

For Leninist Evaluation of the Revolt in Palestine

I.—Political Basis of the Mistakes of the Morning Freiheit.

The statement of the Political Committee and the theses of the National Agitprop Department very correctly condemned the position of the Freiheit in the first days of the Palestine revolt as social democratic, belittling and underestimating the political significance of the revolt of the expropriated Arabian masses. The above two documents not only corrected the grave mistakes of the Freiheit, but also gave a Leninist interpretation of the Palestine revolt and pointed out the tasks of the Party. However, the mistakes of the Freiheit have a basis and the Party must explain that in order to prevent such mistakes in the future and in order to mobilize the Party membership for the support of the line of the Communist International and against the nationalist bourgeois tendencies and the right wing.

The mistakes of the Freiheit definitely and correctly bear out the analysis of the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenum of the Communist International, that in the present third period of post-war capitalist development the main danger is the right danger. It shows that our American Party is not yet prepared to meet the problems that will arise in the present period of world capitalism. The mistakes of the Freiheit shows that the comrades of the editorial staff did not see clearly the contradictions of present day capitalism and their effect upon the toiling masses. If the Freiheit had better understood the basic contradictions of capitalism in the third period, seen the contradictions between the growth of the forces of production and the shrinkage of markets, which leads to imperialist rivalry and redivision of the world by means of war, that these contradictions have their inevitable effect upon the exploited workers in the capitalist countries leading to their radicalization and determination to struggle not only for better economic conditions, but against capitalism generally, and that these contradictions have also their effect on the oppressed colonial peoples, which leads to a growing struggle on the part of the colonial masses against imperialism. If the Freiheit had taken into consideration these factors, then the Palestine revolt, taking place in the present period could not have been interpreted as a pogrom. The mistakes of the Freiheit also show that not only was the present period of capitalism and the nature of the struggles arising from it not understood, but it also shows the degree of bourgeois-nationalist and social democratic influence exerted not only on the non-partisan working masses, but even on our own Party ranks. It shows that the correct policy of the Central Committee in its struggle for the line of the Communist International and against all deviations from this line was not effectively carried out by the Freiheit. It shows that the struggle of the Party against the Right wing of Lovestone and against all other manifestations of the Right danger must be carried out with more vigor, that the Party must cleanse its ranks of all opportunist elements not following and resisting the line of the CI. This is the basis for the mistakes made by the Freiheit and not, as the renegade Lovestone in his documents charges, because the CEC is revising Leninism:

"A careful examination will show that responsibility for the whole situation can be traced to the revisionist and Party wrecking political and organizational line of the 'New Leadership' in carrying through the Address of the CI."

This statement is typical of a renegade. The mistakes lie precisely in the fact that the Freiheit did not carry out the line of the Address and the Plenum decisions. If the Freiheit had done that, if the Freiheit had used the analysis of the CI on present day capitalism and the struggles of the colonial people and had carried on more energetically the struggle against the opportunist and the right wingers, it would have never made the mistakes it did.

The CEC speedily reacted to the mistakes of the Freiheit. Yet prior to the publication of the statement of the Political Committee the CEC sent a representative to the mass meeting called by the Jewish section of the Communist Party who openly condemned the stand of the Freiheit at this mass meeting. This shows that our Party is taking seriously the decisions of the CI, that the Party will mercilessly expose every mistake and every deviation from Leninism and this way prepare our Party for the coming struggles. Our Party reached a stage today where factional protection will no longer be enjoyed by opportunists who because of factional consideration were not exposed, but on the contrary protected and their wrong opportunist line perpetuated. Renegade Lovestone, like all other enemies of the Communist movement, is trying to utilize the mistakes of the Party and our open Bolshevik self-criticism for the purpose of discrediting the Party and undermine its prestige and fighting ability. In his counter-revolutionary documents, Lovestone poses as the champion in the struggles against the mistakes of the Freiheit, when as a matter of fact every Party member knows that when the Freiheit made its mistakes, the Political Committee of the CEC immediately reacted and exposed these mistakes. The Party membership will understand the purpose of Lovestone "criticism" and will react to it accordingly. The Party as the leader of the working class has nothing to hide from its class. It will continue to fight its mistakes in a Bolshevik and revolutionary constructive manner and thereby prove to the working class that the Party is serious to its historic mission and the attempts of Lovestone to utilize the mistakes of the Party for factional purposes

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will be taken the same way as the criticism of Trotsky, Cannon and the other renegades of the revolutionary movement.

2.—Purging Our Ranks.

The experience of the revolutionary movement shows, that in the course of the development of a Communist Party certain elements come into our Party who have nothing in common with the Party or its principles. So long as the Party was not faced concretely with the task of struggle against imperialism, social fascism, etc., so long as the Party followed the old peaceful course these elements were in the Party and followed the Party. However, the moment the Party had to adopt itself to concrete struggle, to new conditions, the moment the Party had to meet face to face with the capitalist class, we find these elements turning against the Party and acting as open enemies. The first example was Lovestone, who when put with the task of carrying out the line and decisions of the Communist International in America in the present period of developing class struggles, proved that to be a leader in an unprincipled factional fight is one thing and to carry out the line of the CI and turn the Party to new tasks arising from a new situation is another thing.

The resignation of four non-Party literary contributors, from the editorial staff of the Freiheit, proves conclusively that in a period of direct struggle with the enemies of the working class all petty bourgeois elements who formally pose before the working class as supporters of the Communist Party join the camp of the enemies. These four petty bourgeois poets and literary writers at first saw the great influence of the Freiheit. They saw the proletarian Jewish masses following the Communist Party and therefore, in order to get the support of these Jewish working masses proclaimed their support to the Communist movement and to the Soviet Union. However, in a critical moment when they had to choose between counter-revolutionary Zionism and the National Liberation movement of the colonial people and the struggle of the exploited Jewish workers, they became open supporters of imperialism and reactionary Zionism. The petty-bourgeois nationalists, like Lovestone, also accuse the Party of being insincere and playing politics. In their statement they write: "The attitude of the Freiheit towards the events in Palestine gives the impression of playing brutal politics with spilled innocent blood."

The Party membership must recognize that in the present period of growing class struggle, when the Communist Party will have to face concretely the capitalist class and its agents, we will have many elements, who not being able to adopt themselves to these new changed conditions, not seeing the new turn in the class struggle, showing opposition to the line of the Comintern, showing resistance and indecisiveness to lead the workers in their struggle, that these elements will fall out from the Party and assume an anti-Party and counter-revolutionary position. This process however, is unavoidable. Unless the Party cleans its ranks of the opportunist and social democratic elements it will not be able to act as the vanguard of the working class.

3.—The Tasks of the Party.

The Palestine situation is not a question that faces only the Jewish comrades, it is a problem for the entire Party. The action of the Jewish fascists, supported by the socialist party and the Trade Union Bureaucracy, in breaking up our meetings where the Palestine revolt is discussed, the fascist attacks on the Freiheit offices all over the U. S., boycotting the Freiheit and terrorizing the news dealers, trying to prevent the Jewish working masses from getting the view point of the Communist Party is a good example of what the Party will be faced with in a time of war. The fascist attacks on the Freiheit must teach us that the moment the Communist Party challenges in concrete deeds imperialism and its agents, the Communists will be faced with the most serious task of meeting the attacks of our enemies and of preserving our organization.

The Communist Party, on the basis of its consistent Bolshevik line on the Palestine situation and ideological clarification of the misled Jewish masses, on the basis of its active support to the colonial people in their struggle against imperialism and their agents must mobilize the revolutionary workers for the defense of the Freiheit. The fascist attacks on our meetings and headquarters must be answered with an organized struggle for the right to champion the cause of the oppressed Arabian and Jewish masses in Palestine and uncompromising exposure of the reactionary role of Zionism—the agent of imperialism. We must point out the distinction between the Jewish bourgeoisie and the exploited and misled Jewish working masses in Palestine who are also victims of British imperialism and that the interests of the exploited and oppressed Arabian and Jewish masses demand that they unite in the struggle against their common enemy British imperialism.

The Freiheit, tho since the publication of the statement of the Political Committee, it has partially corrected its mistakes, must more energetically follow the line of the Central Committee. It must popularize the decisions of the Sixth World Congress and Tenth Plenum and more thoroughly educate the revolutionary Jewish masses with regard to the present post-war period of capitalism and its effect upon the working class. The Freiheit must completely eliminate every vestige of petty-bourgeois and social democratic influence and continue a consistent fight for the line of the Communist International.

The Freiheit must expose the counter-revolutionary role of Lovestone, who precisely in this moment when the Communist Party of America is even being attacked physically by the bourgeoisie, is also raiding the Party offices, carrying on a campaign of slander against the Communist International, undermining the prestige of the Party and with all his disruptive counter-revolutionary activities is trying to accomplish what the bourgeoisie with the fascist attacks on the Party can not accomplish.

CORRECTION

In the theses of the Agitprop on the Palestine Revolt, printed in the Daily Worker of September 3. Instead of: "The National interests must be replaced by class interests. The National Interests have always at the decisive moment betrayed the class interests of the toilers." It should read: "The National interests must be subordinated to the class interests. The Nationalists have always shown that at the decisive moment, they betray the interests of the toilers and go over on the side of imperialism."