

which has been committed against the Jewish people. But because of this feeling of international solidarity, we believe to have been justified in expecting that, at least after the war was over and the Nazis were defeated by military force, the representatives of the German labor movement would embark upon a campaign of enlightening the German masses regarding Hitler's crime of murdering six million Jews, and would energetically concern themselves with uprooting the anti-Semitic tendencies in Germany, still strong at the present time.

"Today, almost three years after the end of the war, these expectations are not yet met by the labor parties of Germany; both the German Communist Party and the German Socialist Party have, so far, failed to condemn with sufficient clarity the Hitlerite crimes in the occupied territories in general, and, in particular, the annihilation of millions of Jews.

Statements on Palestine

In connection with the current discussion within the various BUND groups and organizations regarding the Palestine problem, we bring below a few of the resolutions and statements adopted by some of these groups. Although these materials antedate the United Nations decision on the partition of Palestine, it is thought worthwhile to present here the views of BUND groups throughout the world concerning this major development in Jewish post-war life.

Statement on Palestine and Zionism issued by the New York BUND Organization, 1947

The development of the Jewish Community in Palestine, its future advancement, the import it has acquired among the Jews all over the world after the annihilation of the European Jews by the Nazis, and the international efforts being made to solve the Jewish problem — urgently require that we apply the general principles of the BUND ideology to the situation in Palestine and that we formulate the attitude of the BUND toward this problem.

Any solution of the Palestine problem contradictory to the principles of democracy and justice is bound to be wrong. The only way out from the present situation is to achieve independence for the country as well as freedom for its entire population by a guarantee of the national rights of both communities.

A simple majority rule is not advisable under the prevailing conditions, while a minority rule over the majority is even less satisfactory. The concentration of the Jews as well as of the Arabs in separate districts of the country makes possible the application of the principles of territorial and cultural autonomy within

We have read the statement issued in this connection in July, 1947. This statement speaks of the Jewish people as the symbol of human suffering, and of the indemnity due our people. But the statement ends with but a general assertion that the German Social Democrats should fight anti-Semitism more energetically. This promise alone cannot suffice to express the will of re-educating the German working class in the spirit of anti-racialism.

"The blood of the slaughtered Jews is not yet dry. The cries of fright and desperation of the living remnants of Jews are not yet stilled. At a time like this, our conscience and the feeling of responsibility of Jewish Socialists tells us that the time is not yet ripe to determine the place to be occupied by the German Socialist Movement in the international Socialist family."

the boundaries of a common democratic state based on the principles of equal community rights for both Jews and Arabs. Only a solution creating an atmosphere of real democracy and freedom, of international brotherhood and mutual respect, will establish proper conditions for the future advancement of the Jewish community in Palestine.

Aware of the achievements of the Jewish community in Palestine, especially in the realm of economic rehabilitation of the country, social security, and national self-administration, we should not, however, disregard its faults, caused mainly by the Zionist ideological trend with which the community became imbued. Particularly dangerous and harmful are the worsening of relations with the Arab population and the curse imposed upon the Yiddish language, which tends to estrange the Jewish population in Palestine from Jewish life all over the world.

In accordance with the above-mentioned considerations, we propose the following *basic suggestions for the solution of the Jewish problem*:

(a) The peaceful co-existence of Jews and Arabs must be brought about by the renunciation of the Zionist goal of an independent Jewish state on the part of the Jewish community on one hand; and on the other, by the Arabs' recognition of the basic democratic principle proclaiming that a country belongs to its entire population. Palestine should thus be regarded as belonging both to the Arabs and the Jews.

(b) Palestine should become an independent state. Its freedom and the equal rights of its two communities should be internationally guaranteed. During the transition period, the country should be supervised by the United Nations.

(c) Discriminatory practices of every kind against Jews as well as against non-Jews should be stopped.

(d) Free immigration into Palestine, restricted only by the economic possibilities of the country, should be established. In this respect we do not discriminate between Palestine and other countries into which Jews wish to immigrate.

(e) Palestine is far too small to absorb all the Jewish Displaced Persons. The plight of these grief-stricken victims of Nazism must be ended by allowing free entry into all countries, Palestine included.

(f) All restrictions regarding the use of the Yiddish language should immediately be abolished. Yiddish should enjoy equal rights with any other language.

In connection with our suggestions for the solution of the Palestine problem we deem it advisable to declare:

1) The annihilation of the better part of the Jews by the beasts of Nazi-Germany, completed before the very eyes of the world, could not but increase desperate tendencies among the majority of the Jews still alive; cause many of them to be dominated by dangerous thoughts of divorcing themselves from the world; and help the growth of nationalism among Jews. The basic ideas of Zionism — suspicion of the non-Jewish world, a longing to isolate themselves through the creation of an independent state in Palestine, — embraced under the circumstances large sections of the Jewish population. These nationalist feelings among Jews, expedited by the above-mentioned circumstances, caused influential parts of the Jewish population in the United States, at present the largest Jewish community in the world, to support the Zionist aspirations for a Jewish state in Palestine, even while continuing to proclaim their allegiance to this country and their belief in peaceful cooperation between Jews and non-Jews in the United States.

2) The same nationalist trends made of Palestine a fertile ground for the growth of various extremist Zionist factions and groups; various Jewish terrorist organizations; and the so-called Revisionists, who employ Fascist methods to fight for the establishment of a Jewish state and for their own influence in the Jewish community of Palestine. The mentioned groups are a tremendous danger for the Jewish community in Palestine. They harm the name of Jews throughout the world, and they must therefore be combated with utmost determination. The fact that they are Jewish groups does not detract from their harmfulness, and they should be condemned and opposed by all people who are aware that Fascism is the enemy of mankind.

3) The tense nationalist trend enveloping large sections of the Jewish population paved the way for the irresponsible fight waged by the Zionist camp against the British Labor Government. The Zionist "War against Britain" has converted all those who permitted themselves to become involved in this struggle into enemies of a democratic Socialist government, a government that, despite some wrongs committed by it, is building new foundations for a new order of life and carries the hope of the working population of the world as well as the hope for a real redemption of the Jews. Since we remain convinced that the real solution of the Jewish problem is irrevocably connected with the victory of libertarian Socialism which will replace capitalism by a new way of life based on economic, political, and social democracy, we see but one way for the Jewish working masses, — to share the movement of International Socialism.

4) A Jewish state in Palestine does not constitute a solution of the Jewish problem. The vast majority of the Jews live and will remain living outside Palestine. The abolishment of anti-Semitism and all race discrimination, the granting of equal citizenship rights, and the satisfaction of the national and cultural aspirations of the Jews — this, the real solution of the Jewish problem, will have to be achieved outside the boundaries of Palestine.

5) However, even for the Jewish community in Palestine the creation of a Jewish state in a part of that country is not a solution. Such a Jewish state will inevitably remain too weak to guard its boundaries and its population in case of an armed conflict of some importance. It would become a brewing pot of international machinations, of various military preparations, and of war-mongering. Even barring an open war, the Jewish state will only increase the prevailing tension, insecurity, and danger for the Jewish community. Far from being a solution of the Jewish problem in Palestine, a Jewish state there would create a new permanent problem for the whole world, a new source of complications and dangers, a new source of anxieties for Jews inside and outside Palestine. The actual obstacles against the creation of a Jewish state are more powerful than the forces which favor its establishment and which will be in a position to protect such a creation built on a volcano. As they have been frequently during the past decade, great dangers and bitter disillusionment will be the lot of all those who stake their hopes on the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

6) The future of the Jewish community in Palestine and its advancement cannot be built upon latent

or open war against the Arab majority of the country as well as against the Arab countries surrounding Palestine. However, such a state of affairs would be the inevitable result of a creation of a Jewish state.

7) During the past 2,000 years of Jewish history the Jews became a nation of the world. The wheels of history cannot be turned back. The Jewish nation

scattered all over the world can exist further and develop to the best of its ability only under the conditions of freedom, democracy, and Socialism. Only thus will disappear the evils that raised anti-Semitism and only thus conditions can be created which would halt the sequence of catastrophies suffered by the Jews so frequently throughout their history.

STATEMENT ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE BUND IN FRANCE (October, 1947)

Jewish life all over the world bears today the consequences of the catastrophe which has befallen the Jewish population during the years of Nazi domination in Eastern Europe. We are burdened more than ever before with the responsibility for a national and cultural reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Jewish nation, a reconstruction which can be achieved only through a mutual effort of all the existing Jewish communities.

We must, first of all, attend to the elementary needs of the Jewish masses. It is our duty to do our utmost in order to speed up the rehabilitation of Jewish life, to strengthen the economic as well as social strongholds of the Jewish masses, and to fight energetically against anti-Semitism of every kind.

We must proceed with particular energy in our deliberate fight for the liquidation of the DP camps. All governments are to be blamed for the camps' prolonged existence. We shall not cease demanding the admission of all tragedy-stricken victims of Fascism into all countries, Palestine included.

This demand explains the attitude of our organization in the case of the "Exodus", which in our opinion was inevitably connected with the general solution of the DP problem. Our view was, at that time, in the best interests of the hundreds of thousands Jewish Displaced Persons.

Today as before we must proceed in our efforts to advance the Jewish language and Jewish culture. We must do our utmost to help the mother tongue of the Jewish masses to regain its proper place in Jewish life; and to wage a decisive battle against all tendencies of assimilation, no matter where they originate.

Simultaneously, in accordance with our primary duty as Socialists, we must try to imbue the Jewish masses with the Socialist ideal, to win them for the common fight with the non-Jewish workers for a new Socialist way of life, which will put an end to oppression and restrictions of all kinds, which will finally and radically solve the problems of mankind, the Jewish problem included.

We should strive now more than ever before to enhance the awareness of the Jewish masses that their

fate is inevitably tied up with the fate of the struggle waged by the working and progressive camp all over the world. We should influence the Jews to take up the fight against nationalist trends among them, tendencies caused by the unparalleled catastrophe which had befallen them.

At present, while bleak clouds loom on the horizon of France, while reactionary forces are mobilizing and commencing to endanger our democracy, it is our duty more than ever to defend the interests of the Jewish masses by our active participation in the struggle for democracy and freedom waged by the Socialist Movement of France. In our efforts to defend the Jewish masses, we shall take the initiative in mobilizing and utilizing all progressive forces within the Jewish community.

Jewish Communism

During the black years of occupation and war the Jewish masses stood united in their struggle to defend themselves and to participate in the underground campaign against Nazi Germany. This unity was achieved owing to our active efforts in bringing it about.

After the liberation of France this unity of effort still remained and contributed to the rehabilitation and strengthening of the Jewish community in France. However, the Communists are now undermining the unity achieved in past years by conducting an intolerable war against Socialists and by exhibiting a singular lack of loyalty within the common offices and bodies.

Following the assimilationist views which they did not renounce, the Jewish Communists are opposed to the establishment of Jewish branches of the existing trade unions and are against the building of Jewish craftsmen's organizations, veteran unions, etc. They have even opposed Jewish branches in general manifestations. A similar negative attitude harmed the advancement of Jewish national life in our community.

The Jewish Communists, bearers of an ideology based on dictatorship and opposed to democracy, are acting accordingly in our Jewish community. Their demeanor tends to harm the Jewish democratic organizations at a time when democracy is a basic condition