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DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE JEWISH
QUESTION

Moder capitalist anti-semitism, flourishing in the rotten soil of decaying capitalism, is a new phenomenon differing radically from previous forms of anti-semitism and from almost all other forms of national or colonial oppression.

In the past, the anti-semitic program called for the extinction of the Jews as a separate national or religious community and their forced dissolution in the surrounding nation. It offered the Jews a real alternative to expulsion--adoption of the dominant faith and culture.

Capitalist-totalitarian anti-semitism, however, plans and executes an annihilatory policy that signifies the complete and total physical extermination of the Jews. Whether it employs the "cold pogrom" technique of the Polish Enkels, whereby the Jewish population is to be completely frozen out of economic life and slowly starved to death, or the more rapid and scientific Nazi process of gas chamber murder, the goal is the same.

The most brutal imperialism on the other hand, generally seeks only the subjugation and exploitation of the peoples it rules and not their full destruction. The content of national and racial oppression, in the non-colonial areas, is the degradation and subjugation of the oppressed people and their extinction only as a national community. Even anti-Negroism in the U.S. and South Africa seldom go beyond the desire to "keep the Negro in his place" as a servile, second class citizen. The subject peoples are offered realistic alternatives--Death or Slavery. The distinguishing characteristic of totalitarian-capitalist anti-semitism is its total rejection of the Jews even as most abject slaves.

Thus, in a fundamental sense, the very physical survival of Jews is dependent upon the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of Socialism. "The Jewish proletariat is in need of revolution more than any other."

While it is therefore, correct to say that the main cause of anti-semitism is to be found in the nature of capitalist class relations and that the fundamental solution to the Jewish problem lies in the participation of the Jewish masses in the working class struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the construction of a free socialist society, it is not an immediate nor a sufficient answer to the needs of the uprooted, homeless remnant of European Jewry which finds itself in a "worse plight than that of any war torn people of Europe."

For the overwhelming majority of these gas chamber escapees, with no real future in their former homelands, the question of uninterrupted and free immigration into Palestine and other countries has become a life and death question. The general right of unrestricted emigration and immigration is a principle always recognized in the world socialist movement as one of the elementary, genuinely democratic rights to be defended by the working class movement, must be specifically demanded and vigorously fought for in the instance of European Jewry.

"All barriers against their immigration to the countries they choose must be broken down. For Socialists in the United States, in this the richest nation in the world and one having industrial and agricultural resources for a population many times the present size, this means in the first place, the struggle against exclusion of Europe's Jews from this country. We must fight for the realization of the slogan "Open the Doors of the United States".

The existence of a powerful, spontaneous mass desire among the European Jews to emigrate to Palestine and to participate there in the building of a national territorial center is a fact that must play a key role in determining the attitude of socialists towards the direction of Jewish emigration.

Their desire to go to Palestine has thus far been thwarted by a reactionary alliance between British imperialism and the feudal leaders of the Arab nationalist movement.

British imperialism, in order to retain control in the crucial area of the Near and Middle East, which is a bridge between three continents, a gigantic and relatively unexhausted reservoir of oil, deliberately fosters Arab-Jewish hostility. It courts the Arab world by closing the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigrants and deliberately contrives to present the coming of the Jewish masses as the spearhead of a hated foreign invasion. The struggle for free immigration into Palestine means, in the first place, a militant struggle against the restrictive barriers imposed by British imperialist domination and a struggle against the lying propaganda of British and Stalinist imperialism that the Jewish movements into Palestine is an imperialist invasion. The revolutionary Marxists of the United States, Palestine and England must champion the demand to "open the gates of Palestine". We must give conditional and critical support to the heroic struggle of Palestinian Jewish youth to destroy the immigration barriers by operating an illegal "underground railway" and by armed resistance to all police efforts to end illegal immigration. At the same time we must condemn in the clearest and sharpest terms the reactionary political program of official Zionism, which not only prevents the Jewish masses from becoming "part and parcel of the anti-imperialist revolution which will shape the future of Asia" but also condemns the Palestinian Jews to the fate of other historic Levantine peoples (the Armenians" and Assyrians) who permitted themselves to become tools of imperialist protectors.

The bankruptcy of all Zionist parties--reformist socialist, semi-stalinist and bourgeois--is most clearly demonstrated by their failure to work out a concrete program for international unity of the Arab-Jewish masses in Palestine.

Responsibility for the enmity between the two peoples must be shared by the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labor) with the Arab and Jewish reactionaries and the British Colonial Office. The organized labor movement of Palestine has followed a short-sighted, ruinous policy of pushing the working masses of the farms and cities into separate national economies (Kibbush Avoday--"capture of work places). The organizational consequence of this policy--formation of separate, national unions by Jewish and Arab workers to function exclusively in their respective national economic sectors, was and

and is a chief obstacle in the path of genuine Arab-Jewish unity.

Only where the Arab and Jewish workers work side by side (in the government sector of mixed employment) does united proletarian class struggle succeed in cutting through nationalist barriers. As was demonstrated by the inspiring unity of Arab and Jewish workers in the recent railroad and postal workers strikes.

These strikes highlight the crying need for united trade unions and workers organizations encompassing both Arab and Jewish workers. The revolutionary socialists of Palestine must, above all else, struggle against the reactionary separations of Palestinian workers into national trade unions and parties. The demagoguery of the labor Zionists, who defend this practice on the ground that the organized Jewish workers with their high union standards would otherwise suffer from the unregulated competition of the backward, low paid, Arab fellaheen, must be exposed as false "progressive" camouflage for anti-democratic nationalist politics little different from the open chauvinism of the Arab Trade unions.

Histadrut convention resolutions for Arab-Jewish unity are worse than meaningless as long as the labor Zionists continue in practice to exclude Arab labor from the Jewish economy and support joint trade union action only for Jewish and Arab workers in the employ of the government or foreign corporations. The fact that the Arab nationalists are even more guilty of national exclusionism can hardly justify this short sighted practice which destroys the very foundations of unity between the Arab and Jewish proletariat.

The undoubted reactionary character of the Zionist movements support of the British mandate (or a new U.N. trusteeship) must however, not be permitted to obscure the fact that the long run interests of Jewish nationalism are incompatible with British or other imperialist rule of Palestine.

To cling to the outdated, oversimplified, Comintern characterization of Zionism as nothing more than "an agent of British imperialism" is to ignore the intense anti-imperialist temper and activities of the Palestinian Jewish masses, and the ever growing conflict of interests between these two forces. It is not at all accidental that the Zionist appeal to British Imperialism to create what Weitzmann called a "Jewish Island outpost for British interests in an Arab Sea", on the supposed "Providential basis for a permanent alliance between England and a Jewish Palestine" (Jabotinsky), has failed utterly and proved illusory.

The Workers Party rejects the old Comintern formulae which failed to distinguish clearly between the legitimate, democratic, national aspirations of the Jewish masses for survival as a national community and the reactionary parties that presume to represent them. Whether these popular desires should take the path of "national cultural autonomy" (Jewish Bund of Poland and Russia) or that of acquiring a territorial and economic base for group survival (territorialism and Zionism) is a matter for self-determination by the oppressed by the oppressed Jewish masses.

As revolutionary socialists we cannot but reject the attempts

to impose an assimilationist perspective on the Jewish masses as a species of cultural imperialism. Whether or not the Jewish masses should submerge their identity into the surrounding peoples in whose midst they live or seek to preserve themselves as a nation, is for them to decide. "Just as mankind can realize the abolition of classes only through the transitional period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can realize the inevitable fusion of nations only through the period of complete emancipation of all the oppressed nations, i.e., self-determination." (Lenin)

Marxists have long declared that true national freedom and independence for any minority nationality or small state is impossible under imperialism. In that sense it is true to say as Erber "The aspirations of the Jewish people for a state of their own can only find its genuine realization as a Jewish Commonwealth in a World Socialist Federation".

This does not however prevent us from raising the slogans of National Independence and attempting to use these sentiments as a transitional slogan for the socialist revolution. The same can and must be done in relation to the Jewish desires for a national home. This national struggle does not conflict with the need of general revolutionary struggle against world imperialism and for the proletarian revolution.

It is the task of the revolutionary socialists to educate the Jewish masses to an awareness that their aspirations cannot be achieved within the framework of decadent capitalist imperialism; that the struggle for their democratic demands can find its only true expression in the struggle for liberating Socialism against both capitalist and bureaucratic collectivist imperialism.

The Workers Party warns the Jewish masses against the danger of a negative, despairing attitude towards the defense of Jewish and other democratic rights outside of Palestine. There can be no freedom and independence in Palestine in a world dominated by a reactionary Europe and America.

The Jewish masses must learn to understand, what many of them already sense, that the Big Three imperialist world is their mortal enemy; that the struggle against anti-semitism cannot be conducted apart from the struggle for all democratic rights and apart from the fight of the proletariat for a socialist society.

The problem of Palestine is not in the first place a problem of Arab-Jewish relations but rather a problem of British imperialist domination over both Arabs and Jews. The solution of the Palestinian problem must therefore, begin with the struggle of the people against British imperialist rule. This struggle proceeds under the slogan of "out with the British! A free Palestine for both Arabs and Jews! Not the British, but the peoples of Palestine can decide its future.

The struggle for a free, democratic Palestine must be a struggle fought on the basis of Jewish-Arab unity. Every national and religious issue which Jews and Arabs permit themselves to be divided over is another prop for British rule.

The slogan for a free Palestine finds its concrete political expression in the demand for the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly, elected by direct, secret, universal suffrage of men and women over 18. This demand must be the crowning slogan for any genuinely democratic program for Palestine today. The reactionary character of the Zionist parties is seen precisely in their opposition to this slogan. From the extreme right wing to the most left, all Zionist tendencies stand united in opposition to a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage until a Jewish majority is assured. Not only does the position of Zionism make it an obvious tool* but it plays into the hands of the most reactionary Arab nationalist elements. The latter use this reactionary role of Zionism as a means of assuring their own reactionary domination over the Arab masses, and thereby, to undermine all tendencies toward Arab-Jewish unity.

As demonstrated by every other democratic revolution of our epoch, the only class in Palestine that will prove itself capable of leading a thoroughgoing revolutionary struggle against British imperialism is the Palestinian proletariat. The proletarian class struggle against economic exploitation unites all toilers and serves as the bridge across all reactionary nationalist barriers.

The revolutionary Marxist party must help the Jewish and Arab workers find their way to each other in a common economic and political struggle, directed against all exploiters and oppressors, British, Arab and Jewish.

To do this the revolutionary socialists must advance the following program:

1. Immediate independence from British domination and the convocation of a constituent assembly.
2. Against an Arab State. Against a Jewish State. For an independent, democratic, representative, unitary, multi-national republic.
3. For free and unrestricted immigration into Palestine. Against reactionary immigration barriers and restrictions.
4. Land to the Fellaheen (peasants).
5. Abolition of the usury system. Free credit to the peasantry.
6. For united organs of proletarian class struggle--organization of Jewish and Arab workers and peasants into the same unions and class struggle organizations.
7. For an autonomous, Socialist Palestine, within the Near East Federation of Socialist Republics.

The question of a constituent assembly cannot be posed in the abstract, separate and apart from the legitimate fears of the Jewish population, who are well aware that the cardinal demand of the *of imperialism

Arab Nationalist movement is the stoppage of all Jewish immigration into Palestine, that most of the reactionary Arab leaders favor repatriation of the Jews who came to the country after World War I.

The revolutionary Marxist party can not and does not ask the Jewish masses to make a unilateral sacrifice of their democratic and national rights.

Similarly, the opposition of the Arab masses to continued Jewish immigration stems from their just fears of becoming a denationalized minority in a Jewish State.

The majority of the people of Palestine have the right to democratically decide the fate of their own country through a democratic constituent assembly. However, the majority people have no right to deprive the minority people of its national and civil rights.

Only a political program that expresses the national aspirations of both peoples of Palestine can forge the indispensable anti-imperialist unity of the Arab-Jewish masses.

"The successful conduct of the struggle of the Palestinian proletariat on behalf of national and social emancipation can only be guaranteed by the existence of a powerful, revolutionary, Marxist party, firmly rooted among the Arab and Jewish toilers. The contribution of the Fourth Internationalist movement toward the solution of the Jewish question and the Palestinian question, must begin with all assistance toward the establishment of such a party in Palestine."

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