

THE RIGHT DANGER IS A MONSTROUS REALITY

By MAX BEDACHT.

When decisive action is most imperative then the danger of antagonistic influence in our revolutionary movement is greatest. This is not only so because a mistake at a critical moment is of more serious consequences than ordinarily; it is so primarily because in the events of the class struggle the most critical moment brings with it the greatest pressure of subconscious illusions; the most critical moment prepares the most favorable ground for the reawakening of the influence of bourgeois education to which everybody was subjected. It is precisely the critical hour in which the apparatus of bourgeois propaganda plays every conceivable tune that is calculated to reawaken old prejudices and recreate old illusions.

A glaring example of this is shown in the attitude of some non-Party writers recently connected with the Communist "Morning Freiheit." Menachen Boreisha, H. Levick and Abraham Reisin declared "tearfully" that they cannot any longer cover the revolutionary position of the "Freiheit" with their names. Why? Because "innocent Jewish blood" has been spilled in Palestine and the "Freiheit" (after some serious mistakes in the beginning) refuses to blow into the horn of bourgeois propaganda, but raises the class issue instead.

For centuries the so-called holy land, because of its importance on the commercial road from the west to the east, has been the coveted pride of imperialism. All of the struggles for the possession of the holy land from the early battles of the Mohamedans to the crusades and to the expedition of Lord Allenby during the World War were conveniently cloaked with religious phrases and high sounding principles. But behind these principles and religious pretensions are concealed economic and imperialist purposes. The religious pretensions merely supply the means of setting one against the other to the benefit of the third, to the benefit of imperialism. "There is no sanctuary," wrote Marx in 1854, "no chapel, no stone of the church of the holy sepulchre, that has been left unturned for the purpose of constituting a quarrel between the different Christian communities."

For decades British imperialism attempted to establish its colonial rule over Palestine. During the world war it began to utilize the Zionist movement for this purpose. In a declaration issued by Balfour British imperialism, first, pronounced the inalienable right of the Jews to a national state, second, pronounced British imperialism as the chosen instrument of god to establish that Jewish national state, and, third, pronounced the Arabs of Palestine as the chosen sacrificial lambs who had to be shorn of their belongings in order to make possible the establishment of a Jewish national state.

It was clear all along that the Jewish national state was merely the convenient cloak for the imperialist aggression of Great Britain in Palestine. The activities of British imperialism on behalf of the establishment of this Jewish national state were not, were never intended to be, and will never be, a Jewish national state in Palestine. The only tangible result was a British "protectorate." British imperialism alone got what it set out to get. The Jewish nationalist movement, the Zionist movement, not only lent itself as an excuse for the establishment of colonial rule of British imperialism but helped in the systematic exploitation of the Arabian masses in Palestine. It helped in and profited by the systematic expropriation of the masses of the Arabian peasantry. Together with the British, the Zionist colonists exploit the thus impoverished Arabian masses as wage-slaves under the most miserable conditions imaginable. At the same time, however, the Jewish Zionist capitalists have no nationalist scruples against the exploitation of the poor Jewish immigrants in Palestine. In fact, they exploit and feed mutual religious and racial prejudices of Jews and Mohammedans so that, together with the British imperialists, they can keep wages of both at a minimum by playing one nationality against the other.

Against this system of expropriation, exploitation and oppression the Arabs recently began to revolt. They rose against British imperial-

ism and attacked its agents, the Zionists. This rising of the Arabs in Palestine is an indictment against the Zionists. It is a revolt of oppressed and exploited against exploiters and oppressors.

Are there "innocent victims" in such struggles? Of course there are. But the innocent victim must become an additional incentive of hatred and struggle against the responsible imperialist forces. But bourgeois Zionism tries to use the "innocent victim" in order to draw the wrath of the exploited masses of the world from the guilty British imperialists and their Zionist lackeys. This has been the over-effective method of the exploiters. Nationalist prejudices have been fed to the masses for so many centuries that an appeal to them promises to win immunity for the real guilty.

That these calculations of the exploiters are justified is proven by the position taken by the above-mentioned Jewish writers. They can display abstract sympathy for the exploited and indulge in abstract criticism against the exploiters. But when "Jewish blood" appeals to them, they forget exploiters and exploited; they forget the concrete problem of class emancipation. Then the Jewish bourgeois who fattened himself and his pocketbook on the sweat and health of Jewish workers in New York sweat shops and who invested his gains in Palestine to exploit Arab workers for a change, turns from a hated exploiter into a sacred vessel of Jewish blood. The class-line disappears, internationalism disappears, and what is left is vicious nationalism; the same nationalism which supplied the excuse for the greatest treachery in history, for the betrayal of the working class by the Second International in August, 1914.

Yesterday these gentlemen could see British imperialism as oppressor. But today when the intricacies of the class struggle make the bloody and oppressive rule of imperialism appear in the form of an Arabian uprising against the Zionist agents of British imperialism, then they can no longer see the classes but see only their nation or their race. This logic would command of the American revolutionists the cessation of struggle against American imperialism in the very moment in which the American imperialists can raise the cry of "American blood has been spilt." According to this logic "Remember the Maine" was a perfectly justified war cry of American imperialism. This logic would cry itself hoarse about the predatory policy of American capital in Mexico. But when an agent of this policy, an American oil land thief, falls victims to the just wrath of the revolting Mexican peasants, then American blood would be at stake and thus a justification would be supplied for the support and even for the calling for a punitive military expedition of American capital into Mexico. This kind of logic supplies the "left" agents of the bourgeoisie with their tactics: talk against oppression and fight for it.

The Communist must fight such treachery. He is for the exploited at all times. He does not divide the world vertically into nations but horizontally into classes; and his duty is with the working classes, with the exploited. The treacherous practice of the bourgeoisie, "Nation against nation," the Communist answers with his revolutionary practice of "Class against class."

In the swing of these "sympathizers" of the workers we meet the Right danger in its most formidable form. Here is the most dangerous pitfall for our revolutionary Party. Here is an example of how, at the decisive moment the bourgeois ideology liquidates class solidarity and turns a "friend" of the working class of yesterday into the most miserable propagandist for imperialism of today.

"Sympathy" for the Soviet Union is relegated to the background, "ideals" of the working masses are obliterated, and the gentlemen, "tearfully" though, and, as they assure us, torn by mental anguish, join a united front with the betrayers of the Jewish workers in the "Forward," with the exploiters of the Jewish masses, the Shiffs and Strausses and Rosenwalds, with the political instruments of oppression of the Jewish working masses, the democratic and republican politicians. If these gentlemen had one iota of revolutionary class consciousness they would see that there must be some Jewish poison in the "sacred Jewish blood" propaganda, if this propaganda can lead them into one camp with Abe Cahan, Jacob Shiff and Herbert Hoover. If they cannot detect this poison it is because they belong where they are now. The drops of "sacred Jewish blood" spilled in Palestine has not made them what they are, but has only revealed them as what they have really always