

## 2. PALESTINE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must therefore demand and fight for the quickest pos-



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To summarize our main analysis and conclusions:

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

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

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

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

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

## 5. CERTAIN IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS REGARDING ZIONISM

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

And further:

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

### **Zionism and the New Alignment in Struggle for the Jewish State**

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

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

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

The central objective of political Zionism has been the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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