

COMMUNIST WORK AMONG THE AMERICAN JEWISH MASSES

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COMMUNIST WORK among the Jewish masses, as in all other fields, must be based upon the program, policies, and general line of the Party. At the present time, the main approach to our Jewish work is the general line of the Party for the struggle against the offensive of American imperialist reaction, and its drive for world domination, for peace and democracy, against the unfolding attacks upon the economic standards and political rights of labor and its allies. The special policy problems in our Jewish work have to be approached and solved from the general Party position for the building of an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist labor-democratic coalition, headed by labor, to combat and defeat the warmongering, reactionary pro-fascist offensive of the monopolies in the United States.

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION AND IMMEDIATE TASKS

An analysis of the present situation among the American Jewish masses discloses the following characteristics:

1. A growing awareness of the new anti-Semitic and pro-fascist dangers, accompanying the warmongering,

imperialist offensive of the American monopolies, and of the special threats to the Jewish people inherent in these dangers.

The struggle against anti-Semitism and for equal rights for the Jewish people is a basic part of the general struggle against the imperialist offensive. It is therefore the duty and responsibility of all progressive forces of the American people, especially of labor, the trade unions, and the Communist Party, to fight militantly for the outlawing of anti-Semitism and against all forms of discrimination and segregation.

Since it is fundamentally a product of social systems of class and national oppression, anti-Semitism in this country will be completely and permanently uprooted, and eventually disappear altogether, only with the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism in the United States. But the fight to combat anti-Semitism, to outlaw it, and to protect the equal rights of the Jewish masses against all forms of discrimination, is a fight of a general democratic character to win equal rights for all. It is a major part of the struggle against imperial-

ist reaction which is using anti-Semitism as one of its chief weapons to divide and demoralize the progressive movements of the people and to strengthen monopoly rule. The fight against anti-Semitism is a central task in the struggle to uproot fascism. Anti-Semitism is one of the main pillars of fascism, *i.e.*, of the open and terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of finance capital. It is a means for the physical annihilation of the Jewish people. The fight against anti-Semitism and for equal rights for the Jewish people is a fight against all reactionary, imperialist, and pro-fascist ideologies of race superiority and supremacy, against Jim Crowism and all forms of national oppression of the Negro people, against the theory of Anglo-Saxon or white race "superiority." It is a fight for the brotherhood of nations and peoples and for the democratic unity and solidarity of the American people and its working class.

It is labor and its progressive organizations that must assume the main responsibility for combatting anti-Semitism and its penetration among the working people, in order to protect the unity and integrity of the labor movement which the monopolies are trying to undermine.

A major phase of the struggle against anti-Semitism must be a systematic and persistent fight against all forms of anti-Jewish discrimination. These discriminations in employment, in education, in political

rights, and social relations, are now on the increase due to the offensive of imperialist reaction in the United States. All nationality groups in the United States are victims of such types of discriminations. In the case of the Negro people, they have assumed, in a growing number of cases, the dastardly form of fascist-like murderous attacks and persecutions; and these are also beginning to be practiced against Jews. Hence, the fight against all forms of national, racial, and religious discrimination has become a central task of the American people, especially the labor movement, as an inseparable part of the fight for peace, democracy, equal rights and economic security.

2. There is a relatively high degree of understanding among Jewish workers, and growing middle class circles as well, that the fight against the new anti-Semitic dangers can be waged effectively only in alliance with labor, with the Negro people whose political weight in progressive American life is continually growing, with other nationally discriminated and persecuted groups, and with all the progressive movements of the American people. At the same time, there is a distinct increase in the activities of the reactionaries among the Jewish masses, *i.e.*, of reactionary bourgeois-nationalists, bourgeois-assimilationists and Social-Democrats.

3. There is a growing mistrust among the Jewish masses in the Tru-

man Administration. This results from the general political course of the Administration in internal and external affairs, a course which is imperialist and reactionary. Most particularly, the Jewish masses are affected by the Administration's yielding to the warmongering and anti-Soviet incitements of the monopolies, by its betrayal of the fight for the F.E.P.C., by its failure to combat anti-Semitism, by its hypocritical and imperialist course in Palestine, and by its continual departure from Roosevelt's progressive policies.

4. Republican party circles among the Jewish people demonstrate awareness of new opportunities for reaction. This adds to the serious danger of reactionary Republican electoral victories and of a strengthened reactionary bipartisan coalition in Congress. But more pronounced among the Jewish masses is the trend toward the developing labor-democratic coalition and toward the progressive forces of the third-party movements, although old loyalties and traditional ties to the Democratic party still play an important part.

5. There are growing trends among Jewish workers toward the progressive forces in the labor movement, in the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. This is especially noticeable among the native-born, but is also very evident among the naturalized. Yet the strength of the reactionary Social-Democrats is still considerable in American Jewish life. This strength has its source not only in the strate-

gic positions of the Jewish *Daily Forward* group in certain trade unions and fraternal organizations (I. L. G. W. U., Workmen's Circle) as well as in some political movements (Liberal Party), but also in special Jewish organizations and in the special field of interests of the Jewish nationality group. The reactionary Social-Democrats exploit this field largely through their domination of the Jewish Labor Committee. In the cultural field, the reactionary Social-Democrats operate particularly by exploiting the Jewish Scientific Institute (Y. W. O.) for reactionary political purposes.

6. Communist influence among the Jewish masses is growing. This results, first of all, from the increasing realization that the Communist Party is not only the best defender of the economic and political aims of labor, but that it has also proven the most consistent fighter against anti-Semitism, reaction, and fascism.

While gravely hampered by still existing remnants of Browder revisionism, Communist work among the Jewish masses has contributed materially toward strengthening the influence of the Party among the Jewish workers and also among sections of the middle classes.

Finally, a potent factor in the building up of anti-fascist influence among the American Jewish masses in this period has been the contact and collaboration between the American Jews and the Soviet Jews in common demonstrations against anti-Semitism and fascism and for Jewish

rights, and in cultural collaboration. This collaboration was established during the war with the aim of helping to win the war, and is now developing as a force for friendship between the American and Soviet peoples and for promoting the culture and well-being of the Jewish people.

The collaboration between the American and Soviet Jews has helped in combatting the reactionary influences coming from the ideological and programmatic positions of Zionism, from bourgeois assimilationism (Council for Judaism, the American Jewish Committee, sections of the leadership of the Joint Distribution Committee), and from Social-Democratism (the leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee, the *Forward*, Dubinsky, etc.).

7. Problems of relief and rehabilitation of the Jewish masses in the liberated countries occupy a major place in the life of the American Jewish masses and in the activities of their organizations. In this field, the major activities of the Jewish workers and sections of the middle classes during the war were devoted to Russian war relief, in considerable measure through the Jewish Council of Russian War Relief. The end of the war and the resulting new situation have produced a number of changes in these activities, mainly in the direction of work of cultural relations and certain forms of work of rehabilitation.

Since the liberation of Poland by the Red Army, the work of Jewish

relief and rehabilitation in Poland, and the struggle in support of the new Polish state, has become a central task in the general work of Jewish relief and rehabilitation. It has also become a field of activity in which sharp clashes are taking place between the anti-fascist unity forces among the Jews and the reactionary nationalists, assimilationists, and Social-Democrats. The democratic forces support a people's program which calls for the building of the new Jewish community in Poland, while facilitating the emigration from Poland of those Jews who so desire. The reactionaries, although not united are working against the building of the Jewish community in Poland. At times the reactionaries precipitate panic flights from Poland by various Jewish groups. They exploit the tragic and truly difficult situation which results from the terroristic attacks of Polish fascists upon Jews as well as upon labor and other democratic elements. In all this, they have the expectation of bringing most of these emigrants into Palestine.

The major issues in this clash are the following: The democratic unity forces among the Jews propose to fight for the safety, equal rights, and well-being of the Jewish people in Poland by joining with the progressive forces and government of Poland to uproot the remnants of fascism and reaction in Poland, to help consolidate the new Polish state, and to support the struggle for Big Three collaboration in the United Nations

for peace. They aim thereby to eliminate anti-Semitism and all anti-Jewish attacks. On the other hand, reactionary Zionists, assimilationists, and Social-Democrats propose in effect that the Jews abandon this fight and quit Poland completely. On this basis, the Zionists are carrying on a campaign for mass migration from Poland and the whole of Europe as the bourgeois-nationalist answer to anti-Semitism. The reactionary assimilationists and Social-Democrats are agitating against the new Polish state and its government as being "impotent" to protect the Jews. They pretend to favor "in principle" the building of the Jewish community in Poland if a government were to come into power capable of protecting the Jews. By this is meant a government hostile to the Soviet Union and friendly to the reactionary forces of the old Polish regime, the same forces which are now stimulating the terroristic attacks upon the Jews in Poland and upon Poland's democratic forces generally. This is, in substance, the position of the *Forward-Dubinsky* leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee, a position masked by intensive maneuvering and false pretensions which we must expose by the energetic development of the anti-fascist unity policy among the supporters and affiliates of the Jewish Labor Committee.

The fight against this position of the Jewish reactionaries is part of the general fight against the warmongers and reactionaries. Hence, the work

of relief and rehabilitation in Poland, and in the other Jewish communities in the liberated countries is of crucial importance.

Finally, and of a different nature, is the work of growing numbers of American Jews and other progressive forces for the building of Birobidjan. A broad movement is growing around this work which is contributing much toward strengthening the ties of collaboration between the American and Soviet Jews. This support to Birobidjan draws inspiration from the outlawing of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, the complete equality and fraternal collaboration of all nationalities in that land, and the development of Birobidjan as a Jewish Autonomous Region. This progressive movement in the life of the American Jews must be actively supported.

8. The struggles in Palestine are having many repercussions in American Jewish life. They are taking place in the midst of developing liberation currents in the Arabian Middle East, a growing trade union movement among the Arab workers, progressive developments in the Jewish trade unions, growing solidarity between the Arab and Jewish workers and growing opposition among the democratic Jewish forces in Palestine to the official Zionist Biltmore program for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Furthermore, the struggles in Palestine are taking place at a time when British imperialism is building an anti-Soviet bloc in that

region, as well as major military bases, and when American imperialism is aggressively expanding its penetration in the Middle East, while the prestige of the Soviet Union and its anti-imperialist and peace policies are rising. As a result of these developments, the Palestine struggles are having the following main effects upon the American Jewish masses:

a) In the Zionist movement of the United States, the main leadership has passed into the hands of the extreme elements, headed by Rabbi Silver. These are also, in many cases, part of the conservative and reactionary forces in general American political life, the forces represented by Taft, Hoover, Hearst, etc. At the same time, the growing realization in Zionist circles that the Zionist program—the Biltmore program of turning Palestine into a Jewish state or Commonwealth—is in deep crisis, is stimulating the development in the American Zionist movement of progressive and democratic tendencies desirous of working for Arab-Jewish collaboration and for support to the peace and anti-fascist policies of the Soviet Union.

b) Among the wider masses of American Jews, Zionist-influenced as well as non-Zionist, the crisis in the Biltmore Commonwealth program gives rise to tendencies, which must be helped to find adequate expression, toward a united democratic and anti-imperialist position of the Jewish people for the support of the Palestine Yishuv, based on Jewish-Arab

collaboration for a free and independent Palestine. This is accompanied by growing disillusionment in the so-called friendship of British imperialism. The illusions which still persist in the so-called friendship of American imperialism must be systematically exposed and dissipated.

9. The reactionary Social-Democrats—the *Forward*-Dubinsky leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee—are developing very intense activities. They are spearheading among the Jewish masses the imperialist war incitements against the Soviet Union and are allied with the camp of “get-tough-with-Russia” reactionaries, with Denikin, Bor and Churchill. They are also working for the restoration of the Second International; and at the same time they continue without letup to struggle against labor unity in America and against the World Federation of Trade Unions. Through numerous agents and emissaries, the dominant leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee is carrying on these reactionary activities, not only in the United States, but in many European countries (e.g., France), as well as in Latin America. On the question of Poland, the *Forward* leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee is maneuvering, due to pressure from below and some internal divisions, pretending to accept the new regime in Poland, while orienting its main political work on a struggle against the new Poland. It will therefore be necessary to unfold a broad campaign for united

action of all Jewish workers, trade unionists, and other democratic forces, with special concentration among the supporters and affiliates of the Jewish Labor Committee, in support of the new Poland, for the building of the new Jewish community in Poland, for combatting the reactionary forces in the United States which stimulate fascist reaction in Poland, and for a policy of friendship by the American government toward the new Poland and its democratic government.

On the question of Palestine, the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders (*Forward*-Dubinsky-Rogoff) are maneuvering to hide from the masses the fact that the line of this group constitutes treachery to the Jewish people and to the Palestine Yishuv. The *Forward* completely supports the imperialist and warmaking policies of Bevin and Churchill, the policies that are responsible for the British imperialist terror and oppression in Palestine and the hateful schemes of partition rejected by most Arabs and Jews in Palestine. However, it is trying to obscure this fact by mildly remonstrating with Bevin for the "mistakes" of his tactics in regard to the Jewish community in Palestine. The *Forward* group particularly supports the policies of American imperialism and its orientation upon an Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union, the colonial peoples (including the Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine), and the new democracies in

Europe. This duplicity and treachery of the *Forward*-Dubinsky group is alienating from it growing numbers of its present supporters and creating strains and divisions within the group. Thus new and more favorable conditions are arising for united anti-imperialist, anti-fascist actions with workers and groups under Social-Democratic leadership, in the struggle for labor unity and for people's anti-fascist unity.

The reactionary Social-Democratic leaders are also very active in the Jewish field, with the main aim of disrupting the unity of the democratic forces among the Jewish masses. It especially strives to end the collaboration of the American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I. W. O. with the other democratic forces of the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference. These disruptive activities of the *Forward*-Dubinsky group receive the support of the assimilationist big bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the reactionary bourgeois nationalists, on the other. This accounts for the periodic get-together of these elements for common action (Jewish Labor Committee, American Jewish Committee, and certain forces from the Zionist movement) as against the unity movements of the democratic elements in Jewish life. However, on this issue of Jewish democratic unity the Party has made substantial advances against the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders driving them

into positions of partial isolation from the Jewish masses on many practical questions.

In this field, in addition to remnants of Browderism, our main difficulty has been our weakness in helping to overcome the continued inadequate participation of progressive Jewish trade unionists in the fight for the Jewish people's interests and Jewish democratic unity. This weakness is being slowly overcome by a policy of developing the American Jewish Labor Council as an active and leading body of the American Jewish masses. This will help greatly to advance the positions of the progressive forces in the trade union movement.

The internal political orientation of the reactionary Social-Democrats is upon the emergence of an anti-Soviet combination, if need be through a reactionary third party, capable of decisively influencing the policies of the Truman Administration or of facilitating the coming into power of a government that will be so influenced. Some of the political objectives of this Social-Democratic group are being fulfilled in part by the reactionary bipartisan coalition in Congress, but the openly anti-labor character of this coalition makes it impossible for the reactionary Social-Democrats openly to collaborate with it. Hence, their aim is to bring about a somewhat different combination in which the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and Social-Democrats will play a decisive part. Hence, it is

necessary to expose the reactionary, divisive, and imperialist character of the so-called "third party" maneuvers of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, popularizing among the masses, and winning their support for the developing labor-democratic coalition of all progressive, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces, and for the eventual organization of a people's anti-monopoly party.

The struggle to isolate and defeat the reactionary Jewish Social-Democrats is the major task in the struggle for the unity of the Jewish workers and the anti-fascist unity of the Jewish people. In this struggle we must aim to win the Social-Democratic workers and the masses under the domination of reactionary Social-Democratic leaders to united actions on a broad anti-fascist program of working-class unity, seeking joint action with all Socialist elements and groups who favor working-class, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, and anti-war unity.

10. In the struggle for the anti-fascist unity of the democratic forces of the American Jewish masses, the following are the immediate practical tasks of Jewish labor and of its vanguard, the Jewish Communists:

a) The labor, democratic, and progressive forces in the American Jewish Congress (the American Jewish Labor Council, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I. W. O., certain forces in the Zionist movement, in the Landsmanschaften, etc) must be supported in their struggle for

progressive policies of anti-fascist Jewish unity in the American Jewish Congress. Support must be given to their struggle for active participation in the fight of the American Jewish masses against the warmongers and for peace, against anti-Semitism and discrimination, for full equality of the Jewish people, and in alliance with the Negro people, in alliance and in accord with the main progressive policies of the developing labor-democratic coalition of the American people, with Jewish labor effectively represented in the leadership of the American Jewish Congress.

b) The democratic forces in the American Jewish Congress must be supported in their struggle for democratic and anti-fascist policies in the World Jewish Congress, in which the democratic forces in Jewish life, especially labor, should be adequately and effectively represented. The democratic forces in the World Jewish Congress must work consistently for the building of Jewish life in the liberated countries of Europe in accord with the unity programs of the Jewish communities themselves. They must support the national rights of the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine on the basis of Jewish-Arab collaboration for an independent Palestine, and resist all tendencies to subordinate the World Jewish Congress to the party policies and interests of the Zionist movement. Collaboration between the World Jewish Congress and the Soviet Jews for the democratic and anti-fascist objectives of the Jewish

people is an indispensable condition for success.

c) A similar policy must be supported in the American Jewish Conference of active struggle for the rights and interests of the Jewish people in the U. S. as well as of those in other countries. To justify its existence, the Conference must begin to function as a progressive factor in American Jewish life, in "the American scene." At the same time, we must support the orientation that the progressive forces in the American Jewish Congress have greater capacities and opportunities than in the Conference to help develop the activities of the American Jewish masses on a democratic anti-fascist unity program.

d) We must continue to work for the elimination of all Browder revisionist tendencies to subordinate the workers to the bourgeoisie. Hence, we must promote actively the struggle for the labor-democratic coalition, headed by the working class, to check and defeat the reactionary imperialist offensive of the monopolies, and systematically build the vanguard role of the Communist Party.

e) We must actively support the upbuilding of the American Jewish Labor Council both as a force capable of effectively challenging the reactionary *Forward-Dubinsky* group which dominates the Jewish Labor Committee, and as a leading factor in the American Jewish Congress. We must actively support the independent activities and influence of

the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I. W. O. and help to develop its leading position in the American Jewish Congress. A basic phase of this work is the development of the democratic unity program among the Jewish people organized in the Landsmanschaften.

Full and active support must be given to the work of the Jewish Council (formerly of Russian Relief) in its new forms of activity of cultural relations and rehabilitation, to the Committee for Birobidjan, to the Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists, to the Jewish Cultural Alliance (Icuf), to the Musical Farband, and to the Progressive Committee of the Workmen's Circle.

f) A broad ideological and political campaign must be carried on against all reactionary forces in Jewish life, concentrating upon the reactionary Social-Democrats and the reactionary forces in the Zionist and bourgeois-assimilationist movements. In this way we must promote the anti-fascist unity of labor and all other democratic forces among the Jewish people, and at the same time popularize the Marxist teachings in all fields, particularly on the question of national and colonial liberation.

g) We must particularly support the policy of collaboration and alliance of the American Jewish masses with the Negro people, as well as with labor, the progressive forces of all nationality groups, and the progressive camp in general of the

American people. The Negro people are especially qualified for the role of vanguard fighter and most dependable ally in the struggle against all forms of national, religious and racial oppression and discrimination, and for equal rights. This is so because the Negro people are faced with the task of national liberation in the South, as well as the task of securing elementary and fundamental equal rights in the country as a whole. Hence, we must systematically build the alliance between the Jewish masses and the Negro people, as an organic part of the labor-democratic coalition of the American people, and we must expose and combat all forms and expressions of white chauvinism among Jews.

11. The winning of the Jewish war veterans for the democratic and anti-fascist struggles and for membership in the Communist Party is now a major task. We must note among the war veterans a heightened sensitivity to the dangers of anti-Semitism and an intense determination to fight as American Jews together with all war veterans for full equality. We must also take note of bourgeois-assimilationist tendencies among certain groups of progressive Jewish war veterans which threatens to isolate them from the main democratic forces of the American Jews and which must therefore be counteracted by drawing these war veterans into active struggle against discrimination and anti-Semitism and for Jewish rights. We must draw all

the practical conclusions from the fact that the returning war veterans are becoming an important factor in the progressive movements of the American Jews.

12. In the struggle for our policies among the American Jewish people, we must systematically combat the influence of Jewish bourgeois nationalism and Jewish bourgeois assimilationism. The fact that these influences have not been adequately combated, especially during the period of Browder revisionism, is now making it necessary to struggle against the danger of deviations toward the ideology of bourgeois nationalism as expressed in Zionism and Bundism. Both of these, while differing sharply on the question of a Jewish state in Palestine, are based upon the reactionary-utopian conception of a Jewish world-nation, with the consequent tendencies toward national chauvinism and separatism. Similarly, we must combat the danger of deviations toward bourgeois assimilationism (Council for Judaism and American Jewish Committee) which reflects the pressures of the Anglo-Saxon race supremacy theories of American imperialism. The fight against the danger of these deviations is also a fight against revisionism and Social-Democratism, which have a close affinity to both bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism. Only in this ideological struggle will we build the Party and its influence among the American Jewish masses.

13. Party Commissions on Jewish

work shall be established in all States with large Jewish populations, and a National Commission on Jewish work shall also be established. These Commissions shall guide the work of the Communists in the Jewish field, under the supervision and control of the general leading organs of the Party. These Commissions shall regularly formulate plans of activity for integrating the systematic building of the Party among the Jewish masses (recruiting, press, education, etc.) into every phase of our mass activities and political campaigns, and for the development of mass activities in the Jewish field in the name of the Party.

14. Communists shall render active support to the *Morning Freiheit*, the Jewish anti-fascist and labor daily paper. We will support the *Morning Freiheit* Association, in accord with its program, as a non-Party anti-fascist Jewish organization, carrying on its work among both the Yiddish and English-speaking Jewish masses, for the development of the *Morning Freiheit* as a unifying political center of the more consistent Jewish anti-fascist movements, with a broad, mass, sustaining, individual membership and a committee form of organization.

II. PALESTINE, ZIONISM, THE JEWISH YISHUV, AND OUR SPECIAL TASKS

1. Communist participation in the struggle for anti-fascist Jewish unity,

against anti-Semitism, for the democratic rights of the Jewish people, for relief and the building of Jewish life in the liberated countries, in support of the national rights of the Jewish community in Palestine, and for the building of Birobidjan, has been and continues to be of major importance for the defense of the vital interests of the Jewish masses and for the promotion of the anti-fascist struggles of the whole of the American people. The achievements in these fields have greatly advanced our positions and influence. However, in the course of these struggles a number of serious errors have been committed which militated against the firmer consolidation of the ideological positions of the working class and of the Communist movement.

2. These errors came to particular expression on the following points. While correctly supporting the equal rights of the Jewish community in Palestine to a free national development, we failed to base this support, especially in our practical mass work, upon the joint Jewish-Arab anti-imperialist struggle for an independent and democratic Palestine which would secure and protect the equal national rights of both the Jewish people and the Arab people. We failed to draw all the necessary conclusions from the fact that the first and basic problem of Palestine is the liberation of that country from British imperialist domination, for this is the primary condition for the realization of the national rights of the

Arabs and Jews and the free national development of the two peoples of Palestine. Consequently, our fight in support of the national rights of the Jewish community in Palestine became one-sided and distorted, as is particularly evident in the wrong way in which we fought for the abrogation of the "White Paper" and for Jewish immigration into Palestine.

3. It was correct and necessary to support the demand for the abrogation of the "White Paper" and for the right of Jews to immigrate to and settle in Palestine, but it was incorrect to separate these demands, in practice, from the basic and fundamental demand for the independence of Palestine. It was incorrect to place the right of Jewish immigration into Palestine on any other basis than as part of the task of general collaboration and agreement of Arabs and Jews for common struggle against imperialism and for the independence of Palestine.

4. A similar one-sidedness and distortion characterized our use of the slogan calling for "A Jewish National Homeland in Palestine." This old, widespread, and popular slogan among the Jewish people has been appropriated by the Zionist movement for the promotion of its political aim of turning Palestine into a Jewish state—or Commonwealth, as formulated by the so-called Biltmore program—and for the spread of its bourgeois-nationalist ideology based upon the proposition that a Jewish state in Palestine would be the na-

tional homeland of the Jews of all countries. We must reject totally and combat systematically this Zionist use of the slogan of "A Jewish National Homeland in Palestine." The Marxist position on the national question, which is the most consistently democratic position, insists upon the equality of nations. It rejects all solutions which subordinate the interests and rights of one nation to those of another, such as the Biltmore program for Jewish State of Commonwealth, which would subordinate the national rights and interests of the Arab people in Palestine to those of the Jewish people. Equally, the Marxist position rejects the solutions proposed by the reactionary Arab nationalists, who would subordinate to themselves and sacrifice for their own benefit the national rights and interests of the Jewish people.

The Marxist position on the question of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine is:

a) That only an independent Palestine will create the conditions for the free, national development of the Jewish Yishuv, which will thus realize its equal national rights side by side with the Arab people whose free national development in a united Palestine will be assured by the guarantee of the equality of its national rights;

b) That this calls for Arab-Jewish struggle against all schemes for the partitioning of Palestine, since partition would make impossible any free national development of the Jews and

Arabs in Palestine, for it would transform the split-up portions of the country into mere military reservations of British, American, or Anglo-American imperialism;

c) That this also calls for a united Jewish-Arab struggle against all reactionary and imperialist schemes of fake independence as perpetrated, for example, by British imperialism in Trans-Jordan;

d) That the realization of the national rights of the Jewish Yishuv *will create a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine*. It will not be the national homeland for the Jewish people of other countries, whose rights, well-being, and forms of national existence will be realized and developed in each of these countries in accord with the concrete conditions prevailing in each and on the basis of the common struggles of their peoples for the uprooting of fascism and anti-Semitism, for democracy, for peace, for equal rights, and for general social progress;

e) 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. In our own use of the slogan of "A Jewish National Homeland in Palestine," though we correctly coupled it with the demand for a free and democratic Palestine, we did not, with sufficient clarity and consistency, differentiate our conception of the

slogan from that of the Zionist movement, thus weakening our entire position.

5. In the struggle for the rights of Jews to immigrate to and settle in Palestine, we have insufficiently resisted the harmful activities of certain Zionist groups and of certain leading elements of the Joint Distribution Committee. These people aim to make Palestine the only place of immigration for Jewish refugees. This plays into the hands of the British imperialists in their game of promoting antagonisms between the Jews and Arabs and of preventing their collaboration in Palestine.

The report of the Anglo-American Commission is basically an effort to establish an understanding for Anglo-American imperialist collaboration in Palestine at the expense of both Arabs and Jews, excluding the United Nations from that part of the world, and aiming to strengthen imperialist oppression in Palestine and in the whole of the Middle East. It has aggravated the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine instead of helping to solve it. The recommendation for the admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine is being used by both the British and the American governments to intensify Arab-Jewish antagonisms and to try to strengthen their respective rival positions there—Britain with the Arab League and America with the Zionist movement—each imperialist power seeking at the same time

the support and collaboration of both Jewish and Arab reactionaries.

The fate of the Jewish refugees in the camps in Germany and elsewhere is of deep concern to the Jewish people and to the democratic forces of all peoples. It is therefore necessary to intensify the fight for the demand that the United Nations assume responsibility at once for these refugees, that it seek to secure the widest opportunities for the immigration of these refugees into the countries of the United Nations, and that it provide all the means necessary for this. We must especially demand broader opportunities for the Jewish refugees to enter and settle in the United States. We favor the right of Jews to immigrate to and settle in Palestine, on the basis of Arab-Jewish agreement for the realization of this right under joint Arab-Jewish control. We must make it clear, at the same time, that the salvation of the European Jews does not lie in their so-called "Exodus" from Europe, as advocated by Zionists, but on the road of the democratic struggle of the people headed by labor, for the uprooting of fascism, anti-Semitism, and reaction, for the development and consolidation of the new democracies of Europe.

6. These errors result primarily from insufficient alertness to the pressure of Zionist and other bourgeois-nationalist currents and from insufficient resistance to these pressures. It is, therefore, necessary to correct our policies and especially their execu-

tion. We must win the Jewish toiling masses, first of all the workers, to the Marxist position on the Jewish question as on all others, and to do so in the very process of struggle for labor unity and for the democratic unity of the people against fascism, reaction, and anti-Semitism.

7. Summing up our position on Palestine we must say:

a) The basic task there is joint Jewish-Arab struggle to end British or Anglo-American imperialist rule and military occupation and to establish an independent and democratic Palestine state of Jews and Arabs, guaranteeing alike the interests and rights of both nationalities;

b) Only in an independent and democratic Palestine will the Jewish Yishuv, the same as the Arab people, be able to realize its right to a national existence, and to develop as a Jewish national homeland for the Jewish people of Palestine on the basis of self-government;

c) 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 Trans-Jordan, based upon the collaboration with imperialism of the Jewish and Arab reactionary forces;

d) The right of Jews to immigrate and settle in Palestine will be real-

ized only in agreement between Jews and Arabs for the common struggle for an independent and free Palestine of Arabs and Jews; and

e) All progressive and labor forces in Jewish life must unite for joint struggle for the above people's program for Palestine—a program of action for non-Zionists, as well as for the democratic elements in the Zionist movement, as is demonstrated in the Jewish Yishuv itself.

8. To meet the immediate practical problems of the Palestine situation we urge support for the program of action submitted by the *Morning Freiheit* Association to the American Jewish Conference, containing the following propositions:

1. That the American Jewish Conference shall appeal at once to President Truman and to the Secretary General of the United Nations, asking them to recommend to the Security Council of the United Nations (a) that the United Nations assume immediately full responsibility for the fate and maintenance of the 100,000 Jewish refugees in German camps, and to intervene with the countries of the United Nations that they open their doors to the immigration and settlement of the Jewish refugees and to provide for that the necessary means; (b) that Britain shall transfer Palestine at once to the trusteeship of the Big Three in the United Nations for the purpose of setting up Palestine as an independent and democratic State of Arabs and Jews that will guarantee the equal national rights of both peoples; and (c) that the United Nations shall

recommend to Great Britain the immediate withdrawal of all British armed forces from Palestine.

2. That the American Jewish Conference shall organize and send a delegation to President Truman for the purpose of achieving the widest opportunities for the entrance and settlement of Jewish refugees in the United States.

3. That the American Jewish Conference shall issue an appeal to the Jewish Agency in Palestine asking that the Agency open at once negotiations with the spokesmen of labor and other democratic forces of the Arab people in Palestine. These negotiations should seek an agreement for joint Arab-Jewish struggle for the independence of Palestine and for the purpose of reaching an agreement in favor of Jewish immigration into Palestine under joint Arab-Jewish control.

4. That the American Jewish Conference shall undertake to rally the widest united actions of the American Jews, in collaboration with all progressive forces of the whole American people, especially with labor and the Negro people, in support of the foregoing proposals.

9. Bourgeois-nationalist pressures have colored and distorted other phases of our work in the democratic unity movements of the American Jews—in the American Jewish Congress, in the American Jewish Conference, etc. Here, too, we deal primarily with insufficient resistance to Zionist influences, with many instances of failures to present our independent position, and insufficient struggle for the Marxist positions

and ideology, especially for the leading role of the Jewish workers in the Jewish people's movements.

10. Furthermore, we have not combatted effectively the pressures of bourgeois assimilationism, which are a reflection of the Anglo-Saxon race supremacy "theories" of American imperialism. These assimilationist pressures continually hamper the Party's Jewish work. They feed nationalist tendencies as an extreme and false reaction to assimilationism, and are responsible in large measure for the fact that basic sections of progressive Jewish trade unionists either do not participate at all in the struggle of the progressive Jewish people's movements or, when they do, participate under the leadership of bourgeois nationalists. In either case, this tends to leave the field to the reactionary Social-Democrats of the *Forward-Dubinsky* group which dominates the Jewish Labor Committee.

11. Browder revisionism, including the false theory that anti-Semitism in the United States is merely and exclusively an importation from countries under fascist rule, tended naturally to facilitate the growth of both tendencies. Paving the way for the ideological subjection of the masses to American imperialism, revisionism opened the road to all bourgeois ideological influences, to bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois assimilationism. Hence, a determined fight must be made to free our work of all remnants of Browder revision-

ism and to overcome both bourgeois tendencies.

III. THE CHARACTER OF OUR WORK IN THE JEWISH NATIONALITY GROUP

1. The Party does not consider Communist work among the Jewish masses of America "language work" in a narrow sense, since our work has to be carried on not only in Yiddish but also in English. The facts are, first, that important parts of the Jewish nationality group, particularly large sections of Jewish workers, consider Yiddish their mother tongue and give it a primary position in political and cultural intercourse; and, second, the native-born, English-speaking Jews play an increasingly larger role—in some places the leading role—in the life and struggles of the Jewish nationality group.

2. Hence, the Party views Communist work in the Jewish nationality group as the Marxist answer to the special needs, problems, and interests of the toiling masses and progressive movements of the Jewish nationality group. The Party states that there is a Marxist, a Communist, answer to the special needs and problems of the nationality group, and that we must combat the efforts of the bourgeoisie and Social-Democrats to establish a monopoly in the life of the Jewish nationality group. This places great responsibility upon Jewish Communists and the Party as a whole to strengthen our work and ties with the Jewish masses. Commu-

nists and their progressive allies can and must become the recognized leaders of the masses—workers, farmers, professionals, small businessmen—in the nationality group.

3. It has become evident that the Jewish nationality group, as is true of other American nationality groups, possesses a relative stability and inner vitality which requires that the Communist Party supply Marxist leadership to its needs and problems as a nationality group. This is in no contradiction to the Leninist principle of the organizational and political unity of the working class. This principle is directly embodied in the vanguard Party of the working class—the Communist Party—and also to a degree in other progressive political organizations of labor and in the trade unions. Hence, we cannot have separate national group Communist organizations or trade unions. But auxiliary mass organizations of a fraternal, cultural, or relief character, organizations called into existence to meet special needs and problems of a nationality group, can function most effectively and properly when organized as nationality groups in character, composition, and leadership, joined in many instances with other similarly organized nationality groups. In such organizations the political and organizational unity of the American working class can be achieved and is being achieved by the work of its vanguard, the Communists.

4. Experience has demonstrated

that Communist leadership in the life of the masses of the Jewish nationality group makes possible the development of Marxist answers to the problems of achieving complete integration with general American life, as against the answers supplied to these problems by bourgeois nationalists, bourgeois assimilationists, and Social-Democrats. The Marxist answer to the problems of integration is based on the objective fact that the Jewish nationality group, like other nationality groups in the United States, is a progressive factor in the democratic development of the American nation. The growth along progressive lines of the nationality group is proving to be a necessary stage toward the voluntary and complete integration of all the component elements of the American nation. Many factors have combined to develop the nationality group in America as a progressive stage in the growth of the American nation. These factors are: the history of our country; its economic and political structure; the origin of our people from many nations and cultural strains; the historical process of resistance to the rigid attitudes of the Anglo-Saxon ruling classes to keep the masses of other national origins in a position of general inferiority—economic, political, social—and to hold them in ideological and cultural subjection by manifold pressures of forced assimilation falsely called Americanization; and increasing political and cultural intercourse

between the American masses and the democratic forces of the countries and nations of their origin. It will be necessary for Marxists to carry through a thorough study of the concrete process of growth of the nationality groups and the perspectives of their further development.

5. Jewish bourgeois nationalism seeks to perpetuate a national Jewish identity around Zionism and a Jewish state in Palestine, while accepting forced and mechanical assimilation of American Jews in all respects except religion. As against this, Communists must lead the American Jewish masses to the building of a progressive Jewish nationality group life—cultural, social, and in relations with Jews of other countries, especially with the Jews of Birobidjan and with the Soviet Jews in general. In doing so, we must combat all tendencies to separatism and isolation, fighting for the full equality of the Jewish masses to become freely and completely integrated in all phases of general American life and to participate actively in the building of the American nation, thus bringing the Jewish masses ever closer to the labor movement and to the Communist Party. This demands that Party organizations carry on systematic work in their own name among the Jewish masses.

6. Jewish bourgeois assimilationism, which has also had its influence within the ranks of the Party, seeks to impose upon the Jewish masses the imperialist ideology of Anglo-

Saxon race "superiority." It opposes not only Zionism, but the building of a progressive Jewish life altogether, and seeks to reduce the Jewish nationality group to a religious community. As against this, the Communists must fight for complete and effective equality of all nationality groups as the first prerequisite for their free and full integration into general American life. The Communists must expose the reactionary and imperialist character of forced bourgeois assimilationism and fight for the right of the nationality groups to develop a progressive nationality group life as the only democratic road to the historic goal of integration into general American life. We must consistently expose and combat the reactionary Jewish Social-Democrats, not only as agents of American imperialism in the labor movement, but also as the direct allies of the Jewish bourgeois assimilationists and reactionary nationalists; not only as the betrayers of the interests of the working class and of the American people as a whole, but also as the betrayers of the Jewish people.

7. The struggle for a progressive, anti-fascist, and people's mass culture is one of the basic elements of the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism in the American Jewish nationality group. By establishing and developing close cultural relations between the American and Soviet Jews, the latter being the leaders in the field of Jewish cul-

ture, it will be possible to enrich American Jewish cultural life with a progressive and consistently anti-fascist content. This will stimulate the growth in the United States of a progressive American Jewish culture, reflecting the aspirations of the working class and its historic, leading role in the liberation movements of the people. We must carry on the struggle for such a culture in order to combat the efforts of bourgeois nationalism to confine Jewish cultural life in America to the enjoyment of the products of Palestinian Hebrew culture by the wealthy and educated groups, as well as to combat the efforts of bourgeois assimilationism to cut the American Jews off altogether from a progressive mass Jewish cultural life and to attach to the so-called superior Anglo-Saxon culture the more educated and wealthy groups among the American Jews. Both bourgeois positions—nationalist and assimilationist—would reserve culture to select groups of upper class circles. Communists must fight for the cultural activity of the masses, for a people's culture, for a progressive Jewish mass culture in the American Jewish nationality group, just as we fight for a progressive mass culture of the American people as a whole. The democratic forces of the American Jewish nationality group have the historic task of promoting and building the progressive culture of the Jewish people and to help build the progressive culture of the American nation. In this connection, we espe-

cially emphasize the need in New York City of supporting the strengthening of the bilingual School for Jewish Studies.

8. The question of language in the Jewish nationality group, as in the others, has to be settled on this basis. American Jews use either English or Yiddish. Considerable numbers are bilingual. Hence, our work has to be carried on in these two languages, and Communist actives and leaders in the Jewish national group must aim to be able to use both languages. In the coming period, we must especially concentrate on overcoming the long standing neglect of Jewish work in the English language. We must raise it to the level of crucial importance, without in any way weakening our work in Yiddish, and develop the closest and organic collaboration between the activities conducted in both languages in the one field of Jewish work. We strongly urge the most active support to the new anti-fascist monthly magazine, *Jewish Life*, published in English by the *Morning Freiheit* Association. At the same time, we must energetically combat the tendency to underestimate the work in English, as well as the tendency to belittle the work in Yiddish, since both tendencies are harmful to the Party's work among the Jewish masses.

9. In considering the relative position of Yiddish and English in the Jewish nationality group, the following must be taken into account: (a) both bourgeois nationalism and as-

similationism oppose the development and cultivation of the Yiddish language; (b) the growth of close cultural relations of the American Jews with the Soviet Jews, especially with the growth of Birobidjan as the Socialist home land of a developing Jewish nationality in a system of Soviet Republics, as well as the cultural relations with the Jewish communities in the new democracies of Europe, greatly strengthen the position of Yiddish in the American Jewish nationality group; (c) while important sections of American Jews maintain Yiddish as their primary language in social and cultural life, the objective processes of integration continue to undermine the position of Yiddish, tending to make the English language dominant in general economic and political life, with bilingualism becoming an outstanding feature in the Jewish nationality group.

The conclusion must therefore be that the Yiddish language, historically the common language and basic means in modern times of cultural intercourse between the majority of Jews in various countries, will continue to play a big and, for a time, decisive role in the struggle for a progressive mass Jewish culture in America. But, at the same time, a continually growing section of American Jews will find progressive Jewish cultural expression in English, with an increasingly larger number finding it in both languages. Hence, the spread of Yiddish and its cultiva-

tion among the masses of American Jews is an inseparable part of the struggle for a progressive Jewish mass culture in the United States, along with concentrated efforts for the production and propagation in English of progressive Jewish cultural values, at the same time making available for the English-speaking Jews the treasures of Jewish people's culture embodied in the Yiddish language.

10. It is the task of Communists to find and present the Marxist answer to the needs and problems of the Jewish people as a people. According to the Leninist position, it is a people having only its national character and culture as common national attributes. Hence, it is not a single nation and is incapable of acting as such. But the Jews of all countries are capable, in the present period, of fighting as a people, in unity with all democratic forces, for uprooting fascism and anti-Semitism, for equality of rights, for a progressive mass Jewish culture, for the rehabilitation and upbuilding of Jewish life in the liberated countries, for help to the free national development of the Yishuv in an independent Palestine state of Arabs and Jews, and for help to the upbuilding of the Jewish Autonomous Region in Birobidjan.

While participating actively in the united anti-fascist activities of the Jewish people of all countries, the progressive forces of the American Jewish nationality group—and in the first place of the Jewish workers and especially the Communists—have the historic task of becoming an ever more intimate and organic part of the progressive movements of the American people as a whole, of the developing labor-democratic coalition to check and defeat the reactionary imperialist offensive of the monopolies. Only thus will the interests and rights of the American Jewish people, as well as the interests of the American people as a whole be effectively defended. Only thus will the American Jewish masses be able to make an effective contribution to the progress and well-being of the Jewish people of other countries.

11. Communists must systematically popularize among the masses the Marxist solution formulated by Lenin and Stalin, of the national and colonial questions in general and of the Jewish question in particular, as offering the only complete and final solution, which becomes possible only with the abolition of the capitalist system of class and national oppression and the establishment of Socialism.