

The
STRUGGLE
AGAINST
ANTI-SEMITISM



***A PROGRAM OF ACTION
FOR AMERICAN JEWRY***

by

J. SOLTIN

C O N T E N T S

| | |
|---|----|
| Introduction | 3 |
| I. The Struggle Against Anti-Semitism is a Struggle For Democracy..... | 8 |
| II. A Program of Struggle Against Anti-Semitism..... | 19 |
| III. For the Unity of All Democratic Forces in Jewish Life | 45 |
| IV. The Role of Our Party in the Struggle for Jewish Unity | 51 |

This pamphlet is the text of a report delivered at the National
Conference of Jewish Communists held in New York,
December 24, 25, and 26, 1938.

Published by
Jewish Buro of the National Committee, Communist Party
35 East 12th Street, New York City



INTRODUCTION

The Conference of American Jewish Communists gathers at a grave moment in the history of our people. Few countries have remained where Jewish life is secure. The masses of the Jewish people in fascist and semi fascist countries, are subjected to cruel persecution and made the victims of unspeakable violence. The blood of the German Jews, victims of horrible pogroms and legalized pillage, cries out to high heaven. And outside of Germany, in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Italy, etc., the fate of the Jewish masses hangs in the balance. Robbed of their human rights, deprived of their means of existence, they are threatened with complete ruin and extermination.

Utter ruin threatens the tens of thousands of Jews who have succeeded in escaping the fascist inferno. The fleeing homeless refugees have been forced into a peacetime No-Man's-Land and are halted and driven back at every frontier, like so many lepers. Their cries for help are becoming more and more heart-rending, but unfortunately the appeal has not yet received the proper response from the more fortunate Jews in the democratic countries.

Also in the democratic countries, including the United States, the condition of the Jews is quite precarious. The economic crisis, from which our country has not yet recovered, has affected the Jewish masses no less than other sections of the population. In addition, evil omens of fascism are apparent throughout the country. The growth of anti-Semitism in the United States has assumed proportions which one could hardly

have imagined only a few months ago. Who, for example, would have thought that anti-Semitism would become an issue in the election campaign in New York State, where Jews play such an important part in the economic, political and social life of the community? But the reactionary leaders of the Republican Party dared to make this an issue. True, they did it in an underhand manner, through a "whispering campaign." The fact remains, however, that they sought to defeat Governor Lehman because he is a Jew. And only at the eleventh hour, when the poisonous anti-Semitic propaganda had had its full pernicious effect, did the Republican gubernatorial candidate, Thomas E. Dewey, make the gesture of repudiating racial bias.

At the same time a spirit of despair is beginning to manifest itself among the Jews in this country, a sentiment of profound dejection and pessimism, which is a direct result of the growing attacks of the fascist forces upon the lives and the rights of the Jewish masses.

One might have expected such a feeling to seize the Jewish masses in this country. The plight of the Jews is so tragic, and the spokesmen of the Jewish bourgeois circles are doing so little to meet the tragic situation that the average Jew feels lost and sees no way out of the disaster. The disunity and disorganization in Jewish life, the inactivity of the large Jewish mass organizations could not but have a dispiriting and detrimental effect upon the Jews in the United States.

This pessimism and spirit of despair that are beginning to appear in Jewish life are the greatest menace to us and the greatest gain for our enemies, the reactionaries, fascists and anti-Semites. They can wish nothing better than to see the Jews capitulate without a fight and withdraw from the army of struggle against fascism. This would help them annihilate the Jewish people completely

and would at the same time intensify their onslaught on the non-Jewish masses as well.

The reactionary forces moving in the direction of fascism in all capitalist countries, including the United States, threaten the entire world with chaos and catastrophe, with the destruction of all human achievement, of our entire civilization. They are ready to let loose the horror of a new world slaughter which they have already begun with the fascist attacks upon Ethiopia, Spain, and China, and with the betrayal of Czechoslovakia.

The Chamberlain-Daladier betrayal of Czechoslovakia was not only a stab in the back of the Czechoslovakian people, but a wider imperialist conspiracy against all small nations whom Chamberlain and Daladier sold down the river to the fascist brigands, a conspiracy against the rising anti-fascist movement of the people in all countries, particularly the home countries of the fascist dictators, Germany and Italy. It is also a conspiracy against the Soviet Union. In their venomous hatred toward the land of socialism, toward the international labor movement, and every democratic movement, the Munich conspirators, the representatives of the imperialist cliques in Britain and France, unleashed the fascist beast, endangering thereby their own national interests. Where they did succeed was in saving German fascism from immediate collapse and strengthening Hitler's position for his planned attack on the Soviet Union.

In this intensified onslaught of reaction and fascism, the Jews are the first to suffer. The immediate result of the Munich betrayal was a barbaric pogrom against the Jews of Germany and Austria. The Munich betrayal has brought about the tragic plight of the Jews in what formerly was democratic Czechoslovakia. Jews are expelled from Sudetenland into Czechoslovakia and from

Czechoslovakia into Sudetenland; Polish Jews are expelled from Germany and German Jews from Poland. Intensified attacks upon the rights of Jews have taken place in Rumania, Italy, Hungary, and other countries. The severest blows of fascist brutality, oppression and destruction rain upon the heads of the Jews and are a prelude to the universal slaughter which is being prepared by the fascist powers.

But it is erroneous to assume that fascist reaction has a clear road ahead. If Munich is the blackest betrayal in the history of mankind, the world has also learned something from Munich. The peoples of the world have learned that fascism cannot match strength with the democratic forces of the world, that only the treachery of the Chamberlains and Daladiers has enabled fascism to survive its own severe crisis. In the critical days of last September it was evident that fascism with all of its poisonous by-products could be defeated. The road to victory over fascism, however, is not the road of capitulation but of struggle.

In his estimate of the relation of forces at the present time, Comrade Browder pointed out in his report to the Tenth Convention of our Party, the following:

“The reactionaries, the fascists, the warmakers, have tremendous resources on their side. They have control of the great trustified industries, the heart of the national economy, in each of the capitalist nations. They are the economic royalists, the ‘sixty families.’ They control the bloody dictatorships of Germany, Italy and Japan, which regiment whole peoples into the military machine. They work internationally, in concert, despite their sharp struggle among themselves, on a world-wide scale, to gobble up and assimilate the world, piecemeal, bite by bite, leading toward world anarchy. They operate on the age-old principle of oppressors—

'divide and conquer.'

"Democracy and progress, the camp of the plain people, the toiling masses, has the advantage of numbers, the overwhelming majority of the people. To it belongs the future. This majority spells power, but only to the degree that it is united and is aware of its enemies and how to defeat them. Within our own country, it has achieved an elementary but unorganized unity, by rallying to oppose the reactionary offensive around the slogans and personality of President Roosevelt; it has strengthened this unity by the rise of new and powerful labor unions, and by the beginnings of independent political organization. . . . In America, as everywhere, the weakness of the camp of democracy and progress is division and disunity—its strength is measured entirely by the degree of unity which it can achieve.

"The road to victory over fascism and war is the road of unity—unity of the working class, unity of the democratic masses of the people, unity of the nation against its exploiters and oppressors."

We, Jewish Communists, have to render account to ourselves concerning the contributions we have made through our work among the Jewish masses toward the accomplishment of this great task of the present moment. For the Jewish masses, victory over fascism is a question of life and death. At this Conference we will have to take stock of our achievements as well as our mistakes and shortcomings; and we will have to utilize our experience of past years in order to make it possible for the stirred emotions of the Jewish masses to assume organized forms of united struggle against fascism and anti-Semitism.

At this Conference we will have to draw up specific new methods of work that will raise our entire mass

work to a new high level in accordance with the demands of our times. We will also have to revise fundamentally our approach to the question of training cadres. We must sharply raise the question of building up our press and, particularly, to take the necessary steps for increasing the tempo of building our Communist Party among the Jewish masses, realizing as we do that this will assure the quickest unification of all the democratic forces in Jewish life for the struggle against anti-Semitism and fascism.

I. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM IS A STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

Two years ago, at our Conference of September, 1936, we signalized the danger of an international pogrom upon Jews prepared by fascism in all capitalist countries. Basing our forecast upon the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Communist International and our American Party which foresaw a sharpening of the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, we pointed out that in this struggle fascism would to an even greater degree make use of anti-Semitism as its sharpest weapon of attack.

It was clear to us that a rise of anti-Semitism on the one hand and of the progressive and revolutionary struggle against anti-Semitism on the other, would take place in all countries, including the United States, since Jewish life and the condition of the Jews are by no means isolated from the political and social life of the country as a whole, but on the contrary, are an integral part of that life. It was clear to us that the so-called Jewish question has been and remains a part of the general social question. We therefore declared that the main task confronting the Jewish people was the struggle

against reaction and fascism; that in order to assure the success of this struggle it was necessary to bring about unity of the American Jews around a concrete program of action. We pointed out that in such a struggle we could rely on powerful forces in the anti-fascist camp in the United States with whom we must join to combat all enemies of democracy and progress, since the fate of the Jewish people is bound up with the victory of democracy and progress.

There were, however, forces in Jewish life—and the bourgeois Yiddish press is not the least of them—which sharply opposed this program and its application in concrete cases.

First of all, they disagreed strongly with our estimate of the situation. They maintained that the Communists were exaggerating the danger of fascism and anti-Semitism; that for political reasons we sought to paint the picture much blacker than it was in reality; that especially in America the cry of anti-Semitism should not be raised, for one reason—because the danger was imaginary: “America is not Germany or Poland”; for another, because the Jews in America could only lose by an open and intensified struggle against anti-semitism: “One should not become obstreperous”; one must bow one’s head and wait for the storm to blow over.

These elements sought to frighten the American Jews, especially when the question was raised of undertaking mass action against anti-Semitism on the other side of the ocean, and in this country when it was a question of open struggle for the rights of the Jews. Every time we took the initiative in carrying out a concrete action on behalf of the Jews or supported such action undertaken by other organizations, the cry was raised that we were bringing new misfortunes upon the heads of the Jews, and thereupon proceeded to sabotage

such actions. Such was the case with the march to Washington undertaken by the Jewish Peoples' Committee and supported by us; such was the case when we proposed that our government be urged to modify the immigration laws in order to enable thousands of refugees from Austria to enter this country; such was the case when we suggested the calling of an emergency conference of American Jews to take up the problem of Jewish refugees; such, too, was the case when we proposed an immediate act of protest against the recent pogroms upon the Jews in Germany.

THE POLICY OF "APPEASING" THE ANTI-SEMITES

In order to justify their own inactivity and their efforts to prevent the mobilization of American Jews for a real struggle against anti-Semitism, these elements developed a theory known in the Yiddish idiom as "Lign eingelegt", meaning, taking it lying down. According to their theory, Jews must not make themselves too conspicuous because they are aliens and strangers in the United States. Jews, according to this theory, must refrain from occupying prominent positions in the political and social life of the country; explicitly and implicitly this theory states that there are too many Jews in the professions and in politics. We must therefore voluntarily impose upon ourselves a "numerus clausus," a percentage quota with respect to the non-Jewish population.

This theory gives rise to the tactical line proposed by its adherents. It is a line of retreating before the enemy, a line that finds its embodiment in the slogan, "back to the ghetto." Actually, there is nothing new in this. It is the same old musty theory and tactics of the Jewish bourgeoisie in Czarist Russia.

The theory of finding favor with the forces of reaction and anti-Semitism, the theory of inaction and of "taking it lying down" is a reactionary theory stemming from the Jewish finance bourgeoisie and serving its interests. Just as in Czarist Russia decades ago, so in the United States today the Jewish bourgeoisie consider it in their interest to prevent any and every mass movement of the Jews. The Jewish capitalists, who constitute only a small portion of American Jewry, are enemies of trade-unionism among the Jewish workers, are opposed to Jewish secular organizations and support reaction in American politics, though they know that reaction and anti-Semitism go hand in hand. Like all capitalists, they place their capitalist class-interests above the interests of the people. But even as regards their own class interests they are in error. The experience of the Jewish bourgeoisie in Germany and Italy has proved this clearly. The Nazis began by depriving the poorer Jews of their rights and possessions, then they proceeded to do likewise with the middle classes and now they are eliminating the big Jewish capitalists.

The tactical line of withdrawing from social life, of returning to the ghetto is fundamentally false, because the leaders of the anti-Semitic movement cannot be placated or won over, whether the Jews play a prominent part in the life of the country or not, whether they conduct themselves one way or another. The anti-Semites are not out to reform the Jews but to rob the masses of Jews and non-Jews of their democratic rights and liberties in order to secure larger profits for the monopoly capitalists. They seek to eliminate their Jewish competitors for the same reason. They seek to befuddle the minds of the masses of the people in order to divert their attention from the real enemy, the big exploiters. They seek to disrupt the unity of the work-

ers, farmers, and middle classes in order to weaken their resistance against the attacks of the capitalists and to halt their struggle for socialism.

In Germany, the Jewish bourgeoisie failed to obtain immunity from persecution and annihilation through the political support they gave to Hitler before he came into power. In Italy where the Jewish finance magnates even played an important part in the fascist movement, this fact did not help them stay the hand of fascism when anti-Semitism became useful as a means to maintain the fascist regime. And in the United States fascism and reaction make use of anti-Semitism for the same reason. American reactionaries and fascists speak of the New Deal as the "Jew Deal"; they disseminate vicious propaganda in which the Roosevelt administration is represented as a Jewish administration, Roosevelt himself is called a Jew whose real name is Rosenfeld, and the real power in the administration is ascribed to the Jews, Bernard Baruch and Felix Frankfurter. Here anti-Semitism is used as a means of struggle against the social achievements of the masses under the New Deal.

Life itself has discredited the theory and tactics of currying favor with the reactionaries and anti-Semites, of seeking to placate them at the price of not protesting against their outrages, of refraining from the struggle against them. If Jews should follow this line of non-protest and non-resistance, it would, on the contrary, only aid the anti-Semites in their destructive work. A clear example of the harmful results of such tactics has been furnished in connection with the recent pogroms upon the Jews in Germany.

THE DO-NOTHING THEORY APPLIED

The entire civilized world was horrified by the barbaric orgy of the Nazi cannibals. In the United States, the

reaction of public opinion was sharp and outspoken in its protest and indignation. Not one responsible newspaper or public figure in this country uttered a word in defense or justification of the Nazi pogrom-makers. When President Roosevelt declared that he "could scarcely believe that such a thing was possible in a civilization of the twentieth century," he expressed the sentiment of the great majority of the American people. When the President recalled the American ambassador and commercial attache from Berlin, he gave concrete expression of the desire of the great majority of Americans for breaking off relations with the government of pogrom-makers, to isolate the Hitler government from the rest of the civilized world.

But at the time when the country was stirred to its depths by the feeling of protest, what did the proponents of hush-hush contribute to public opinion in this country? They sought in every way to curb this outburst of indignation among the Jewish masses; they warned and threatened the Jews not to take part in the tremendous protest movement that swept through the country; they sought in every way to hinder the protest demonstration undertaken by the Jewish People's Committee, invoking the phony slogan of "national discipline." Instead of placing themselves at the head of the mass protest, to organize it and make it more effective, as was proposed by the Jewish People's Committee, they tried in every way to create the feeling among non-Jews that Jews should not participate in this movement. Thus they have brought shame upon the Jewish name, and placed Jews in the category of inferior citizens who do not have the right of other citizens to raise their voice in protest. We know that leaders of American political and Jewish social life were actually embarrassed by the attitude of those Jews and hesitated to come forward with stronger

protests against the Nazi barbarians and with more outspoken demands that this government take action against Nazi Germany. It was the Jewish People's Committee that saved the dignity of the Jews in America through its impressive protest demonstrations.

The latest events in Germany have dramatized the destructive work of anti-Semitism which is directed with particular fiendishness against the Jewish people, but which at the same time aims a death blow at the non-Jewish masses as well. The means employed by the Nazis against the Jews are of a familiar pattern. Some of them are as old as anti-Semitism itself, others are of more recent origin. Among the former is the policy of economic discrimination tending in the direction of eliminating the Jews entirely from the economic field. In the last few years this policy has been pursued at an ever increasing pace. The methods employed depend upon the relative strength of fascism in the various countries. Where fascism is in possession of state power, it operates with the aid of state decrees, such as the Nuremberg Laws in Germany or the newly promulgated anti-Jewish laws in Italy. These laws aim at depriving the Jews of all means of economic existence and turning them into a people of paupers.

In the semi-fascist countries where fascism has not yet seized control of the state but has succeeded in influencing wide sections of the population, it operates with the aid of a public boycott against the Jews, supplemented by anti-Jewish legislation. We see instances of such a policy in Poland, Rumania and Hungary. The beginnings of a public anti-Jewish boycott are also to be discerned in the United States.

But economic extermination is only one of the weapons in the arsenal of anti-Semitism. No less destructive is the fascist method of ideological attack. In the demagoguery

of fascism anti-Semitism occupies almost the central position. Why? Because anti-Semitism is the magic wand in the hands of fascist reaction whereby the social demagoguery of fascism which is more or less dangerous, or at least inconvenient for the bourgeoisie, can be directed along the channels of nationalist demagoguery. This serves the fascists as a means of diverting the indignation of the masses against predatory monopoly capitalism and routing it in the direction of the "aliens," especially Jews. In this respect, Nazism with its race theories plays the leading role.

FASCIST RACE THEORIES

These race theories purporting to establish the natural superiority of certain races over certain other races are completely false. They are the invention of spurious "scientists" in the service of imperialism for the purpose of justifying aggression and violence against other peoples. The elementary principles of human society, the entire history of mankind contradicts and disproves these theories. True scientists who are not under the heel of Fascism and its masters, monopoly capitalists, emphatically repudiate these theories.

Prominent in the scheme of fascist race theories is the so-called doctrine of the inferiority of the Jewish race. To Nazi-fascism, and lately also to Mussolini-fascism, goes the malodorous distinction of trying to prove "scientifically" the inferiority of the Jews as a people. The "scientific" flunkeys of the Nazi cannibals have undertaken the task of raising the fascist lie of Jewish inferiority to the level of a "science."

The same theory of race inferiority is being applied to the Negro people in the United States and for the same purpose. The persecution of the Negro people, like the oppression of the Jews, is a serious menace to America.

Lynch-law is no less abhorrent to us than anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitic propaganda which is being disseminated among the Negro people, serves to split the united ranks of Negroes and Jews in their struggle to maintain and extend their democratic rights and liberties. We, as an oppressed people, must especially join with the Negro people in the struggle against all race theories and all oppression due to race or nationality.

The fascist race theory is the greatest menace to Jews and non-Jews alike. The anti-Semitic propaganda in the United States in this respect serves as a classical example.

In our country, certain elements among the ruling classes have always sought to arouse antagonism towards "aliens" whenever their own political rule was threatened. This was the case with the Federalists at the end of the 18th century, the Know-Nothing Party before the Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan after the Civil War, and other reactionary groups and movements down to our day. With respect to the Jews, this often assumed the forms of a certain kind of social anti-Semitism. But in recent years we see in the United States an intensification of all forms of anti-Semitism. There has been an increase in economic discriminations against Jews, a growing tendency to bar Jews from public office, and an even greater intensification of ideological anti-Semitic agitation aiming to render the Jews obnoxious in the eyes of their American neighbors.

This anti-Semitic agitation in the United States has in the last few years assumed proportions unequalled in any other country, except Germany. The United States is literally flooded with anti-Semitic literature; and we know that this propaganda is supported, stimulated and financed first by Nazi agents and spies who are intimately connected with every anti-Semitic organization in the

United States and secondly by Wall Street magnates and "economic royalists," whose financing of anti-Semitic activities has been established by official Congressional investigations.

We must dwell at some length on the content of this ramified anti-Semitic propaganda in the United States. First of all, anti-Semitism serves as an excuse for the vicious attacks upon President Roosevelt and his New Deal administration; secondly, it provides an excuse for a bitter attack upon one of the main traditions of American democracy—the equality of all peoples, races and religions before the law.

Equality before the law is a basic principle of the American Constitution, incorporated in the Bill of Rights. The American people waged bitter struggles in order to secure these fundamental liberties. Franklin and Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln were in the front ranks of the fighters for these democratic rights of the American people. With the aid of anti-Semitism American reaction now seeks to deprive the masses of these rights. The anti-Semitic agitation aiming to curtail the rights of the American Jews, to place them beyond the law, constitutes an attempt to undermine the very foundations of American democracy. Fascism begins with the Jews, with limiting their rights, and ends with depriving the entire population of all its liberties. Reactionaries in this country have already raised the question of limiting the rights of Catholics as well as Jews, by raising the slogan of a "white Protestant America."

Thus anti-Semitic propaganda in this country is a menace to the American people. It aims to disrupt the unity of the American people, of our nation, formed in the course of the last three centuries by various racial and national groups of immigrants from many countries and of many religions. They have all contributed from

the treasures of their national cultures to build the American nation. The existence of national groups in this country has always been regarded as a natural feature of American life. The American people have always been proud of the fact that various national groups have been fused into a new unity, the American nation. By seeking to single out one national group, the Jews, and making it the target of its attacks, anti-Semitism aims to undermine the entire structure of the United States.

Anti-Semitism is therefore aimed not only against the Jews in the United States, but also against the entire American people. It is part of the general offensive of American finance capital against the masses of the people, their liberties, their unity, their achievements. No wonder we find among the supporters of anti-Semitic organizations of this country such Wall Street figures as Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, Stotesbury of the House of Morgan, and other finance magnates.

Comrades, we have paused to analyze the essence and aims of anti-Semitism in the United States because anti-Semitism in our country and in every capitalist country is one of the most dangerous weapons used by the reactionary circles of finance capital in their attempts to abolish democratic liberties and to establish a fascist dictatorship. It is therefore clear that the struggle against anti-Semitism is the cause not of the American Jews alone, but of every sincere anti-fascist, of every liberty-loving American; and it is therefore also clear that in the struggle against anti-Semitism in the United States we are not alone, that we have as our allies the great majority of the American people who hate fascism and all it represents.

The American public has become conscious of the fact that it faces a new acute problem, anti-Semitism.

An ever-growing number of non-Jewish organizations are voicing their protest against Jew-baiting. The reaction to the recent pogroms against the Jews in Germany has shown that the great majority of the American people condemn anti-Semitism, that the foul deeds of anti-Semitism have aroused the greatest indignation of the American masses who regard the Hitlers, Goerings and Goebbels as human monsters for whom they have nothing but disgust and contempt.

We also note an intensification of the ideological struggle against anti-Semitism. The number of American scientists raising their voices to combat the fascist race theory is increasing; there is also an increase in the number of political and social organizations which have made the direct struggle against anti-Semitism an integral part of their activities, a part of the general struggle against fascism and reaction.

It is to these progressive democratic forces that we Jews must look for support. The victory of these forces over the forces of reaction will constitute a guarantee of the lives and rights of the Jews in America. But the victory of the progressive forces in the United States depends upon the degree of their unity. Unity of all progressive forces against the onslaught of fascism and reaction would be the greatest blow to anti-Semitism in our country. To the Jews in the United States it is a vital problem, and we can play an important part in helping achieve such unity.

II. A PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

Millions of the working population in the United States, Jews and non-Jews, ask the question: how can anti-Semitism be successfully combatted, how can it be defeated? To this question we, Jewish Communists, must

furnish the answer. We must point the way and dispel the feeling of despair and hopelessness among the Jewish masses; we must draw up a program of action that will be acceptable to the Jewish masses and find support in the camp of progressive American democracy.

Our first task, at the present moment, is to convince the Jewish masses that anti-Semitism can be successfully fought and defeated. This fight, however, is and must be an integral part of the larger struggle against fascism. Every attempt to separate the two aspects of the struggle plays into the hands of the anti-Semites. We emphasize this point even though the voices of those who have sought to separate these struggles are constantly growing weaker. If a few years ago certain Jewish leaders denied the truth that anti-Semitism and fascism are two sides of the same coin, they can no longer deny it today, since the masses of the Jewish people have arrived at this truth through bitter experience. Today, even the leaders of the Jewish bourgeois organizations admit this truth. The leaders of the American Jewish Congress, for example, maintained for a long time that Hitler anti-Semitism should be combatted but that the fight against Nazi anti-Semitism must not be coupled with the question of fighting fascism as a whole. They maintained that we must not take sides on the question of forms of government prevailing in this or that state. But now these same leaders have come to the conclusion that fascism and anti-Semitism are twins. In the declaration of the American Jewish Congress adopted at its session in September, 1938, they state that Jewish liberation is linked with the liberation of the countries ruled by fascism and that the struggle of the Jews who defend their rights must proceed hand in hand with the struggles of the peoples suffering under fascist rule.

We fully agree with this position. We shall only add that in the countries where fascism is not yet victorious, it is our task to fight hand in hand with the progressive forces to prevent a victory of fascism. We think that this declaration marks an advance in the struggle against anti-Semitism and fascism, because a common appraisal of the situation and the tasks ahead must ultimately lead to a common program of action for the accomplishment of the tasks.

We must, however, have a clear conception of the conditions under which the struggle takes place as well as the conditions necessary for the achievement of the tasks. Let us analyze these conditions in the United States.

No matter how much reaction seeks to represent the results of the last elections as an expression of opposition to the New Deal, one thing is clear: that under the attacks of finance capital upon the living standards of the masses the forces of democracy have begun to organize, that these forces are to be found both in the Democratic Party and in the Republican Party; and that there is an ever growing tendency for the unification of these forces in a common front. In the last few years, the progressive forces of this country have cut across the old political lines and have been destroying the old political party structures which have dominated the United States since the Civil War, with the consequent crystallization of two entirely new political camps. Of central importance in this development is the ever deepening struggle of the progressive against the reactionary forces in the Democratic Party.

This struggle centers around the New Deal policies of the Roosevelt administration. The New Deal wing of the Democratic Party, created under the leadership of President Roosevelt, is supported by a large following—for the most part unorganized—of workers, farmers,

and urban middle classes. Despite all its weaknesses, the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party is a potent factor in the strengthening and consolidation of the forces of progress in their struggle against the forces of reaction.

At the same time we are witnessing a rapid growth of independent political organizations of the people, such as Labor's Non-Partisan League, The American Labor Party in New York State, The Farmer-Labor parties in the West, The American Youth Congress, the congresses and people's front organizations of the national groups, etc. These independent political organizations of the people are the most dynamic forces in the struggle for democracy, in the fight against fascism. The unification of all these forces in one mighty democratic front will enable us to defeat the forces of reaction and fascism in the United States and also to defeat anti-Semitism which is a weapon in the hands of reaction and fascism.

A program of struggle against anti-Semitism under these conditions in the United States demands, therefore, that the Jews in this country support the forces of the democratic progressive camp. The Jews in the United States must repudiate with the greatest indignation those leading Jews who lend their support to reaction in American politics, who support reactionary candidates both of the Democratic and Republican parties. For by supporting reactionaries in politics, these Jews support anti-Semitism, whether or not the individual reactionary candidates openly subscribe to the tenets of anti-Semitism and race prejudice. Moreover, the anti-Semites make use of the alliance between prominent Jews and reaction for the purpose of inciting the American masses against the Jews. We have seen an instance of this in Maryland where certain Jewish circles supported the

reactionary candidate of the Democratic Party and where the anti-Semites later distributed leaflets charging the Jews with responsibility for the defeat of the New Deal candidate.

Hence, our task consists in making it clear to the Jewish masses that wherever the democratic forces of the American people are uniting in an effort to defeat reaction and fascism, Jews must take an active part in such efforts because the defeat of reaction also spells defeat for anti-Semitism. We need not be afraid to tell the progressive Americans that in the general struggle against reaction we have a special interest; we need not be afraid to emphasize the anti-Semitic aspect of the general offensive of reaction, the necessity for combatting and eradicating anti-Semitism as a grave menace not only to the Jews, but to American democracy as a whole.

THE WORKING CLASS IS OUR STRONGEST ALLY

A program of struggle against anti-Semitism, furthermore, must take into account the fact that the most uncompromising fighters against fascism are the masses of workers. The experience of Germany, Italy, and all other fascist and semi-fascist countries has proved to the workers that fascism is in the first instance directed against the working class, against the living standards of the toiling masses, against their organizations, against their struggle for a socialist order that will put an end to exploitation and oppression, to imperialist wars and the enslavement of peoples. The workers are beginning to realize that fascism is the bitterest enemy of the working class, that whatever its forms, whatever the means through which it seeks to gain power, it represents an "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reac-

tionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital" (Dimitroff).

In the working class the Jewish people therefore has its strongest ally. The working class is the most uncompromising fighter against fascism and its most important weapon, anti-Semitism, through which fascism seeks to divide the ranks of the working class.

But precisely because the working class is the most uncompromising enemy of fascism, the latter seeks to penetrate all labor organizations, particularly the trade unions, with its anti-Semitic propaganda. It tries to take advantage of specific problems and difficulties of a given industry in order to mislead the workers through anti-Semitic agitation and thus divide their ranks. We see an example of this in the situation created in the needle industry in New York and in several other cities.

In the needle industry, a change in composition is taking place. Up to a relatively short time ago it was generally known as a Jewish industry, with both the workers and employers predominantly Jewish. Lately, however, workers of other national groups,—Italian, Negro and Spanish,—have found their way into the industry. Because of their lesser skill the new workers of these groups have been forced to work for lower wages. And the Jewish employers have been behaving true to their class nature and hiring non-Jews at lower rates of pay. In addition, this situation has been aggravated by the false orientation on the part of a number of leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union who either have not understood the problem or else have sought a solution in the wrong direction.

In these circumstances much bad feeling has accumulated. Jewish workers are being influenced to consider the new elements in the industry as competitors

who deprive them of a livelihood. The new non-Jewish workers are not only aware of these sentiments but they also look askance at the leadership in the unions. One often hears talk about "Jewish domination" in the union and the industry.

These conditions are being taken advantage of by the fascists active among the Italian workers. The agents of Mussolini-fascism spread their anti-Semitic poison among the Italian workers in order to win them over to fascism. Because of this agitation of the fascists, a certain degree of antagonism has been created among certain elements of the Jewish and Italian workers in the needle industry.

It must be emphasized, however, that the majority of the Italian leaders in the industry realize the danger and have come out sharply against anti-Semitic propaganda in this country and against Mussolini's anti-Semitic policy in Italy. They have condemned this policy in the sharpest terms.

The Jewish workers in the needle industry, with the Jewish Communists in the vanguard, have before them an important task. Not only must we exert all our efforts to dispel the antagonism that has been fostered among the workers in the industry, but we must bring together the various national groups in a common struggle against the common enemy, reaction and fascism. The Jewish Communists must be in the front ranks of the fighters for a constructive program in the unions that will create harmony among the workers in the industries. The Jewish Communists must consider it their duty at all times to explain to the Jewish, Italian, Negro, Greek, Polish, and other workers in the various trades that the fascists seek only to create antagonism and disunity in the ranks of the workers; that the fascists are actuated only by anti-labor aims: to divide and de-

moralize the workers in this or that industry in order to smash the working class as a whole. Through our work we must transform the unions in the needle industry into strong weapons in the struggle against anti-Semitism.

We repeat that in the working class and its organizations the Jewish people has its strongest ally against anti-Semitism. For the Jews in America, not only the workers but all toiling Jews, professionals and urban middle classes, a strong united trade union movement is a guarantee of a successful struggle against anti-Semitism. The American Jews must therefore show themselves to be the greatest friends of the American trade union movement. An organized, progressive working class is the strongest fortress against anti-Semitism.

The workers as a class are interested in abolishing capitalist exploitation and all its evils. The working class, historically destined to solve all the social problems created by capitalism, is also interested in solving the Jewish question completely and forever. This is not a mere theory, for we have a concrete example of the socialist solution in the Soviet Union.

THE SOVIET UNION POINTS THE WAY

The Soviet Union is outstanding among the forces of progress which are the hope of humanity at the present time. In the bewilderment, confusion and disintegration prevailing in the capitalist world, the Soviet Union stands forth as a powerful beacon. At a time when the capitalist world is on the brink of a new economic crisis even before it has had a breathing spell following the last deep crisis, the Soviet Union is witnessing a gigantic expansion of its socialist industry, the growing progress of collective farming, a rise in the welfare of the Soviet masses. Economically the Soviet Union has assumed a leading

place among the industrial nations of Europe, while other nations are suffering both from acute and chronic crises.

The great Stalinist Constitution expresses the fact that the land of socialism is the greatest and broadest democracy in the world. This Constitution embodies the unity of the workers and other toilers in the Soviet Union, the unity of the Soviet people with its Bolshevik Party and its Soviet government, the unity of the peoples and nationalities comprising the Soviet Union,—the unity which has made the Soviet Union into a power unequalled in this world.

The Soviet Union has been and remains the mightiest fortress of peace upon which peace-loving mankind can depend for certain support. We have had proof of this in the historically outspoken stand taken by the Soviet Union in connection with the Czechoslovakian crisis when the Chamberlain and Daladier governments betrayed the last island of democracy in Central Europe. At that crucial moment the Soviet Union did all it could to rescue the Czechoslovakian people from the claws of Hitlerism. It was the Soviet representative, Litvinov, who alone at the session of the League of Nations was in a position to declare with his head high that he represented "a government which has a great sense of responsibility and clean hands with respect to its observance of international obligations."

The Soviet Union has proved the strongest and most consistent fighter against fascism and all of its poisonous fruits. In the Soviet Union the fascists and their agents did not find a fertile soil. The Soviet government rid the country of the Trotskyite and Bukharinist fascist spies, provocateurs, wreckers, and conspirators, thus strengthening the power of the Soviet Union and dealing fascism a mighty blow.

We, the Jewish masses, have a particular reason to be among the warmest and most devoted friends of the Soviet Union. If we regard the Soviet Union from no other than the Jewish standpoint, every Jew must inevitably find himself in the ranks of the friends of the Soviet Union, for that country has set the example to the nations of the world in solving the Jewish question completely and for all time. In the Soviet Union the condition of the Jews is constantly improving. It is the only country where the welfare of the Jews rises in the same degree as the welfare of the entire country, where the culture of the Jewish masses is in the process of a mighty upsurge. The Soviet Union is building Biro-Bidjan as the future Jewish Soviet Republic despite great difficulties.

In the Soviet Union we find the example of many nationalities living side by side in the same state and working with enthusiasm for the common welfare and the fraternity of peoples and races. The example of the Soviet Union shows that socialism is the solution for all the vexing social problems of our times.

In the United States, as in other countries, we find the Trotskyites in the vanguard of the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union and the working masses. The Trotskyite and Lovestoneite agents of fascism in the United States seek also to penetrate Jewish organizations in this country with their disruptive work. As everywhere, they lie low for a time waiting for the opportunity to raise a false issue in order to create confusion and disorganization in the progressive Jewish organizations and movements. Their proposals always aim to prevent and disrupt the unity of the Jewish masses, and their most poisonous darts are aimed at the Soviet Union.

We Jewish workers with the Jewish Communists in

the vanguard, must with particular energy combat the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite incitements. We must at all times guard against these traitors in order to unmask all of their criminal machinations. We must ever remember Comrade Browder's warning in his report to the Tenth Party Convention:

"Vigilance and alertness must not be allowed to become a phrase with which even the enemy can cover himself. It must become an ingrained attitude, displayed in practice, in the practice of identifying the Trotsky-Lovestoneite enemies through all their disguises and camouflages, of exposing them before the people, thus accelerating the consolidation of the democratic forces against the offensive of reaction and all its agents."

The struggle against the Trotsky-Lovestoneite agents of fascism is a component part of a successful struggle against anti-Semitism.

CONCRETE TASKS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

A program of struggle against anti-Semitism presupposes not only our work among the broad non-Jewish masses, but also our work among the Jewish people. Here, too, it is possible to develop a program of action around which it is possible to unite the broadest strata of the Jewish population.

In the first place, it is necessary to wage a persistent struggle to combat discriminations against Jews wherever they are manifested. We know that in the utilities, in the professions and lately also in commerce and industry, acts of discrimination against Jews have become a daily occurrence; we know that many Jewish girls are forced to conceal their Jewish origin

in order to obtain a job in an office or even as a clerk in a department store. But we overlook these discriminations and we pass them by without taking proper measures to combat them.

It is necessary to develop a broad movement in connection with every act of discrimination against Jews. Wherever we meet with such acts we must expose them, and we must not let any such acts pass without protest, resistance, and mass struggle. The Jewish Communists must be in the front ranks of every mass struggle against anti-Semitism in all its forms and must lead this struggle at all times.

Next to the struggle against discrimination we must organize an unceasing struggle against the widespread anti-Semitic propaganda in the United States. This propaganda must be combatted in a most decisive manner. Wherever we meet with anti-Semitic propaganda—Jew-baiting periodicals, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., we must unmask the individuals and organizations behind them and reveal them to the American people as enemies of the people and democracy. It is true, and we repeat it again, that the fight against these expressions of anti-Semitism must become the concern of all progressive Americans. But it would be a grave mistake for the American Jews to remain inactive themselves and wait for the non-Jews to organize this struggle. An organized struggle of the Jews against every expression of anti-Semitism will not only meet with warm sympathy among the American masses, but will stimulate them not to remain passive onlookers, not to neglect the struggle, but to make the fight against anti-Semitism a part of their own daily struggle against reaction, against fascism, and for progress and democracy.

The struggle against anti-Semitism among the Jewish masses places before us the task of paying

special attention to the harmful effects that the anti-Semitic theories are beginning to have upon the Jewish masses themselves. The false theory of Jewish inferiority, of the worthlessness or even harmfulness of Jewish culture, has already begun having its pernicious effect of breaking not only the body but also the spirit of the Jewish masses,—particularly the youth and a section of the English-speaking Jews who are not familiar with Jewish life and with the positive achievements of the Jewish people. Some of these American Jews are beginning to doubt their own right to existence, the need of struggle for their right to be Jews, the value of the contributions of the Jewish people to the common treasure of human culture.

THE PROGRESSIVE TRADITIONS OF JEWISH CULTURE

We have until now paid too little attention to this important aspect of anti-fascist work, of effective struggle against anti-Semitism — namely, the task of placing in the foreground the progressive traditions of the Jewish people, popularizing the role of Jews as creators of culture, as champions of progressive ideas in all countries and as devoted participants in the movements for the emancipation of humanity in all periods.

The Jewish masses may be proud of the Jewish culture and they have nothing to be ashamed of or to apologize for in this respect. Jewish culture, like the culture of all peoples, has been created by the people and is a means of struggle for a better life. It is a complex of values which make it possible for the people to advance along the road to a secure future in a socialist system. Jewish culture, like the culture of all peoples, is an instrument, or rather, a composite of instruments, in the

hands of the people as an aid to its growth and development.

Jewish culture is an expression of the people's healthy will to live. The desire of a people to live cannot be separated from its desire to retain its identity. Only the predatory ruling classes seek to suppress peoples and destroy their cultures. The international working class, the bearer of social justice, of the liberation of mankind from exploitation of man by man, is also the greatest champion of national liberation, national equality and national culture. Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin are the greatest champions not only of social liberation but also of national liberation of all peoples.

The attitude of the working class toward national culture is a positive one. Comrade Stalin formulated it on behalf of the entire working class when he stated:

"I also spoke of raising the national cultural level in the Soviet Republics of the East. But what is national culture? How are we to make national culture compatible with proletarian culture? Did not Lenin, in pre-war days, say that we had two cultures: bourgeois culture and socialist culture, and that the slogan of national culture was a reactionary slogan of the bourgeoisie which is striving to infect the mind with the virus of nationalism? How are we to reconcile the development of national culture, the development of schools and courses in the native language, and the training from among the local people, with the building of Socialism, with the building of proletarian culture? Is this not an irreconcilable contradiction? Of course not! We are now building proletarian culture. That is absolutely true. But it is also true that proletarian culture, which is socialist in content, is assuming different forms and different

means of expression among the various peoples who have been drawn into the work of socialist construction, according to their language, their local customs, and so forth. Proletarian in content and national in form—such is the universal culture towards which socialism is marching. Proletarian culture does not cancel national culture but gives it content. On the other hand, national culture does not cancel proletarian culture, but it gives it form.” (Stalin, **Leninism**, vol. 1, p. 186.)

The theory of assimilation, of devouring national cultures by suppressing them, or even by renouncing “voluntarily” one’s national identity, is a bourgeois theory which expresses the imperialist interests of the ruling classes. In its struggle for markets, capitalism seeks to oppress and dominate peoples and countries by force. It does it in the name of the ostensibly higher culture of the ruling nation as compared to the lower culture of the people it oppresses. The working class, in fighting against exploitation generally, also fights against the oppression of one people by another. In this struggle it does not ignore the national differences of language, culture and mode of living. Lenin teaches us that “national and state differences among peoples and countries . . . will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale.” (Lenin, **“Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder”**).

We base our approach to Jewish culture squarely upon the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, which are already being carried out in the life of the Soviet Union, where national cultures of peoples, among them also Jewish culture—socialist in content and national in form—are being built with the greatest devotion and enthusiasm.

We also draw upon our experience in the United States. Here, too, we see that the will to live on the part of the Jewish masses is inseparable from the urge to develop their own culture as part of the colorful pattern of the national life of this country. Time after time, the disappearance of Jewish life in America has been predicted; time after time, we have heard prophecies to the effect that in a few decades there would be no more Jews in this country, especially if the flow of immigration should diminish. But life itself has belied and ridiculed these "prophecies." Immigration has practically ceased in the last quarter of a century. The majority of the Jews in this country have become Americanized and to a greater or lesser degree have acquired the English language. But the number of Yiddish speaking people has not decreased in the United States. The prestige of the Yiddish language has grown. A great Yiddish culture has developed in this country precisely within the last quarter of a century. This culture is ramified, finding expression in important works of literature, in the Yiddish theatre which despite all its shortcomings can point to great achievements, Jewish music, and of late—also Jewish plastic arts, with notable progress characteristic of all of these cultural branches.

It is worth noting, in this connection, that a healthy change has taken place in the attitude toward Jewish culture on the part of the second and even the third generation of Jews. The negative attitude of these sections of the Jewish population toward Jewish culture, which prevailed until a couple of decades ago, is beginning to disappear and simultaneously there is an evident desire on the part of American-born Jews not only to become acquainted with the cultural achievements of their people but also to master the Yiddish language and to contribute their share to the further

development of Yiddish culture. Our training courses for teachers now have a majority of American-born students who, in addition to their general education acquired at high school or college, take courses of training to qualify themselves as teachers in our Yiddish schools. In our monthly Yiddish publication, **Der Hammer**, and also in our daily **Morning Freiheit**, there have already appeared the first swallows of a native Yiddish literature, American-born poets and novelists creating their literary works in the Yiddish language. In the political and social life of the country American-born Jews have been occupying prominent positions for a long time.

The correct approach to the problems of the English-speaking Jews in this country involves considerably more than the question of language. Comrade Browder, in his report to the December, 1938 meeting of the National Committee of our Party, gave a lucid formulation of this problem. He said:

"The question of finding the proper approach to the national groups is only incidentally and partially a language problem. It is first of all a question of understanding these groups as **communities** bound together by ties of custom, tradition and culture, organically bound up with the **community as a whole**, but having its own special characteristics and problems. It is by no means identical with the **foreign-born** section, which in fact constitutes a distinct minority. The national groups persist even into the third and fourth generations of native-born Americans. Almost the entire population of our country is descended from immigrants, and only in the course of many generations do they dissolve the communities based upon their national origins. The basic truth has long been well-known and well-considered by the old political parties.

"Both the Republican and Democratic Parties have long had their organizations of the national groups—Irish-American Democratic Clubs, Italian-American, German-American, Polish-American, and so on. And these organizations of the national groups are a necessary feature of any effective democracy in a nation of such varied origins as our own. Any branch or Section of our Party which fails to take this fully into account, to give the problem the most careful and detailed study, will surely fail to make the most of its opportunities. The national groups and their problems are a major feature of the political and social life of the United States."

In our resolution we have presented a program of activities in this field which will have to be rounded out and concretized by this Conference. This program of ours is not one of national nihilism, national isolation or national chauvinism. On the contrary, it is in the spirit of international equality, progress, and the struggle for socialism. We proclaim that the Jews in the United States are part of the great American people. Driven by persecution in Czarist Russia and other countries where reaction was rampant and made the Jews the scapegoat, we, together with masses of immigrants from other nations came to America, the land of hope and promise. With our sweat and blood we gained the right to regard ourselves as citizens of the country of our choice. We love our new fatherland and are part of its creative people. At all epochs in the history of the United States, we contributed our share to the struggle for progress in our country. We are neither aliens nor guests in America. In a country whose people "are descended from immigrants and revolutionists," as President Roosevelt aptly put it, all national groups, including the Jews, have contributed their share and consequently have a right

to enjoy everything created by our American civilization and culture. The American nation, forged through generations of struggle in a new-world surroundings is not a nation of Nordics or Anglo-Saxons. Every conscientious American historian emphasizes the fact that in America we have a welding together of peoples and races who joined hands to build a new country where they might enjoy the fruits of their labor.

Fascist reaction in the United States seeks to cripple this true Americanism. The "Americanism" of the one-hundred-percenters is a travesty on true Americanism which is characterized by its revolutionary tradition, the tradition of struggle for progress.

We base ourselves on this true Americanism, and to the fascist lies about Jewish inferiority we reply proudly by pointing to the great contributions of the Jews to the culture of America, to the culture of humanity.

We consider it our duty, as firm fighters against fascism and fascist theories, to acquaint the world, and particularly the Jewish masses, with the great achievements of our people in all fields of culture in every land, to bring to them the knowledge of the great contributions of our people to the wealth of progressive human culture. In this respect we are faced with a special problem of reaching the Jewish youth and the sections of the English-speaking population who have scant knowledge of Jewish life, Jewish culture, the positive achievements of the Jewish people.

This task we formulated at our last Conference. But we have not gone much beyond mere declarations, and in the past two years we have done almost nothing to carry out the decisions of the Conference with respect to this question. At this Conference we will have to make a decisive turn toward the fulfillment of this task.

We will have to adopt organizational measures to translate these decisions into a coordinated program of action.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

A program of struggle against fascism and anti-Semitism cannot omit the refugee problem. This acute problem, confronting the Jews in all democratic countries, is a direct result of the fascist persecution of Jews. But we must emphasize the fact that the refugee problem has become more than a Jewish problem. It is now a world problem out of all proportion to the limited possibilities of private initiative and must be solved with the aid of all the democratic countries of the world.

The Evian Conference which was a beginning in the direction of attempting a solution of the problem as a world problem, has not fulfilled the hope it created. It is certain that President Roosevelt, who took the initiative in calling that conference, probably expected it to bring more substantial results. Besides, the refugee problem at the present moment is much different from what it was when the Evian Conference took place, and this new situation calls for a new approach and new plans.

We heartily appreciate President Roosevelt's decision to prevent the deportation to the Hitler inferno of the 15,000 German and Austrian refugees who are now in this country on tourist visas. But we maintain that our country can and should contribute more than this toward the solution of the refugee problem. We must insist that the age-old American tradition of asylum for all victims of political and religious persecution be revived. We must insist upon a liberalization of the immigration laws so that the quotas from the fascist countries are raised and the unused remainder of the quotas

for other countries be made available to refugees.

We know, however, that no single country can alone solve this problem, and it certainly cannot be left to Mr. Chamberlain who is famous for his "realistic solutions" of world problems. We know that all proposals coming from him about settling the Jewish refugees in the jungles of Africa and other God-forsaken places are not made in the interests of the Jewish refugees but in the interests of Hitler fascism, even though the Berlin rulers may appear peeved and express opposition to these proposals. We know the methods and manners of fascism. Godesberg and Munich were an instructive lesson in this respect.

It should be stated as emphatically as possible that we are opposed to plans of colonization with the expressed or implied purpose of moving all Jews from Germany, Poland or any other country. The Jews are an integral part of the countries they inhabit and have a right to live there and to enjoy all the benefits of modern civilization. We must combat every theory that would reduce the Jews to a people of refugees and paupers.

At the same time, however, we cannot close our eyes to the plight of the thousands of Jews herded in a no-man's land, driven back from every frontier and forced to live in open fields without a roof over their heads, doomed to starvation, exposure and disease. We must remember in this connection that the Jews are not the only victims of fascist oppression, that their lot is shared by thousands of "aryans" who fled the Hitler paradise.

It is therefore urgent that an international conference of all democratic countries, including the Soviet Union, should be called for the purpose of solving the refugee

problem. Such a conference will have to draw up plans of coordinated action for an adequate solution of the problem. We place all our hopes upon the participation of the United States and the Soviet Union in such a conference as a guarantee that it will not be turned into another Munich conference.

THE SITUATION IN PALESTINE AND THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

In Jewish public affairs there are, unfortunately, elements—the Zionists—who are seeking to play party politics even when the lives of unfortunate Jewish refugees are involved. They seek to reduce the refugee problem to the problem of Palestine. On the refugee question, as on all other political problems they seek to present themselves as the leaders of the entire Jewish people and to present the policy of Zionism as that of the Jews as a whole. And because we Communists disagree with their policy, they malign us before the Jewish masses as “enemies of the Jews in Palestine.”

But the Jewish masses are beginning to see through this maneuver. Jewish Communists do not oppose the Jews in Palestine, as they do not oppose the Jews in Poland, Germany, Rumania or anywhere. What we do oppose is the policy of Zionism which we regard as detrimental to the interests of the Jewish masses in all countries, Palestine included.

It is not true that Communists are against Jewish immigration to Palestine. Under more favorable conditions Palestine too could become a haven for a certain number of Jewish refugees. But as a result of Zionist policy in Palestine, the Jewish community in that country is in a critical situation. The Jews in Palestine are now subjected to daily fear for their lives, to daily attacks, to the slaughter of innocents, young and old, to the plunder of their goods and possessions.

But the attacks upon Jews in Palestine should not be confused with the pogroms upon Jews in Germany. While condemning the terrorist attacks on the Jews in Palestine we must not overlook the peculiar situation in that country where attacks upon the Jews are a by-product

of the liberation movement. Arab patriots are fighting against the British mandate which has turned Palestine into a subjected British colony. In this struggle they find the Zionist leaders cooperating with British imperialism in maintaining the mandate over Palestine and preventing the liberation of their country. To the extent that this struggle is a struggle of an oppressed colonial people for its liberation, it should meet with the sympathy of every liberty-loving person, particularly among the Jews who are themselves an oppressed people. For this reason we condemn the policy of Zionism in Palestine insofar as it aids British imperialism.

But the national liberation movement of the Arabs in Palestine also has its negative side. It was inevitable that the negative aspects of the movement should develop in Palestine in the circumstances created as a result of the general world situation today, when the conspiracies and machinations of Hitler and Mussolini-fascism penetrate all countries.

Hitler and Mussolini seek to utilize the liberation movement of the Arabs in Palestine in the interests of fascism. There is no doubt whatsoever that they have their agents in Palestine who seek to turn the liberation movement in the direction of the Rome-Berlin axis. These fascist agents among the Arabs make use of the criminal elements among the Arabs themselves who made their way into the movement in order to create chaos and a state of terror in that country and thus undermine the power of British imperialism in one of its important strategic positions in the Mediterranean.

But although the Chamberlain government is, no doubt, aware of the activity of the fascist agents in Palestine, it is not anxious to bring about peace between the Jews and the Arabs. The British regime in Palestine, as in many other colonies, is based upon the well-known

principle of "divide and rule." It is therefore in the interest of British rule to keep alive and foster a spirit of enmity and suspicion between Jews and Arabs. This has been Britain's policy ever since it stepped into Palestine during the World War.

A poisoned atmosphere has thus been created in Palestine which the agents of Hitler and Mussolini have utilized very thoroughly for the purpose of spreading anti-Semitic propaganda and turning Palestine into a living hell for the Jews.

When the Zionists, in these circumstances, advance their proposal that Palestine be made the principal country for receiving the Jewish refugees, they do not consider the interests of the refugees, or those of the Jews in Palestine. For it is clear that such a proposal at the present time has the effect of adding fuel to the flame of strife between Arabs and Jews in Palestine and plays into the hands of the fascists and their agents who are active among the Arabs.

Before Palestine can be regarded as a country for settling refugees it is necessary to bring about an understanding between the Arabs and the Jews in that country. Without such an understanding the refugees would be brought from one inferno into another.

An understanding between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine is possible on the basis of a progressive policy. In Palestine proper there is a growing realization both among the Jews and the Arabs that terror against Jews brings only harm to the national liberation movement. The increasing number of Jews and Arabs holding that view seek a constructive solution of the Jewish question in Palestine. Our resolution notes the conditions which would make an understanding between the Jews and Arabs possible. We declare:

"Peace between Jews and Arabs in Palestine can be built only on the basis of friendship and cooperation between both peoples in a democratic Palestine, where the rights of both the Jews and the Arabs will be guaranteed.

"Peace between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine will become possible when the Arabs will be convinced that Jews are coming to Palestine as friendly co-citizens to develop and build the country and where both Jews and Arabs will have full cultural rights and where their full national rights will be guaranteed.

"Jews and Arabs in Palestine must unite, and with the support of all progressive elements the world over, must demand of the British government the democratization of Palestine and the institution of decisive measures to uproot the Hitler-Mussolini conspiracies in Palestine.

"Only a democratic solution of the Palestinian problem will secure the life and the rights of the 400,000 Jews now living in Palestine and will enable the solution of the problem of Jewish immigration in accordance with the absorptive capacity of the country. Such a program constitutes the only sound solution of the "sick" Jewish question in Palestine.

III. FOR THE UNITY OF ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN JEWISH LIFE

The program of struggle against anti-Semitism which we have here formulated can be accepted not only by Communists, but also by every Jew who is sincerely concerned about the plight of the Jewish people. This program contains all the elements immediately necessary to meet the main danger of fascism threatening the Jewish people with destruction everywhere. This program fits into the broad anti-fascist movement in the United States, is in harmony with the general program of the democratic front being built in this country and, what is most important, it has already won for itself the sympathy and support of the great majority of the Jews in America.

Whenever the Jews in this country had an opportunity to express themselves, they indorsed this program. The protest meeting at Madison Square Garden and the successful demonstrations in all parts of the country during the month of November, 1938, following the Nazi pogroms, are the latest evidences of this fact. The Jews of the United States have made it known to the world that they are against any hush-policy, despite all the warnings of the proponents of such a policy and all their efforts to disrupt protest action. But, while the Jewish masses favor a program of struggle, it is impossible to put it into effect because of the lack of unity among the great Jewish mass organizations. These could, if united in an authoritative body, place this program in the center of Jewish life and fight for its realization.

Never has such unity in Jewish life been so vitally important to the Jewish people as it is today. Unity is

needed on behalf of the most urgent needs of the Jewish masses, on behalf of their human rights, their liberties, their very existence. We Jewish Communists continue to wage ceaseless struggle for unity: unity of the Jewish labor organizations, unity of the Jewish people's organizations, unity of all democratic forces in Jewish life as part of the larger unity of the progressive democratic forces in America constituting the firm guarantee that fascism will never come to power in our country to deprive the American masses in general and the Jewish masses in particular of all their rights.

Our struggle for unity has become more than a mere program of demands, as was the case two years ago when our last Conference took place. This struggle is now taking place in altogether different circumstances and upon a much higher level.

Two years ago, the greatest obstacle on the road to unity was sectarianism in our own ranks. With every new development, at every new turn we met with this obstacle. And though we are not yet in a position to say that we have completely rid ourselves of sectarianism in our own ranks; although the struggle against sectarianism still remains one of the most important tasks in our daily work, we have achieved much by way of overcoming this obstacle.

Two years ago, we were still very much isolated from the Jewish masses and had no say in Jewish life. Now the situation is much different. Our word is listened to by hundreds of thousands of American Jews. We have become an important factor in causing the reactionary leadership of those large Jewish mass-organizations reluctantly to move toward unity and progress. We may say that very little of any consequence is taking place in Jewish life in this country without the par-

ticipation, or even the initiative, of the Jewish Communists.

In the last two years we have contributed to the building of such central bodies as the Jewish People's Committee and YKUF which number hundreds of affiliated organizations with a membership of hundreds of thousands.

We have in the last two years also acquired better methods of work, although in this respect we have not yet achieved all that could be expected, and we are still miles behind the attainments of our Party as a whole.

At the same time the course of events in Jewish life has confirmed more and more the correctness of our analysis and the need and timeliness of our proposals. Our most important proposal to the Jewish masses, the demand for unity, could no longer be ignored by the leaders of the large Jewish organizations. Unity has become the demand of the masses in the organizations affiliated with the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee, and even the B'nai B'rith. It was this demand of the Jewish masses for unity that prompted the leaders of the four Jewish central organizations—the Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee, the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai Brith—to unite and establish the General Council for Jewish Rights.

We have regarded and still regard the formation of the General Council for Jewish Rights as an important step in the direction of unity. If the leaders of the Council had risen to the heights of the historic situation, if they had a correct estimate of present day conditions, if they had their ears open to the demands of the masses, the Council could have become an important factor in Jewish life. We regret very much that short-sightedness, false orientation and party politics

on the part of the leaders prevented the Council from being more than a name, from really becoming a factor in Jewish life.

The greatest mistake made by the sponsors of the Council at the very time of its formation was the exclusion of the Jewish People's Committee which represents the most readily mobilized and militant elements among the Jewish masses. The policy of excluding organizations because of the presence of Communists in them is bankrupt and has long been discredited. It is no longer possible to frighten the people with the cry of "Communists" anywhere. This is as true among the Jews. Only hopeless reactionaries and fascists still resort to the unsavory practice of red-baiting, which is a tool of reaction and fascism everywhere. In Jewish public policy there must therefore be no room for red-baiting, and any manifestation of it should be regarded as lending aid and comfort to the enemies of the Jewish people, the fascists.

In our criticism of the General Council for Jewish Rights we have not neglected to point out its weaknesses, especially its weakest point of having failed to date to undertake any action of importance. We will continue to criticize the Council, and our criticism at times may be sharp on matters where we disagree with them. But the main danger to the American Jewish masses is certainly not the Council, but fascism. Our main activity must be directed not to fight the Council but to build a foundation for broader unity in Jewish life.

A particularly important achievement in the struggle for unity in the past two years has been the strengthening of the Jewish People's Committee. In these two years it has grown to the stature of a national body with many affiliated organizations, both local and national, comprising a membership of nearly 400,000 Jews. In contrast to the Council, the Jewish People's Committee

has become a strong factor in Jewish life with a record of activity that is a historic contribution to the Jewish masses. Only a short while ago this fact was admitted by a man who cannot be suspected of too much affection for the Jewish People's Committee: the Poalei-Zionist, Baruch Zuckerman, stated at a recent session of the American Jewish Congress that the Jewish protests in Washington last fall helped to check the programs that were at that time taking place in Poland. He only forgot to mention that the protests were organized by the Jewish People's Committee and that the American Jewish Congress did all it could to hinder those protests, declaring them to be harmful to the Jews in Poland.

Of equal importance have been other actions of the Jewish People's Committee—in connection with the plight of the Jews in Austria when Hitler grabbed that country, and in connection with the recent events in Germany. The Jewish People's Committee has recently made public a program of action in the struggle on behalf of the Jews in the fascist countries and against anti-Semitism in the United States. This program will strengthen and expand the entire movement against anti-Semitism and at the same time help create more favorable conditions for a broader unity in Jewish life.

Another victory for the idea of unity in the Jewish sphere is the founding of the YKUF. This organization, established in September of last year at the International Yiddish Cultural Congress in Paris, succeeded in uniting considerable forces of Yiddish culture in all countries where Jews live in compact masses, including the United States. YKUF points the way to genuine unity of all those who see in Yiddish culture a means of raising the power of resistance of the Jewish masses and strengthening them in the struggle for their rights and their existence.

In its task of strengthening and extending Yiddish culture YKUF, too, regards Jewish unity as the main condition for the realization of its task. After it was founded at the congress in Paris, YKUF issued a manifesto in which its main task was formulated in the following words:

“The two polar extremes of the present historical epoch in the life of the Jewish people, the growth of the cultural forces and the growth of catastrophe, place before the Jewish public problems which can be solved only through a unification of all vital and creative Jewish forces not only in every country but also on a world scale.”

Both the Jewish People's Committee and the YKUF are achievements in Jewish life and powerful weapons for the Jewish masses. We, Jewish Communists, have supported and will continue to support the work of these organizations tending to a broader unity, the unity of all democratic forces in Jewish life in the struggle for the lives, the rights, the culture of the Jewish people.

IV. THE ROLE OF OUR PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR JEWISH UNITY

Few observers of American life today will deny that our Party has become a potent force in the struggle for the unification of all the democratic forces of the country against fascism and reaction. Unfortunately, we Jewish Communists do not yet play the same role in Jewish life which our Party as a whole plays in the life of the country. We are still considerably behind our Party in this respect.

And let us not search for the causes of our backwardness in the objective conditions of Jewish life. If a few years ago we could partly blame those objective conditions, our Party has helped to eliminate them. First of all, life itself has confirmed the correctness of the line of our Party; secondly, our Party has demonstrated through its activity that it is the backbone without which no section of the democratic front could come into existence and that without a strong Communist Party it is impossible to organize and mobilize the working class, which is the main force against reaction and fascism. The prestige of our party among the Jewish masses has therefore increased greatly. The Jewish masses are beginning more and more to understand and appreciate the importance of our Party in all their struggles, and precisely for this reason red-baiting is not a very popular activity among the Jewish masses.

We Jewish Communists have not, however, taken full advantage in our daily work of the influence and prestige of our Party among the Jewish masses. Knowing that a great, strong Communist Party is the strongest bulwark for the Jews and all oppressed groups against the attacks of all their enemies, we have not done enough

to build our Party among the Jewish masses. We have not exerted enough effort to convince the most militant elements among the toiling Jews to recruit them as members of our Party.

Speaking of party-building at the Tenth Convention of our Party, Comrade Browder said:

"History is rushing ahead with the speed of those modern seven-league boots, the automobile, the airplane, the radio. The forces of reaction are gathering for the attack with all the speed of modern technique. The time factor is now decisive. We are engaged in a race against time.

"It is in this sense that we must approach all the problems of Party building. We must completely abandon all the old standards that had their origin in the days of small groups, the days of "handicraft" and make-shift in Party building. We must establish new standards, open up new horizons. We must embrace millions in the scope of our work, and that means we must quickly embrace hundreds of thousands in the scope of our Party organization."

In order to render possible the unity of millions of Jews and the democratic front of the Jewish masses, it is necessary that tens of thousands of Jewish toilers find their place in the ranks of our Party. It is not because of objective conditions that the Jewish Communists do not yet play the role they should play in Jewish life. The main cause of our weakness is the fact that we have not built our Party in all fields of Jewish life and consequently have not at our disposal the forces needed at the present moment to encompass the upsurge and movement of the Jewish masses, to organize and lead them.

In the last recruiting campaign of the Party we re-

crucited about 2,500 new Party members . We do not, of course, seek to minimize our accomplishment, but we know that we could have recruited three or four times as many members, in view of the size of the organizations where Jewish Communists are active and in view of our influence among the Jewish masses. But still worse is the fact that after the recruiting campaign we took a long vacation which is not yet over. We will have to hear reports at this Conference concerning the number of Jewish Party members we have recruited in connection with our important actions around Austria and the recent events in Germany. Perhaps the secretaries of our Buros have been too modest to inform us of their achievements in this field!

No, Comrades, we have not yet abandoned the old standards, we still practice the makeshift methods of "handicraft." We have not properly heeded the warning of Comrade Browder, that time is of the essence.

This warning we must bring to the Jewish masses, making it clear to them that in the race between the forces of progress and reaction, the former will win if our Party, which mobilizes all the creative forces of the people, is large, strong, and powerful. We must convince them that each new member joining the Party augments the blows against fascism and reaction, that our Party is therefore the proper place for all sincere anti-fascists.

The Jewish masses must become conscious of the fact that among the factors in American life today working on behalf of progress and democracy and against fascism and anti-Semitism, the Communist Party is the most important and that the building of the Party is an essential part of the task of building the democratic front, that the two go hand in hand.

It is our task to build the Party in every field of Jewish life, in all Jewish organizations composed of a majority of toilers. This means that we must completely liquidate the remnants of sectarianism; this means further re-examining and further improving our methods of work; this means a more serious attack of the problem of developing cadres; this means more earnest work in building the circulation of the **Morning Freiheit** and the **Hammer**.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION, CADRES AND EDUCATION

The great importance of our Party in the life of the masses is due to its correct line based on the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism; it is due to its clear program of immediate tasks in the struggle of the masses for jobs, security, peace and democracy, its rallying of the most conscious, most active, loyal, courageous and best-disciplined elements of the working class in an army that knows how to combine theory with practice in the struggle for all the needs of the masses, in the struggle that leads to socialism. It is the ability to combine theory with practice that makes our Party the most important instrument in carrying out the tasks facing the masses. Our Party is the organizer of the masses in their struggle.

The question of the organizational work of Jewish Communists is one of the most important before this Conference. No matter how correct may be the line of struggle that we have presented here and the program that we propose, it will not lead us one step further unless we simultaneously take the proper measures to strengthen our organization, to improve our organizational methods. In the words of Comrade Stalin, "Organization decides

everything." We must eliminate the serious shortcomings and frequent blunders in our organizational work and methods.

The chief cause of all our organizational weaknesses is to be found in the remnants of sectarianism still present in our midst. Due to this sectarianism we are still largely isolated from the masses of the Jewish people and we still fail to react in time to events affecting the life of the Jews. In the left-wing organizations where Jewish Communists play a leading role these remnants of sectarianism are mainly responsible for the oppressive routine to be found there, preventing those organizations from playing the part in public life which they are destined and entitled to play as effective instruments in promoting Jewish unity. The Jewish Communists are responsible for the fact that these organizations, due to negligence, slovenliness and lack of tact, frequently hinder the extension of our work.

Unsatisfactory, too, is our work in the people's organizations. We still pay too little attention to this work. As a result, the comrades active in those organizations lack leadership. Frequently, they do not know what to do and how to act. The confusion is particularly prevalent in the English-speaking Jewish organizations where our comrades are less familiar with Jewish problems than are the comrades in the Yiddish-speaking organizations.

Two years ago we had to argue with our comrades to convince them that the activities of Jewish Communists should not be confined to the left-wing organizations, that their place was in all organizations of toiling Jewish people, even when some of those organizations are dominated by bourgeois and reformist elements. We have improved our methods of work to such an extent

that this is no longer a problem with us. The question before us is how to introduce more efficient methods and develop an adequate leadership for this work.

A serious problem, too, is the approach of a number of Jewish Communists who believe that the task of creating the people's front requires that we dissolve some of our own mass organizations. They believe that those organizations are no longer needed. As an example, we may point out the approach of some of our comrades to the ICOR. Precisely now, during the wave of pogroms and in the war situation confronting us, when such an organization as the ICOR is of the greatest importance for the purpose of educating the Jewish masses as regards the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the solution of the Jewish question in the land of socialism—there are some comrades who would propose that we dissolve the ICOR because we have to build the democratic front.

It is certainly true that our main work is the building of the democratic front. But it is also true that we will build the democratic front not by dissolving organizations, but by building our Party in all Jewish people's organizations which will thereby gain in strength and effectiveness. By strengthening all our organizations we also strengthen the organizational basis of the Jewish masses and of the people's front movement.

Our work in the broad people's front organizations also places before us important problems of organization. Here it is mainly a question of our habits and methods of work, some of which are foreign to the active elements of the people's organizations with whom we work. We must develop more simplicity in our demeanor and our language and more democracy in those organizations. Our opponents try to frighten these

people, with whom we have only recently begun to work together, with the bogey that we are out to capture these organizations, that we come to the meetings with ready-made decisions and use the membership of these organizations as mere spectators. Though our Party Constitution has abolished fractions in mass organizations (which were never in the nature of a caucus, but rather of a political organization) our inept methods of work have often lent an appearance of truth to the false and slanderous charges of our opponents.

We have not yet solved the problems of Jewish work in the trade unions. Here we have before us a double problem: first, we have not yet overcome the weakness of the left-wing Jewish union leaders who give little attention to Jewish problems, who fail to raise Jewish questions in the unions, who make no serious attempt to come to an understanding with all elements in the union concerning the problem of unity in Jewish life, who fail to bring forward with sufficient clarity the menace threatening us as Jews and Jewish workers unless we unite our forces both in the unions and in the struggle for civil and human rights.

Secondly, we have not solved the problem of linking up the activity of our Buros with the general activity of Jewish Communists in the unions and have not succeeded in developing a greater degree of trade union consciousness in the fraternal and cultural organizations where we are active.

Solving these problems is not a matter of applying one scheme or another. It is a matter of conscious daily work which alone will, through cumulative experience, enable us to find the right organizational solution.

All of our organizational shortcomings are in a very large measure due to a shortage of cadres. At the Ninth Convention of our Party Comrade Browder already warned us that "the best policy in the world cannot be better than the people who must adapt it to thousands of varying conditions of daily life."

But while the Party as a whole has begun seriously to carry out the tasks of re-training all of its active forces by establishing workers' schools, district training schools, section training schools, self study circles etc., we have done little more than talk about this problem.

That we, too, can accomplish much in this field has been proved by the beginning we made in organizing our national training school this past summer. Although we made many mistakes because of our inexperience in this work, the school was a big achievement which has brought good results. We are now planning another such school next summer for a period of ten weeks instead of the four week term of our first school. But we will need the help of our comrades in every respect, both financially and in the selection of students.

The selection of students will determine the success of the school and its value to us. Comrades think that this or that leading comrade cannot be spared for ten weeks and they consequently select the candidate for the school on the basis of "filling the quota" rather than on the basis of fitness. This is a wrong approach. We will have to select for our school the best, the most capable, the most devoted comrades. In the long run such a policy will repay us tenfold. Equipped with more theoretical and practical knowledge, the students of our training school will be better leaders and builders of our movement.

In the selection of students for the school we also have to pay special attention to the young Americanized and American-born comrades in our Jewish movement.

Special emphasize must be laid on training cadres to work in Jewish women's organizations, which play a vital role in the life of the Jewish community.

We must draw in more and more of these elements into positions of leadership, equipping them with more knowledge of Jewish problems and thus abolishing the disparity between the Yiddish-speaking and English-speaking communists which is becoming an ever-growing hindrance in our mass work.

But the central training school is not sufficient to meet the acute problem of better-trained cadres. We must establish training schools, classes and study groups in every important city. Some of our district Buros have already made a beginning in this direction. We are proposing a program of work in this field and we will have to adopt at this Conference the necessary measures to guarantee the fulfillment of the program.

Mention should also be made here of our Jewish Workers' Universities. We must by no means regard the training schools as a substitute for the workers' universities. The latter must remain as centers for the dissemination of education among the broad masses. The Jewish Workers' University in New York has much to its credit in this respect. Its courses have been attended by thousands of Jewish workers who are now among the best, the most conscious active elements in our mass organizations. Among the students of the Jewish Workers' Universities we will have to look for and find the elements for our training schools.

A serious approach to the problem of training cadres also calls for a complete change in our attitude towards the **Hammer**. The comrades here will have to discuss the **Hammer** and point out its shortcomings. But whatever these shortcomings may be, it seems to me that the **Hammer**, by and large, has been fulfilling the task set

for it, that of educating our active elements in the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Both its scientific essays and its publicist material are of the greatest importance for our cadres in their daily work. Unfortunately, our comrades pay little attention to the work of extending the circulation of this periodical and of utilizing it as an instrument for the training of better cadres.

The indifference of our comrades to the matter of education, self-education and to raising the cultural level of the Jewish masses is also responsible for the grave shortcoming in our publishing work. In the last two years we have published fewer books and pamphlets than in a comparable period in the past. Our publishing work has practically come to a standstill. The comrades will understand the reason when they remember the debts they remain owing us for literature. Their failure to remit thousands of dollars has resulted in the interruption of our publishing work at a time when our work of education and propaganda is more important than ever. We will have to resume our publishing work, but upon an entirely different basis than before.

I wish to say only a few words about the **Morning Freiheit**, which is a separate item on the agenda of this Conference, since we consider it one of our central problems.

The **Morning Freiheit** plays the most important part in our work. It is the main weapon we have created, it plays the main part in our agitation and propaganda. But in the **Morning Freiheit** we have had, during the period under report, the gravest setback in our entire work. While the **Morning Freiheit** has progressed considerably in the direction of a mass paper and a builder of the democratic front among the Jews, it still suffers from remnants of sectarianism which at times have reduced its effective-

ness. In the **Morning Freiheit** on a number of questions, politically incorrect articles have appeared tending to bring confusion instead of clarity. We have not only failed to build up the **Morning Freiheit** in proportion to the extension of our work as a whole, but we fell back. We were forced to go back from eight pages to six, precisely at a time when we feel so acutely the need for a larger paper to serve the increased demands of our movement.

Whose fault is it? The main responsibility, of course, falls upon the National Buro, the editorial board and the management of the **Morning Freiheit**. But let every comrade, in discussing the question, approach it in the spirit of self-criticism. Have our comrades really placed the task of extending the circulation of the **Morning Freiheit** in the center of their daily activities? Have we devoted the same energies to the building of the **Morning Freiheit** circulation as to the campaigns to raise funds for the **Morning Freiheit**? Have we tried to persuade the thousands of our new friends to become readers of the **Morning Freiheit**?

CONCLUSION

Comrades, we have placed before this Conference the most burning problems of Jewish life today. In the spirit and along the line of our Party, we are hammering out a program for the Jewish masses in their struggle against fascism and anti-Semitism. We are forging the unity of the Jewish masses as a part of the broader unity of the American people, moving in the direction of a democratic front and an American people's front. We are assisting our Party in explaining the true nature of the so-called Jewish question and reaching the Jewish and non-Jewish masses to unite their forces in the struggle against fascism and anti-Semitism.

The people's front of the American masses will guarantee the success of their struggle for jobs, security, democracy and peace. Our work for the unity of the Jewish masses is part of this wider movement. Through our work we contribute our share to the fulfillment of the historical task of our Party,—to make certain that fascism will never come to power in our land, to extend the democratic rights of the American people and lead it to a higher democracy, to Socialism.

The Communist Party

IS THE VANGUARD OF THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST FASCISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM.



JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY



READ THE DAILY WORKER



READ THE DAILY ENGLISH COLUMN OF
THE MORNING FREIHEIT
