

**STUDY  
GUIDE**

*on the*

**JEWISH  
QUESTION**

*by*

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The following outline is presented as a program of study of the Jewish question as part of the national question. The outline consists of 12 points which formulate the main topics of such a study and the problems to be examined.

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1. The Problem

The national and colonial question, of which the Jewish question is a part, deals with the struggle of oppressed and dependent nations and peoples for national liberation. To use Stalin's classic formulation, this means the struggle for the right and opportunity of the nation "to determine its own destiny," "to arrange its life as it sees fit without, of course, stamping on the rights of other nations" (Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, page 20). This is the problem of national and colonial liberation. From this we must proceed to the question of the nation itself.

2. What is a Nation?

We take Stalin's definition of a nation. It was proven correct and vital through the many stormy years, in the course of successful struggles for national liberation in old Russia and in other parts of the world, since 1913 when this definition was first made public. It says:

"A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture" (Ibid, page 8).

This definition of a nation is basic to the entire understanding of the Jewish question. One will find that both bourgeois nationalism (Zionism, Bundism) and bourgeois assimilationism proceed from false conceptions of, first, what a nation is, and, secondly, what the Jewish people is from the standpoint of the national question. Bourgeois nationalism artificially establishes a non-historical utopian conception of "a world-nation" which has no beginning and presumably no end. This conception of a "world-nation," especially created to fit the Jewish people, excludes three of the four attributes of nationhood, namely, language, territory and economic life, leaving only community of culture which alone cannot and does not make nations. It is idealistic in its philosophic base and hence the source of a reactionary ideology. Bourgeois assimilationism, on the other hand, accepts the national "theories" of the ruling and dominant nations, that is the conception of the imperialist bourgeoisie that only those national communities are real nations and entitled to order their lives as they see fit which are in a position to oppress and exploit other nations. From this concept of a nation flows the imperialist and fascist ideology of "superior" and "inferior" races and peoples. From this concept flows the "theoretical" justification for the right of the "civilized" and "superior" group of nations to dominate the dependent and oppressed nations, which are declared not to be nations at all. Bourgeois Jewish assimilationism accepts this "theory" in fact and seeks to incorporate the Jewish bourgeoisie into the nationally dominant bourgeois classes, subordinating the masses of the Jewish people to the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie -- economically, politically and culturally.

It can be seen, therefore, that the establishment and acceptance of a correct definition of a nation is a basic condition for a correct study of the national question in general and of the Jewish question in particular. From this standpoint we shall find later that Jewish communities in various countries are developing various and different forms of national existence; and that the Jewish people of all countries, taken as a whole, is not a single nation since it lacks a community of territory and economic life, but is a relatively stable community having a common national character manifested in a common culture, a community of which large numbers have a common language, Yiddish, and which has common interests in the present period of world history, chief among them, the struggle against anti-Semitism, for equal rights, for survival as a people.

3. Origin of Nations and of National Oppression

Having established the definition of a nation, we must now examine the

origin of nations and of national oppression. This examination will do two things. It will reinforce our understanding of what a nation is since we shall be studying the nation historically, that is, in its origin, development and disappearance. We shall be using the well tried and proven Marxist method. We shall gain a clearer understanding of the prospects of future development of present day nations and peoples. Thus, we shall be able to examine more closely the future of the Jewish people and the course of its struggle for survival. Then we shall study under this heading the origin of national oppression. This will bring us directly to imperialism, to the capitalist system which gives rise to imperialism, and to the entire present system of national oppression. We shall find that even though national oppression antedates capitalism in many places, it is under imperialism that national oppression becomes a system of class rule and a basic part of the economy and politics of capitalism. (Stalin, page 88, paragraphs 1, 2 and 3).

#### 4. Full Presentation of National Question

We are now able to give a full presentation of the national question as it appears in the present epoch -- the epoch of the general crisis of the capitalist system. It was given by Stalin in 1921 in which he stresses particularly four factors "as being the most characteristic and distinguishing features of the new presentation of the national question, features which draw a line between the old and the new conceptions of the national question" (Ibid, page 111).

"The first factor is that the national question, as a part, has become merged with the general question of the emancipation of the colonies, as the whole."

"The second factor is that the vague slogan of the right of nations to self-determination has been replaced by the clear revolutionary slogan of the right of nations and colonies to political secession and the formation of independent states."

"The third factor is the disclosure of the connection, the organic connection, between the national and colonial question and the question of the power of capital, the overthrow of capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The fourth factor is that a new element has been introduced into the national question -- the element of real (and not merely juridical) equalization of nations (helping and encouraging the backward nations to raise themselves to the cultural and economic level of the more advanced nations), as one of the conditions necessary for securing fraternal cooperation between the toiling masses of the various nationalities."

This is the presentation of the national question given by the Communists. It differs fundamentally "from the presentation favored by the leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals and by all and every kind of "Socialist," "Social-Democratic," Menshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary and other party" (Ibid, page 111). It is the Marxist presentation as against all opportunist presentation of the national question. (Ibid, 111--116.) It projects the foundations upon which the national question has been solved in the Soviet Union.

#### 5. American and British Imperialism

We must now proceed to an examination of American and British imperialism in the light of the full presentation, the new presentation, of the national question. This is necessary because these are the two decisive imperialist powers at the present time, following the defeat of the fascist Axis, and the struggle for national liberation is largely a struggle against American

and British imperialism.

Here we have to examine the rise of imperialism generally, that is, the rise of the highest and last stage of capitalism as analyzed by Lenin in his famous work on imperialism ("Imperialism the last stage of capitalism"). A study of this work must be placed at the very basis of an expanded and thorough study of the national question.

This study is particularly interested in American imperialism whose peculiarities and special features should be thoroughly examined on the basis of the general Leninist analysis of imperialism. Here we will find that the economic base of American imperialism, as of British and all others, is monopoly capitalism, the big trusts and corporations, which embody the fusion of industrial and banking capital. We shall also find that a basic feature of American imperialism, as of British and all others, is the export of capital and the urge to establish monopolistic control of sources of raw materials (oil, for example) and of markets. It will be seen, furthermore, that American imperialism has been, and grows increasingly so, the source of political reaction and more intensified exploitation of labor and all working people at home. Common to imperialism in general but greatly accentuated is the tremendous concentration and centralization of capital in the United States and the consequent domination of the monopolies in the economy and politics of the country. The drive of American imperialism for world domination, for the exploitation and subjugation of foreign peoples and nations, has its economic base and main driving power in the monopolies and trusts of the United States. This is also the source from which pro-fascist reaction and fascism grow -- from the most reactionary and imperialistically aggressive circles of American monopoly capital which feeds the incitements for a new world war and which has become the center of world reaction. This reaction is directed against all national liberation movements, seeking to strengthen national oppression and discrimination everywhere, just as it is directed against all democratic movements and governments.

There are a number of special characteristics that are peculiar to American imperialism. The most obvious one is that whereas British imperialism operates through a colonial empire, American imperialism operates only partly by colonial rule, say in the Philippines and Porto Rico. But from this it does not follow at all that American imperialism is not imperialism or is a more "acceptable" form of imperialism. It is precisely a special feature of American imperialism that it operates mainly by economic, financial and political pressure and penetration, supplemented in the present period by increasing military pressure and intimidation, and only partly by the methods of traditional colonial rule. This is graphically demonstrated by the policies of American imperialism in China, Africa, Latin America (considered by the US monopolies their own private preserve), the Middle East, and the European countries, while Porto Rico and the Philippines are held as outright colonies.

For this special feature of American imperialism there are two main reasons. One is that American imperialism came a little too late on the world stage to have been able easily to grab a colonial empire because the world had already been divided between the older imperialisms, chiefly British, French, German. It was also a period in the world's history when big colonial movements of national liberation were beginning to develop and spread, resisting foreign rule and seeking either to maintain the national independence of their peoples or to gain such independence. The second reason lies in the great economic and political reserves which -- historically -- American imperialism had at its command (the natural wealth of the United States, its agricultural and industrial plant, high technical development). These resources enabled American imperialism for a considerable time to maneuver almost exclusively with the power of its economic and financial strength to penetrate and subjugate foreign economies and to extend its political influ-

ence. And since the end of World War II, political and military pressures and intimidations -- the atom bomb diplomacy -- are playing a major part in the drive of American imperialism for world domination, which is today one of the basic factors of world relations. It constitutes the main obstacle to the struggle for national liberation of all oppressed peoples as well as to struggles of the Jewish peoples for equal rights, and for the opportunity to develop democratic forms of national existence appropriate to the conditions of the countries in which the Jewish communities live.

An extended study of imperialism must include a detailed examination of the nature and operation of the law of uneven development. Due to this inherent law of capitalism, intensified immensely under imperialism, the course of development of British imperialism in recent times has been downward while the course of American imperialism has been upward. It is the operation of the law of uneven development that is at the base of imperialist rivalries (Anglo-American, for example), creating the danger of imperialist war for new redivisions of the world and imperialist wars themselves. It is the operation of the law of uneven development that made possible the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 and of the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

Another special feature of American imperialism, and a source of weakness not of strength, is the extraordinary concentration of capital in the United States and the domination of the monopolies. This factor is primarily responsible for the greater instability of American capitalist economy as compared, say, with the British, even though the latter is incomparably weaker. This extraordinary domination of the monopolies is also responsible for the exceptional sharpening of class relations in the United States even though it does not yet find adequate political expression in the class struggle.

#### 6. The Struggle Against Wall Street Imperialism

The struggle against Wall Street imperialism is, therefore, the major task of all national liberation movements since such a struggle is directed against the major imperialist power and the main source and center of world reaction. It is the struggle also against British imperialism and all others as well as against various imperialist combinations, such as, the present Anglo-American imperialist bloc whose ties are weakening under the blows of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces and due to the operation of its mutual rivalries and contradictions. This anti-imperialist struggle is a major -- the major -- task of the Jewish people struggling for its equal rights and opportunities, whether as national minorities, national groups or developing nationalities in various parts of the capitalist world. It is also the struggle against anti-Semitism and for its eradication.

#### 7. The System of National Discrimination and Oppression in the United States

I should like to draw your attention to the way this point is introduced. The fact is that we have not always spoken of the existence of a system of national discrimination and oppression in the United States, except in relation to the Negro people. Now, however, we have to say that there exists in the United States a peculiar system of oppression of peoples, usually spoken of as minorities, which is a system of persecution of peoples and discrimination against them.

First comes the Negro people. For this people, the white ruling classes have established a regime of naked and brutal national oppression in the so-called "Black Belt" in the South, where the Negro people is developing as a nation, and a system of national oppression and discrimination in the rest of the country.

After the Negroes come the various national groups -- the Jews, Italians,

Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Slovaks and others. These are not separate nations or nationalities, nor are they national minorities of the old, pre-war eastern European type. They are specifically American national groupings which play a historically progressive role in the growth and development of the American nation.

The masses of these national groups are oppressed and discriminated against by the dominant so-called "superior Anglo-Saxon race." These discriminations are economic, political, social and cultural, assuming many and various forms as well as intensities for the different national groups. But whatever their forms, the content of these discriminations has a very definite national character. The basic source of these national discriminations lies in imperialism, in the domination of the trusts and monopolies, in the capitalist system as such. These are the sources from which stem the most reactionary circles of finance capital -- the main driving force of the present offensive of American imperialist reaction at home and abroad, the breeding ground of war incitements against the Soviet Union and the feeders and promoters of fascism.

This means that anti-Semitism itself, which is today one of the sharpest weapons of imperialist reaction in the United States, is one of the forms of national oppression and persecution.

The Mexicans and Porto Ricans in the United States, whose importance in American life is growing, occupy a special position in the American system of national discrimination and oppression -- a special form of oppressed national minorities.

We must engage in a thorough study of the character of the national groups and the perspective of their further development. We will have to trace the origin of the national groups as they developed from various immigrant communities of common national origin. An important objective here is to determine the different characteristics of the older and newer migrations and the effects of these differences upon the degree of discrimination or privilege suffered or enjoyed by the various national groups.

It will be necessary to examine more closely the significance of the relative compactness of geographical location and settlement of the national groups within the various states and cities, the persisting common pattern of main occupations among the masses of certain national groups with their peculiarities of class composition and relations. This is, of course, qualitatively different from separate national economies since these national groups are an organic part of the general American national economy and its class relations. But these peculiarities are real none-the-less, playing a substantial part in the growth of vitality of the national groups, creating their special problems.

An important field of study is the problem of the cultural and ethnic features of the national groups -- features, originating in the nations from which these groups stem and modified by the groups' life and experiences in the United States. The effects of the influences from the old countries must be examined. And most particularly must our study concern itself with the course of the concrete struggle of the national groups against discrimination and oppression by the so-called "superior" Anglo-Saxon race, for equal rights, for the opportunity to become freely and voluntarily integrated into general American life as against a mechanical assimilation imposed and forced by the ruling groups -- an assimilation falsely called Americanization.

Examining the struggle of the national groups against the prevailing system of national discrimination and oppression in the United States, we must center our attention on the following:

a) The best ally of the national groups in this struggle is the working class -- the most consistent opponent of all forms of oppression, social and national -- the American working class and its progressive representatives.

b) Next to the working class, the Negro people is a major ally of the national groups, since the Negro people faces the task of national liberation, as an oppressed nation, struggling for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt and for the most elementary equal rights -- economic, social and political -- throughout the country, which makes the Negro people a vanguard force against the whole imperialist system of national discrimination and oppression in the United States.

c) The struggle of the national groups is a struggle for equal rights. It is a fight against all forms of national discrimination and oppression -- economic, political, social, cultural, by the dominant Anglo-Saxon ruling classes. For full equality. For outlawing anti-Semitism.

d) The struggle of the national groups is also a struggle for the opportunity to become freely and voluntarily integrated into general American life -- for complete and equal citizenship in fact and not only in word. It is a struggle against mechanical and forced assimilation, falsely called Americanization, which is in fact subjection -- cultural, political, ideological -- to the dominant Anglo-Saxon imperialism. It is a struggle for the right and opportunity to develop a progressive national group life and a progressive national group culture, as part of the general American national life and progressive culture. It is a struggle for the recognition of the fact that the national group is a progressive stage in the development of the American nation.

e) This struggle of the national groups is of a general democratic nature. It is a major part of the general fight of the whole American people, headed by labor, against American imperialism and against the offensive of imperialist reaction. The final and full realization of the major objectives of this struggle is possible and will become realized only with the establishment of Socialism in the United States. But the struggle for the rights of the national groups defends the interests of the masses, advances the cause of democracy, and promotes the development toward Socialism.

f) This struggle of the national groups requires, as a basic condition of success, a consistent fight within each national group against its "own" reactionaries -- these social groups and representatives which are part or allies of American imperialism and monopoly capitalism, which promote reactionary bourgeois nationalist or assimilationist movements and currents, which belong to reactionary Social-Democracy. For this purpose, the democratic forces of each national group, especially the Marxists, must possess a thorough understanding of the peculiar features of the class composition and class relations of their respective group and of the connection between the special situation in their group and the general American class relationships and political alignments.

g) The key idea of the Marxist position in the national group is, on the one hand, to meet the special problems and needs of the national group as a group and, on the other hand, to do it in such a way as to promote the political and organizational unity of the American working class and the democratic unification and growth of the American nation. This requires a continuous struggle against all tendencies of separatism and against bourgeois nationalism.

h) The major policy of Marxists in the national groups, as in general American life, is the policy of labor unity and of anti-fascist people's unity. It is the policy of building the coalition of workers, farmers,

professionals, middle classes for the struggle against the offensive of imperialist reaction, against the monopolies and the war inciters, for democracy, peace, economic security and equal rights. It is the coalition of all democratic forces in the national group, of all elements capable of participating in the struggle for the defense of the democratic rights of the national group and of the American people as a whole, of all progressive currents and tendencies that are akin to and in sympathy with the democratic movements and progressive cultural developments of the lands of their national origin. In all these struggles, the major task is to build the unity of labor as the backbone of the people's unity and coalition, to promote the leading role of the workingclass in the coalition and to strengthen the vanguard party of the working class -- the Communist Party.

#### 8. The American Jewish National Group

a) Economic and social features. All national groups in the United States, as we have shown, have common basic characteristics which make them national groups. At the same time, each national group has its own special features. In the economic and social sphere, the special features of the Jewish national group are: Big Jewish capitalists who are part of American monopoly capital; a disproportionately large middle class, petty bourgeoisie, businessmen and professionals; an exceptionally small numbers of farmers; the major part of Jewish workers is employed in light and servicing industries even though there is a tendency to increasing numbers going into heavy industry; Jewish capitalists play an important part in the national economy but are still confined mainly to certain trades and businesses in which Jewish workers used to predominate (garments, for example) but which is no longer the case, and are compelled to seek opportunities mainly in new industries.

b) Relation of class forces. The Jewish bourgeoisie plays an important role in Jewish national group life, that is, in matters relating to the special inner affairs of the group or to its relations with Jews of other countries, but not so in matters of general American import. This important and, in certain spheres, decisive role of the Jewish bourgeoisie in the national group results primarily from the influence of the big bourgeoisie upon large sections of the middle classes and, through them, upon sections of workers. The influence of the big Jewish bourgeoisie is exercised through its dominant position in the field of Jewish philanthropy and social services and in the sphere of relief abroad. The big bourgeoisie and large sections of the middle bourgeoisie are assimilationist and find their expression in the Council for Judaism and in the American Jewish Committee. Sections of the middle bourgeoisie and the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie are nationalistic in various degrees, supporting Zionist policies in various ways.

Jewish workers, too, carry much weight in the national group, especially those organized in the trade unions and fraternal organizations. But the divisions within Jewish labor, caused by the reactionary policies of the Social-Democratic "Forward"-Dubinsky group, seriously weaken labor's influence. This is demonstrated in the fact that there is as yet no effective working class initiative and leadership in the building of a progressive Jewish national group life, which leaves the field of leadership in the American Jewish national group very much in the hands of the bourgeoisie -- nationalist (religious and secular) and assimilationist.

A very important factor in the Jewish national group and a major avenue of bourgeois ideological and political influence, both nationalist and assimilationist, are the religious institutions (Synagogues, Temples, educational institutions of all grades) and Jewish clericalism. To large numbers of middle class and sections of working class Jews, the Jewish religion and its institutions appear as the only symbol of Jewishness and means of iden-

tity with the Jewish people, which results in part from the weak initiative of the progressive and labor forces for the building of a secular and democratic Jewish national group life. Here two points are essential: in the struggle for a progressive Jewish life in the United States, it is necessary to cement the unity of all those favoring a secular, non-religious and progressive Jewish life, in education, culture and all other spheres. In addition, Marxists will not fail to carry on a systematic theoretical fight for the scientific ideology of Marxism as against all idealistic and religious philosophies. At the same time, the policy of building the democratic unity of the Jewish people will not fail to embrace in the democratic coalition the overwhelming majority of those Jews who are organized and grouped around the religious institutions as well as the very large number of progressive Jewish clerics, among whom there are deep differentiations primarily on political issues (as well as religious).

Much attention has to be paid to the Landsmanshaften. A study of their histories and role in the national group is becoming essential.

c) Entrenchment of reactionary Social-Democrats. In any study of class relations and currents in the American Jewish national group, a basic phase is the exceptional entrenchment of reactionary Social-Democrats. Their chief mass bases are found in certain unions (ILGWU), fraternal organizations (Workmen's Circle), in the Liberal party in New York, etc. Their influence in the national group is derived from their mass bases, their connections with and positions in the American Federation of Labor and their collaboration with the reactionary forces of the Jewish bourgeoisie. The Jewish Daily "Forward" is a major weapon of this group which also controls the "New Leader." The dominant position of this group in the Jewish Labor Committee is a factor of major importance in the strength of the reactionary Social-Democrats. They also operate through control of the Jewish Scientific Institute (YWI) which they use for reactionary political purposes.

One of the more fundamental social and ideological causes for this influence of reactionary Social-Democracy in the Jewish national group is the social weight and influence of the petty bourgeoisie and the still lingering Second International (Bundist) traditions among the older generations of Jewish trade unionists.

d) Assimilationist influences. Powerful assimilationist influences operate among Jewish professionals and sections of workers. At the same time, there is a continual strengthening of progressive American Jewish national group life among the bulk of the workers and lower middle classes.

e) General political features. Anti-Semitism and discrimination influence powerfully the political line-ups of all Jewish groups and classes in particular situations and struggles. At the same time, basic class positions and interests assert themselves very strongly. Among the workers and lower middle classes the basic class interests and the interests of struggle against national oppression are identical. Not so among the bourgeoisie. Here we find a continual conflict between the class interests and those dictated by its position of a nationally discriminated group. This conflict produces political vacillations in Jewish bourgeois circles which the progressive and labor forces can make use of to strengthen the democratic coalition and to weaken reaction.

f) Effects of fascism and the struggle for survival. The effects of the rise of fascism, its military defeat in the war and the efforts of imperialist reaction in the post war to revive and rebuild the fascist menace -- all these have produced and are producing various effects in Jewish life from the standpoint of the struggle for the survival of the Jewish people. We find a strengthening of both bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois assimilationism which in different ways militate against the survival of the Jewish

people. But the major effect has been and is to promote the development of Jewish people's anti-fascist unity in each country and of all countries where Jews live, for the welfare of the Jewish people and its survival as a people. This is why the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine and the Jewish Autonomous Region in Biro Bidjan have become living symbols for the masses of the Jewish people everywhere of the struggle for survival as a people. This fact also stimulates the growth of a progressive Jewish life in America. Special note must be taken, in this connection, of the spreading popularity of Biro Bidjan as a growing Jewish Socialist state in the system of Soviet Socialist Republics.

g) Program of struggle for a progressive Jewish life. Here a recapitulation will be necessary of the character of the struggle for a progressive Jewish life in the American Jewish national group. This struggle is carried on against all forms and expressions of national discrimination and oppression, for the outlawing of anti-Semitism, for equal rights and full equality in all fields, for the right and opportunity to integrate fully and freely in general American life, against forced and imposed assimilation falsely called Americanization, for the right and opportunity to develop a progressive Jewish national group life as the road to free and voluntary integration into general American life and as the Jewish people's contribution to the democratic unification and growth of the American nation.

To fight for these objectives successfully, it is necessary to follow consistently the policy of labor unity and people's anti-fascist unity -- the democratic coalition -- and to combat systematically the positions of reactionary bourgeois nationalism, assimilationism and Social-Democracy, all of which militate against the growth of a progressive Jewish life in America and against the survival of the Jewish people as a whole.

For a concise definition of the positions of the reactionaries on the question of struggle for a progressive Jewish life in America, see the Resolution of the Communist Party of the United States on "Work Among the American Jewish Masses," part III, paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10.

#### 9. Our Relations with the Jews of Other Countries

a) We study our relations with the Soviet Jews, particularly the Jews of Biro Bidjan. The basic things here are the history of the national liberation of the Jews of Czarist and imperialist Russia by the October Socialist revolution, their present position of full and real, not merely formal, equality in the Soviet Union in all spheres of life, and their opportunity to build up in Biro Bidjan a Jewish nation and a Jewish Soviet Socialist state in the system of Soviet Socialist republics. Here we shall be studying the Marxist-Leninist solution of the Jewish question in the Soviet Union, the complete and final solution which is possible only under Socialism.

The practical tasks arising from this study are the building and development of friendship between the Soviet Jews and the American Jews as part of the broader friendship between the American and Soviet peoples. Within this framework, we are especially concerned with developing cultural relations with the Soviet Jews who are leading in this field of Jewish people's endeavor, to build the anti-fascist unity of the Jewish people, to gain the opportunity of making our contribution to the rehabilitation of the destroyed cities and communities, and -- most particularly -- to help build up the Autonomous Jewish Region in Biro Bidjan. This latter task is paramount from the standpoint of the struggle for the survival of the Jewish people as a people.

b) Our relations with the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine. We shall study the origin and development of the Yishuv and its problems. Chief among these is the task of establishing Jewish-Arab unity for the common struggle for an

independent and democratic Palestine state guaranteeing the national rights of both peoples. Palestine is a country of two peoples, of two developing nationalities, whose further growth is hampered by the rule of foreign imperialism -- British imperialism. The aspirations of the Jewish Yishuv to build itself up as a national home for the Jews of Palestine can therefore be realized only in an independent Palestine in which both peoples have equal opportunities for national development. It is our task to give systematic moral and material aid to the progressive struggles of the Yishuv, especially to the building of Jewish-Arab unity of all democratic forces of both peoples of Palestine. We must realize that the Yishuv is a vital part of the Jewish people and that its national development in an independent and democratic Palestine, side by side with the Arab people, is a major factor in struggle of the Jewish people for survival as a people.

Here we must subject to an analysis and criticism the ideological and political positions of Zionism with regard to Palestine. We demonstrate that the Zionist programmatic demand for turning Palestine into a Jewish state denies the existence of two peoples in Palestine and is tantamount to the national subjection of the Arabs to the Jews. This has to be opposed for the same reason that we must oppose the demand of Arab reactionary nationalists to subject the Jews to the Arabs. We further demonstrate that the Zionist solution of the Palestine question, being anti-democratic and reactionary and oriented on collaboration with imperialism against the Arab people, endangers the security of the Yishuv and tends to turn the Jewish people into accomplices and partners in imperialist oppression and exploitation. The Zionist solution will also mean the subjection and exploitation of the masses of the Yishuv by foreign imperialism together with a small group of Jewish capitalists. It will make impossible the realization of a democratic and free Jewish national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Finally, it will be necessary to demonstrate the bourgeois nationalist class character of the Zionist ideology which leads to national separatism and chauvinism, subordinates the Jewish workers to the bourgeoisie and prevents the emergence of the working class as the leader of the people's democratic movements and as leader of all oppressed for national and social liberation and for the establishment of Socialism, which alone will realize the final and permanent and complete solution of the national question and of the Jewish question.

A fundamental part of this section of our study is the examination of the course of the struggle for united action of all democratic Jewish forces in support of the Yishuv and of a democratic, not imperialist and reactionary, Jewish-Arab solution of the Palestine question. Such a democratic unity is possible, including the progressive forces among the Zionists, and non-Zionists, Communists, Socialists and non-party elements.

c) Our relations with the Jewish communities in the new democracies of Europe. Here we study the character and position of the Jewish communities in eastern and central Europe, especially in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria. Most important is, of course, the new Jewish community in Poland which is growing in the process of struggle of the entire Polish people for the eradication of reaction and fascism and for the consolidation of the new democratic Polish state. The new Jewish community in Poland is building up a healthy economic and social composition, with a growing number of Jewish workers in heavy and basic industry, the main tendency being for the dominant population to be engaged in productive occupations. What is growing there is a national Jewish community of a new type, different from the old national minority, oppressed and persecuted and largely isolated from the economic and political life of the country. This new Jewish community in Poland grows as a Jewish community, culturally and in every other way, but is integrated into the general life of the country and is growing as an organic part of it. This seems to be the tendency, in lesser degree, also in the Jewish communities of Rumania and Hungary.

Our practical tasks here are to actively promote material and moral aid to the rehabilitation of the Jewish communities in the liberated countries, especially in Poland, as a national duty of the American Jewish national group. This calls for the widest unity of all Jewish democratic forces. It also calls for systematic resistance to all reactionary schemes for Jewish "Exodus" from Europe or any part of it while we render all possible assistance, political and material, to those Jews or Jewish groups who do want to leave Europe. For example, the struggle for the right of Jewish immigration to Palestine on the basis of Arab-Jewish agreement and under their joint control, or the campaign for opening the doors of the United States to Jewish immigrants.

This also calls for a struggle against the hostile attitude of the American government towards the new democracies of Europe -- an attitude which supports and encourages all reactionary and fascist forces in those lands, stimulating their terroristic attacks upon Jews as well as upon all democratic elements. It is necessary to demand and fight for an American policy of friendship and assistance to the new democracies, exposing the double-dealing game of the "Forward"-Dubinsky group and other Jewish reactionaries who pretend sympathy for the new Jewish community in Poland while supporting the official American hostile policy to the Polish government.

d) Our relations with the Jews of Western Europe (France, Belgium, England) and of the Americas (Latin America and Canada). In Western Europe our main attention is claimed by the Jewish community in France, not to neglect the others. While it is still too early for us to be able to make final judgment on the nature and perspectives of the Jewish community in France, it is possible to say now that it is one of the most vital Jewish communities playing a very important part in Jewish life. It also manifests some of the characteristics of a national group similar to the American but peculiarly French-Jewish. The Jewish community in Canada is, of course, a major factor in Jewish life which makes our relations with that community of great importance. Finally, the importance of our relations with the Jewish communities in Latin America is continually growing because these communities themselves are growing and developing.

Our tasks here are the development of collaboration in the fields of culture, relief and rehabilitation of the Jews in the liberated countries of Europe, struggle against anti-Semitism, and for the anti-fascist unity of the Jewish people to wage a common struggle for these objectives as well as to render active assistance to the upbuilding of the Jewish Autonomous Region in Biro Bidjan and to help the Palestine Yishuv to achieve its free national development in an independent Palestine of Jews and Arabs.

#### 10. The Jewish People

We are now in a position to establish the nature of the Jewish people as a people. It is a community of Jewish communities, living in various countries and parts of the world, developing various and different forms of national existence appropriate to the social and political conditions of their countries, but all of them together having a number of common national characteristics, interests and tasks. This does not make them a single nation. For a community to be a single nation and to be able to act as such it must have a community of territory (land), economy, language and culture. The Jewish people possess in common only their culture and only partly the language with no common land and national economy. We have already seen that the Zionist and Bundist conception of the Jewish people as some sort of "a world-nation" is utopian and reactionary.

There is in fact a Jewish people struggling for survival as a people but a people having one or two of the attributes of a nation and, therefore, capable only of certain kinds and lines of common action. Furthermore, our

people is made up of various communities with differing forms of national existence: developing nationalities in Biro Bidjan and, on a different social and political basis, in Palestine; national minorities of various new types in the new European democracies; national minorities of a Socialist type in the Soviet Union; national groups of the American type. This does not negate the existence of a Jewish people with common national characteristics and tasks but it defines the character of this people, its nature in relation to the question of a single nation, and it establishes the fact that each Jewish community has its own special problems and tasks determined by the conditions of the country in which it lives.

This also defines the common tasks of the Jewish people as a people. It is the survival of our people, against anti-Semitism and fascism, for equal rights, for the development of a progressive Jewish culture, for the relief and rehabilitation of the Jewish communities in the liberated countries, for the free development of various forms of national existence in accord with conditions in various countries, for the upbuilding of Biro Bidjan as a Jewish Soviet state in the system of Soviet Socialist Republics and for the free national development of the Palestine Yishuv in an independent Palestine of Jews and Arabs guaranteeing the equal national rights of both peoples. The realization of these tasks demands the systematic building of Jewish peoples anti-fascist unity, a unity of all democratic forces headed by labor and influenced by its vanguard party, the Communist party, as part of the general democratic and anti-fascist front of the American people and in the world at large. This also requires a systematic struggle against the reactionaries in Jewish life -- against the reactionary Social-Democrats of the "Forward"-Dubinsky group, the reactionary Zionist leaders of the Silver and Segal kind, against the reactionary assimilationists of the Committee for Judaism and the American Jewish Committee.

#### 11. The Struggle for a Progressive Jewish Culture

The struggle for a progressive Jewish culture is a major factor in the development of a progressive Jewish life in general and in the struggle for the survival of the Jewish people as a people.

The struggle for a progressive Jewish culture in the United States is in no contradiction to the struggle for a progressive culture of the American people as a whole but, on the contrary, is an organic part of it. Similarly, the struggle for a progressive Jewish culture is in no contradiction to the Leninist opposition to the slogan of "national culture" under capitalism or to the Leninist orientation on the eventual merger of all national cultures into one world socialist culture but, on the contrary, is in full accord with the Leninist position.

Following Stalin's famous examination of the question, we establish the following facts: 1. "Lenin never said that national languages become fused into one common language within the boundaries of a single state, before the victory of socialism on a world scale." 2. "Lenin never said that the abolition of national oppression and the fusion of the interests of nationalities into a single whole is equivalent to the abolition of national differences." 3. "Lenin never said that the watchword of developing national culture under the proletarian dictatorship is a reactionary watchword." (Stalin, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, pages 257-8-9.)

It is evident from the foregoing that the development in Socialist countries of national cultures is not only in accord with socialist principles but becomes really possible only under socialism; and that the development of national cultures will continue even after the establishment of socialism on a world scale. Hence, it is un-Marxist and unrealistic to orientate on a quick disappearance of national differences, languages and cultures.

This does not mean to raise the slogan of struggle for a Jewish "national" culture. This is so not because national culture is incompatible with socialism but because national culture under the supremacy of the bourgeoisie is a culture bourgeois in content, "the aim of which is to infect the masses with the virus of nationalism and to consolidate the supremacy of the bourgeoisie" (Stalin, Ibid, page 260). That is why Lenin considered the slogan of "national culture" under the supremacy of the bourgeoisie as a reactionary slogan. But in doing so, "Lenin was striking at the bourgeois content of national culture, and not at its national form" (Stalin, Ibid, page 260).

This means that the dominant culture, not the whole culture of a people under capitalism, is bourgeois in content. It means further that in countries ruled by the bourgeoisie, cultural movements arise and cultural values are created and spread that are not only not bourgeois in content but reflect the life, struggles and progressive aspirations of the masses of the people. Some of these cultural movements and values reach such advanced progressive stages where they neglect the historic liberation mission of the working class. These movements and cultural values are obviously national in form, although not the dominating culture of the nation, and they are waging a constant struggle against the supremacy of the bourgeoisie in the cultural life of the nation and for the extension of the influence of the progressive culture of the masses of the people.

Consequently, we in the American Jewish national group have to raise the slogan of a progressive mass Jewish culture, not of a national Jewish culture, in accord with the struggles of the American people as a whole for a progressive American people's culture.

In what sense, then, can we speak of a progressive culture of the Jewish people as a whole, that is, of the Jews of all countries? We base ourselves, first, on the objective fact that there is a culture of the Jewish people as a whole, that is, a culture expressing Jewish national character, which is one of the national attributes of the Jewish people common to Jews of all countries. Yet we must take into account another objective fact, namely, that the Jewish people live in many countries and lands under various and different social systems and developing different forms of national existence. This fact does not negate the existence of a Jewish national character embodied in Jewish culture regardless of country but it affects the contents of the Jewish cultural values in various countries and produces certain language problems. The tendency seems to be for Jewish culture to be expressed in more than one language, in most cases in Yiddish and in the language of the country, English, in our case.

On the basis of the foregoing we are able to say the following on the relations between progressive American Jewish culture and progressive Jewish culture in general, that is, of the Jewish people as a whole. We contribute to general Jewish culture by the mere fact of creating American Jewish cultural values. This is true for the Jews of all other countries. In this way we are all carrying forward the progressive traditions of our people and enriching its common cultural treasure. Further: we associate culturally with the Jews of other lands, thus influencing each other and continually renewing and reinforcing in our culture the Jewish national character. Finally, we can and do create joint cultural values, and in this field the Soviet Jews can and do play a most vital part.

To sum up: we speak of a progressive Jewish culture of the Jewish people as a whole in the sense of a culture embodying Jewish national character and giving expression to the common progressive aspirations of the masses of our people in all countries regardless of the different social systems under which they live and of the different forms of national existence which they are developing. We speak of a progressive Jewish culture embracing the cul-

tural creations of the American Jews, the Soviet Jews (Biro Bidjan), the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, the Jewish communities in France, Poland and other European countries, the Jewish communities in England, in the Dominions, especially Canada, and in Latin America. The fight for such a progressive culture is a fight for a progressive Jewish life, for the survival of our people and its well-being, for general progress and democracy.

As to the vital question of the relationship between the struggle for an American Jewish culture and the struggle for a general progressive culture of the American people, the following has to be said. First, American Jewish culture is American, is an organic part of general American culture, just as the American Jewish national group is an organic part of the American nation. Each cultural movement and value created by the American Jewish national group becomes part and promotes the further development of general American culture. In this way, the American Jewish national group, the same as all other American national groups, is making its contribution to building and developing the multi-cultural American nation.

But the American nation is developing not only as a multi-cultural nation but is also beginning to bring forth cultural values of a common general American character. And in this process, too, American Jews participate actively. Thus, it may be said, that the progressive American Jews participate in the development of a progressive culture of the American people as a whole in two ways: by creating and propagating cultural values of the American Jewish national group and by creating and propagating cultural values of a common general American character. This holds true in all other American national groups.

#### 12. Struggle Against Nationalist and Assimilationist Distortions

In following out the foregoing orientation, two dangers have to be guarded against and combatted. One is the danger of bourgeois nationalist deviations and distortions; the other is the danger of bourgeois assimilationist deviations and distortions (See Communist Party resolution on Jewish work). It should be added that, by and large, those engaged actively in Jewish work find themselves affected mainly by nationalist pressure, while those underestimating the importance of Jewish work are affected largely by assimilationist pressure.

For the experiences in this field of the Soviet Marxists, see Stalin, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, pages 256, 260, 262-3 and page 171.

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