

tions in the USSR and of the establishment of their full equality, the Program goes on to say:

Full-scale communist construction constitutes a new stage in the development of national relations in the USSR in which the nations will draw still closer together until complete unity is achieved. The building of the material and technical basis of communism leads to still greater unity of the Soviet peoples. The exchange of material and spiritual values between nations becomes more and more intensive, and the contribution of each republic to the cause of communist construction increases. Obliteration of distinctions between classes and the development of communist social relations make for a greater social homogeneity of nations and contribute to the development of common communist traits in their culture, morals and way of living, to a further strengthening of their mutual trust and friendship.

With the victory of communism in the USSR, the nations will draw still closer together, their economic and ideological unity will increase, and the communist traits common to their spiritual make-up will develop. However, the obliteration of national distinctions, and especially of language distinctions, is a considerably longer process than the obliteration of class distinctions.

The Party approaches all questions of class relationships arising in the course of communist construction from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism and firm pursuance of the Leninist nationalities policy. The Party neither ignores nor over-accentuates national characteristics.

Thus, the CPSU clearly looks toward the disappearance of na-

tional differences as a necessary feature of developed communist society, and orients itself toward that goal—not by the forcible abolition of national cultures, to be sure, but by fostering and encouraging their coming together. Such a policy—an internationalist policy—is the very opposite of the nationalist approach which views the perpetual maintenance of national distinctions as the goal and which sees in the process of assimilation only a “trend.”

Nor is the tendency toward amalgamation a matter only of the remote future. The growing economic pressures drawing nations together are today evident on all sides. In Africa, for example, they appear with the very emergence of a growing group of newly-independent nations. Charles P. Howard, writing in *The Afro-American* (December 3, 1966), comes to the following conclusion: “Africa has one solution of its problems, economic, political or otherwise, and that is Unity Government. Little countries piddling around by themselves trying to go it all alone are daily getting their brains batted out as conditions in their countries deteriorate day by day.” And with the process of political and economic unification there goes inevitably a process of language and cultural integration and amalgamation.

3. A tendency to equate anti-Semitism with the oppression of the Negro people. Thus, manifestations of anti-Semitism among Negroes are placed on a par with

racism among Jews. Both are equally evil; both must equally be fought.

There is, of course, a measure of truth in this. But it also embodies a fundamental fallacy. The *basic* evil of national oppression in our society, as we have noted above, is the oppression of the Negro people, perpetuated through the ideology of white supremacy. And among their white oppressors are Jews. Nationalism among Negroes, including anti-Semitism, is a reaction to their inhuman oppression—a reaction born of bitter frustration, contributed to in no small degree by white middle-class liberals (including Jews) who participate in the civil rights struggle not by fighting white supremacism in their own lily-white communities and organizations but by supporting Negro civil rights organization and dictating the terms of that support. Jewish nationalism, which places anti-Semitism as the central problem, leads in practice not toward placing the onus of responsibility where it belongs—on white Americans and specifically on Jewish Americans—but to

expressions of alarm about anti-Semitism among Negroes and the emergence of concepts of “black power,” and even to intimations of Negro ingratitude for the exceptional services to the cause of civil rights presumably rendered by the “progressive” Jewish community. And such expressions of white chauvinism are to be found also among Jewish Communists and progressives.

The resolution needs, I think, to give much more emphasis to the struggle against racism among Jews, to the struggle against manifestations of white chauvinism within our own ranks, and especially to the task of building unity between Jewish and Negro workers.

Such, I believe, are some of the chief manifestations of nationalism in relation to the struggle against anti-Semitism in our country and their reflections in the draft resolution. We come next to the question of nationalism as it relates to the struggle in the world arena. With this I propose to deal in the second part of this article, to appear in the next issue of this magazine.

**ABE STRAUSS**

## On the Draft Resolution

The draft resolution on Jewish problems, which was prepared by the National Jewish Commission of the Communist Party and appeared in the August *Political Affairs*, is a timely document of historic significance. We know of no other example of such seri-

ous evaluation and deep analysis of the “Jewish question” and its surrounding objective realities, on the part of any other political and social movement of the Left or the Right, as the critical and self-critical examination contained in this document.

It is no news that the Communist Party in this country and elsewhere is an uncompromising foe of all forms and expressions of anti-Semitism, racism and national hatred. Those familiar with the theory and practice of Marxist and Communist movements in all countries, and particularly of the Communist Party in the United States since its origin cannot fail to recognize the historic fact that they have always regarded the deadly microbe of anti-Semitism, racism and national hatred as an instrument in the hands of the monopolies to divide, oppress and rule over the working class and the oppressed peoples.

Soon after its birth at the beginning of the twenties, the Communist Party and the whole Marxist movement launched a war for full and uncompromising equality of the Negro people. It called on the workers and the popular masses of all tendencies and beliefs to fight with all their strength against the capitalist ideology of racial hatred and white supremacy and to end the national disgrace of second- and third-class citizenship for Negroes.

In the thirties, with the rise of the Nazi barbarians who, with the help of the German and American cartels and trusts, seized power in Germany and launched a program of genocide and physical extermination of the entire Jewish people, it was the Communist and Marxist movements everywhere, our own coun-

try included, which issued a call for a united anti-fascist front against Nazi barbarism in general and the program of genocide against the Jews in particular.

Calling on the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party to join in organizing anti-Hitler demonstrations as well as picket lines against the sale of German goods, Communist steel workers and coal miners in a number of cities in Eastern and Western Pennsylvania helped to organize meetings and demonstrations against the anti-Semitic instigation of "Father" Charles Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan, and of storm-trooper Gerald K. Smith. It was Communist steel workers in McKeesport, Pennsylvania and Communist coal miners in Washington, Pennsylvania who, in the thirties, sat in prison for setting afire and burning on the main streets bundles of Coughlin's anti-Semitic publication *Social Justice*.

The story of the underground anti-Nazi movements in the occupied countries of Europe—in the ghettos, forests and death-camps—is full of examples of heroic Communists who took part in dangerous actions to save Jews and many of whom perished in the process.

#### *Anti-Semitism and War*

During the first imperialist world war in 1914-1918, the Tsarist pogromists blamed the six million Jews in Russia for the defeats of the Russian soldiers

on the battlefields. The same charges were made by the German anti-Semites against the German Jews. Just like the anti-Semites in Tsarist Russia, so too the anti-Semites in Germany charged on the one hand that the Jews had organized and instigated the war, and on the other hand that the Jews were subverting the Fatherland and wanted to overthrow the Kaiser. They demanded severe restrictions and punishments for Jews in Germany and the occupied territories.

At the time of the 1917 Revolution when the people, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by V. I. Lenin, freed that land from the status of a Tsarist prison of nations—and especially of the Jewish minority which had suffered most severely from pogroms and anti-Semitic repression—the counter-revolutionaries and armed White Guard brigands charged that the Jews had sold Russia to the Germans at the peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk, and that they controlled the Bolshevik regime.

The enemies of the October Revolution, supported with money, weapons and armies in their effort to topple the Soviet people's government and restore the Tsarist regime, carried out bloody pogroms on the peaceful Jewish population. The anti-Soviet terrorist bands, led by White Guard generals Denikin and Yudenich, and by Petlura, the Ukrainian pogrom leader, exterminated tens of thousands of unarmed Jewish citizens of the Ukraine and Bye-

lo-Russia.

Among the first acts of the Soviet government, under the leadership of Lenin after the October Revolution, was the historic decree that declared anti-Semitism a crime punishable under the law. That decree made it clear that anti-Semitism is the weapon of the counter-revolution, and those guilty of it would be severely punished as counter-revolutionists.

Under the personal leadership of Lenin, the fight against anti-Semitism in all its manifestations was one of the central tasks of the October Revolution—to weed out the remnants of darkness and establish a classless society.

The famous clarion call and numerous speeches of Lenin to the working class and peasants asking for their help in destroying the roots of anti-Semitism and of hate between peoples were disseminated through leaflets, the press and phonograph records throughout the length and breadth of Russia. Anti-Semites were prosecuted and punished as severely as saboteurs or counter-revolutionists.

#### *Anti-Semitism and Racism*

The emergence of the Hitler movement in Germany, like the earlier emergence of fascism in Italy and the establishment of the Franco dictatorship in Spain, was one gigantic imperialist conspiracy to destroy the October Revolution. The imperialists never gave up that dream.

With the big anti-Semitic lie, Hitler accused the Jewish people



of being at one and the same time the world's bankers and the leaders of revolution. He turned his "master race" into butchers of six million Jews, a third of the world Jewish population. Tens of millions of other people were also victims of the same bestial war machine.

From this the correctness of the position of Lenin is clear: that in every manifestation, racism, anti-Semitism and national hatred, constitute the greatest enemy of the working class and of socialism. In our time they have led to genocide which included the gassing and burning of one million Jewish children.

Part of the draft resolution deals with the dangerous rise of anti-Semitic manifestations in our own country and is therefore of the utmost importance. The resolution points out that: "In West Germany, the U.S. government has encouraged the return of former Nazis to positions of power and the growth of a remilitarized, revanchist, warlike regime which it now threatens to arm with nuclear weapons."

At home the resolution points to the "aggressive, reactionary policies of U.S. imperialism" which "foster the rankest chauvinism, racism and jingoism," and which have "greatly accentuated the age-old problem of anti-Semitism."

The resolution also points out that we are now witnessing "a resurgence of the rabid fascist, racist elements of the ultra-Right in the United States—of

the American Nazi Party, the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and others, which engage in spreading violently anti-Semitic propaganda as part of their campaign against democracy, against the Negro people, against peace."

#### *Self-Criticism*

The resolution, dealing with the largest Jewish settlement in the world—six million Jews in the United States—notes that the Jews play "a noteworthy role in the fight for peace and progress" and that "large sections of the Jewish community—workers, students, professionals, religious figures and others—are currently actively involved. . . in the fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam as well as in other progressive movements." It also declares that "the struggle for peace and freedom generally is closely interlinked with the fight against anti-Semitism in particular."

In line of self-criticism the resolution states that "there exists a *dangerous complacency* about anti-Semitism in our ranks today. *This complacency must be ended.* It is time to call the alarm, to arouse the entire American people against this evil which is part of the threat to peace and freedom in the world today." (Emphasis added.)

It goes on to say: "It is the obligation of all truly progressive Americans, *and in the first place Communists*, to stand guard against and combat anti-Semitism as well as other forms of national and racial discrimina-

tion. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

Of tremendous importance is the passage in the resolution which states: "The battle against anti-Semitism can be successfully waged only in conjunction with the wholehearted championing of the rights of the Negro people . . . and with a determined fight against all forms of racism and chauvinism among the Jewish people."

In connection with the above question, I would like to make the following observations:

1. The Negro community consisting of over 20,000,000 citizens always was and is today the most oppressed national minority in the United States.

2. Today the Negro people are leading the civil rights revolution to end and uproot all forms of racism, segregation and discrimination, and for complete political and economic emancipation in the North and South.

3. Notwithstanding the fact that the American Jewish community (also an oppressed minority) throughout its more than 300 years of settlement in the United States has made great contributions to the historic Negro struggle for ending slavery and for first class citizenship, particularly in the recent period of the struggle for civil rights, it, like any other section of the American white community, suffers from the venom of white supremacy.

4. The racists and anti-Semites—the ultra-Right and neo-fascist elements—in furtherance of their

efforts to crush the struggle of the Negro people for full political and economic emancipation, are spreading anti-Semitism in the Negro ghettos, thereby using the old plan of divide and rule and inciting one oppressed minority against the other.

5. In order to strengthen the unity and resistance against the forces of racism and anti-Semitism which are growing in this period of the Vietnam war, I believe the following steps are urgently necessary for immediate action:

The national leadership within the Jewish community should wage a massive educational campaign among the Jewish people to (a) expose racism and white supremacy as the work of reactionary, anti-Semitic and fascist forces in our country and (b) enlighten the Jewish people as to the rich Negro history—their struggles against national oppression and their historical contributions to our democratic cultural values in art, music, science, etc.

The struggle against the spread of anti-Semitism in the Negro ghettos cannot be separated from the great history-making struggle of the Negro people and its white allies for *full political, economic and social equality* in all spheres of the life of the American people *throughout the land*.

There is a growing and justified frustration of Negro masses and the Negro youth, who are forced to live under unbearable conditions of human suffering,

such as mass poverty, unemployment, race discrimination in housing, jobs and schools; who are being betrayed by the empty demagoguery of the promises by the Johnson Administration and its liberal supporters in the white community, who are being horribly exploited by the white power trusts, banks, real estate firms and landlords, among whom there are also members of the Jewish people. It is this which makes it possible for the ultras and enemies of both Negro and Jewish people to spread their anti-Semitic venom among sections of the Negro people.

Communists and progressives would make a singular contribution by showing examples of democratic struggle for the right of Negro families to move into their respective neighborhoods, where the crassest discrimination is now being practiced.

Similarly, such action should be taken by non-Jewish Communists and progressives when a Jewish family is being discriminated against in purchasing or renting a house in a non-Jewish neighborhood.

It should be the task of Jewish Marxists and progressives to encourage dialogue among outstanding leaders in the Jewish community—including labor leaders—with Negro leaders of all points of view in the civil rights movement.

Only in this way, I believe, will it be possible to expose anti-Semitism and to drive its peddlers from the Negro ghetto everywhere.

### *Peace in the Middle East*

The resolution gives a very realistic evaluation of the role of the State of Israel in the struggle for peace in the Middle East.

Pointing out that "the State of Israel was founded on the basis of the United Nations resolution of 1947, with the active support of the socialist states in that body," and that we defend, without any reservations, the indisputable right of the State of Israel to exist as an independent state, and "condemn all declarations, from whatever source, which falsely label Israel as an artificial creation of imperialism," the resolution calls for a struggle against the reactionary tactics of the Israel government, especially in the field of foreign policy. It points out that the Eshkol government must rid itself of the remnants of imperialist policies that are a carry-over from the Ben Gurion government.

The resolution correctly points out that the *full equality of the Arabic minority* in Israel and peace with its Arab neighbors, as well as the return of the State of Israel to a position of neutrality, is an absolute necessity in order to insure peace in the Middle East and the future of Israel!

Of major importance in this resolution is also its determined stand against the *reactionary Arab leaders* in the Middle East who are agitating for a war to wipe out the State of Israel, and its call for Arab-Israeli under-

standing in the spirit of Tashkent. Along the same positive line is the appeal in the resolution for the amicable resolving of the very serious problem of the Arab refugees who left Israel during the early days of its establishment as an independent state.

In connection with this, I believe it is most important to stress several points which must be the foundation for peace in the Middle East and for continued peaceful existence of the Israeli state:

1. No return to the "activism" policies of the Ben Gurion government, such as military adventurism and creation of blocs with imperialist countries and their puppets.

2. No open or secret political or military agreements with Bonn, which is permeated by neo-Nazi elements.

3. To strive for a program of coexistence with the neighboring Arab countries on the basis of a round-table solution of all problems by a Summit Conference of the heads of the Arab countries and of the Israeli government.

4. Siding with the neutral nations for a positive program of anti-imperialist unity with all neutral nations who are actively engaged in the struggle against national and colonial oppression.

5. The Israeli government should demand that the U.S. cease the bombardment of North Vietnam and that peace negotiations be undertaken in accord-

ance with the terms of the Geneva Agreement.

### *Jewish Culture*

That part of the resolution which deals with the national cultural values and problems of the Jews generally, and in the socialist countries in particular, is written with deep understanding of its importance.

Pointing to the great creativity and flowering (beyond parallel) of the Jewish culture in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, which continued to bloom and flourish until 1948 and "won a sympathetic response from almost all sections of American Jewry," and that these sympathetic feelings were strengthened during the Second World War, when the Soviet Union took extraordinary pains to help rescue millions of Jews from annihilation by Hitler, and later when the Soviet Union played a historic role in the establishment of the State of Israel, the resolution correctly states that the slogan of "Soviet anti-Semitism" is a calumny and an outright falsehood.

Pointing out that anti-Semitism and all forms of anti-Semitic discrimination are expressly proscribed (forbidden) by the Soviet Constitution and that Jews play an important role and actively participate in the building of socialism, the resolution further declares that the slow process (it is already 18 years since the destruction of Soviet Yiddish culture) of rebuilding all Soviet



Jewish institutions which has already been accomplished by all other nationality cultures that suffered at the hands of the Stalin "personality cult," is a serious defect and plays directly into the hands of the cold-war elements, which seek to "utilize every error, every shortcoming which may occur in the process of erasing the results of the crimes of the Stalin period and restoring Jewish cultural institutions. . . ."

The resolution goes on to state (in the spirit of friendly criticism) that "the existence of such shortcomings as the crude, fallacious, anti-religious propaganda embodied in books of the Kichko or Shakhnowitz varieties" (lamentable anti-Semitic books), as well as the continued limitations (circumscription) of Jewish culture, the absence of any continuous campaign against those remnants of anti-Semitism that still exist and the very slow process of rebuilding Jewish culture, have made it possible for those who make capital of the cold war to achieve a measure of success in their efforts.

In connection with the above-mentioned citations from the resolution in reference to the status of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, I would like to add my own opinion and observations. The assumption that the Jewish national minority in the Soviet Union, where all national minorities enjoy full citizenship rights, including the Jewish national minority, there is a con-

siderable measure of assimilation where sections of the Jewish population, especially among the youth, become a part of the general cultural stream of the Soviet Republics where the Jews live. This process, however, *does not include* hundreds of thousands of Jews that have *not* been assimilated and who are looking for cultural expression and identification with their *own Soviet Jewish culture* based on socialist ideas and Leninist norms on the national question: *national in form and socialist in content.*

In socialist Poland, where the total Jewish population at present numbers more than 30,000 (which number also includes infants and young children) the Jewish national minority has its own Jewish state theatre, a Jewish newspaper which is published four days a week, a number of periodicals and numerous books published in Yiddish and in Polish on Jewish and socialist themes, a publishing house, Jewish children's schools, choruses and teachers' seminaries.

In socialist Rumania, where the Jewish national minority numbers 100,000 (including infants and young children) the Jewish minority enjoys the same status of Jewish cultural creativity in both languages. They, too, have a Jewish state theatre, a Yiddish press, children's schools, etc.

In the census of 1959, 471,000 Jews in the Soviet Union gave Yiddish as their mother-tongue. This is 15 times greater than the

Jewish population in Poland, and five times the number of Jews in Rumania. This does not exclude the fact that besides the 471,000 Jews who gave Yiddish as their mother tongue, there are a great number of Jews who speak the various languages of the Soviet Republics where they live and would like to find expression on the basis of their socialist Jewish culture.

In the Soviet Union there are at present over 100 Jewish writers of a high caliber of creativity, who live and write there. There are an equal number of Yiddish artists, actors, folk-singers, etc., all of whose creativity is expressed in Yiddish. These numbers are far greater than the number of Yiddish writers and artists in the United States, Canada and all the countries of South America.

The ages of these Yiddish writers in the Soviet Union range from 30 to 55 years. The majority were born in this century and a number of them after the October Revolution. The very talented artist and Soviet Yiddish poet, Vladimir Donko, whose debut was made in the pages of the Soviet-Yiddish magazine *Sovietish Heimland* four years ago was born in 1936—19 years after the October Revolution.

Last July there appeared in the pages of *Sovietish Heimland* for the first time, the new Yiddish-Soviet writer, Joseph Gegerman. In the same periodical there have also been published lately letters from Jewish shop-

workers and technicians who explained that they had learned the Yiddish language by themselves and had the great satisfaction of reading Sholem Aleichem and Peretz Markish in the original—in "mame loshn," i. e. Yiddish.

The Leninist position on the national question as it was practiced in the 20's and 30's, and until 1948, was brought forward again in the nationalities resolution of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956. This resolution pointed out that the cultural institutions of the nationalities that suffered so much because of the Stalin cult must be restored to the former Leninist position and norms.

Such a process of rehabilitation and the return to the Leninist norms was carried out as regards all other nationalities. This is an historic achievement. The same process is in order, and with *greatly accelerated tempo*, for the *restoration* of the Jewish cultural institutions.

In the light of the previously mentioned facts regarding the Soviet Jewish population and the existing attributes for the restoration of all Jewish cultural institutions as they flourished from the time of the October Revolution up to 1948, and in the light of the resolution adopted at the 20th Congress, I hope that the Soviet Union will take steps to carry out that resolution in practice as it pertains to the Jewish nationality in like manner to what already has been

done for other nationalities in the Soviet Union.

I hope that it will reestablish the Jewish cultural institutions suppressed during the period of the cult. As is well known, there were numerous Jewish (Yiddish) state theaters, including the foremost Mikhoels State Theater in Moscow. There were publishing houses, including the Emes Publishing House in Moscow; Yiddish newspapers, including the daily *Emes*. There were Yiddish children's schools, seminars for teachers in Yiddish, Yiddish scientific institutes (or subsidiaries of the Academies of Science) in Kiev and Minsk, Communist clubs for lectures, poetry readings, etc., in Yiddish. And there was a magazine in Russian (*Tribuna*) devoted to Jewish affairs, for Jews who do not understand Jewish. I fully support the draft resolution which calls, among other things, "for the restoration of such institutions as a Jewish state theater, Yiddish newspapers, education, and other means of Jewish culture."

#### *Putting the Resolution into Practice*

The draft resolution made a deep impression not only in the ranks of the Marxist movement, but also amongst wide circles of Jewish workers, intellectuals and small business people that are not Marxists, and are even op-

ponents of Marxism. Only professional red-baiters and agents of the cold war have attacked the resolution with cynical irresponsibility and with the lamentable spirit of McCarthyism. These are the arch-enemies of democracy and therefore of the Jewish people.

It is, of course, regrettable that the American Jewish Committee, which represents the interests of the upper Jewish bourgeoisie, and which has in recent years shown great sensitivity to the upsurge of anti-Semitism and in the struggle for civil rights found it necessary to make an attack against the resolution and mouth the words of the professional red-baiters and reactionaries. By doing so, the leaders of the American Jewish Committee seek to find grace in the eyes of the reactionaries of the Un-American Activities Committee and of all other non-Jewish reactionary circles who support the military ventures of our "saviors" in Washington and their partners in Bonn.

Honest opponents of the Communist Party who are seriously concerned with the rise of anti-Semitism and racism and who are seriously interested in peace and good will among nations, will see this resolution as an important event for the interests of the Jewish people in our own country and abroad, and for a democratic America.

## The Draft Resolution: Some Negative Aspects

The draft resolution on the Jewish question prepared by the National Jewish Commission and published in the August *Political Affairs* contains some positive ideas necessary for a sound final resolution. At the same time, however, the draft also contains a number of negative concepts of a national chauvinist and anti-Soviet character that tend to vitiate whatever is good in the resolution. I shall discuss these negative concepts.

#### *The Fallacy of the "Jewish Community"*

Throughout the draft the Jewish people are dealt with abstractly without class content and differentiation. For example, the draft repeatedly refers to "the Jewish community of the U.S.," which is highly organized, possessing over 200 national organizations and thousands of local groups. The impression is definitely created that this is a unique situation where there exists a homogeneous "community" of Jewish people above class.

The reality of the matter is that there is no such "community" as depicted in the draft resolution, either of Jewish people or of any other people in any capitalist country. The one exception exists among the Negro people. There we have the nearest thing to a community because more than 85 per cent of the Negro people are

working people and because of the very special nature of the system of Negro oppression, especially the rigid confinement of the mass of Negro people within slum ghettos.

This false concept is a throwback to historic narrow nationalism reflected in such expressions as "Jewishness" and "Jewish spirit" (Dos Pintele Yid). Such a "community" has no realistic meaning to the Jewish workers in the fur shops or garment shops where there is a daily sharp class struggle with their Jewish bosses, or to Jewish workers in more basic industry controlled by big banks with rich Jews on the boards of directors.

The over 200 national Jewish organizations which include, on the one hand, such organizations as the Workmen's Circle and similar organizations with a socialist background and, on the other hand, Zionist and other organizations with a national chauvinist outlook, do not constitute a "community" even if all of them are also against anti-Semitism. In fact, some Jewish organizations even pull their punches in the struggle against anti-Semitism.

It is revealing that Judah Cahn, a prominent Rabbi, attacked the recent meeting of 40 Jewish leaders, supposedly representing "the Jewish community," with Arthur Goldberg, U.S. representative in the U.N., at