

On Current Policies of the *Morning Freiheit*

Communist Party, U.S.A.

What has been happening to the policies and practices of the Jewish daily newspaper, the *Morning Freiheit*? It has become necessary to raise this question before its readers and supporters, progressives—individuals and organizations—who, along with Communists under the leadership of Moissaye J. Olgin, helped bring it into existence 55 years ago as the *Freiheit*. For most of its honorable history, the *Morning Freiheit* distinguished itself by vigorously championing the unity of the working class—Black and white, of all nationalities—and by promoting class struggle unionism. It was a tireless and foremost fighter against Rightwing social democracy, typified by David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), and all varieties of reformism. It was an outspoken fighter against the deadly poisons of anti-Semitism and racism. In this way it defended and advanced the glorious role of Jewish workers and all others who fought for social progress.

It has become necessary to pose this question openly, since prolonged and patient discussion with the *Morning Freiheit* leaders has failed to halt their drift over recent years from such a sound policy. They now echo and lend support to present-day class collaborationism, Right-wing social democracy and the racist practices exemplified, for example, by an Albert Shanker at the head of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and to other reformist policies.

Reactionary Nationalism

It is made more urgent by the present editors' persistence in exploiting and distorting, for opportunist reasons, healthy national sentiments among Jewish people, particularly among Jewish

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workers, in a way which supports the reactionary nationalistic position of Zionism, and which adds fuel to the mounting danger of nuclear war in the Middle East.

The leaders of the *Morning Freiheit* brush aside the capitalist character of the state of Israel and the fundamental importance of the class struggle there; the struggle for democracy inside Israel is played down, while the demand for equality for the Arabs and for darker-skinned Jews in that country is minimized or overlooked.

The annexationist, colonialist aggression against the Arab peoples by Israel, which flows from the reactionary nationalism of Zionism, could not successfully be carried out in today's world without substantial aid from abroad. But U.S. imperialism has its own stake in promoting such policies in the Middle East, enabling the ruling circles of Israel to work hand in hand with U.S. bankers and militarists.

The imperialist bourgeoisie is not concerned with the welfare of the Jewish or Arab peoples, nor with the continued existence of an independent Israel, but with securing for itself Mideast sources of oil; with crushing or hindering the growing anti-imperialist movement among the Israeli people and the Arab peoples; and with assuring itself a base of operations, in league with Israeli reaction and reactionary Arab leaders, against the democratic forces in that area. Together, they want to keep the U.S. Sixth Fleet in Israeli waters, to control the Mediterranean if possible, and to maintain strategic bases for use, if so decided, for war against the Soviet Union. That is where present-day Zionism leads, and that is why a different direction is needed for the *Morning Freiheit* today.

Decade of Deterioration

For the past decade in particular, the line and activities of the *Morning Freiheit* under the editorship of Paul Novick have deteriorated, step by step, sliding from crude opportunism to open service in the interests of U.S. imperialism. From the time of the 1967 aggression by Israel, with Washington's support, against its Arab neighbors, Novick tried to justify this chauvinist crime as a "defensive war."

After many months of extended discussions with him, when Novick still stubbornly resisted the appeals of his comrades to correct his pro-imperialist position, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. suspended him from its ranks. When he arrogantly demonstrated in the following year that he would not learn the elementary, but fundamental, lesson of Leninism—that the starting point of Communist responsibility everywhere is to combat the chauvinist and imperialist policies of the ruling class of one's own nation—he was expelled from the Communist Party.

Now the present group in control of the *Morning Freiheit* designate themselves as "spokesmen for the progressive Jewish movement" while they proceed to read lectures to the international socialist community and to heap contempt upon the national liberation forces, not only in the Middle East, but in all of Africa and elsewhere. Attempts, at the same time, to hide under an assumed guise of "dedicated socialists," and even "Marxist-Leninists," will not succeed.

True progressives, including Communists, start from a recognition that their common enemy is monopoly capital and imperialism. They recognize that, outside the socialist world, every nation is divided into antagonistic classes and that its politics and its culture must be assessed according to which class is served thereby.

World Struggle Deserted

The *Morning Freiheit* leaders have forgotten that there can be no universal politics or culture based on nationality without regard to class content and class struggle. They have forsaken the basic interests of the majority of the Jewish people, which are bound up with the interests of the working class, by deserting the class struggle, not only in Israel, but in the international arena as well. This undermines the worldwide struggle against imperialism and monopoly capital, and encourages reaction at home and abroad, which thrives upon racism, anti-

Semitism and aggressive wars.

The *Morning Freiheit* has taken to making the Soviet Union and other socialist countries its main target, resorting to every device of exaggeration, distortion and slander; it also singles out especially the Communist party of Israel and the Communist Party, U.S.A. for its venomous attacks. But Tel Aviv is given praise and encouragement while it wars upon its neighbors, occupies their lands, jails thousands of protesting patriots, tortures its prisoners, and actively supports every reactionary government from Iran to South Africa.

Palestinian Rights Opposed

The *Morning Freiheit* tries to hide the fact that, while it pretends to support the United Nations resolutions that would undo injustice and thus make possible peace in the Mideast, it actually rejects the need for evacuation from the occupied lands, for recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people and for reconvening the Geneva Conference on that basis.

Furthermore, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which is recognized by the United Nations as the authentic voice of the Palestinian people, is denounced, in accord with the line from the Washington-Tel Aviv axis, as a "gang of murderous terrorists." And this chauvinist stand further obstructs the reconvening of the Geneva Conference, for which the Soviet Union has consistently pressed as a means of resolving the conflict and bringing peace and security to all the peoples of the Middle East.

The top spokesmen for the *Morning Freiheit* seek to justify their disastrous policies by voicing concern for unity with the Zionist movement, even referring to it as a "national movement," similar to Zionism's own claims to being a national liberation movement. From its inception, however, Zionism as a political movement has always been bourgeois-nationalist, against socialism and Marxism, and an instrument of capitalist expansion. It serves today as a tool of imperialism in the oil-rich Mideast, seeking to thwart any genuine liberation forces that might challenge imperialist interests there.

The departure from workingclass principles by the *Morning Freiheit* leaders, their opportunist course, their non-workingclass, bourgeois-nationalist position, have incapacitated them for promoting independent political and economic action by labor and progressive forces, or fighting for

mobilization of the people against monopoly rule, or for waging any effective struggle against racism and anti-Semitism in the United States.

The *Morning Freiheit* now lends support to imperialism and weakens the struggle against anti-Semitism by falsely depicting the USSR, the Arab peoples, the Afro-American people and the Left as sources of this pernicious evil.

Election Policy

As a consequence of the opportunism of its leaders, the *Morning Freiheit* was cut off from the growing mass sentiment of disgust with the two old parties of capital in the U.S. and the search for independent channels of political action and expression. In the 1976 elections it opposed the historical breakthrough achieved by the presidential and vice-presidential candidacies of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, and in New York it could find no reason to bring forward the senatorial candidacy of Herbert Aptheker, who ran against the racist and anti-Semitic Moynihan-Buckley team.

In his desperate attempts to justify such attitudes, the editor of the *Morning Freiheit* even allowed himself to borrow poisoned ammunition from the arsenal of the FBI; he stooped to suggesting in correspondence that the Communist Party, U.S.A. had enormous funds to spend in the elections and that these came from some mysterious sources!

Meanwhile, Jimmy Carter—in whom the *Morning Freiheit* leaders place their faith, rather than in an independent coalition of all antimonopoly forces which the Communist Party, U.S.A. advocates—trifles with world peace and the prospects for detente, at the same time that he inflates the U.S. military budget and undercuts the living standards of the working people.

Opportunism has become the *Morning Freiheit's* practice, covered up by assertions of concern for "broad unity," without regard to the consequences for the working class or the nationally and racially oppressed masses in our country. This professed concern for unity apparently does not embrace the world socialist community or international solidarity with toiling people of all lands, any more than the working class and antimonopoly forces at home.

Soviet Jews Attacked

Inasmuch as the second largest Jewish population

in the world outside of Israel—safe in the USSR from discrimination and persecution—regards itself as fully equal with the many nationalities there, who enjoy the benefits of the socialist society they have built together, the *Morning Freiheit* spokesmen are unhappy about this unity and dare to denounce it as "forced assimilation!" The Soviet Jewish masses, in turn, proudly reject as unneeded and unwanted the proclaimed "rescue mission" of these self-styled spokesmen for the progressive Jewish movement.

All this poisonous propaganda and these nefarious ventures are being served up in the pages of the *Morning Freiheit* as alleged contributions to the cause of socialism and detente. But this hypocritical pretense is thin. What is not needed in the Middle East is the imperialist ideology of Jews against Arabs, but a united struggle of Jews and Arabs against imperialism. Unease and anger are growing in the ranks of the readers of this paper about the increasing credibility gap between their interests and the policies of the editors. Many have concluded that its present line does not merit support among fighters for social progress.

The Communist Party, U.S.A. shares the desire of this great body of *Morning Freiheit* readers to make their paper once again a fighting tribune of the working class and worthy of support by the progressive movement by resuming, as a guiding line, the principles of class struggle and international proletarian solidarity upon which it was originally founded. It looks to the united expression of the will of the builders and supporters of this paper to bring forward a responsive leadership which will once again give daily voice to the struggles and aspirations of the workers and all progressive forces among the Jewish masses of the United States. ■

The Jewish Commission, CPUSA has announced the publication of a Yiddish pamphlet that will include the statement of the CPUSA, "On Current Policies of the *Morning Freiheit*," an article by N. Koppel, "What Disturbs the *Freiheit* about the Jewish Question?" and an article from *Sovietish Heimland*, "The *Morning Freiheit* on Strange Roads of Anti-Sovietism and Pro-Zionism." Copies of the pamphlet may be ordered from *Jewish Affairs*, 235 West 23 Street, 7th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011. Individual copies, 50c; 10 or more, 35c; bookstores, half price.