

WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE?

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THE OUTLOOK FOR the Jewish people is a question of serious concern not only to the Jews; it involves the progress and well-being of all peoples and nations. For the freedom and security of the Jewish people have always been the reflector, in modern history, of the freedom and security of all peoples.

It is an axiom that general political and economic reaction has invariably meant extra brutal oppression, discrimination, and persecution of the Jews. And it is equally well established that where Jews are enjoying freedom and security, of whatever quality or degree, democracy and economic progress are the prevailing trends of development. The more freedom for the Jewish people, the more general democracy, and vice versa.

Anti-Semitism and general reaction are inseparable twins. Fascism is brought on by reaction and develops anti-Semitism into a system for the physical extermination of the Jewish people. Furthermore, fascism

stems from general imperialist reaction and develops from that basis an ideology of race supremacy which results in Maidaneks—the technologically most modern crematoriums of the Hitlerites for burning alive or otherwise murdering millions of people of the “inferior” races. Thus the Jewish people alone have lost 6,000,000 of their kind to the attempt of German fascism to conquer the world.

Nothing else is needed to demonstrate the truth that the fate of the Jewish people is the affair and concern of all peoples. For, wherever anti-Semitism is allowed to grow unchecked, there democracy and all human decency must perish. But equally important, especially for the Jews, is another truth. That is, that the salvation of the Jewish people lies only in such a course of world development as leads to ever more general democracy, social progress and social justice; and that the only safe allies the Jewish people can have are the democratic classes and groups in society, the most consistent among them being the working class and the toiling masses generally.

The victory of the bourgeois revolution at the end of the eighteenth century ushered in the period of bourgeois democracy, liberating nations and peoples from feudal reaction and backwardness; it also liberated the Jews and proclaimed for them equal rights. The victory of the great Socialist revolution in Russia,

in 1917, ushered in the epoch of socialist democracy, liberating the peoples of one-sixth of the earth from imperialist reaction and backwardness; it also liberated the Jews of Russia, and realized there in practice a complete solution of the Jewish question, creating opportunities, for the first time in modern history, for the development of a full-fledged Jewish nation with its own Soviet statehood in Birobidjan. This has had and is having the most profound effects upon the outlook for the Jewish people in all parts of the world.

At the present time, any discussion of the future of the Jews must start from the following fact: German fascism has succeeded in destroying an estimated 6,000,000 Jewish lives, but it has not succeeded in its proclaimed aim of destroying the Jewish people. There is a Jewish people in existence. It is smaller by more than a third but is more vital in many respects—more determined to live—and has the advantage of a number of objective circumstances highly favorable to the restoration and rebuilding of Jewish life, even though new threats are rising from the spread of imperialist reaction and its companion, anti-Semitism.

Most of these circumstances arise from the military defeat of fascism. Peoples' democracies are coming to the fore in many parts of the world, especially in eastern and southeastern Europe, where Jewish communities are beginning to rebuild them-

selves under conditions of progressive and democratic economic developments. The prestige of the Soviet Union and its tremendous success in establishing fraternal and harmonious collaboration among its numerous nationalities and peoples, creating cultures that are socialist in content and national in form, are exerting a powerful influence for the freedom and happiness of all peoples and nationalities, and for the moral and political defeat of all fascist and imperialist ideologies of race supremacy and national oppression.

The Jewish people can successfully fight for the realization of its aspirations—for survival in equality, security, and freedom—as part of these historic forces and in alliance with their most dependable spokesmen, especially the working class and the labor movement. It is especially the task of the Jewish workers, and of the Communists among them, to rally their people to the camp of anti-fascist democracy everywhere for the realization of the common progressive aims of all peoples and the special needs of the Jewish people.

These common progressive aims have by now become pretty well established. They call for the moral and political defeat of fascism everywhere; for the success of the United Nations headed by the United States, the Soviet Union, and England in maintaining and protecting world peace; for restraint of mo-

nopoly domination and resistance to imperialist reaction; for democracy, jobs, and social security. It is this historic struggle, as analyzed and formulated by the emergency national convention of the Communist Party of our country in its main resolution, which is the central task of the anti-fascist unity of the American people headed by the working class. As an organic part of the American nation, the American Jewish people, led by the Jewish workers, is also faced with this central task. This is the task for which we must fight as Americans and as Jews in order to realize also the special demands and aspirations of the Jewish people—against impairment of its freedom, for its equality, well-being and culture.

Speaking to the Jews of the United Nations, on the victory over Nazi Germany, the Soviet Jews projected the postwar tasks of the Jewish people in the following way:

In the difficult years of the war, the fighting friendship between our countries was strengthened, the mutual understanding among the Jews of all countries has increased, and a foundation has been laid for firm unity for the welfare and culture of our people. The present great victory imposes upon us the obligation to cement still further our friendship and to intensify the struggle against all forms of reaction in Jewish life, combatting all open and hidden defenders of fascism. (Manifesto by Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow, *Morning Freiheit*, May 17, 1945.)

This program of common action has already received the support of the Jewish anti-fascist movements of all countries.

IS THERE A JEWISH PEOPLE?

At this point, the inevitable question—is there a Jewish people?—is bound to arise. The answer is, of course, that there is a Jewish people. Its existence is simply one of the facts of common everyday experience.

But the question remains, nevertheless: What kind of a group is it and what is its historic course? Perhaps, the best way to answer this, is to define first what it is not. From the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist conception of the national question, the Jews are *not* a single nation.

According to Stalin,

A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. (*Marxism and the National Question*, International Publishers, New York, p. 8.)

Taken on a world scale, the Jewish people very definitely hold in common only one of the basic attributes of nationhood. It is a distinct "psychological make-up," or "national character," expressing itself in a "community of culture" into which have gone ages of common history and tradition.

As to language, it might be said that considerable sections of the Jew-

ish people continue to share in common the Yiddish language. But here it must be added that for very large numbers of Jews Yiddish does not yet exist as a living language, though it may in the future, and that Jewish communities in all countries acquire as their own the language of the land in which they live.

The Jewish people certainly does not enjoy a community of territory or of economic life. It has not passed through the historic development of either the eastern or western peoples which have produced such nations as the French, German, Russian, English, Polish, American, etc.

But, if the Jewish people is not a single nation, what is it? To begin with, it must be noted that a distinct transformation has been taking place in the last quarter of a century in the nature of the Jewish people, lending greater stability to the relationships between the Jews of various countries and bringing forth Birobidjan and Palestine as growing centers of Jewish national homelands of different social formations.

The chief factor that brought this about was the victory of the great socialist revolution in Russia in October, 1917, and the solution of the Jewish question attained by the Soviet Union as part of the solution of the national question in general. Contributing factors, although of a different kind, were the emergence of a great Jewish community in the United States and new smaller communities in the other Americas.

Naturally, in any summary of the situation today, a major role will be assigned to the effects of the rise and military defeat of fascism upon recent national developments among the Jewish people.

What then was the situation and outlook prior to the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia? The Jewish people was made up of a number of national minorities and groups, concentrated overwhelmingly in the old empire of the Tsar. There were also different and very unstable types of Jewish communities in central and western Europe. More important was the growing Jewish community in the United States. In addition, there was the small Jewish settlement in Palestine, as well as old but small Jewish communities in the Orient generally. But the main centers of Jewish life—cultural and otherwise—affecting large masses of the Jewish people, among them workers, artisans, and intellectuals, were located primarily in eastern Europe, although Jewish developments in the United States were making great headway. The eastern European Jewish centers were in Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, which were at the time all parts of the Russian empire. Closely connected with these was the vital Jewish community in Galicia, Austria, and to a smaller extent such communities as those in Rumania and Hungary.

These eastern European Jewish communities, especially in old

Russia, were terrifically oppressed national minorities, segregated, persecuted and discriminated against in every way. Anti-Semitism was official government policy and pogroms a method of rule. This reactionary feudal-imperialist regime of old Russia gave rise to certain types of Jewish national minorities.

Economically, most of the Jews were excluded from the main branches of the national economy, forced into the more backward forms of economic life, on the periphery of industry and commerce, or into positions of middlemen. Simultaneously, a Jewish working class was beginning to develop but was confined mainly to small-scale industry and artisanship.

Politically, most of the Jews were denied the most elementary rights. The general autocratic regime of tyranny and oppression fell with double weight upon the Jewish people.

Culturally, the bulk of the Jewish people were developing a modern Jewish culture, in the Yiddish language. Certain professional and intellectual groups were seeking to revive and modernize ancient Jewish culture in Hebrew, while considerable bourgeois and petty bourgeois sections of the Jewish population, including some workers, were moving toward assimilation with the dominant cultures, particularly Russian, partly Polish, etc.

This was typical of the position and trends of development of the

bulk of the Jewish people which was concentrated in eastern Europe.

As to the young and growing Jewish community in the United States, its characteristics, or at least its permanency, was at the beginning of the present century still very unclear. All that could be said about it, from the Marxist viewpoint of the national question, was that a Jewish national group was being crystallized, different from the national minorities in eastern Europe, because of the advanced capitalist development of the country and the existing bourgeois-democratic regime. Hence, it was correctly assumed that the Jewish community in the United States would be less isolated and less stable and that assimilationist tendencies would be stronger there than in the Jewish communities of eastern Europe.

Then there was the slowly developing Jewish national community in Palestine. Jewish nationalism, bourgeois and petty bourgeois, as represented in one form by the Zionist movement (another form was embodied in the Jewish "Bund") was projecting the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine as a home for the Jews of all countries, as a solution of the Jewish question on a world scale. This obviously was and remains utopian. In addition, the Zionist movement was basing its main hopes for securing political rights and opportunities in Palestine upon such "friendly" forces of that time

as the Russian Czar, the Turkish Sultans and the British imperialists. This was not only sheerly utopian but profoundly reactionary, involving the Jewish people in the schemes and machinations of these reactionary forces.

Hence, the Jewish community in Palestine could not and did not introduce any serious changes into the general position of the Jewish people on a world scale; nor did it open any perspectives of an objective and progressive nature, at that time, to indicate a possible change in the course and direction of development of the Jewish people.

Consequently, a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the position, prior to the socialist revolution in Russia, had to come to the following conclusion: First, that the Jewish people were not a nation but a very unstable national group having only some of the attributes of nationhood and therefore incapable of acting as a nation and of developing progressive national policies. Second, that the Jews form in most cases "isolated national minorities within integral regions of compact majorities of other nationalities" which "is undermining the existence of the Jews as a nation and is driving them toward assimilation" (Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, p. 37).

Proceeding from this analysis, the Russian Bolsheviks advocated a program of struggle for the defense of the general democratic and national rights of the Jews. It partook of the

program for all other national minorities, and was part of the general struggle for the overthrow of the Czarist regime, for the democratization of Russia, for opening the road to social progress and to the socialist transformation of the country. It was the position of the class-conscious revolutionary Jewish workers of Russia who followed the leadership of the Bolsheviks.

Stalin states this national demand as follows:

National equality in all forms (language, schools, etc.) is an essential element in the solution of the national problem. A state law based on complete democracy in the country is required, prohibiting all national privileges without exception and all kinds of disabilities and restrictions on the rights of national minorities. (*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.)

This general analysis and policy had to be defended among the Jewish masses against two nationalist currents. One was the Zionist movement, which was basing itself on the utopian conception of the Jews as a nation and which was seeking to ally itself politically with some of the world's most reactionary forces, as has been shown above. Its bourgeois nationalist ideology had to be systematically combatted in order to promote among the Jewish masses the proletarian ideology of Marxism.

But there was in old Russia yet another nationalist current, embodied in the Jewish "Bund." The "Bund" was a Jewish political party

which, though composed in the main of workers and artisans, among whom sympathy for the Bolsheviks was strong, fell under the domination ideologically and politically of Menshevism (reformist opportunism) and a certain brand of petty bourgeois nationalism. It was primarily in the fight against this current among the Jewish masses that the Bolshevik position on the Jewish question was established.

People are sometimes misled by the traditional fight between the "Bund" and the Zionists. It was in essence a fight between various nationalist currents of a bourgeois and petty bourgeois nature, although many of the workers belonging to the "Bund" and to certain labor-Zionist groupings were subjectively viewing themselves as proletarian revolutionists. Hence, the fight of the "Bund" against Zionism had nothing to do with the Marxist-Leninist position on Zionism.

The "Bund" fought Zionism, for example, on the issue that the Jewish people do not need a common territory and national economy in order to be a nation and to be able to act as one; whereas, on the contrary, Marxism-Leninism insisted, as Stalin developed the teaching, that *without* a common territory and economy, plus language and culture, the Jewish people *cannot* develop into a nation following progressive national policies. Thus, Bolshevism combatted, not the Zionist territorial and national-economic aspirations as

such but the utopian and reactionary foundations upon which Zionism was building its program in Palestine. At the time, the Bolsheviks took the position that there were no objective and progressive forces for the realization of any such program in Palestine, thus characterizing Zionism as a bourgeois-nationalist current of a utopian and reactionary character.

But the Bolsheviks had to carry on the main fight against the "Bund," particularly since the latter constituted the main bourgeois-nationalist influence among the Jewish workers in old Russia. The fight was carried on along these main lines: First, against the attempt of the "Bund" to construct *artificially* a Jewish nation out of the various Jewish national minorities in old Russia, which was similar to the Zionist attempt to construct a Jewish nation in Palestine in the absence of any serious favorable objective forces and conditions. Here the struggle was against the "Bund's" programmatic demand for a so-called "national cultural autonomy" which proposed the establishment of Jewish governmental bodies of national scope in charge of Jewish cultural affairs, independently of, and in isolation from, the general struggle for the overthrow of the Czarist regime and for the democratization of the whole country.

The mistake must not be made of thinking that the Bolsheviks were opposing the development of Jewish

national culture by the Jewish national minorities. Not at all. As shown in the foregoing, the Bolsheviks had formulated, as part of their national program, the general demand for *national equality*, including equality of *cultures*, meaning especially language, schools, etc. In opposing the "Bund's" demand for national autonomy, the Bolsheviks correctly maintained that there is no need, from the standpoint of a workers' Marxist party, to bind the dispersed Jewish minorities into an *artificial* cultural national union with governmental powers, if there exists *complete democracy* in the country, and that such an artificial union will be useless if complete democracy does not exist.

Second, the Bolsheviks fought the "Bund" for attempting to organize the Jewish workers in Russia into an independent and autonomous organization amounting to a separate political party. Said Stalin:

The aim must be to unite the workers of all nationalities in Russia into united and integral collective bodies in the various localities and to unite these collective bodies into a *single party*. (*Ibid.*, p. 59.)

The nationalist separatism of the "Bund" flowed inevitably from its general petty-bourgeois nationalist and reformist (Menshevik) position. Between its demand for "national cultural autonomy" and its policy of organizing the Jewish workers into

a separate national party, there existed a close and intimate connection.

As is well known, the Marxist-Leninist position of the Bolsheviks has been proven correct. In the victory of the great socialist revolution in Russia it has been demonstrated that the solution of the Jewish question was found, in the first stage, in the struggle for democracy and equal rights and, in the second stage, in the struggle for and the victory of socialism, which outlawed anti-Semitism, fully integrated the Jewish people into the general life of the country, and laid the basis for the development of a Jewish Soviet Socialist Homeland in Birobidjan.

The correctness of the Marxist-Leninist position has been proved by the victory of socialism in Russia. The "Bund's" petty-bourgeois nationalism and Menshevism became completely bankrupt. Its dominant leading circles degenerated into enemies of the working class, into allies of reactionary and pro-fascist machinations against the Soviet Union, while most of the workers in the "Bund" in Russia and its left-revolutionary elements went over to the Bolsheviks in the course of the revolution. During the years of the present war, the "Bund's" émigré leadership in the United States, together with the *Jewish Daily Forward* and Dubinsky, has been the main champion of the pro-fascist Polish gang in London (the so-called "government"-in-exile), as well as

the worst enemy of Jewish anti-fascist unity.

Finally, the entire period of development culminating in the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia has also demonstrated the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist position with regard to Zionism. It has been shown conclusively that the development of the Jewish community in Palestine could not be viewed as offering a solution of the Jewish question as a whole, and that the realization of Jewish hopes and aspirations in Palestine cannot be based upon the goodwill of—or alliances with—reactionaries, imperialists, or potentates.

VICTORY OF SOCIALISM CREATES NEW CONDITIONS FOR JEWISH PEOPLE

Thus, up until the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the outlook for the Jewish people, from the standpoint of national development, was not only obscure but very uncertain. While subjectively, that is, in the minds of the Jewish masses, the resistance to assimilation was growing and Jewish culture in eastern Europe was reaching new and high levels of development (especially between the 1880's and the first world war), the objective base of the Jewish people as a people became ever more undermined and weakened, with assimilationist tendencies taking the upper hand in various Jewish circles. The outlook, therefore, was for the continued

existence of various Jewish national minorities and groups in many parts of the world, some of them more and others less integrated into the general life of their respective countries, but all of them subject to ever increasing forces of disintegration and assimilation.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia has worked a transformation in the position of and outlook for the Jewish people from the standpoint of national aspirations and development. In the words of the late Shakhno Epstein, Secretary of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow, "Thus were created, under the banner of the October Revolution, all the prerequisites for the Jews to develop without any obstruction *into a complete and full-blooded nation.*" (*Morning Freiheit*, Nov. 12, 1944. Our emphasis—A.B.)

A new chapter has thus been opened in the life of our old, wise, and ever-young Jewish people. This has resulted directly from the solution of the Jewish question in the Soviet Union. For a concise description of it, we shall quote at some length from a Soviet author.

The position of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. is a particularly striking example of the triumph of the Soviet national policy. In July, 1918, by a Soviet Government decree signed by V. I. Lenin, anti-Semitism was proclaimed a criminal offense. In the very first days of its existence, the Soviet power created a number of Jewish national districts in the Ukraine and in

Byelorussia, where there is a concentrated Jewish population, and in 1934 a Jewish Autonomous Region—Birobidjan—was formed in the Far East. (*The National Question in the Soviet Union*. M. Chekalin, pp. 24-25.)

Commenting on the national significance of these historic developments, Chekalin writes:

For the first time in the history of the Jewish people its ardent desire to create its own homeland, to create its own national state system, has materialized. Under the leadership of the great Bolshevik Party and actively supported by all sections of Soviet society, the Jewish toiling masses are developing and consolidating a Soviet state system in Birobidjan, whose forms correspond to the customs and modes of life of their people. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.)

What all this has meant for the awakening of a new national consciousness among the Jews in all lands is yet to be analyzed and estimated in all implications and consequences. But this much is certain: the Soviet Jews have brought a new national factor of great potency into the life of the Jewish people, strengthening anti-assimilation tendencies in all Jewish communities, opening new fields for Jewish culture, giving greater stability to the relationships among the Jews of various lands, and imparting a new meaning to the development of the Jewish community in Palestine, as one more national Jewish homeland.

These new outlooks for the Jewish people were further aided by the

rise of the Jewish community in the United States and by the serious achievements of the Jewish community in Palestine in laying the basis there for the upbuilding of a Jewish homeland and of a new type of Jewish nationhood.

The significance of the rise of the American-Jewish community from the standpoint of Jewish national developments, lies in this: It is a community highly and intimately integrated in general American national life, despite serious anti-Semitism and discrimination. There is very little isolation about it from American economy, politics, and culture; and in this it differs radically from the Jewish minority in old Russia or in Poland. And this American community is Jewish—American-Jewish—in its own life in the United States, as well as in its relations with Jews of other lands. Jewish life in America became strengthened through the inspiring influence of the successful solution of the Jewish question in the Soviet Union which intensified immeasurably the development of Jewish life on a socialist basis. In its turn, the strengthening of Jewish life in America has intensified similar developments among the Jewish people in other lands.

Especially important has been the work of the American Jews for the upbuilding of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, not to speak for the moment of the important role of the American Jews in the

fields of relief and rehabilitation for the European Jews in the two world wars. Mention should also be made here of the great part which the American Jews are destined to play in helping to develop the Jewish Socialist homeland in Birobidjan.

A major place in all these developments is naturally occupied by the Jewish community in Palestine. From a mere national symbol and vague aspiration it has become an important settlement of 600,000 souls, having developed a common national economy, a growing national culture, and the first elements of Palestine-Jewish statehood and self-government.

The full effect upon Jewish life and outlooks of the rise of fascism and its military defeat cannot be completely analyzed here. A general estimate is already given in the introductory part of this article. However, the following should be added: The over-all effect upon Jewish national developments of the rise and fall of fascism was to strengthen considerably all anti-assimilationist tendencies, even though assimilationism, too, has received a certain impetus. Another effect was that it became possible to work for a Jewish homeland in Palestine on the basis of anti-fascism and in alliance with the progressive forces of all freedom-loving peoples and in friendship with the Arab people. This also resulted in strengthening the progressive currents in the Zionist movement, as against its reaction-

aries, thus contributing towards the upbuilding of Jewish anti-fascist unity. Still another basic effect was the strengthening of all progressive currents in Jewish life, giving rise to a broad development of a Jewish anti-fascist unity within and between various lands, in which Jewish workers are progressively playing a larger role, and in which the Soviet Jews are naturally exercising a great and historic influence. At the same time, reactionary forces in Jewish life have also continued to be very active, as can be seen in the United States, for example, in the splitting, Red-baiting, and anti-Soviet activities of the *Dubinsky-Forward-Jewish Labor Committee* gang and of similar elements among the Zionists and labor-Zionists.

Something special has to be said in connection with Jewish outlooks in the liberated countries of eastern Europe, such as Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and in the other lands of the Balkans. It is evident that new centers of Jewish life are being built in most of these countries, especially in Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria, within the framework of and integrated with the new people's democracy of these countries, and on the basis of their democratic economic and industrial developments. Jewish community life will probably continue in western Europe in different forms while the outlooks for central Europe are not clearly visible.

These will be *new kinds* of Jew-

ish national minorities. They will not, as in the past, be isolated and excluded from the general life of the country in which they live. On the contrary, they will be organically part of every phase of its life. Yet at the same time, they will be Jewish communities, developing a Jewish cultural life, and collaborating with the Jews of other lands for the survival, well-being, and culture of the whole of the Jewish people. In this process Birobidjan and the Jewish community in Palestine, while differing on principle in social and political systems, will exert a most powerful influence, both being centers of development where new types of organized Jewish life and full-fledged Jewish nations are growing to maturity. Thus, the Jewish people, itself not a nation, is engendering the development of two Jewish nations—nations of two different social formations.

In summing up the position and direction of development of the Jewish people, we must reach the following conclusion:

The Jewish people is not a single nation, nor is it just a religious or ethnic group. The Jews live in many countries and are parts of many nations. But they are one people just the same, having a common tradition and culture and a national language—Yiddish—common to large numbers of Jews in many parts of the world. The Jewish people have a common interest to fight against anti-Semitism and fascism, which

for the Jewish masses is a fight for their survival, for their well being and culture. Jewish national socialist life in the Soviet Union, especially in Birobidjan, and Jewish national life in Palestine are adding stability and strength to the anti-fascist unity among the Jews of all lands.

The Jewish people is composed of a number of national communities—national minorities of new types and national groups—and of two nationalities—in Birobidjan and in Palestine—in various stages of development towards complete nationhood. These minorities, groups, and nationalities differ greatly from one another, from the national standpoint as well as socially and politically, but all of them together make up one people, the Jewish people which has demonstrated afresh in the course of the war its will to live as a people.

It is for these reasons that the problem of relief and rehabilitation of the European Jews is a problem of national rebuilding and reconstruction. It is part of the general task of the Jewish people, in the realization of which the Jewish workers and trade unionists must play a leading role, to rebuild and develop further Jewish life in the Soviet Union, especially the Jewish socialist homeland in Birobidjan, in the liberated countries of eastern Europe, in Palestine, in the Americas and in the rest of the world.

We have lost about six million of our people—a loss which no power

on earth can make good. But we have helped to save the world from fascism and about two-thirds of our people have been saved as a result. With this we begin to build anew.

Although exact figures are still unavailable, the following estimates are helpful for an approximate picture. There are today about 2½ million Jews in the Soviet Union out of a pre-war 3½ million; about 100 thousand in Poland, out of a pre-war 3½ million, with another 100 thousand Polish Jews expected to migrate from the Soviet Union; 310 thousand in Rumania; 250 thousand in Hungary; 45 thousand in Bulgaria; about 180 thousand in France; about 90 thousand in Germany, among them nearly 70 thousand from other countries.

These are the forces in Europe with which our people has already begun the process of rebuilding in various countries. The five-million strong Jewish community in the United States, and also the other Jewish communities in the Americas, have a significant and important part to play in the rebuilding and development of Jewish life, in organic connection with the anti-fascist and progressive forces of all peoples and nations and especially with the trade unions and the advanced movements of the working-class. *It is the task of the Jewish masses in America to carry on this work as part of the general struggle for the moral and political defeat of fascism, for outlawing anti-Semi-*

tism, for stamping out all fascist ideologies of race supremacy, for equal rights for the Negro people, for the freedom and independence of all colonial and dependent peoples.

ERRORS OF THE PAST AND IMMEDIATE MAJOR TASKS

In the course of the struggle for Jewish anti-fascist unity as part of American national unity during the years of war, we committed a number of serious errors directly traceable to the Browder revisionist orientation which we have been following. We are at present engaged in a process of correcting these errors in accord with the decisions of the emergency national convention of the Party and of its general resolution.

We find that a major source of errors and weaknesses was our insufficient appreciation of the importance of bringing forward the Jewish workers as a leading factor in the Jewish anti-fascist unity. The practical conclusion to be drawn from this is to secure the active participation of progressive Jewish trade unionists, especially Communists, in the daily struggle for Jewish people's needs and interests.

Progressive Jewish trade unionists must become the actual leaders of these mass struggles and a leading factor in the anti-fascist and progressive unity movements of the American Jews. A substantial beginning along these lines has already been made in the organization of

"The Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity," an affiliate of the American Jewish Congress and a collaborator of the American Jewish Conference. This trade union committee can become a large force, in alliance with other progressive Jewish trade unionists and labor-Zionists, in the national Jewish task of relief and rehabilitation, in the fight against anti-Semitism and discrimination and in combatting the reactionary conspirators of the so-called Jewish Labor Committee of Dubinsky and Chanin, stimulating thus the movements for labor unity and anti-fascist unity among the Jewish masses.

Another source of error we find in the fact that we have not always safeguarded the ideological and political independence of the Jewish workers and of their vanguard—the Communists—in the process of working with other groups, the Zionists, for example, in the Jewish anti-fascist unity.

We knew, of course, that Zionism is a bourgeois-nationalist political movement, resting on a bourgeois ideology, though embracing non-bourgeois circles. We also knew, though belatedly, that since the rise of fascism and especially with the opening of the war of the anti-Hitler coalition, it became necessary and possible to work for anti-fascist Jewish unity, including Zionists and Communists, and that this unity could also work with the progressive forces in the Zionist movement for

the upbuilding of the Jewish homeland in Palestine along progressive lines made possible by the new world situation.

Therefore, we correctly fought, are now fighting, for Jewish anti-fascist unity, including all groups and currents in Jewish life capable of supporting a program of struggle for the moral and political defeat of fascism and anti-Semitism, for the rebuilding and rehabilitation of Jewish life, for close friendship with the Soviet Jews, for support to the upbuilding of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine and of the Jewish national Socialist homeland in Birobidjan, for the welfare and culture of the Jewish people in general.

But in fighting for unity on this program, we have not always fully exposed some of the reactionary tendencies in Zionism, insufficiently promoting the ideological and political positions of the working class and of the Communists. The correction of this error will not only make stronger the influence of labor in Jewish unity but will strengthen the unity itself, including Communists as well as Zionists.

Finally, there were serious errors in our struggle for support to the Jewish (Yishuv) Community in Palestine. The position itself is fully correct. It is embodied in the general resolution of our Party as adopted by the emergency national convention, and reads as follows:

Outlaw anti-Semitism, one of the most pernicious and damaging of fascism's ideological weapons. Support the just demands of the Jewish people for the immediate abrogation by the British government of the imperialist White Paper. Support the upbuilding of a Jewish National Home in a free and democratic Palestine, in collaboration with the Arab people, on the basis of the agreement of the Big Three in the Near East.

To carry out this resolution, it is now especially necessary to concentrate on the fight to outlaw anti-Semitism and to force the abrogation of the White Paper, opening the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and settlement.

The errors consisted in our partial failure to insist with sufficient emphasis upon the following points: that a Jewish national homeland will become a reality *only in a free and democratic Palestine*, which means that the struggle for Jewish aspirations there must go hand in hand with the fight of all Palestinian peoples, *Jews and Arabs*, for freedom and for a democratic development of the country's economy, *agrarian and industrial*; that as a matter of principle, not only expediency, we must work for the Jewish homeland in Palestine in collaboration with the Arabs; and that internationally, the orientation must be on the agreement between England, the Soviet Union, and the United States in the Near East as in the rest of the world.

It is precisely on these special points that we had to combat the reactionary currents in Zionism, which do not care for a free Palestine, either politically or economically, which completely ignore the Arabs, and orientate internationally on either British imperialism or American imperialism, or a combination of both, resorting freely to all sorts of entanglements with reactionary forces. Against these tendencies we have not fought sufficiently. We are correcting this weakness now and are thereby strengthening our ties with the Jewish masses *including the masses and progressive forces and leaders in the Zionist movement itself*. In this way the entire struggle for the Jewish Homeland in Palestine becomes stronger and the outlook for it brighter.

The Soviet Jews have a fully sympathetic and positive attitude to the Jewish community in Palestine. It was restated in November of last year by the Secretary of the Jewish Anti-fascist Committee in Moscow, the late Shakhno Epstein, as follows:

Naturally, no reasonable and freedom-loving person will object to the Jews in Palestine being enabled to develop freely their homeland, which they have built up by hard and constructive labor, on the basis of self-government. This is their undisputable right as a group which is united by common interests and aims. (*Morning Freiheit*, November 12, 1944.)

The additional point of principle,

which Jewish Communists everywhere are underlining in this connection, is that the building up of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine creates the basis for solving the Jewish question primarily for the Jewish community in Palestine. In the measure in which this is achieved, this *helps* to solve the general problems of the Jewish people as a whole, but in itself offers no complete solution. Herein—as well as in our proletarian internationalism—we differ fundamentally from the ideology of Zionism which sees in Palestine the complete solution of the Jewish question. The way to the complete solution of the Jewish question is pointed to us by the solution of the question in the Soviet Union, that is, the struggle for democracy and for socialism *in all countries*, together with the upbuilding of the Jewish Socialist Homeland in Birobidjan and the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

We have been reproached in some circles for failure to adopt the programmatic ultimate demand of Zionism which calls for a Jewish state in Palestine. To which our answer has been, and correctly so, that the ultimate state forms of the Jewish homeland in Palestine cannot be foreseen. They will depend upon the success of mass immigration there, upon its free economic and political development, upon the collaboration between Jews and Arabs, and upon the agreement between the Big Three. For all these practical tasks

we must fight, and in so doing we shall be building the elements of Jewish statehood and self-government. Further than that even large sections of Palestine Jews are not going today, nor are influential and progressive groups of Zionists. The demand for a Jewish State today has meaning only as a programmatic ultimate aim of Zionism and not as a program for immediate united struggle of the Jewish people. Such a practical program, which we have made our own, includes the fight against the White Paper, for the upbuilding of the Jewish community in Palestine economically, strengthening and expanding its self-government (building the elements of statehood), in alliance with the Arabs in a free and democratic Palestine.

One over-all weakness to be corrected in our Jewish work is the insufficient propagation of Marxist ideology among the masses and in our cultural work—a field badly neglected. As Marxist-Leninists, we must especially emphasize the *proletarian internationalism* of our movement, and precisely because we are engaged so actively in the struggle for the national needs and interests of the Jewish people. We must combat more than ever before all tendencies to separatism from the general political and cultural life of our country, of the American nation, seeking to integrate more firmly the Jewish masses with the mass of the American people as a whole in all

progressive endeavors, especially in the labor movement.

Above all, we must guard against all separatist tendencies among Jewish Communists, strengthening daily our organic connections with the Party — its program, its tactics, its organization, its leadership, in branch, city, state, and nation. The Communist Party of the United States is the party of all American Communists regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin. This is a simple but fundamental truth for Communists to propagate and live with in every activity for our people.

The party has given us a political line and general program of action. We have applied it to the special needs of the Jewish work. Consequently, we redouble now the fight for Jewish anti-fascist unity, includ-

ing the Communists and progressive forces in Zionism, for the rehabilitation and rebuilding of Jewish life, for outlawing anti-Semitism, for the well-being and culture of the Jewish people as projected by the Soviet Jews. And we unfold a concentrated activity to bring Jewish workers and trade unionists into prominent and leading participation and influence in the Jewish anti-fascist unity, combatting systematically all reactionary elements in Jewish life and, most particularly, the reactionary Social-Democratic and anti-unity conspirators of the Dubinsky-*Forward*-Jewish Labor Committee clique.

In fighting for the interests of the Jewish people, we do so as American Jewish Communists, i.e., in the struggle for the entire party program today—For Jobs, For Democracy, For Peace, For Security.