

upon which we can establish peace today—friendship and unity of the Big Three, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Such unity brought victory over the fascist Axis. Only such unity today can end the crisis which threatens a new world war. As long as the United States pursues a policy of "getting tough" with the Soviet Union it is absurd to think that conditions exist for a mutually satisfactory settlement of the international control of atomic energy.

The Lilienthal Report is supposed to be a guide for the American representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. That representative has already been named by President Truman—Bernard M. Baruch. Baruch's clear-cut advocacy of the Big Business point of view, his hatred for Communism, his antipathy for the Soviet Union, illustrate still further the uses for which the Lilienthal Report is designated. Fittingly enough, Baruch named as his advisors a group of men distinguished by their Wall Street connections. They are John Hancock, Wall Street banker; Ferdinand Eberhart, New York investment banker; Herbert Bayard Swope, publicist and big businessman; and Fred Searls, New York mining engineer. Not only are they spokesmen for the monopoly section of capitalism, in the ideological sense, but they are the big monopolists themselves. On so crucial a question as

atomic energy the ruling class trusted no one but members of its top layers. Even the scientists were excluded.

Tremendous public interest was aroused by the struggle against military control of atomic energy. No less important is public discussion and action on the question of real international control of atomic energy. Labor in this country has a very special interest in the issue because it is "our" imperialism which is using the atomic bomb as an instrument of policies that are leading our nation toward atomic warfare. Essential to intelligent discussion of this issue is a correct evaluation of the Lilienthal Report. Any study which does more than scratch the surface of that Report reveals that there is no conflict between the anti-Soviet policies Byrnes pursued in the Bronx and Paris and the atomic policies proposed for our representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. Rather than dispelling the use of atomic energy as a factor making for suspicion, conflict and war, the Report intensified that conflict. It is a logical continuation of imperialist power politics in economic and diplomatic affairs.

The Lilienthal Report is based upon exactly such politics.

It is the politics of imperialism against the politics of the peoples, who have fought for and desire to build world peace and guarantee the freedom of nations.

ARAB-JEWISH UNITY FOR THE SOLUTION OF PALESTINE'S PROBLEMS

By MEIR VILNER

Statement of Meir Vilner, Representative of the Communist Party of Palestine, before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission for Palestine, on March 25, 1946.

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen
of the Committee:

IT IS A STRANGE THING that instead of setting up the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organization, in accordance with the resolutions of the San Francisco Conference, on the advancement of the Mandated Territories towards independence, a separate Inquiry Commission has been set up by the British and United States Governments. We regard the setting up of such a commission without any authorization on the part of the United Nations Organization as an open breach of the San Francisco Charter. We regard this step as one of the attempts of the British Government, assisted by the Government of the United States, aimed at securing the continuation of the status quo in Palestine, *i.e.*, the continuation of the

colonial oppression of our country. The fact that the Soviet Union has been excluded from the working out of a solution for our country's problems is further proof that the initiators of this Commission lack any interest in advancing the freedom of the peoples of Palestine. As is widely known, the Soviet Union has been the only one among the Great Powers which, in the most consistent manner, has defended, at each of the international conferences, the right of the colonial peoples to self-determination and independence.

The motive for our appearance before this Commission is our wish to contribute to the removal of the tension between Jews and Arabs which has increased during the past weeks. Our aim is to contribute to the cause of cooperation between the two peoples of our country in order to ensure peace and security, and to ensure the advance of democracy in, and the independence of, Palestine. The tension in our country has been increased as a result of the manner in which the inquiries have been conducted by this Commission. This Commission is presenting the problem of our country as a question of antagonism between Jews and Arabs instead of regarding it as a problem of oppression by British imperialism of Jews and Arabs alike. This tension has also been increased by the chauvinist evidence submitted by the official Jewish and Arab leadership, by Mr. Ben-Gurion and Professor Weizmann on the one hand, and by Mr. Gemal Husseini and Mr. Aunay Abd-ul-Hadi on the other.

"DIVIDE AND RULE"

We consider that the basic difficulty concerning the problem of Palestine does not consist in a collision of interests between Jews and Arabs. The present antagonism is a consequence of constant incitement and intrigues conducted during the past 28 years on behalf of British imperialism. The following examples may serve as proof of the application of the policy known as "divide and rule":

Stimulation by [the British] Government of the Arab and Jewish economic boycott; the existence of two different standards of wages, one for Jewish and one for Arab workers; the appointment of chauvinist and reactionary elements to important public posts (e.g., to the post of town mayor); the support given to the reactionary forces among both peoples by the anti-democratic electoral system which helps to raise chauvinist elements, among Jews and Arabs to the post of municipal councillor; the intrigues conducted between the municipalities of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv by the incorporation of Jewish quarters into Jaffa and of Arab villages into Tel-Aviv; the suppression for many years of the progressive forces fighting for Jewish-Arab cooperation, as well as discriminations still existing against these forces as regards the freedom of their press.

During its years of rule, the colonial regime has done its utmost to make Jewish-Arab cooperation im-

possible, for such cooperation might seriously endanger the continuation of its rule. In its policy of "divide and rule," the Mandatory Power is leaning, on the one hand, on the interests of the Jewish big bourgeoisie, which hopes to carry out its program of political and economic domination with the aid of British imperialism. On the other hand, the Mandatory Power is leaning on the representatives of Arab landlords and big capital which are interested in preserving the backward feudal system in Palestine with the aid of British imperialism.

During its period of rule, the policy of the Mandatory Power has been neither pro-Jewish nor pro-Arab; it was and is directed solely to promote British imperialist interests. The present political, economic, and social situation in Palestine is proof of this. After 28 years of British rule, neither Jews nor Arabs have a decisive voice in the affairs of the country. Only British officials have a determining voice in its fate. The chief economic branches of the country—banking, insurance, electric power, the potash enterprises, and others—are mainly in the hands of British capital.

Indirect taxes, the lack of progressive labor legislation and social legislation, the lack of care for the small peasant and tenant, the setting aside of a great part (up to 25 per cent) of the annual budget for police and prisons, as against only 8 per cent for educational, health and social services, all go to prove the low economic and social standards of the

popular masses in our country.

Especially serious is the agrarian problem, since the Mandatory Power supports the great landowners in maintaining the backward agrarian relations existing in the villages. The present situation is one of big landed proprietors existing on the one hand, and masses of small farmers, tenants and landless peasants on the other. As a result of this the masses of peasants and tenants live on a low social standard. The Mandatory Power, being uninterested in the solution of the agrarian problem, diverts the minds of the peasants and tenants towards racial discriminations over the issue of land sales.

The Mandatory Power sees in Palestine one of the important strategic strongpoints enabling it to continue the oppression of other parts of the Empire. The political and economic oppression of our country, which we outlined in detail in our Memorandum, is intended to defend the profits and expansion of British imperialism in this part of the world. Having been weakened during the war, British imperialism was forced to share the exploitation of part of its colonial wealth with American imperialism, as is exemplified by the Anglo-American oil agreement. Since the Mandatory Power bears the main responsibility for the lack of any democratic institutions in this country, for the low level of social conditions of the popular masses, and for the lack of security, and since it is the source of the conflict between Jews and Arabs, the abolition of the

British Mandate and the immediate transfer of the Palestine problem to the Security Council of the United Nations Organization is, under present conditions, the only way of assuring the achievement of independence for our country and avoiding disturbances of peace with it.

A PARADOXICAL SITUATION

We are here to voice heavy accusations against the Mandatory Power and to defend the national and social interests of all inhabitants of this country, Jews and Arabs alike.

The alien power has succeeded in creating the following paradoxical situation; a Commission appointed by the British Government in cooperation with the U.S. Government is to judge between Jews and Arabs, whereas the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, in active cooperation with the factors directly interested, *i.e.*, the Jews and the Arabs, ought to judge the policy of the British Government in Palestine. Two peoples are living in Palestine, both wishing a free and peaceful life; therefore, every proposal for a political solution must be based on full equal rights for both national groups. We are convinced that a Jewish-Arab agreement is necessary and possible. All problems of this country can and must be solved by Jewish-Arab agreement based on the following foundations:

1. An independent and democratic Arab-Jewish state.
2. Establishment of democratic and elected institutions—legislative and

executive—which express the bi-national character of the country and are based on the unshakable principles of equality of civil and national rights for both peoples.

Democracy in, and the independence of, the country will create the preliminary conditions for free development of Jews and Arabs without any discrimination. A democratic and independent regime in Palestine will strike a mortal blow at imperialist intrigues, which aim to disturb the peace and to incite one people against the other. Such a regime will create the conditions for the realization of a plan of economic development and for raising the standard of living of the popular masses of Arabs and Jews.

The historical experience of the multi-national Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in which different peoples live in brotherhood, freedom and equality; the experience of peaceful relations created between the peoples of the Balkans during the last few years, thanks to the abolition of the decisive influence formerly exercised by foreign finance magnates and the big landowners, and thanks to the achievement of full political and economic independence by these countries—all this proves that only conditions of independence and democracy of the dependent countries can make possible and create a regime of brotherhood of peoples and social advance.

Instead of abolishing the British Mandate and furthering the independence of this country, the at-

tempt is being made to institute an Anglo-American regime called "Anglo-American Trusteeship." This is in complete contradiction to the San Francisco Charter and to the vital interests of Jews and Arabs in Palestine. The meaning of such a "settlement" would only be an increase of colonial oppression. An international settlement, in a democratic spirit, of the Palestine problem instituted by the United Nations Organization, can mean only:

1. Immediate repeal of the Draconic Emergency Regulations which subject everybody in Palestine to the discretion of any British policeman or soldier.

2. Legal guarantee of the basic democratic rights to all citizens without discrimination: freedom of conscience, organization, printing and press (except for fascists).

3. Immediate establishment of democratic, elected, countrywide institutions, the recognition of Palestine as an independent Arab-Jewish state, and withdrawal of the British Army from this country.

Equality of civil and national rights will be assured by a democratic constitution to be elaborated by representatives of the Jews and the Arabs, and by guarantees of the United Nations Organization.

We feel it our duty to sound a warning against all intrigues aiming at the partition of this country. The partition of this country would spell disaster to Jewish and Arab citizens alike. First of all, it would strangle any possible economic development

Secondly, it would strengthen the imperialist regime, since partition would mean dependence of both "states" upon the imperialist British rulers. Thirdly, such an arrangement would widen the gulf between Jews and Arabs.

From this it follows that the plan for partition is an imperialist program designed to find a new form for the continuation of the old British rule and for the increase of tension between Jews and Arabs. Therefore, it is evident that any such program does not help the solution of the problem, but leads to its further complication.

The demand that Palestine be transformed into a Jewish State means, in fact, a demand for the partition of the country. The colonial power is interested in having the Jews demand a Jewish State and the Arabs an Arab State. The inevitable result of both these demands is the continuation of colonial rule over Jews and Arabs alike.

HOW TO ASSIST EUROPEAN JEWRY

The sufferings endured by the Jewish people in this war are beyond description. Six million Jews have been massacred in the most cruel way.

The persecution of Jews is a consequence of the system of class oppression. The exploiting classes are interested in diverting the wrath of the oppressed masses towards the Jews. Racial hatred and anti-Semitism have been fostered for many

generations by the exploiting classes. Fascism, the most cruel enemy of democracy, is the most cruel form of cannibalistic anti-Semitism.

Therefore, the fate of European Jewry and of the Jewish people as a whole depends, above all, on the fate of democracy. A better future for the Jewish people will be ensured only to the extent to which democracy is developed.

The best assistance to European Jewry is the destruction of the remnants of fascism and the destruction of anti-Semitism. The lack of sincerity in the proclamations of sympathy by the Governments of Britain and the United States towards the Jewish people is evident from the fact that they encourage the forces of reaction and anti-Semitism in Europe, the forces of General Anders (the assassins of Jews in Poland), the forces of Mikhailovich, and the Franco regime. Even in their own countries they grant full freedom to fascists and anti-Semites.

Secondly, the lack of sincerity on the part of the Governments of Britain and the United States is expressed by the closing of their countries to Jewish refugees and Jewish displaced persons.

Thirdly, this lack of sincerity is reflected in the detention for such a long period of time of tens of thousands of Jews under the hardest conditions in camps within the British and American zones of occupation in Germany.

It is imperative to put an end to the scandalous existence of such

camps in Germany! It is necessary to transfer the Jews to normal life at once! It is necessary to stop the encouragement given by the British and American Governments to the assassins of the Jews in Europe!

We reject the conception that the Jewish problem will be solved by the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. Even those who demand a Jewish State admit that nine-tenths of the Jewish people will remain where they are at present. The solution of the Jewish problem cannot be brought about by immigration but by the victory of the forces of democracy, by the complete uprooting of anti-Semitism and fascism. The full solution of the Jewish question will only be achieved by the victory of Socialism.

We demand that the problem of Jewish displaced persons be solved by an international settlement along the following lines:

1. The refugee camps must be abolished immediately.
2. Within the framework of the international settlement, those Jewish inmates of camps who want to do so are to be given the opportunity to immigrate into Palestine, the U.S.A., Britain, and other countries.
3. Contact is to be permitted to be established between the representatives of the democratic governments and the Jewish communities in Europe and the Jews in camps in Germany in order to enable those Jews who wish to do so to return to their countries of origin where democratic systems exist.

The demand that Palestine be

transformed into a Jewish State prevents Jewish-Arab agreement on the question of immigration. Such an agreement is possible if the question of the participation of Palestine in the solution of the problem of Jewish displaced persons will not be connected with the political, anti-democratic plans of the Jewish Agency representatives.

On the other hand, the absolute extremist and uncompromising attitude of the representatives of the Arab Higher Committee, also prevents any agreement.

At the same time, it must be pointed out that the situation in which the question of immigration has become one of the most important points of antagonism between Jews and Arabs is a result of the encouragement given to the reactionary Jewish and Arab forces by the Mandatory Power during all the years of its existence. Thus, the Mandatory Power has succeeded in diverting the minds of large sections of the Jewish and Arab public from the prime problem of our country—the struggle against colonial rule and for the independence of Palestine.

We are sure that Jews and Arabs will achieve agreement on the question of immigration as part of a general democratic agreement on all the problems of Palestine. The existence of British colonial rule in Palestine is the principle factor hampering a Jewish-Arab agreement. The abolition of the Mandate and the evacuation of the British forces from Palestine will help to accelerate the achievement of this agreement.

BOOK REVIEWS

LESSON FOR AMERICA

By STANLEY RYERSON

THE LESSON OF GERMANY: A GUIDE TO HER HISTORY, by Gerhardt Eisler, Albert Norden, Albert Schreiner. International Publishers, New York. Price \$2.25.

In the opening passage of *Germany, Revolution and Counter-revolution*, Engels speaks of the signal, crushing defeat suffered by the revolutionary forces of 1848, and points to the need of performing a very necessary piece of work: "the study of the causes that necessitated both the late outbreak and its defeat; causes that are not to be sought for in the accidental efforts, talents, faults, errors or treacheries of some of the leaders, but in the general social state and conditions of existence of each of the convulsed nations. . . ."

It is in this light that we, today, must conduct a searching study of the causes that led to the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany, and to the ensuing catastrophe of a second world war. In America, particularly, it is of the utmost urgency that the whole labor movement and democratic camp should speedily grasp the reasons for the defeat of the German working class in 1933, and how that defeat at the hands of fascism led to unspeakable disaster for the German nation,

and to the unparalleled suffering that World War II inflicted on mankind.

The forces of imperialism which imposed the Nazi tyranny on Germany and powered its drive for world domination are in essence the same as those which today threaten the peace of the world. And the policy of working class and people's unity, which could have spared Germany and the world the horrors of fascism, is the one which, under new conditions, must prevail, if we are to avert disaster in America and worldwide atomic war.

The Lesson of Germany, written in the United States by three German anti-Nazis, is a valuable, sorely-needed contribution to the understanding of the fascist menace. In its concise outline of the main stages in Germany's development from the time of the Peasant War in 1525 down to the present, the book lays bare the grim causality that engendered the Third Reich. One is struck, not only by the way in which repeated triumphs of reactionary classes prepared the ground for the ultimate degradation, but, even more, by the lost opportunities at historic turning points, when the chance to change the direction of development to a progressive course was let slip. The insight into those lost opportunities is at the