

# THE ANTI-IMPERIAL- IST STRUGGLE IN PALESTINE

RESOLUTION OF THE IX CON-  
GRESS OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF PALESTINE (September  
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## I. THE GENERAL SITUATION

### 1. *The new international situation.*

The defeat of Hitlerite Germany and imperialist Japan came about as a result of the fight of the anti-fascist alliance of the peoples—at the head of which stood the Soviet Union. For this great victory all freedom-loving mankind has to feel gratitude and appreciation above all towards the Red Army and the Soviet State, which for three years stood almost alone in the fight against the entire weight of the mighty war machine of Nazi Germany and its satellites.

The Soviet Union mobilized around itself all the anti-fascist forces within the United Nations and the underground movements in Europe and encouraged them by its wonderful stand.

This great victory over fascism—the dictatorship of the most reactionary section of monopoly capital—has been possible thanks to the unity of the freedom-loving peoples and all the democratic forces throughout the world.

The military victory raises before humanity the problem of the political and moral annihilation of fascism in order to ensure a strong and lasting peace. The consolidation of victory demands the economic and military disarmament of Germany and Japan; the extermination of fascism and its influence in all spheres of life; full and quick punishment of the war criminals; and retribution for the damage done to countries and peoples.

The forces of peace, democracy, and socialism are at present much stronger than at any time before. The Socialist Soviet Union, the stronghold of peace and freedom, which proved to all during the war its mighty military, economic, and political power, is today one of the great powers which exercise a decisive influence in the international arena.

In the course of the anti-fascist war of liberation, in a large number of countries, a new type of democracy was created and strengthened turning these countries from a stronghold of feudal reaction and financial monopoly, into a reserve of economic, social, and political progress.

The Communist and Socialist Parties, fighting at the head of the working class and the broad masses of the people against fascism outside and within, have grown and strengthened; and they are today at the head of the people's fight for the consolidation of peace and democracy, for the ending of monopoly domination, and the eradication of the social and political roots of war.

These forces are at the head of the

struggle of the peoples against the remnants of fascism and against the pro-fascist forces which are endeavoring to maintain the rule of reaction, the rule of the landlords and monopoly capital.

In the great democratic countries too, in the United States and especially in Britain, the anti-fascist consciousness of the working class and the broad masses of the people has increased. One of the important expressions thereof is the defeat of the Tories and the rise to power of "Labour" in Britain.

The guarantee for the safeguarding of lasting peace lies in:

1. The strengthening of the unity of the United Nations, politically as well as economically.

2. The strengthening and unification of the international working class movement and all the progressive forces, within each country and on an international scale.

3. The most resolute fight against the anti-Soviet endeavors and maneuvers of international reaction, which endanger peace.

4. The promotion of the independence and free development of the colonial peoples.

### 2. *The Colonial problem in the present stage.*

The fight for the liberation of the colonial countries is an inseparable part of the fight to safeguard the peace. The fight for the safeguarding of lasting peace—for the promotion and establishment of democracy; for

the removal of the economic and political sources which nourish fascism, and for its complete eradication; for economic and political cooperation between the peoples and their countries, instead of international competition—will not be complete if it by-passes the colonies, if it does not receive encouragement from all the freedom-loving forces in the world.

The resolution on the colonial question adopted by the United Nations at the San Francisco Conference, which states that the colonies must be encouraged "toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and as may be provided in the terms of the trusteeship agreement" is able to assist the colonies in their fight against colonial oppression, even though this resolution does not express in full degree the demands of the colonial countries for self-determination—as was demanded by the Soviet Union. The colonial peoples must mobilize all the democratic forces in their countries while maintaining connection with, and seeking support among, the forces of freedom in the world for the fight to further their independence, their liberation from monopoly domination, and for raising the standard of living of the masses, together with the demand for carrying out the resolution of the United Nations Organization in a consistent manner.



### 3. *The Middle East*

The fight for the freedom of Palestine is part of the general fight of the Middle East people and all colonial people for their political and economic liberation from the imperialist yoke.

The unity of the Arab countries, economically, culturally, and politically, has always been an important perspective of the peoples of the Middle East; since their political independence can be realized only if it will become impossible to play off the different Arab states against one another, and only if a united front of the countries of the Middle East will be able to stand up against the economic and political forces of imperialism.

The establishment of the Arab League reflects in some degree these political and economic necessities. At the same time, the League today reflects the pressure brought about within its ranks by groups of vested interests and reactionary feudal elements, whose policy against fascism in the past was not of the best.

This state of affairs within the Arab National Movement makes it possible for imperialist intriguers and oil interests to attempt to use the League, and the aspirations for an Arab Federation, for their own purposes and in their imperialist competitive struggle among themselves—and against the interests of the peoples of the Middle East.

Therefore, the task of the peoples of the Middle East is to fight for the

strengthening of the progressive forces, in order to bring about a more democratic leadership of the Arab countries, their unity, and their joining in the framework of the United Nations organization for safeguarding the peace in the Middle East, including Palestine.

Under such conditions the Arab League would be able to assist in the solution of many problems of the Middle East.

### 4. *The Jewish People and the Yishuv.\**

Tens of millions of individuals of all peoples have been murdered by the fascist cannibals. But there exists no other people whose blood has been shed to such an extent by the Hitlerite bandits as the Jewish people. At Maidanek and Treblinka, at Oswiecim and all the other death-camps, in the gas-chambers and furnaces, six million Jews have been massacred, a third of world Jewry.

The war has proved by the blood of millions of our brethren and sisters, who have been murdered innocently, that fascism and reaction are a mortal poison for the Jewish people.

The war has shown that the forces of democracy and socialism, with the Soviet Union and the working class at their head, are the natural allies of the Jewish people. They have been the saviors and encouragers,

\* *Yishuv*: "Settlement"; here meaning the Jewish community of Palestine. All terms in this Resolution footnoted by the Editors, unless otherwise indicated, are Hebrew.

and, thanks to them above all, there still survive Jews in Europe.

The Jewish people have not only been a victim of the Second World War. They proved to be a fighting people and a heroic people as well. More than a million of their sons served in the Red Army and in the armies of the United Nations, and still more millions worked in the rear for the war effort.

The Jewish Yishuv in Palestine has also fulfilled with honor its task in the war, by sending its sons into the army and the Jewish Brigade, as well as by the part it played in industry and agriculture.

The Yishuv is obliged for its rescue to the Red Army and the allied armies, who prevented fascism from reaching our country.

In the course of the war a worldwide Jewish unity developed which had not existed before. Soviet Jewry, which played the leading role in the war effort of the Jewish people, was also the first to issue the call for anti-fascist Jewish unity, for the rescue of the people, and for revenge against the fascist butchers.

Although the transition period in Europe, with all its economic and political difficulties, has not yet come to an end, and though reactionary and anti-Semitic elements still try to raise their head, developments are nevertheless promoting the consolidation and the strengthening of the democratic forces, *i.e.*, the consolidation of the true allies of the Jewish people.

The popular democracy, which has arisen and developed in liberated Europe, is creating new and free living conditions for surviving Jewry. Anti-Semitism, the age-old curse of the Jewish people, is being prosecuted by law, and is being exterminated, together with its roots. Anti-Semitic organizations are being dissolved. War criminals and Jew-baiters are being put on just trial before people's courts. All racial and national discrimination is being abolished. The new governments are granting special material aid to the Jewish communities. Jewish schools are being maintained at government cost. Jewish refugees enjoy special treatment and special care by the democratic authorities. The cultural life of the Jewish communities is being given the possibility of free and full development.

But even though the fascist fiend has been disarmed, Nazi ideology, racial theory, and anti-Semitism have not yet been completely destroyed, *i.e.*, the full moral-political victory over Nazism has not yet been achieved. And, as long as this is so, the Jewish people, together with all progressive forces among the other peoples, have the task of taking full part in the fight against anti-Semitism and its propagators, against the propaganda and incitement which lead to the furnaces of Maidanek. A strongly united representative body of the whole Jewish people is required in the fight on the following issues:

1. Exposing anti-Semitism, as a.



criminal act in the legislation of all countries and states.

2. The presentation of the Bill of Indictment by the Jewish people against Nazi Germany and of our insistent demand for full and quick punishment of the murderers of our people.

3. Our obligation to wage a relentless struggle for the return of the robbed and stolen property and for full retribution to Jewish individuals and Jewish communities for the destruction and devastation.

4. The task of the Jewish people to fight for the protection of its democratic and national rights and for their establishment by law by the United Nations Organization in order to enable free national, economic, and cultural development for the Jewish communities in their respective countries.

5. Urgent planned help to the survivors of our people in all liberated countries in order to re-establish their life and reconstruct upon strong foundations what has been destroyed.

6. Immediate assistance in the housing and the establishment of those thousands of Jews who do not want—for various reasons—to return to their original countries, and who want to immigrate to other countries, including Palestine too.

7. Assistance to the Jewish Yishuv in its fight against the White Paper.

The ideology of "Abolition of the Galuth,"\* of "Exodus from Europe," has its foundation in the reactionary

\* *Galuth*: "Exile"; "Diaspora."

forces in Europe and is in opposition to the interests of the Jewish communities and contrary to the tasks mentioned above.

We see the *full* solution of the Jewish problem in the victory of socialism. It is not a problem of "majority" and "minority," as it is being represented by the Zionist ideologists, but a problem which can find its full solution in a democratic and socialist order.

## II. THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE

### 1. *Palestine and Imperialism.*

Palestine is subjugated by imperialist rule, economically and politically. Even after the victory over German and Japanese imperialism, the inhabitants of this country are living in a condition where they lack democratic liberties and self-government. Imperialist rule in Palestine leans upon the big capitalists and planters, the landlords and the big trading capitalists among the Jews and the Arabs.

The usual system of colonial rule consists in the policy of "divide and rule" and in the kindling of antagonisms between Jews and Arabs. In this policy, colonial rule is being assisted by its two main social and political props, those in the Jewish and Arab sectors.

The fight for a democratic system and for the independence of Palestine is in the interest of all the inhabitants of Palestine, Jews as well as Arabs. The interests of the Jewish and the Arab masses are identical.

The fight for Jewish-Arab collaboration and for national equality of rights in this country is one of the principal means of promoting the struggle for democracy and independence. The basis for the friendship of people is to be found in the independence and democratization of Palestine. The consequence thereof is that the fight for the friendship of peoples and for democracy intermingle and are not to be separated.

The success of the fight for a democratic and independent Palestine will be assured if it will be led as a common fight of the Jews and the Arabs alike.

### 2. *The National Question.*

The national question in Palestine was and remains the question of the deliverance of Palestine from the imperialist yoke. During the last period, and especially during the war, great changes occurred in the economy of Palestine and in its national character.

The Jewish Yishuv grew and developed as an important economic factor in this country and as a consolidated national community. Palestine is today a country of a bi-national character. This is the new aspect of the national problem in Palestine.

The Jewish Yishuv in this country is different today from what it was in the first years of the British occupation. It occupies the central position in the industrial development of this country. As a result of this development the working class grew in num-

bers, class differentiation increased, and the points of contradiction between parts of the Yishuv and imperialism became more numerous.

During the war years, economic development took place in the Arab sector. The Arab working class grew considerably, the class differentiation in town and village increased, and the class conflict sharpened.

As a result of this economic and class development there developed a consolidated Arab trade union organization.

The Arab trade union organization is the most organized core of the Arab National Movement.

All these factors denote the changes which took place in this country.

### 3. *The Jewish Yishuv.*

The international development, the development in this country during the war, and the situation of the Jewish people—all this had its influence upon the political development in the Yishuv.

The progressive political development in the world, and the new democratic political conditions under which the Jewish communities which have survived in Europe are living, brought about, on the one hand, the program of desperation of the champions of the official Zionist policy, known as the "Biltmore Program."\* This program is based upon an anti-

\* *Biltmore Program*: The program adopted at the Extraordinary Zionist Conference held on May 11, 1942, at the Biltmore Hotel in New York. It calls for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.



labor policy, upon national usurpation and hatred of peoples, upon the theory of the isolation of the Jewish people and dependence upon the forces of international reaction. This camp, which has as its slogan the turning of Palestine into a Jewish State, is being led, ideologically and organizationally, by the organizations of the big bourgeoisie, the clerical-political organizations and, among the working population, by the Mapai.\*

The fascist terrorist organizations are an extreme expression of the Biltmore ideology. During the war the terrorist organizations had connections with the fascist enemy and hampered the war effort of the Yishuv.

In opposition to this camp, other political forces were formed which deem it essential to adapt their policy to the new conditions which exist internationally and in this country. These forces, which comprise the oppositional parties in the Histadruth\*\* and circles of the middle class and the intelligentsia, emphasize, in opposition to the Biltmore forces, the necessity for a more realistic policy, which takes into account to a certain degree—though not in a consistent manner—the bi-national arena of Palestine and in the Middle

\* *Mapai*: Palestine Jewish Labor Party. (Initials of "Mifgezet Poale Erez Israel.") It is not a unified group, but is split into groups having various positions on major political problems. The dominant leadership is unreservedly for the Biltmore program—the maximum Zionist program.

\*\* *Histadruth*: "Organization"—General Federation of Labor in Palestine; Zionist and reformist-led trade union center of Jewish workers (including Jewish agricultural workers). It owns large industrial enterprises and agricultural settlements (the building cooperative it controls being the largest building trade enterprise in Palestine).

East. Among these anti-Biltmore forces in the Yishuv one must count the "Hashomer Hazair,"\* the Socialist League, parts of the "Tnuva Pachduth Avoda,"\*\* and the "Aliya Hadasha,"\*\*\* the "Left Poale Zion,"\*\*\*\* the circles of "Ichud," (Dr. Magnes).\*\*\*\*\*

The Communist Party of Palestine is the most consistent force in the fight against the theory and the practice of the policy of the official Zionist leadership and the only one which fights for a positive and democratic program for the solution of the problems of the Yishuv and the country.

The Communist Party fights to permeate the Yishuv with the perception and understanding of the right of self-determination of this country, the guaranteeing of full equality of national rights to the Jews and the Arabs; and the necessity of including Palestine into the agreement of the Atlantic Charter and the resolutions of Teheran, Crimea, and San Francisco.

\* *Hashomer Hazair*: "Young Guardian." A Left-wing Zionist organization; it engages in agricultural settlement through cooperative units, and also owns industrial enterprises. It calls for unlimited Jewish immigration to Palestine, but stands for a bi-national Palestinian State. Its platform calls for cooperation with the Soviet Union.

\*\* *Tnuva Pachduth Avoda*: "Movement for the Unity of Labor." It is an opposition group within the Mapai, being opposed to the Biltmore program.

\*\*\* *Aliya Hadasha*: "New Immigration." An organization consisting in the main of German Jewish refugees, which has appeared as a new political grouping in Palestine.

\*\*\*\* *Left Poale Zion*: Left Labor Zionists.  
\*\*\*\*\* *Ichud*: "Unity" (Union Society); founded by Dr. J. L. Magnes, Chancellor of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It calls for "political and numerical parity of the Jews and Arabs in a bi-national Palestine which is to be a part of a larger union consisting of four autonomous parts—Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon." It proposes that Jewish immigration continue until Jews and Arabs reach numerical parity.

To sum up: There is a social and political stirring within the Yishuv, and especially within the working class. The increased exploitation of the masses of the proletariat, the continuously repeated endeavors of the bourgeoisie, assisted by the Government, to lower their standard of life and to curtail their rights, a process which will assume a more acute character with the aggravation of the problem of competition between industry in this country and in the neighboring countries—all this together is pushing the proletariat to a sharpening of the class conflict, is bringing it into collision with the dominant political line of the Zionist movement. (which expresses the interest of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie) and with the policy of imperialist rule. Through this development, the Jewish proletariat and masses of the people will have to turn into an anti-imperialist, democratic force, and thus become an ally of the Arab toiling masses and of the common fight for the democratization of this country.

#### 4. *The Arab National Movement.*

The changes which took place in the international situation and in this country left their mark on the Arabs. Compared with the political stagnation characteristic of the first years of the war, during the recent period a great enlivenment has taken place.

Among the fellaheen\* a social fermentation is to be observed, despite

the fact that a stable organization for the defense of their interests has not yet sprung up.

The most organized force is the trade union organization of the workers. In this organization, with its different branches, a struggle is going on between the influence of reactionary forces, on the one hand, and that of the adherents of "The League of National Liberation," on the other.

In "The League of National Liberation" Communist workers, intelligentsia, and progressive workers are active. Its organ is the weekly *Al-Itihad*. The League is spreading positive enlightenment on the Soviet Union and repulses attacks on the Soviet Union. The League is fighting for the improvement of the conditions of the Arab workers and the fellaheen. It takes up a positive position on the Jewish Yishuv. The League leads a campaign of enlightenment on the necessity for the democratization of this country. It is the sole Arab body which expresses the necessity for Jewish-Arab cooperation. This positive aspiration particularly revealed itself after the World Trade Union Congress in London. Notwithstanding some lines of policy not sufficiently clear and consistent, these circles represent the most progressive forces among the Arab people.

The direct encounter with each other of tens of thousands of Jewish and Arab workers in the military and Government working camps, and their common fight in spite of

\* *Fellaheen*: "Peasants" (Arabic).



interference on the part of the leaders of the Histadruth and the Jema'it, the partial successes these workers achieved precisely on the basis of this cooperation and solidarity, begin to make clear to the workers of both peoples their common economic and social interests. This is of historic importance for the workers' movement in Palestine, since it is the pivot around which revolve the promotion of the interests of the masses of the Arab people and the Jewish Yishuv in the direction of their determination of their life and their destiny in a free and democratic Palestine.

### III. PROGRAM OF ACTION OF THE PARTY

The Communist Party calls upon the Jewish and the Arab masses to fight for:

#### 1. *The immediate interests of the working masses.*

*Workers*—Safeguarding of full employment; raising the standard of living of the working class by ensuring proper wages and proper conditions of work; equal pay for equal work; social insurance by Government; progressive labor legislation and legislation to protect working youth and women; equal right to work for every worker, irrespective of race, people, and religion.

*Peasants*—Protection of the interests of the small peasants, as well as of the tenants in the form of special

legislation for their protection; government aid for the development of the peasants' farms, and provision of cheap credits; Government land for the landless, agricultural machinery, seeds, etc. Moratorium on debts; deliverance from the "Tithe" tax; reduction in taxes; deliverance from the usurers; the foundation of an agricultural bank by the Government which will issue loans to farmers at low rates of interest and on long terms; the setting up of irrigation undertakings for the intensification of agriculture; the building of schools, clinics, and hospitals.

*Artisans*—Protection of the interests of the artisans by tax relief; encouraging the cooperative movement, of the producers' and consumers' cooperatives; cheap prices for raw materials and working tools; cheap credits.

*Intelligentsia*—Protection of the interests of the working intelligentsia and the creation of proper living and working conditions for them.

#### 2. *Taxation Policy.*

A policy of progressive taxation; the abolition of indirect taxes; the increase of the property tax and the income tax on the big bourgeoisie; the raising of the minimum income which is to be exempted from the income tax; increasing the tax rates on big land property; introduction of inheritance taxes; special taxes on war profiteers. Registration in Palestine of the monopoly capital companies and the imposing of special taxes upon them. Increase of ex-

penditure for social services, such as health and education, and for cultural and artistic needs. Control of the budget policy by representatives of the people.

#### 3. *Free Economic Development*

*Industry*—Free economic development of this country, and the encouragement of industry without national discrimination. Supply of raw materials at non-exorbitant prices; supply of technical equipment; assistance in the training of skilled workers. Encouragement of research into the riches of this country and the setting up of a special Government budget to this end. Exploitation of the riches of this country in the interests of its inhabitants. Full use within this country of its raw materials. Control over prices. Economic collaboration between Jews and Arabs in this country, and between them and the neighboring countries, in order to safeguard the arrangements for marketing the goods produced.

*Transport*—Development of railways, roads and ports. Ensuring a supply of tires and auto parts. The sale of trucks out of the military stores in this country, at cheap prices, with preference to demobilized soldiers.

#### 4. *Municipal Democracy*

General and democratic elections to the local authoritative bodies and enlargement of their local autonomy. Restriction of the powers of the High

Commissioner and the District Commissioners, as they refer to the local authoritative bodies. Removal of the Electoral Census. To include the dwelling quarters near towns and colonies in the respective Court Districts and District municipalities. Removal of the "community" restrictions. General active and passive suffrage to all inhabitants of this country.

#### 5. *Culture.*

Freedom of development for all national cultures. Recognition in reality of the rights of the Hebrew and Arab languages. (At the same time all violence against any other language, especially the Yiddish language, is to be fought against.)

Encouragement of the development of cultural institutions in both the national sectors, public elementary schools, secondary schools, seminars (colleges), universities, theatres, and other artistic establishments. Free and compulsory elementary education up to the age of 14.

#### 6. *Democratization of this country.*

(a) Full and equal democratic rights for all inhabitants of this country, irrespective of race, people, religion, and sex.

(b) Legal guarantee of equality of national rights and opportunities and for prevention of the domination of one people over the other. Abrogation of the White Paper, the foundation of which is anti-democratic and racial in character.

(c) Legal guarantee of freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, organization and press (fascists to be excluded).

(d) Representation and cooperation of the inhabitants of this country in the Governmental Departments of Labor, Reconstruction, Public Courts, and District Administration.

(e) Restriction of the powers of the High Commissioner by the establishment of elected country-wide, democratic institutions, legislative as well as executive (which will express the bi-national character of this country and will be based upon the unshakeable principles of equality of civil and national rights for all peoples in this country. These principles have to guarantee the impossibility of the domination of one people over the other and to prevent all possibility of national discrimination.

(f) The Communist Party is fighting for the acknowledgement of the right of self-determination for this country, which will safeguard the full equality of national rights for the two national sectors and the inclusion of this country into the agreements of the Atlantic Charter, the resolutions of Teheran, Crimea and San Francisco, and the International Trusteeship system.

(g) The Communist Party of Palestine is fighting for an independent, democratic, Arab-Jewish State.

### 7. *The Jewish National Home.*

The Communist Party of Palestine

is fighting for the free development of the National Home of the Jewish Yishuv on the basis of the principles contained in 6 (e), (f), and (g). In the course of the economic and social development of the Yishuv, there were laid the foundations of the National Home (industrial, cultural development, etc.). The development and advance of the Jewish National Home are dependent upon the degree in which the masses of the Yishuv will be harnessed to the fight for the liberation and democratization of this country, because a Jewish National Home cannot exist, and has no possibility of development, in a system of colonial oppression.

We are fighting for:

1. The creation of the conditions and possibilities for the Yishuv to develop freely—and without domination or being dominated—its economic, cultural, and national life on the foundations of self-government, of rejecting the domination of one people over the other, and of friendship among peoples.

2. The right of development of institutions of self-government and the enlargement of their powers, beginning with the cells of local authorities up to the Wead Loumi (Jewish National Council), in all inner questions of the Yishuv as an inseparable part of democratic rule in this country.

3. Abolition of national discrimination, including the abrogation of the discrimination contained in the "White Paper" against the Jews, as to immigration into this country and

settlement; and against any eviction of tenants and fellaheen.

4. The linking up of the democratic arrangements for Jewish settlement with the countrywide arrangements of the agrarian problem and agricultural development without national discrimination.

### IV. PLAN FOR DEMOCRATIC UNITY

We consider it possible and necessary to achieve common action between different political organizations and sections of the people for the protection of the social and national interests of the masses of the Jewish Yishuv.

*In the Histadruth*—For cooperation between all opposition forces which oppose the prevailing trade union line. The basis for the common fight of all opposition forces should be:

1. Democratization of the trade union organizations and of the whole life of the Histadruth.

2. A struggle against the policy of "Conciliation" with the employers, and for a consistent trade union policy.

3. Against imposing the burden of the social services upon the workers and for its being imposed upon the Government, the bourgeoisie, and the municipalities.

4. For the alleviation of the tax burden.

5. A fight for full employment, for a job for every one who seeks work.

6. Jewish-Arab cooperation in

common working places and between the Histadruth and the Arab Trade Union.

7. Against chauvinistic incitement and anti-Soviet propaganda.

8. For the fulfillment of the resolution of the World Trade Union Congress in London on the consolidation of the unity of the labor movement, for the promotion of its social achievements, for progressive labor legislation; and for restriction of the exploitation by the monopolies.

*In the Municipalities*—The Congress decides to fight for cooperation with all parties in the Histadruth against the representatives of bourgeois reaction. The basis for this common fight is the struggle: for the democratization of the Municipal councils; for the abolition of the Census; for the suffrage for women, which does not exist in part of the municipalities; for a progressive system of taxes; for education and health services for the broad masses; against speculation; for enlargement of the powers of the municipalities; for measures to provide work for every one who asks for it; for public works; for re-settlement and help to the demobilized soldiers; and for housing and care for the refugees.

*In the Assejath Hanivharim (The Representative Assembly)*—The Congress decides to fight for cooperation among all anti-Biltmore forces: "Hashomer Hazair," the "Movement for the Unity of Labor," "Left Poale Zion," "Aliya Hadasha" for a "Democratic People's Group."



The basis for the common fight is:

1. Against the policy of domination on the part of the Biltmore parties.
  2. For abrogation of the "White Paper."
  3. For free development of the Jewish National Home.
  4. Care for the refugees, including housing, health measures, and employment.
  5. Enlargement of the education and health services.
  6. A relentless fight against the ideology and practice of the fascist terrorist organizations.
  7. A struggle for Jewish-Arab understanding on the basis of equality of national rights and the mutual recognition of each other's rights.
  8. Assistance in the rehabilitation of the ravaged European Jews.
  9. For relations of friendship with the Soviet Union and Soviet Jewry.
  10. Enlargement of the powers of the *Assefath Hanivcharim*.
  11. Jewish anti-fascist unity for uprooting anti-Semitism and national oppression and for the safeguarding of the equality of civil and national rights of the Jewish communities in their respective countries.
  12. The fight for full employment.
- The Arab National Movement*—We fight to permeate the Arab masses with the perception and conviction that the success of the fight for democracy and independence is connected with the fight for equality of national rights and against national discrimination, including the abrogation of the "White Paper."

We consider as necessary the creation of a national democratic front on the following basis:

1. A fight for acknowledgement of the right of self-determination for this country which will guarantee full equality of national rights for both national sectors. The inclusion of Palestine in the system of agreements of the Atlantic Charter, the resolutions of Teheran, Crimea and San Francisco and the system of international trusteeship.
2. A fight for the democratic rights of the masses: urban and rural councils elected according to democratic principles; participation of the population in the bodies of control over supply and distribution, over production and import; freedom of press, including the abolition of censorship; freedom of assembly and political activity.
3. Encouragement of industrial development and growth of industrial production; the supply of machinery, raw materials, credits; and the education of skilled cadres.
4. Assistance to the farmers (fellahen) and the strengthening of agricultural production.
5. Safeguarding the rights of the workers (progressive labor legislation, social insurance) and full freedom for the trade union organization.
6. A fight for cooperation between Arabs and Jews and, in particular, between the workers of both peoples and their trade unions.
7. Cultural relations with the anti-fascist forces throughout the world

and, in particular, with the Soviet Union.

## CONCLUSION

1. The Conference decides to increase its activity in spreading, among the workers and the broad masses, Marxist ideological enlightenment, especially concerning the national question, as opposed to the nationalistic Jewish ideology (the Zionist ideology) and the nationalistic Arab ideology.

2. The degree of progressiveness attained by the political forces in this country may be measured by the extent of their fight for the democratization and the independence of this country—which is being conducted in conformity with the general struggle of all freedom-loving forces throughout the world—and the extent of their fight for equality of national rights.

The Communist Party considers necessary the cooperation with Jewish and Arab political bodies which fight for democratization in the various segments of public life (in the trade unions, the municipalities, etc.)

3. The Conference considers it to be a foremost task of the Party to make every endeavor to bring about close cooperation between the Party and the Arab progressive forces, in particular the Arab League of National Liberation with the object in view of achieving political and organizational unity within a unified Communist Party.

4. In view of the increased activity

of the reactionary forces among the Jews and the Arabs, the Communist Party calls for intensified exertions in the fight for Jewish-Arab understanding, for peace and democracy.

## V. THE PROFESSIONAL TRADE UNION FIGHT

1. The growth and consolidation of the proletariat during the war years under conditions of a lowering of the standard of living of the workers—as contrasted with the enrichment of the capitalists—and of the anti-labor policy of the Government—resulted in making the class conflicts in this country more acute.

2. The development of class consciousness finds its reflection in the wave of strikes which developed class foundation among the working class in such a way that these strikes, from a fight for cost-of-living alliances, turned into a fight for collective agreements, social demands, and recognition of the trade union organizations, and into a fight for strike pay.

Under these conditions the working class has to fight for:

- (a) Progressive labor and social legislation.
- (b) Abolition of the anti-labor laws.
- (c) Country-wide collective agreements.
- (d) Proper wages and working conditions.
- (e) Recognition of the trade unions, the shop committees, and shop stewards as authoritative repre-

sentatives of the working class in dealings with the management, Government, and any other agency.

(f) Imposing the burden of social and insurance services upon the Government, the local authorities, and the employers.

(g) Strike pay, and the abolition of the "black list" system of the employers.

(h) Insurance in cases of accidents, with payment of wages in full.

(i) Progressive legislation for the protection of youth and working women, and for the implementing of existing laws.

(j) Guaranteeing work to everyone who seeks it and against the system of interchanges of work (Chali-fin).

(k) The establishment of public works at the expense of the Government and municipalities.

(l) An 8-hour working day and the abolition of overtime.

(m) A shortened working day for women and youth.

(n) Strict observance of a weekly rest-day and a shortened working day on the eve of holidays and Saturdays.

(o) Increase of the yearly vacation with full pay, and of vacation with full pay for women workers before and after confinement.

(p) A transition from piece-work to daily and monthly wages, and for the abolition of the system of competition as to the norms.

(q) Cooperation between Jewish and Arab workers and their respec-

tive trade union organizations, against the "Conquest of Labor."\*

### IMMIGRATION

1. The Zionist ideology that sees in the emigration of the Jews to Palestine the solution of the Jewish problem is a utopian and reactionary ideology, particularly as regards the following aspects:

(a) It diverts the Jewish masses from the fight, in unity with the general population, for democracy and socialism;

(b) Its slogan, "Let the Jews Leave Europe," coincides with the propaganda of the reactionary and anti-Semitic forces of Europe against the new democratic regimes;

(c) It relies on the imperialist rule in Palestine;

(d) Therefore it is against the true interests of the Jewish masses in the various countries in which they live and also against the true interests of the Jewish masses in Palestine.

2. The way to uproot anti-Semitism and to make possible a free development of the Jewish people wherever they live, is to eradicate social roots that bring about anti-Semitism and fascism—to change the social structure of society that generates national subjection alongside social subjection.

The guarantee of a better future for the Jews lies in bringing about the political and social democratization of the countries in which they live.

\* *Conquest of Labor*: The policy aimed at excluding Arab workers from employment in Jewish-owned agricultural or industrial enterprises.

The full and final solution of the Jewish problem will come about only in a socialist system of society. It is not a question of the majority or minority status of the Jews; but it is a question of a progressive or reactionary structure of society.

3. The Jews in Palestine were saved in this war, not because they migrated to Palestine but because the Red Army stopped the fascists at Stalingrad, and the forces of the Allies stopped them at El Alamein. If the fascist army had reached Palestine, the fate of the Jews there would not have been different from the fate of the Jews in Poland.

This is also the lesson for the future. Emigration to Palestine does not guarantee the future of the Jews. In case of a new rise of fascism and a third world war there would arise the danger of the extermination of the Jews in Palestine as well as the Jews in other countries. The safeguarding of the future of the Jewish people can only rest in the uprooting of the political and social roots of fascism and war, in the implementation of the decisions of Crimea and Potsdam.

This does not mean that we have to oppose emigration to Palestine, or

that Palestine cannot participate in helping to solve the problem of the displaced Jews in Europe. We have to see Palestine as one of the places where Jews of the camps who wish to migrate to new places, can do so. We have to take into account that a section of these Jews will return to their original countries, to the new democratic regimes in Europe.

We have to oppose the emigration laws of the White Paper, which is anti-democratic and based on racial discrimination, because it particularly prohibits Jewish immigration.

We have to oppose the White Paper in general because it is one of the instruments of the imperialist policy of "divide and rule," and is one of the reasons for the sharpening of the tension between the Jews and the Arabs.

The question of immigration must be settled in the interests of peace in Palestine, by means of an agreement between the Jews and Arabs. But in the present phase, when a Jewish-Arab agreement is absent, the problem of immigration, just as the problem of Palestine in general, should be arranged in a democratic manner in the framework of the trusteeship system of the United Nations.