bases and imperialist positions in Palestine, as in the entire Middle East. And this is why the Truman Admin-

istration is determined to make the projected Jewish state completely dependent upon and subordinate to Wall Street and the American monopolies.

The second thing to remember is that these reactionary policies of the Truman Administration, which assume here and there fascist characteristics, are preparing the ground for even greater and more violent reaction. Truman is preparing the conditions for the advance and victory of the pro-fascist and fascist forces of the American monopolies. In other words, this so-called "lesser evil" is clearing the way for the "greater evil." Isn't it clear that we must fight and defeat the "lesser evil" *now* in order to prevent the further growth and victory of the "greater evil"? That is why we must oppose both candidates of the Wall Street parties, the Democratic as well as the Republican.

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In September, 1947, the Morning Freiheit Association published an open letter to the American Jewish Conference. This letter advocated the establishment of the American Jewish Conference as a permanent organization which would democratically unite and co-ordinate the activities of the affiliated organizations and communities. This letter proposed four major objectives:

1. Support for Jewish national aspirations in Palestine and for a democratic United Nations solution;

2. Opposition to the American policy of rebuilding a fascist and imperialist Germany and support for a democratic peace treaty with Germany. The treaty should be arrived at unanimously by the four great powers—the only way to uproot fascism and provide reparations to the Jewish people and their European communities for the immense losses suffered at the hands of the Nazis;

3. Struggle for the outlawing of anti-Semitism in the United States, support for appropriate legislation, and opposition to the cowardly and dangerous policies of "silent treatment" and "hush-hush" promoted by reactionary circles of the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee;

4. "The upbuilding of the American Jewish Conference

as a genuinely democratic body capable of unifying and leading the struggles of the American Jews. . . ."

We can implement this program if we take the initiative in promoting and organizing mass movements and struggles from below—in the shops, mass organizations and communities. An important action on this front is the launching of a grass-roots movement by the American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order to outlaw anti-Semitism by federal and state legislation. Such a movement can draw into active struggle unions, *landsmanschaften*, fraternal, cultural, youth, veterans', and women's organizations. Such a movement can exert strong pressure for the passage of national and state legislation against anti-Semitism, and project the fight against anti-Semitism as an important issue for the 1948 elections.

Joint actions of various national groups and minorities, nation and for equal rights, have become possible and should together with the Negro people, in the fight against discrimination entered upon immediately in many cities and communities. Nor should we overlook the possibility of such joint action on a national scale.

2. PALESTINE

The decision to establish two independent and democratic states in Palestine—a Jewish and an Arab state—is an event of great historic significance. This decision has laid the basis for a democratic solution in the interests of both peoples and for world peace and democracy. This decision is primarily due to the efforts of the Soviet Union, the new democracy of Poland and to the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States.

For the Jewish people this decision is a historic step toward the realization of a dream of centuries. It signifies that the progressive forces of the world, headed by the Soviet Union, are actively promoting the realization of the national aspirations of large sections of the Jewish people to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. But we must also recognize that, while United States support was one of the decisive factors

in the decision, American policy may yet prove a serious obstacle to the implementation and realization of that decision. American policy may yet become an obstacle to the establishment of an *independent* Jewish state free of all foreign imperialist domination. American policy seriously interferes with the ability of the Jewish state to become truly democratic and to follow a consistent policy of peace and collaboration with the Arab state.

For American support of the United Nations partition plan is motivated, in addition to internal political considerations, by the inner imperialist rivalries between the United States and Great Britain for control and influence in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean. In that region, as in other parts of the world, Wall Street is trying to create economic, political and military bases to be used against the full independence and development of the projected Jewish and Arab states and against the whole anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. American imperialism will try to make the Jewish state its puppet and to exploit and oppress the Jewish people in the interests of Wall Street. American and British imperialism together will try to intensify and prolong friction between Arabs and Jews and to obstruct the economic unity and the political co-operation of the two states.

To guard against this danger to the Palestine *Yishuv* and to the Jewish people as a whole, we must be on the alert against the dangerous theory of reactionary circles in the Zionist movement that the *Yishuv* and the Jewish people everywhere should orient their policy towards the "West" (read, *imperialists*). Need we be reminded that the "West" failed to protect our people from Hitler—in fact, cold-bloodedly abandoned us to Hitler, during the rise and fall of Nazi-fascism, and that it was the "East," the Soviet Union, which protected and saved millions of our people from extermination? Great Britain, the strongest power in western Europe, is the imperialist exploiter and oppressor of the *Yishuv*. It is the power that now offers one of the greatest and most dangerous obstacles to the realization of the United Nations decision for a Jewish state. The other major western power, the United States, which is now the world center of reaction,

is reaching for imperialist control of the Middle East and of the projected Jewish state. And France is being converted into a vassal of Wall Street by its ruling class.

The hard fact is that the orientation on the "West" and against the "East" means alignment with the oppressors and persecutors of our people. It means orientation upon the Truman-Marshall plans. It means support for Wall Street's preparation of a new world war. For the sake of its own future and of the future of our people in general, the Palestine *Yishuv*—the coming Jewish state—must take its place in the anti-imperialist and democratic camp, the only dependable allies of our people everywhere. The *Yishuv* must realize that a durable and democratic peace is the first condition for the realization and survival of the Jewish state.

The democratic forces of the American Jews must therefore oppose American or Anglo-American imperialist attempts to dominate the Jewish state in Palestine. There is great danger that Anglo-American imperialism will seek to distort and violate the United Nations decision, to exclude the democratic states headed by the Soviet Union from influencing the implementation of the decision and finally to prevent the new states from emerging truly free and independent. We must give full support to the struggle for the establishment of an independent and democratic Jewish state, for the development of economic unity and political co-operation between the Jewish and Arab states, and of the co-operation of the Jewish state with the anti-imperialist, democratic camp in the United Nations and in the world.

Encouraged by the maneuvers of British and American imperialism, the Arab reactionaries and the pro-fascist Mufti group are inciting Arab-Jewish conflict and preparing for prolonged hostilities against the Jewish people in Palestine in order to obstruct, and force a reconsideration of, the United Nations decision. Reactionary Zionist circles in Palestine, continuing their nationalist-chauvinist policies toward the Arab people, are making the work of the Arab reactionaries and of imperialism so much easier. Obstacles are thus being multiplied to make the implementation of the United Nations decision more difficult.

We must therefore demand and fight for the quickest pos-

sible implementation of the United Nations decision. We must demand:

That the Security Council of the United Nations take full charge of the Palestine situation and assume *direct* responsibility for implementing the decision of the General Assembly;

That the Security Council call upon the British administration in Palestine to cease interfering with and hampering the defense actions of the Jewish community;

That the Security Council call upon all member nations to take all necessary measures to prevent shipments of arms and munitions from their respective countries to those Arab groups and countries that are attacking the Jewish community and are fighting against the Palestine decision of the United Nations;

That the Security Council take all necessary measures to arm the Jewish community, which shall carry on its defense actions under the supervision of the Security Council.

We must demand of the American government the immediate lifting of the embargo upon the shipment of arms to the Jewish *Yishuv*.

In the wake of the United Nations decision, old divisions and alignments—for or against a Jewish state—are gradually losing all significance. A new alignment of social and political forces must take place in Jewish life everywhere on the issues arising from the struggle to create the Jewish state. This new alignment will help to consolidate all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the fight for the full implementation of the United Nations decision. This realignment will also influence the policies of democratic and Left forces in the Zionist movement, in Palestine as well as in the United States, and will move them toward the anti-imperialist and democratic camp.

To summarize our main analysis and conclusions:

The historic decision of the United Nations on Palestine became possible in the present period because of the following factors. First, the existence, vitality and just national demands of the Jewish community in Palestine, which is growing into nationhood and becoming an important politi-

cal factor in the Near East. Secondly, the favorable international situation.

But we distinguish between the two qualitatively different components of the favorable international situation. The first component is the tremendously increased moral and political authority of the Soviet Union in world affairs due to its decisive part in defeating the fascist enemy in the war. And together with this, the rise of the new democracies of Europe and of the general strength of the anti-imperialist camp. In the United Nations this camp, headed by the Soviet Union, has played a decisive part in the decision for a Jewish state.

The other component is the great weakening of British imperialism, the increased strength of American imperialism, the rivalry between them, as well as their desire to combine against the real independence of the Arabs and Jews and against the anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. These factors plus internal political considerations produced United States' acceptance of the Soviet compromise offer for the setting up of the two new states in Palestine.

We must keep these facts clearly before the eyes of our people. Only then will they fully realize who are the real friends of the projected Jewish state and of the Jewish people in general. Only then will the masses of our people understand fully the *new dangers* now threatening the realization of the Jewish state—the dangers coming from American and British imperialism.

3. BIROBIDJAN AND POLAND

Our struggle for an independent Jewish state in Palestine will not diminish, but will make stronger our interest and activity in the upbuilding of the Jewish Autonomous Region in Birobidjan. The growth of Birobidjan as the Soviet homeland of a developing socialist Jewish nation is of deep significance to the Jewish people throughout the world.

The Soviet Jews are manifesting increased determination to build up Birobidjan. In the current year organized and systematic immigration of Soviet Jews to the Jewish Autonomous Region has proceeded. The Soviet government and all

its institutions are providing necessary facilities and help to the new settlers and to the full development of Birobidjan.

The Jewish masses of all countries admire the rapid revival of the Jewish community in Poland. Its achievements in production and industry, in productivization of the Jewish masses, in culture and child care and in education are truly magnificent. These achievements can serve as an inspiration to the development of a progressive Jewish life in the United States as well as in many other countries. It is clear that the Jewish community in new Poland is stable and permanent. It is playing, and will continue to play, its part in the building up of the new Polish democracy. It will continue, as it has begun, to play a major role in the life the Jewish people of the world. American Jewry must establish ever closer connections with this new Jewish community and give all possible financial and material assistance to it. American Jewry should struggle for a friendly American policy toward the new Poland and combat the Truman-Marshall plan to sabotage the reconstruction of Poland and to encourage reactionary and fascist elements inside and outside of Poland. We must oppose the attempt of American and British imperialists to reopen the settled question of Poland's Western frontiers as part of their program to rebuild a fascist and imperialist Germany.

Recently the Central Committee of Polish Jews made concrete proposals for the democratization and reconstruction of the World Jewish Congress. These proposals were supported by *Einikeit*, organ of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow, in an article which stated that Soviet Jewry was vitally concerned in the execution of the Polish proposals. A similar position has been taken by labor and progressive Jewish forces everywhere.

We must reaffirm our position that the World Jewish Congress must be so reconstituted as to embrace *all* Jewish communities on a basis of equality, of co-operation with the democratic forces of the world and that it make possible the free and active participation of labor, Left-wing and Communist forces in Jewish life. There will be an opportunity to fight for this position in the forthcoming Geneva meeting of the World Jewish Congress in February, 1948.

4. SOME CURRENT CULTURAL PROBLEMS

The recent American Jewish Cultural Conference was an event of great significance. It was a stimulus to the continuing development of the cultural life of large sections of progressive American Jews. It demonstrated not only the need but also the possibility for democratic unity in the field of culture.

This Conference was organized by a large number of Jewish organizations, headed by the Ikuf (Jewish Cultural Society). A noteworthy achievement of this conference was its treatment of Jewish culture in its social context in the framework of struggle for a progressive Jewish life in America, for the survival of our people, for world peace and democracy. It also emphasized that the struggle for a progressive mass Jewish culture is an integral part of the struggle against imperialism, anti-Semitism, fascism and war.

For the first time in the history of such conferences the vital problem of Jewish culture in English occupied a prominent place on the order of business and in the discussions. This represents a significant beginning and indicates that the gap between Yiddish-speaking and English-speaking American Jews is being breached. It opens the road for joint struggle for a progressive Jewish culture in America both in Yiddish and in English. An important instrument in this struggle, as the past year has demonstrated, is the progressive English monthly, *Jewish Life*.

We have not yet solved all the cultural problems springing from the bi-lingual character of the American Jewish national group. We still must continue our struggle against the obstinate refusal to recognize the crucial role of Yiddish as the mother tongue of large sections of the Jewish people and as the prime repository of modern Jewish culture. The vital importance of advancing the knowledge of Yiddish as an essential for the further growth of an American Jewish culture both in English and Yiddish is still seriously underestimated. Translations from the Yiddish are very important, and we must make more of them available. But translations are no substitute for making Yiddish and its cultural treasures a living fact in the struggle for a progressive Jewish life and culture in America.

Equally dangerous is the stubborn tendency on the part of many Yiddish-speaking progressive Jews to refuse to recognize that Jewish culture in America is growing in both languages, English as well as Yiddish. To neglect the development of a progressive Jewish culture in English will just as surely destroy Jewish culture in America as will the failure to build it in Yiddish. The Jewish cultural movement will receive new impetus from the conference on Jewish cultural work in English which is being planned by Ikuf for the near future.

It would be well to re-examine the character, program and teaching methods of the progressive Jewish schools for children flowing from a recognition of our cultural bilingualism.

The Cultural Conference adopted measures for broadening the work of Ikuf, for extending the mass base of cultural work, and for drawing the trade unions into more active participation.

A most important decision was the endorsement of the appeal of the Central Committee of Polish Jews for one united World Jewish Cultural Congress. Work toward such a united World Congress will require a most determined struggle against the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces of the *Forward* group and of the Jewish Labor Committee. For they seek to prevent a united World Jewish Cultural Congress and to exploit Jewish cultural movements for reactionary purposes. We must establish contact with all honest Jewish forces who can make creative and progressive contributions to the cultural life of our people. We must try to establish conditions favorable to the creation of a broad, united Committee in the United States to carry on a campaign for one united World Jewish Cultural Congress as envisioned by the Central Committee of Polish Jews.

However, the recent Cultural Conference revealed a number of serious shortcomings in our cultural life. We shall indicate them briefly. A wide gap exists between the cultural activities of the more advanced elements and the broad masses of our people. This can be overcome only by intensifying the fight for a progressive *mass* Jewish culture. American Jewish cultural works too often fail to reflect the life and progressive struggles of the American Jewish national group. As yet Jewish cultural production in the United States is not suffi-

ciently integrated with American life. The progressive Jewish cultural movement has not yet given enough encouragement, spiritual or material, to the creative activities of American Jewish writers, poets, artists, actors, teachers and other cultural workers, who are at present not producing to the full extent of their creative powers.

The discussion of current problems of American Jewish culture in *Jewish Life* has established certain principles and has opened lines of thought on others. The discussion has reaffirmed that American Jewish culture has the historic task of acting as inspirer and guide for the struggle of the Jewish masses for a progressive Jewish life, for the survival of the Jewish people. Culture in all its aspects and forms must mobilize our people for progressive Jewish culture and existence in the United States. It must establish creative exchange and cultural co-operation with Jewish communities in other lands.

It would be a mistake to believe that a cultural product which does not fully realize its function to guide and inspire the struggle for a progressive Jewish life, ceases therefore to be a contribution to progressive American Jewish culture. Cultural products generally, as we know, vary in quality, whether artistic, social or ideological. Such unevenness is necessarily more pronounced in American Jewish cultural life. American Jewish life presents a most complex and checkered pattern of varying degrees of assimilation, various stages in the development of Jewish consciousness and comprehension of progressive cultural needs. American Jewish culture will therefore reflect this complexity and unevenness. It will necessarily display many individual grades of ideological quality. It will show many degrees of approximation toward the fulfillment of its main ideological tasks.

What we must do in these circumstances is reasonably clear. We must steer a steady course toward a culture that inspires and mobilizes for a progressive Jewish life and progressive mass culture. To reach this objective will demand much time, creative effort and ideological struggle. By stimulating and encouraging every honest cultural effort, which moves in the direction of our main objective and shows capacities to grow and mature, we shall build a progressive culture capable of

inspiring and mobilizing the masses for a progressive Jewish life.

Does this mean that we relinquish cultural standards? Should we be content with little—in ideology, in social content, in artistic value—because we have not achieved more? By no means. We shall fight for a culture that realizes its main functions. We shall fight for our ideological and artistic standards in culture. But we shall do so by serving and helping to guide present-day progressive Jewish culture with all its unevenness and inadequacy. Thus our standards will help the cultural workers to move forward more rapidly and consciously toward the complete fulfillment of their role of inspirers and guides for a progressive Jewish life.

5. CERTAIN IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS REGARDING ZIONISM

Recent events with regard to Palestine have once again brought to the fore certain ideological questions on Zionism. It has been asserted that Communist support for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine became possible only through a departure from Marxism on the Jewish question and the consequent adoption of some Zionist ideas.

Some Zionist leaders welcome this “departure” from Marxism because they hold that Marxism is thereby weakened and Zionism strengthened. At the same time certain Marxists, too, disapprove this “departure” because they, too, believe that it weakens Marxism and strengthens Zionism. This misconception was advanced especially by certain Zionist writers following the famous Gromyko speech to the United Nations in May, 1947, which proposed the establishment of one dual Jewish-Arab state in Palestine or, if this should prove impossible, the consideration of establishing two separate independent and democratic states. In this declaration of Soviet policy, Gromyko, according to certain Zionists, was supposed to have abandoned the Marxist position on the national and Jewish questions.

In November, 1946, the Communist Party issued a resolution on Jewish work which clearly demonstrated that the

Communist fight for a Jewish national home and for Jewish statehood flows inevitably from the application of Marxist national policy to the concrete conditions of Palestine in the present period. Our position, of course, differed from the Zionist conception of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. We could not accept the Biltmore Program, which denied the legitimate national rights of the Arabs, subordinating the Arabs to the Jews. While top Zionist officials down to the last moment opposed turning the Palestine question over to the United Nations, we had thoroughly insisted that a democratic solution was impossible without recourse to the United Nations. Furthermore we could not agree with the Zionists that the achievement of a Jewish state in Palestine would solve the Jewish question as a whole and for all countries. Our conception of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine is based on the Marxist principle of the right of self-determination and equality of all nations. As Marxists, as irreconcilable enemies of imperialism and national oppression, we fought for the fulfillment of Jewish national aspirations and statehood in collaboration with the Arab people of Palestine and with full respect for their equal national rights. This represents a Marxist approach as developed by Lenin and Stalin. Such an approach is incompatible with the bourgeois nationalist ideology of Zionism. For Marxists hold that "the final complete and permanent solution of the Jewish question will be attained only under socialism on the basis of the principles formulated by Lenin and Stalin and as developed in the Soviet Union's solution of the national question" (Resolution on the Jewish Question, *Political Affairs*, November, 1946, page 1037).

The policy of developing Jewish statehood in Birobidjan bears directly and intimately on whether or not Marxism is compatible with Jewish statehood. Allow me to quote from my article dealing with this question in the July, 1947, issue of *Political Affairs*. I stated then:

. . . When the Soviet Government promulgated in 1934 the famous decree for establishing Birobidjan as a Jewish Autonomous Region, Kalinin explained that the purpose was to create a *Jewish state unit*, Jewish state-

hood, for the economic and cultural development of a Jewish nationality. Not only did this constitute no departure from Marxism, but, on the contrary, it was the development of Marxism applied to the solution of the Jewish question *in the concrete circumstances of the Soviet Union*. It follows inevitably from Stalin's and from the entire Marxist-Leninist policy of the Soviet government on this question.

And further:

This proves conclusively that there is no contradiction in principle between Marxism and the idea of a Jewish state. It also proves that Marxists brought forth and supported the idea of a Jewish state when the objective conditions became ripe for it, *when progressive forces had made their appearance on the historic stage interested in and capable of realizing the aspirations of large sections of the Jewish people for a Jewish state*. This is what happened in the Soviet Union with regard to Birobidjan. This is what prompted Marxists in the recent period to raise the question of Jewish statehood and of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Some people still labor under the misapprehension that Lenin and Stalin opposed a Jewish state in principle and that they shared the opportunist and bourgeois nationalist views of the social-democratic Jewish "Bund" in old Russia on this question. Nothing can be farther from the truth. To quote again from the same article:

It was Stalin, in his polemics with the "Bund" in 1913 and in other writings, who insisted and demonstrated scientifically that a people cannot live a normal and full national life—cannot be a single nation—if it does not have a common territory, one national economy, language and culture. Stalin was speaking about the Jewish people. This meant two things. First, the Jewish people cannot act as a single nation, much as they may desire it. Second, in the absence of a Jewish community anywhere on earth growing into nationhood, the Zionist policies for a Jewish state at that time

(1913) were not only utopian but profoundly reactionary since no progressive forces of any sort were then present in the objective situation interested in and capable of realizing the dream of a Jewish state. It is still true today that the Zionist conception that the Jews of all lands constitute one single nation is of a bourgeois nationalist character.

From this it is clear that we make no claim that Marxists always posed the question of Jewish statehood in the same way or that they have always favored a policy of struggle for a Jewish state.

Marxist opposition to Zionism was different in principle from that of the "Bund." For the latter proceeded on the fallacious assumption that it is possible to create a Jewish nation without a common territory and national economy. Soviet Marxists, on the contrary, realized that it was impossible to create a Jewish nation without a common territory and national economy. Thus, when it became possible to set aside a common territory to be settled by Soviet Jews and for the development of a Jewish national economy and culture (national in form, socialist in content), the Soviet Marxists projected a Soviet Jewish state and nation in Birobidjan. From the same basic Marxist point of view we must approach the question of Jewish statehood in Palestine.

Fundamental changes have occurred in the internal and external position of Palestine and its peoples. Fundamental changes have taken place in the general life of the Jewish people in the capitalist world during the crucial period of the rise and fall of Hitler fascism. Failure of the Western world to protect the Jews from Nazi extermination and the tragic loss of a third of our people at the hands of the fascists during World War II have made the old dream of a Jewish state in Palestine the aspiration of wide masses of our people. Most important and decisive is the fact that during the same period a vital Jewish community developing into nationhood grew up in Palestine. Furthermore, certain changes took place in the international situation following World War II which created favorable conditions for the realization of Jewish national aspirations in Palestine. Imperialist Britain weakened,

American imperialism grew in strength, and the rivalry between them in the Middle East, as in the rest of the world, was intensified. This rivalry is one basic factor in the new situation. More fundamental, however, is the increased prestige and strength of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, deriving from their decisive role in defeating the fascist enemy. A *democratic* realization of Jewish aspirations has therefore become possible.

Consequently, and in full accord with their fundamental position on the national question, the Marxists raised the question of Jewish statehood in Palestine. They raised it in the most democratic, most desirable and, in the long run, most durable form—in the form of one dual Jewish-Arab independent and democratic state in Palestine. They also indicated that, if deterioration of Jewish-Arab relations had made the proposal for a common state impractical at this time, it might then be necessary to consider the establishment of two separate and independent states.

As we know, conditions did make it necessary to decide in favor of two separate states. The projected separate states were of course entirely different from the many partition schemes contemplated by British and American imperialism. The United Nations plan called for two independent and democratic states with economic unity between them.

It is important to realize that the major responsibility for the further deterioration of Arab-Jewish relations between the historic Gromyko declaration in May and the United Nations decision in December, 1947, rests with British and American imperialism, effectively aided by Arab and Jewish reactionaries inside and outside of Palestine.

It should also be noted that the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, among both the Jews and Arabs, bear their own responsibility for the inadequate struggle for Arab-Jewish unity and for a dual, democratic Arab-Jewish state of two equal peoples.

Now there are some who maintain that by agreeing to the partition of Palestine, Marxists have once again departed from Marxism, have abandoned their proposal for one Jewish-Arab state and have accepted something advocated by Zionism. But here, too, fancy has won over fact. For the truth is

that Marxists have not abandoned their conviction that one dual Jewish-Arab state, guaranteeing the equal national rights of both peoples, is the most consistently democratic solution and the most enduring. Partition itself will be successful precisely to the degree to which the economic unity and political co-operation of the two states develop. In other words, *the closer the two separate states approach the status of one common state of two equal nations, the closer we shall be to a complete and permanent solution of the Palestine question, to the firm and irrevocable establishment and realization of independent Jewish statehood.*

Our Party's resolution on Jewish work stated that "a major task in the struggle for the independence of Palestine is the joint Arab-Jewish fight, supported by all progressive and anti-imperialist forces, against the British and Anglo-American imperialist schemes for the partition of Palestine or for some fraudulent 'independence' maneuver similar to the one in Transjordan, based upon collaboration with imperialism of the Jewish and Arab reactionary forces" (*Political Affairs*, Nov., 1946, page 1039). It is now even clearer than ever that Marxist opposition to the imperialist schemes for partition of Palestine and for a United Nations solution was correct.

This fight was carried on by the anti-imperialist forces despite opposition from reactionary Zionist circles. The fight was effective because it helped to prevent the carrying out of Anglo-American imperialist schemes and forced the issue into the United Nations. The democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union were thus afforded an opportunity to project and work for a democratic solution.

The United Nations decision, which removed British and/or Anglo-American imperialism from exclusive jurisdiction over Palestine, created conditions for the democratic states to influence the *democratic implementation* of the partition decision. We should note at this point that official Zionist policy was opposed to bringing the issue of Palestine to the United Nations.

It is therefore clear that in their fight for Jewish statehood, for an Arab-Jewish state, or for two separate independent and democratic states as decided by the United Nations, Marxists did not have to depart from Marxism on the national and

Jewish questions. It is clear that the Marxist position in support of a Jewish state in Palestine did not derive from the acceptance of any Zionist ideological elements. On the contrary, the position of the Marxists was developed *in accord with changing conditions* and constitutes the application of Marxism-Leninism to the solution of the Jewish (and Arab), question in Palestine. Marxists have distinguished in the past and will continue to distinguish between the living reality of Jewish nationhood in Palestine, and therefore of the fulfillment of their right to self-determination, and Zionism as a political philosophy—a bourgeois-nationalist ideology incompatible with Marxism.

Zionism and the New Alignment in Struggle for the Jewish State

Some Zionists claim that the United Nations decision was a triumph for Zionism, even as a private victory for the Zionist parties. And, I am sorry to say, some confused progressive non-Zionists are impressed by this chatter.

Fortunately, the masses of the Jewish people, including the bulk of the Zionists and many of their leaders, do not share this misconception. The masses of our people consider the United Nations decision a triumph of justice and truth. The masses of our people acclaim the United Nations decision as opening the way to the realization of Jewish national aspirations. They do not consider it a triumph of one particular Jewish political movement or party, even though many Jews grant Zionism considerable recognition for the U.N. decision.

The time has long passed when many, including some American-Jewish Marxists, identified the Jewish *Yishuv* and the idea of Jewish statehood in Palestine with Zionist ideology and its political program. Some people concluded that one could not favor Jewish statehood in Palestine, without supporting Zionism; or, conversely, if one were opposed to Zionism, that one would be obliged to oppose Jewish statehood in Palestine. This erroneous identification of Jewish statehood with Zionism was responsible for many past errors of American Jewish Communists on the Palestine question, and has been exposed and criticized in the Party resolution of 1946.

The central objective of political Zionism has been the

establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. But this objective was not confined to the Zionist parties. It was an aspiration and a dream of large masses of our people. By incorporating this aspiration into a political platform, the Zionist movement undoubtedly played an important part in the eventual emergence of a national Jewish community in Palestine. No one would question that the Zionist movement has become over the years an important factor in Jewish life.

But it is demonstrable that official Zionist policies have always been oriented on imperialism and reaction.

The bourgeois-nationalist and chauvinist ideology and official policies of Zionism in relation to the Arab masses played an important role in intensifying national tension, provoked by British imperialism and aided by the Arab reactionary nationalists. Zionist policy has always insisted on the "negation of the Diaspora," *i.e.*, that Jewish life in all countries outside of Palestine is doomed. This theory, which is an integral part of basic Zionist philosophy to this very day, exhibits a complete contempt for the achievements and vitality of many Jewish communities throughout the world. It has proven utopian and reactionary, as is evidenced by the Jewish communities in the Soviet Union and Birobidjan in particular, in the United States, Poland, etc. This theory has also had the effect of estranging from the *Yishuv* large sections of our people in many lands.

The bourgeois-nationalist ideology of Zionism has always tended to cultivate among Jewish workers and the Jewish masses generally, trends toward separation from the labor and progressive forces of their respective countries and from other peoples. Such trends play into the hands of reaction and anti-Semitism and militate against the struggle of our people for equal rights and for survival everywhere, including Palestine.

Zionism as a political movement worked for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. It thus contributed to the emergence of the Jewish *Yishuv*, whose existence in turn made necessary and possible the United Nations decision. But Zionism also bears a heavy responsibility for many of the difficulties which now confront the realization of this decision. Zionism is in part responsible for the deterioration of Jewish-Arab relations, because of its failure to break with imperialism

and join hands with the anti-imperialist, democratic forces of the world, which are the most dependable allies of our people for the realization of the Jewish state.

Now that concrete prospects have opened for the realization of a Jewish state, Jewish opinion all over the world is in ferment. Within the Zionist movement democratic elements realize that the establishment and safeguarding of the Jewish state demand a firm alliance with the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

This process will continue. This is a healthy manifestation and one that we must encourage. For there is need for a powerful united movement of Zionists and non-Zionists to bring to fruition the establishment and independence of the Jewish state. The development of anti-imperialist unity of our people everywhere is imperative for the survival and flourishing of our people. Welded to the overall democratic, anti-imperialist struggle of the American people as a whole, this line of struggle can assure the eradication of fascism, and the securing of a durable peace, equality, economic security and democracy.

6. THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR JEWISH WORK

The National Jewish Commission of the Communist Party in its twelve months of existence, has realized some significant objectives formulated in the Party's resolution on Jewish work. The Commission made certain progress in translating the Party resolution into a living component of Communist work and into a guide for our daily activities among the masses. The general policies set forth in the Party resolution have proved to be correct and effective.

A major field of operation for our Commission was to guide Communist participation in the *Morning Freiheit*, in the Morning Freiheit Association and in *Jewish Life*. Jewish Communists were thereby enabled to make significant contributions to the building of these progressive organs and institutions, as well as to the struggle for Jewish anti-fascist and anti-imperialist unity and to the defense of vital Jewish interests.

The Commission helped to stimulate and direct the Jewish work of various Party organizations and individuals on many vital issues and in many fields. Guided by the National Group Commission and the National Board of the Party, the Commission has begun to lay a solid foundation for expanding and deepening Communist work among the American Jewish masses.

The influence of Communist policies in the American Jewish national group is undoubtedly increasing. Communists in trade unions, fraternal organizations, *landsmanschaften*, cultural movements, children's education, women's organizations, communities, and in some measure also among the youth and veterans are helping to shape and influence the struggle for Jewish rights. We are very much aware that our work among the youth and veterans is still only in its beginnings and that serious measures will have to be taken to overcome these inadequacies. We are equally aware of the fact that our influence in American Jewish life has grown very unevenly and that it has not been accompanied by a commensurate increase in our organized independent strength among the masses. The participation of the Left-wing forces, including Communists, in the work of the American Jewish Congress and in the American Jewish Conference is of considerable importance. Its significance up to now lies more in the opportunities opened than in political influence actually attained. Our opportunities are, however, unquestionably growing and our work has already contributed toward the potentialities for Communist influence and leadership in the American Jewish national group.

We must note that the Commission has not always and in time provided the necessary advice and directives to the Party organizations for the initiation and execution of various phases of Jewish work, even though policy decisions have as a rule been promptly made. Party organizations have not always engaged in systematic Jewish mass work; and Party organizations have hardly anywhere as yet begun to carry out sustained and adequate activities in line with our resolution, which calls upon all Party organizations and the Party press to carry on Jewish work in their own name.

Our educational work and the development of leading

personnel are other weak spots in our work. In addition the woeful lack of trained cadres for Jewish work is felt acutely in all phases of our activity. This deficiency must be quickly remedied.

We have not supplied the irreducible minimum of pamphlets and literature for ideological guidance and mass propaganda. This has been a most serious obstacle in our work.

Our ideological work has also fallen short. There is need for much more effective ideological guidance on Jewish questions with our Party membership and organizations. We must supply much more systematic ideological leadership to Communists in mass organizations as well as to Communist writers, journalists, lecturers and educators engaged in Jewish work.

We propose a number of immediate measures to be undertaken by the Party organizations as well as by the Commission:

(1) To call city or community conferences by Party organizations to plan campaigns among the masses for struggle against and the outlawing of anti-Semitism; (2) To organize one national and several regional training schools for the education of competent cadres for Jewish work; (3) To set up a special sub-committee of the National Commission to supervise work among youth and the veterans; (4) To assign a leading member of the Commission to assume responsibility for developing political mass education through meetings, lectures, pamphlets, etc.

Most important is the participation of Communists in the *Morning Freiheit* and *Jewish Life*. This remains our major responsibility.

Measures must be taken to increase the circulation of the *Morning Freiheit*, which is one of the dearest possessions of the Left and more advanced sections of the American Jewish masses. The paper must be made more popular, more lively, more appealing to the broader masses of our people. The *Morning Freiheit* must become a genuine mass people's paper. At the same time, it is generally agreed that considerable improvement is necessary in the political and ideological quality of the *Morning Freiheit* because of the growing complexity of the present situation.

Jewish Life, as we know, has already made a deep impression on the American Jewish community. With increasing

effectiveness this English monthly on Jewish affairs is coping with Jewish problems and tasks from a democratic, anti-imperialist and Marxist standpoint. We must help to increase its circulation and to improve its quality.

Communists must become more conscious of the vital importance of *Jewish Life*, as well as of the *Morning Freiheit*, in the struggle for the anti-imperialist and democratic front of the American people among the Jewish masses. Communists must also become more aware of the effectiveness of these publications for progressive political education as well as Marxist ideological training.

Jewish Life is developing a type of serious journalism which has, at the same time, popular appeal. This is an achievement. It also combines with increasing effectiveness political with cultural work, which has great importance in the struggle for a progressive Jewish life and culture in the United States. This combination has always been, and continues to be, one of the strongest features of the *Morning Freiheit*, and in this respect our unforgettable Olgin made one of his greatest contributions. Thus *Jewish Life* carries forward in its work some of our finest traditions.



Only two years after the victorious end of the military war against world fascism, the Jewish people once more stand at the crossroads. Their survival is once more threatened, this time by a resurgent fascism bolstered by the American monopolists and imperialists through the Truman-Marshall Plan. At home, American Jews perceive the ominous shadow of fascism approaching. And everywhere the danger to the Jews has the same source as the threat to all common men in the gradual stripping of the rights of labor, in the paring away of freedom.

Though the dangers are great, they can be thwarted. Even more, they can be converted into the springboard for a gigantic mobilization of the common people, Jews together with non-Jews, to defeat once and for all the drive of Wall Street. The Jews of America, together with all progressive Americans, are faced with the great challenge of the 1948 elections in which the imperialist, bi-partisan crew can be turned out of office and America returned to the people.

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