

THE NEW STATE OF ISRAEL

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

THE EMERGENCE of the state of Israel at this time is of considerable international significance. For the Jewish people this marks a great milestone in its history.

It can be safely assumed that the struggles of the Jewish masses against national discrimination and for equal rights in countries where Jewish communities suffer from anti-Semitic persecutions and inequality, will become intensified and strengthened because of the rise of Israel. Depending upon the degree of influence which the anti-imperialist and labor forces in Israel will be able to exercise upon the policies and development of the new state, Israel may in time become a very important factor in the struggle for national liberation and for peace throughout the Middle East.

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF STRUGGLE FOR ISRAEL

The struggle for the independence and territorial integrity of the new Jewish state is part of the general struggle for peace, national independence, and democracy. It is also a struggle for the liberation of the Arab peoples from British and Anglo-American imperialist domination. It is a fight to prevent the

imperialists and warmakers from turning the Middle East into a major base of military operations in a new world war.

It is necessary to say at this point that the anti-imperialist forces of the world, the peace forces headed by the Soviet Union, have played a decisive part in enabling the Jewish people of Palestine to attain their own state. This must be said now, not only because many leading Zionists tend to forget it, but especially because the fate of Israel as an independent and democratic state — its very existence—is inextricably bound up with the progress and success of the anti-imperialist and peace camp.

It is necessary to say further that Communists generally have played a very important part in the emergence of the Jewish state at this time, and that the American Communists have made serious contributions to the struggle for Israel.

In this fight we were guided by the fact that there lived in Palestine two peoples, not one—an Arab people and a Jewish people—and that the principle of national self-determination required that each of these two peoples be given the right to decide for itself the kind and form of national existence it wanted to have.

Some comrades had difficulties for a while in seeing that the Jewish people in Palestine had the right to self-determination. The source of these difficulties was the inability to recognize that the Jewish people of Palestine was not just an aggregation of so many immigrants or chil-

dren of immigrants, but that, in the course of recent history, a Jewish community had arisen which had begun to develop all the characteristics of a nation—and every oppressed nation is entitled to the right to self-determination. This applied equally to the Arabs of Palestine whose community also began to develop the characteristics of a nation. That is why the anti-imperialist forces, including the Communists, are the only consistent supporters, and now the best fighters, for the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947, which calls for the setting up of two independent and democratic states in Palestine—a Jewish state and an Arab state.

Another source of difficulty for some comrades in recognizing the progressive nature of the struggle for Jewish statehood in Palestine *in the present period*, as distinct from the time when there were no progressive forces interested in and capable of realizing it, was the fact that Zionism—bourgeois nationalism—was the original political movement championing the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Here the misapprehension was twofold. First, there was a lack of realization that historically the bourgeoisie was the leading force in the rise of many nations and states, in the period when the bourgeoisie was still capable of progressive actions. The fact that it was the Jewish nationalist bourgeoisie which originally raised the political demand for a Jewish state could not in itself—abstracted from the concrete his-

torical conditions — invalidate the progressive nature of the demand. Moreover, these comrades did not grasp the fact that the fight for the right to national self-determination even today, in the imperialist era, is of a general democratic character and not of a socialist character.

The demand for a Jewish state in Palestine *in past periods* was not utopian and reactionary because bourgeois nationalists were leading the fight for it. The demand was utopian and reactionary because there was no Jewish nation in Palestine and no progressive forces internationally interested in and capable of realizing this demand.

Secondly, there was the lack of understanding that in the imperialist era it is the working class and its Marxist party that are capable of leading a consistent fight for national self-determination and freedom. Who is it, if not the working class, led by the Communist Parties, that is now rallying the peoples of Western Europe to resist enslavement by Wall Street imperialism and to defend the national independence of their countries? And who is leading the fight for the national freedom of China? Again it is the working class, led by the Communist Party of China, that is building the alliance with the peasantry, the middle classes and all other anti-imperialist forces, and that is leading the fight for national freedom.

There was also a certain lack of understanding that Communists can—and must—carry on the fight for the national independence of their

peoples not as bourgeois nationalists but as working-class internationalists. It is in the nature—the class nature—of bourgeois nationalism to tend to narrow down the fight, to vacillate between imperialism and anti-imperialism, to mistrust the working class and to seek to prevent its emergence as the leader of the national struggle for independence and, consequently, as the leader of the nation in the struggle for socialism. All this makes bourgeois nationalism highly inconsistent and wavering in the fight of the people for their national freedom. It produces tendencies of capitulation to, and compromise with, imperialism, and strengthens the efforts of the reactionary forces in the Zionist movement to betray the national liberation fight completely.

But the nature of working-class internationalism is qualitatively different. It is consistently anti-imperialist and seeks the complete overthrow of imperialist domination. It bases itself upon the working class and all the other democratic forces of the people and seeks to make the working class the leader of the fight. It looks for allies internationally among the consistent anti-imperialist forces, the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism, the camp headed by the Soviet Union. It links up the fight for national liberation with the historic struggle of the exploited masses of the people for social liberation. It wages the fight for national freedom in such a way as to make it a stage in the struggle for socialism.

Inability to see clearly that the fight for Jewish statehood in Palestine can and must be carried on by Communists not as bourgeois nationalists but as working-class internationalists, was in part responsible for the temporary difficulties of certain comrades in recognizing the progressive nature of this struggle *in the present period*. This same inability to distinguish clearly enough between the bourgeois-nationalist and working-class internationalist policies in the struggle for the Jewish state has been and continues to be a source of errors and weaknesses of a bourgeois-nationalist nature in our own midst.

Communists aim to help bring about the broadest coalition of democratic and anti-imperialist peace forces, including Jewish bourgeois nationalists, to help Israel defend its independence, democracy, and territorial integrity. But in this broad coalition movement, Communists exert all their efforts to advance the working class to positions of leadership and to help the movement rise to the levels of ever greater anti-imperialist consistency—to the struggle to undermine the power of the monopolies. In other words, Communists fight and work in this broad coalition as working-class internationalists and not as bourgeois nationalists. This is one of the major conclusions that can be drawn from the application to this question of the draft resolution of the National Committee for our coming Party convention.

Consequently, we must view the

fight for Israel in its broadest aspects. It is a fight for national freedom and independence. Why? Because Anglo-American imperialism threatens at present both the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the new Jewish state, using for this purpose the so-called "truce" resolution of the United Nations and its "mediator." It is an anti-imperialist fight for peace because it aims to prevent Anglo-American imperialism from turning the Middle East and Israel into a strategic bridgehead for Wall Street's new world war. It is a fight for the liberation of the entire Middle East from imperialist domination and oppression—from the rule of the oil monopolies and their political agents.

In other words, we must see the fight for Israel as an organic part of the world struggle for peace and democracy, AND WE MUST SO WAGE IT. This means that the fight for Israel requires a struggle against the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, against Wall Street's imperialist expansionism, against Wall Street's pro-fascist offensive upon the democratic liberties of the American people at home. It means, finally, that the fight for Israel can and will be won decisively and completely only by joining it with the fight of the camp of anti-imperialism and democracy headed by the Soviet Union.

We must not allow ourselves to be influenced by the pressures of bourgeois nationalism which seeks to narrow down and, hence, seri-

ously weaken the fight for Israel by separating it from the general fight for peace, democracy, and national freedom. Opportunist tendencies to give in to these pressures must be energetically combated at the same time beating off all sectarian resistance to the building of the broad coalition of Jewish democratic unity as part of the general American people's anti-imperialist coalition.

THE FIGHT FOR ISRAEL AND THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE U. S.

What is the effect of the fight for Israel upon the general political situation in the United States? What is the effect upon the American Jewish national group, the immediate effects and those of longer range?

Both parties of the Wall Street monopolies are parading as the friends of Israel, as its fathers and mothers, in order to win the votes of the American Jews in the coming national elections. And leading American Zionists are working hand in hand with Wall Street's parties to achieve this result: Rabbi Silver and his friends work for the Republican party, while Democratic Zionist politicians work for the Democratic party.

There is, of course, considerable worry among the imperialist politicians and their allies in the Zionist leadership about the success of their maneuvers among the Jewish masses. For the fact is that wide masses of American Jews have shed their illusions about the sincerity of the Israel-loving professions of the Tru-

mans, Tafts, and Deweys, and the other Democratic and Republican politicians. The further fact is that the peace coalition of the American people and the Wallace-for-President and third-party movement have already penetrated very deeply into the American Jewish national group. Finally, Communist influence among the more advanced Jewish masses is distinctly on the increase due to the vanguard activities of the Communist Party in the fight for Israel, even though these activities were uneven and not sustained.

Thus we have two effects on the internal political situation arising from the fight around the new Jewish state. The efforts of Wall Street's political parties, assisted by leading Zionist circles, by means of pro-Israel demagoguery, to bind the Jewish masses to the imperialists, to prevent them from joining the anti-imperialist camp of the American people and the third-party movement, to get the votes of the Jewish masses for the Democratic and Republican parties—this is one effect which, if uncombated by the anti-imperialist forces, may achieve certain successes.

The other effect is the process of disillusionment in the two major parties among wide Jewish masses, including broad Zionist circles, due to the insincerities and outright treacheries of these parties with respect to Israel. Moreover, the unfolding of the bipartisan foreign policy of Wall Street imperialist expansion and war preparation, accompanied by a pro-fascist and anti-Semitic offensive at home, has

deeply disturbed and aroused the masses of the American Jews. These masses view the major political parties with great suspicion and distrust, and the course of the fight for Israel in the United States tends to strengthen this suspicion and distrust. The course of this struggle is also bound to hasten the turn of ever larger Jewish masses toward the anti-imperialist peace coalition and the third-party movement. The splendid fight for Israel of the Wallace-for-President and third-party movement is making a deep impression upon the American Jews.

This brings us to the effect of the fight for Israel upon the American Jewish national group. The first and most significant effect is the speedup in the process of political realignment among the American Jewish masses. Basic sections of the Jewish bourgeoisie, assimilationist as well as Zionist, together with the Right Social-Democrats and reactionary trade union bureaucrats of the *Forward* and "Jewish Labor Committee" group, are becoming ever more closely attached to the imperialist war camp of Wall Street. On the other hand, the masses of Jewish workers, middle classes, professionals, and intellectuals are moving in ever larger numbers into the anti-imperialist camp of peace and democracy. The fight for Israel is deeply influencing and hastening this process of realignment.

For the issue now among the American Jewish masses is no longer: for or against the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

With the emergence of Israel, as we anticipated in December, 1947, the major issue is turning around the question: How shall we help Israel to maintain its independence, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity? Do we want to help Israel grow and develop as a state of real democracy and social progress, as a state of a new people's democracy, or are we satisfied to let Israel become a cog in the American or Anglo-American imperialist war machine, dominated and exploited internally by the Wall Street and its native—Israeli—bourgeois agents? How can we help Israel become an equal and respected partner in the great, powerful world camp of peace, national freedom, democracy, and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union?

These are now the major issues in the fight for Israel that are agitating the Jewish people everywhere, including the American Jewish national group, and especially in Israel itself. It is around these issues that the political struggle is unfolding between the anti-imperialist and democratic forces in Jewish life, headed by the Jewish workers, on the one hand, and the supporters of imperialism and reaction, headed by big capitalists, reactionary bourgeois nationalists and the Right Social-Democrats of the *Forward*. These issues are already becoming tied up with the broad major issues of the American people against Wall Street, namely, peace and democracy versus war and fascism. It is in the struggle for Israel around these new is-

ues that ever wider masses of American Jews move toward the anti-imperialist peace camp and the people's peace coalition.

Naturally, the Zionist movement in the United States is beginning to be affected by this process of realignment. While there are as yet few organized expressions of this process, it is beyond doubt that the minds of the masses influenced by and following the Zionist movement are agitated and disturbed by the fact that the official Zionist leadership (Silver, Newman, etc.) is doing practically nothing to help Israel defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity at a moment when American and British imperialism are presenting such grave threats to the new Jewish state. Zionists are asking: why is our movement doing nothing to ward off these threats? How can Rabbi Silver's political collaboration with Taft and Dewey help Israel when the main line of Republican Party policy is the Dulles-Marshall-Vandenberg bipartisan line of Wall Street and the oil monopolies—the line of destroying Israel's independence and of turning it into a strategic bridgehead for Wall Street's next world war? How can political collaboration with the Democratic Party, advocated by Democratic Zionists, help Israel, when the Democratic Party administration is following the same line?

The anti-imperialist forces among the American Jews must pay considerably more attention than heretofore to helping the Zionist-influenced masses find the correct answer

to these crucial questions. That answer is that all genuine friends of Israel—Zionist and non-Zionist—must together fight Wall Street's imperialist offensive and its two parties. The answer is for Zionists to build up a strong anti-imperialist movement within American Zionism—a movement that will be of real help to Israel as well as to the cause of progress and equal rights in the United States. The answer is for progressive Zionists to become active builders of the democratic unity of the American Jews, as part of the anti-fascist unity of the American people as a whole, to fight for Israel's independence and democracy, to fight for the rights and survival of the Jewish people everywhere, including the United States.

In Israel itself, the process of realignment is developing with considerable intensity. Forces are coming to expression that are working for the unity of all anti-imperialist and democratic elements. These forces are found inside the Zionist movement in Israel. An important force is the Communist movement. And the perspective of the struggle is already becoming visible.

It is the struggle for an independent and democratic Israel, as a state of real democracy and social justice, seeking to help the national liberation movements of the Arab peoples and lands, aiming to become a factor of democracy, peace, and social progress in the Middle East, and collaborating actively with the world camp of peace, democracy,

and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union.

It is a fight against the pro-imperialist and reactionary forces in Israel—the forces that aim to make the new Jewish state a cog in Wall Street's imperialist war machine, an object of economic exploitation and oppression by Wall Street trusts and their Israeli bourgeois agents, a puppet and instrument of American imperialism. The American Jewish masses, including the Zionist masses, have a duty and responsibility to help the progressive and anti-imperialist forces in Israel to make the new Jewish state a factor for progress and democracy, a Jewish national center of which progressive Jews everywhere will be proud, a people's state of social justice which will be admired and supported by all progressive humanity.

The struggle for Israel along these anti-imperialist and progressive lines is bound to have lasting long-range effects upon the further development of the American Jewish national group. It will heighten the feeling of dignity, confidence, and self-respect among the Jewish masses. It will tend to strengthen their fighting capacity against anti-Semitism and for equal rights. It will thus enable them to become more valuable partners and collaborators in the general progressive movement of the American people, headed by labor. It should make them better fighters for the equal rights of the Negro people and for the realization of the Negro people's national aspirations in the Black Belt of the South. It is

bound to make of the masses of the American Jewish national group more valuable fighters for the equal rights of all national groups and against the whole Wall Street imperialist system of national discrimination and oppression by the Anglo-Saxon "master" and "white" race in the United States. Influenced by the progressive and Communist forces, the masses of the American Jewish national group will become a more effective force in the general anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly coalition of the American people, headed by labor, and in the new people's party.

It is clear that these developments around the fight for Israel will tend to strengthen all those tendencies which work for the perpetuation and survival of the Jewish national group *as a national group*. Jewish consciousness and national pride will grow and become more intense, especially among the Jewish youth. Bourgeois nationalism will seek to exploit these developments, and so will sections of the assimilationist big Jewish bourgeoisie and Right-wing Social-Democracy which are beginning to parade as "national-minded" Jews, making "friendly" gestures in the direction of Jewish bourgeois nationalism. Finally, we must not overlook the clerical-nationalist efforts of the Temples and Synagogues, particularly among Jewish children and their young parents.

This presents us with ideological and political tasks of the first magnitude. We must fight to promote the realignment in the American

Jewish national group, helping to build and consolidate the democratic unity of the Jewish masses, linking it up with the general democratic and anti-monopoly coalition of the American people, combating and isolating among the Jewish masses the pro-imperialist, Social-Democratic and reactionary-nationalist forces. *At the same time, we must meet the ideological and political task of promoting the leadership of the working class in the democratic unity of the American Jews. We must build the strength and authority of the Communist Party among the Jewish masses. We must cultivate and spread the ideology of working-class internationalism versus bourgeois nationalism.*

All these tasks go together, hand in hand, inseparably. One without the other has no meaning for Communists, and must result in failure. And this is another major, if not *the* major, conclusion to be drawn in applying the line of the draft resolution to this question.

We can safely assume that as long as the struggle for Israel is a vital issue in American Jewish life, which will probably be the case as long as the struggle for peace of the present period is a vital issue in the life of humanity, just so long will the tendencies working for the survival of the American Jewish national group continue to be strengthened, even though assimilationist tendencies will also continue to operate. This can be assumed to be true, in the main if not in all particulars, for those Jewish communities (Latin America,

Canada, England, France) which have similarities to the Jewish community in the United States. Should Israel develop along the lines of a progressive and truly people's state of social justice, becoming a collaborator in the world camp of peace, democracy, and socialism, this will most certainly tend to strengthen very greatly all tendencies working for the survival of the Jewish people as a people.

Our task is to make sure that these survival tendencies operate on the lines of progress, democracy, and socialism.

DEFEAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY AGAINST ISRAEL

Under cover of the truce resolution for Palestine, Wall Street's diplomacy is seeking to promote an understanding with Bevin which would nullify in fact the partition decision of the United Nations. Rivalry in the Middle East exists in plenty between British and American imperialism. Therefore, much bargaining is taking place on the road to such an understanding. But this is the objective: to establish American and British imperialist rule in the Middle East by a division of spheres of influence and regions, to retain and extend the American and British oil monopoly there, to keep the Arab peoples in subjection, to destroy Israel or make it a minor puppet, and to turn the Middle East into a strategic bridgehead for Wall Street's next world war.

Bernadotte's "peace" proposals

made public on July 4, seek to give expression to some of these imperialist objectives. According to these proposals, King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, an agent of British imperialism, would receive the following: the Arab part of Palestine, which is to become an independent state according to the U.N. partition decision, Jerusalem, Israel's Negev, and privileges in Israel's port of Haifa. The curtailed territory of Israel would then be "joined" to Abdullah's greatly enlarged Trans-Jordan in a sort of fake "federal" relationship, with immigration into Israel greatly limited, and with American and British imperialism dominating the whole "new" state.

Under this treacherous scheme, imperialist rule would be reestablished and strengthened in Palestine and in the entire Middle East under the management of Wall Street and its junior British partner. Israel will cease to exist as an independent state. Intensive war preparations would begin at once to turn Palestine and the entire Middle East into a jumping-off place for a new world war—a war against the Soviet Union, the colonial peoples, the new democracies, and against all democratic and socialist movements.

For the Jewish people, in Israel and everywhere, the immediate task is clear. It is to unite their own forces, and join with the anti-imperialist and democratic peace forces of the world to defeat this imperialist conspiracy. *It is to fight to save the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Israel.* In the United

States, it is the task of the democratic forces of the American Jews, together with all democratic forces, to demand of the government:

1. Help realize the partition decision of the United Nations of November 29, 1947, for the establishment in Palestine of two independent and democratic states—a Jewish state and an Arab state.

2. Grant Israel official recognition and at once exchange fully accredited diplomatic representatives.

3. Support in the Security Council the proposal that the Council itself, and not the mediator and so-called truce commission, assume direct charge of realizing the partition decision.

4. Abandon the unjust and dangerous policy of excluding the Soviet Union from the U.N. agencies for Palestine.

5. Lift the embargo and remove the blockade from Israel.

It is imperative that all Jewish organizations sincerely supporting Israel undertake joint actions in struggle for these and all other demands that may help to defeat the newest Wall Street-Bevin imperialist conspiracy against Israel. It is imperative that all progressive forces of the American people, especially labor, and the third-party movement, rally the masses in this important phase of struggle against Wall Street's war offensive, and for peace and democracy.

Communists must make sure that in carrying on this fight we resist all tendencies to narrow down the struggle for Israel to the concepts

of wavering and hesitating bourgeois nationalism. We must not let the fight for Israel become separated from the fight for peace and democracy, because the surest way to win Israel's battle is to strengthen the fight against Wall Street's warmaking and pro-fascist offensive in general.

When we fight against the bipartisan foreign policies of Truman, Marshall, Dewey, Vandenberg, Dulles, etc., we fight the very source of the imperialist treacheries against Israel. When we fight for peace and rally mass support for the proposals of Wallace's Open Letter to Stalin calling for conversations and negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, we are fighting for the independence of Israel and all peoples threatened by Anglo-American imperialism. *But when we fail to resist the pressures of bourgeois nationalism to isolate the fight for Israel from the general fight of the American people against Wall Street's imperialist and reactionary offensive (for the Wallace peace proposals, against the Mundt Bill and similar pro-fascist measures, for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, etc.), we fail most seriously in our duties as vanguard. We fail to project and to win support within the broad democratic unity of the Jewish people for the most effective way of fighting for Israel.* And this is in no way contrary to the policy of building the broadest unity of action in support of Israel, including among supporters of bourgeois nationalism.

Communists must also make sure that the unity in this struggle for Israel is built primarily from below, among the masses. We must make sure that it is a unity of action and struggle, of struggle for demands that can really help Israel resist imperialist pressures and blackmail. But in doing so, let us not fail to utilize the pressures of the masses from below to win the participation of leading individuals, groups, and organizations.

In all these activities we must be guided by our main orientation on promoting the realignment within the American Jewish national group. This means building and consolidating a democratic unity of the Jewish people, as part of the general American peace coalition, along the lines of anti-imperialism, peace and democracy versus imperialism, national oppression, war, and fascism.

This means that in the struggle for Israel we must seek to build a coalition along the same general lines: all Jewish anti-imperialists, supporters of the fight for peace and enemies of fascism must gather into one camp to fight the servants and supporters of imperialism among the Jewish people—to fight for Israel and equal Jewish rights. Here a most crucial field of struggle is the fight for the realignment in the Zionist movement of the United States, for winning the mass supporters and followers of the Zionist movement for joint actions for Israel and the Jewish people in general. We must not allow sectarian pressures to interfere with our work in this important field.

This is a third major conclusion that can be drawn from the application of the draft resolution to this question.

PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

A Few Thoughts on Our Perspectives

By GIL GREEN

OUR PARTY can well be proud of its record of struggle since the emergency convention at which it was reconstituted on Marxist-Leninist principles.

The period of the past three years has been one of incessant reactionary attack in which American imperialism emerged arrogantly as the chief enemy of peace and democracy throughout the world.

As was to be expected, the main fire of the foe has been concentrated upon our Party. It has withstood these attacks with honor and delivered important counterblows.

There can be no doubt that the main line of our Party during this period has been basically correct and that the line of the national resolution submitted for our Convention is likewise sound. The most valid criticism of the present draft, and we of the national committee should take note of this, is that it is excessively long and repetitious in style—so that much of the *fauna* of basic analysis is lost in the *flora* of words. Once this weakness is corrected, the resolution can provide our Party with the necessary Marxist-Leninist compass by which to sail the uncharted seas of the even more turbulent period ahead.

At the same time it must be noted that our Party does suffer from many grave weaknesses. In this period of pre-convention discussions we must focus sharper attention on these weaknesses so as to be able more consciously and effectively to eradicate them.

LACK OF PERSPECTIVE

One of our main weaknesses is ideological. Ofttimes one has occasion to note that our *whole* Party does not yet grasp *all* the main features of the present period, but tends to see things in an oversimplified and one-sided fashion which distorts perspective. There is not everywhere that understanding of the relationship of class forces—not only as it manifests itself today, but as it is developing for tomorrow—that can imbue our whole party with a firm, unshakeable confidence in itself, in the American working class, and in ultimate victory. And supreme confidence in victory is essential for every army, political no less than military, particularly at times of enemy onslaught.

I do not say that there is a questioning anywhere in our ranks of the inevitable victory of our socialist cause. But some comrades see this as