

For a United-Front Policy Among the Jewish People—Sharpen the Struggle Against Bourgeois Nationalism*

By John Williamson

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, with the active participation of our General Secretary, Comrade Dennis, spent an entire day discussing the report of the subcommittee that has been meeting with you these last six weeks. You will recall that at our very first meeting I emphasized that the National Committee was interested in four aspects of our work among the Jewish masses.

1. How effectively the policies and tactics of the National Committee are being carried out in this field by the responsible Party organizations and individual comrades, and how they are being fought for among the Jewish masses;

2. How the fight for our Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the exposure and defeat of poisonous bourgeois ideology, are progressing;

3. Why there is an unsatisfactory situation in the relations among our leading comrades in Jewish work, and how it can be speedily liquidated;

4. Whether the organizational set-

up in the field of Jewish work is in accord with the proper functioning of the Party.

Let me immediately emphasize that the National Committee recognizes its own responsibility for not carrying through this examination of our work in the Jewish field earlier. We also feel that the work among the Jewish people has not been sufficiently the concern of all the Party committees heretofore.

All the leading comrades in Jewish work, including those that have participated in our meetings, have expressed full support of the Party line of exposure and struggle against American imperialism and its policies of world domination, war and fascist reaction; of our line for organizing a broad united-front of the American people for peace, against fascism, for curbing the trusts, and for achieving American-Soviet friendship. All who have participated in the discussions also expressed agreement in general terms with our emphasis on the need fully to grasp and boldly to apply the tactic of united labor and peo-

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ple's action on all issues of vital concern to the people.

The National Committee takes note of the many activities that have been developed under the leadership of our Party in the field of work among the Jewish people, of the continued popular support to the *Morning Freiheit* and its generally correct line, of the issuance of the magazine *Jewish Life* in English, of the devotion to the Party of the comrades concerned. Like our entire Party, the comrades in the Jewish field have had to face new and complex problems in the midst of increased reaction in our country. Nevertheless, it is precisely in this period that we expect the entire Party, in a bold and responsible manner, to search out and correct all its weaknesses and shortcomings, in order to strengthen the Party's ties with the workers and more effectively to lead them in struggle against the war-mad adventurers of Wall Street and Washington. It is in this spirit that we estimate and draw conclusions from your work.

WEAKNESSES IN OUR IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Now for some conclusions concerning general policies and mass work:

1. In our opinion, the mobilization of the Jewish masses in the fight for peace is not adequate, and the organization and building of a broad united-front movement for peace among the Jewish people and their

organizations is completely absent. The building of such a united peace movement among the Jewish masses, and the involving of the Jewish workers and people's organizations in the general peace camp, remain *the* central tasks of our Party in the Jewish field. Regardless of the specific forms of organizing the Jewish people in the struggle for peace, which should be worked out by the proper Party bodies, it is clear that the prohibition of the atom bomb must be the central issue. Support should immediately be given to all broad non-Party movements for peace and their activities, especially to the various petition drives. It is particularly important to enlist broad support by the American Jewish people for the world peace pledge adopted at Stockholm.

2. While there are some isolated experiences of united-front activity against anti-Semitism, in defense of democratic rights and against fascism, these issues, and in the first place, the question of peace, remain the issues around which the broadest type of united-front movements of struggle can and should be built, by involving the majority of the Jewish workers and people and the branches and locals of their organizations. Consideration should be given to the task of developing, as part of the struggle for peace, a sweeping movement of protest against the American government's policy of resurrecting the Nazi cartels and of restoring leading

Nazis to power in Germany.

In developing these united-front movements of struggle, we shall never be satisfied with the involvement merely of top leaders. While organizational forms will vary, it is always decisive to activate the rank-and-file masses. While exposing the demagogic policies of the top leaders of such organizations as the Americans for Democratic Action and the Liberal Party (in New York), it is necessary to develop forms of joint activity and struggle embracing the rank and file of these organizations. As regards the more progressive groupings within the Zionist fold in America, or for that matter any other mass people's organizations, it is correct for our Party or Left-influenced organizations to try to win them to united-front activities, providing such activities are always based on the well-established Party policy regarding united fronts.

3. It must be recorded that the only substantial united-front experience within a mass organization has been in the American Jewish Congress. However, a general weakness here was the placing of main emphasis on united front at the top without an accompanying fight for a broad united front of struggle involving the membership and local branches. Time did not permit us to gather all the facts to determine whether such progressive mass organizations as the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American-Jewish Labor Council could have avoided expulsion from the A.J.C.,

or to form an opinion as to the merits of the handling of the Klein Bill* inside the A.J.C. Still, it is clear to us that these organizations did not accompany and reinforce their fight in top A.J.C. councils with a great rank-and-file campaign from below. Nevertheless, the united-front experiences in A.J.C. between progressives and other forces should be further built upon, extended and strengthened everywhere. We reject as harmful any ideas against developing united-front activities with the membership of any bourgeois-led mass organization.

We also favor progressive-led Jewish organizations fighting to participate in local Jewish Community Councils on the basis of democratic rights and freedom of action in policy and activities outside the Councils.

4. Our comrades do not possess a grasp of the Party tactic of united labor action among the Jewish workers. Nor is there clarity on the part of everyone, even in these meetings, of the leading role of the workers in the struggle for united action of the progressive sections of the Jewish people on issues of specific concern to them as Jews. This contributes to our great weakness in combatting the influence of Social-Democracy among the Jewish workers.

It is imperative, in addition to car-

* The Klein Bill is a measure introduced in Congress which calls for outlawing libel against any group on the grounds of nationality, race, color, or religion. An inconsistency of this bill is its "liberal" stipulation that an offender "honestly" believing in what he says is to be considered innocent.

rying through Party policy on all trade-union questions,

(a) that Jewish comrades in the trade unions shall find effective means to influence Left-led unions to initiate and organize united-front actions of Jewish workers in such trade unions as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the millinery workers, butchers, etc.; and

(b) that Jewish comrades who are leaders in the trade unions shall identify themselves with Jewish life and fight for policies that affect the interests of the Jewish workers and people as a whole; participation in general Jewish activities must not be left to the Dubinskys, Potofskys, and Zaritskys, with their pro-imperialist, pro-war activities.

5. It is our judgment that greater efforts should be made to work among the English-speaking Jews, particularly workers. The bourgeoisie concentrates special attention on these sections for the purpose of influencing the entire Jewish people with chauvinist nationalism and jingoism and winning their support for imperialist policies. Without neglecting the Yiddish-speaking population, the beginnings of work among the English-speaking Jews made with the publication of *Jewish Life* should be extended, and organized activities initiated among them.

6. In the course of our meetings, there has been considerable discus-

sion concerning three documents. I now wish to express the position of the National Committee concerning them:

(a) The November 1946 Resolution on Jewish Work, adopted by the National Groups Commission of the National Committee,* was basically sound, gave correct perspectives and correctly outlined our immediate tasks. It is only unfortunate that we have not fulfilled many of the tasks then adopted. However, the National Committee also recognizes that, while the Resolution corrected some of the main expressions of bourgeois nationalism that had particularly shown themselves during the period of Browder revisionism, there nevertheless remained remnants of bourgeois-nationalist influence. These were expressed mainly in the use of the slogan: "For a Jewish National Homeland." While it is true that in the Resolution this slogan was used in relation to "the realization of the national rights of the Jewish Yishuv" (the Jewish community in Palestine), its constant repetition, together with the formulation that: "This old, widespread and popular slogan among the Jewish people has been appropriated by the Zionists," gives the impression that, in its entirety as a concept, it could be successfully separated from the reactionary Zionist propaganda of a world Jewish nation, etc.

(b) The article by Ilya Ehrenburg,

* "Communist Work Among the American Jewish Masses," *Political Affairs*, November 1946, p. 1025 ff.

which discussed such issues as Zionism and the Socialist solution of the Jewish question, was, as the National Committee expressed itself at the time of its publication, of major importance. All the leading comrades in Jewish work should be criticized for allowing five months to pass without discussing it. The statement of the Morning Freiheit Association Executive correctly supported the ideas of the article and criticized Comrade Katz. Nevertheless, the form in which this article was treated was wrong. Further, we cannot be satisfied with the type of self-criticism that was there engaged in.

(c) The article by Comrade Bittelman in the January 1950 issue of *Political Affairs* on Jerusalem and the U.N. decision ("Jerusalem, National Independence and Peace") was basically sound, although it still did not fully incorporate all the tactical emphases of the National Committee discussions. That article by Comrade Bittelman appeared after two discussions by the National Committee. Prior to that, in the discussions and writing of leading Jewish comrades there were two wrong approaches:

1. Implied approval of the assertion of the Ben Gurion government—that Jerusalem could never be severed from Israel—as representing the sentiment and interests of the Jewish people; and, further, the continued failure to express any concern for the Arab toilers and a tendency to lump all Arabs with Abdullah.

2. There was also a tendency to support the idea of "internationalization of Jerusalem" without any qualifications.

In relation to this, we must ask: What about the most recent U.N. developments regarding Jerusalem, specifically, the announcement of the Soviet delegate of the withdrawal of Soviet support to the U.N. resolution for the internationalization of Jerusalem? Some interpret this to mean that the Soviet Union is now ready to support the claim of the Ben Gurion government to Jerusalem; others simply write that the Soviet Union opposes the internationalization of Jerusalem; still others maintain that the Soviet Union has not changed its position at all regarding the relationship of Jerusalem to Israel.

We must warn against all of these tendencies to interpret events according to one's own fancy. Let us stick to the facts. The Soviet Union said it was withdrawing support of the U.N. resolution for the internationalization of Jerusalem because "it does not satisfy the Arab or Jewish population of either Jerusalem or Palestine as a whole." What is clear is that the old proposals for solving this problem are out and that new ones can be expected.

The main approach and policy of the Soviet Union on the Jerusalem question has been predicated on three basic and publicly-declared objectives, which are in accord with its role as the bulwark of the camp

of peace and democracy. These objectives are:

1. To further the interests of the Jewish and Arab peoples in Palestine;

2. To support the independence of Israel as a state;

3. To oppose the efforts and schemes of Anglo-American imperialism designed to transform Israel, Jerusalem and all of the Near East into bases of war preparations.

We should firmly adhere to these publicly-declared facts, popularize them and show how they correspond to the peace interests of the Jewish people in the United States.

We should also take note of certain new developments in Palestine. These include: the increased penetration of U.S. capital investments in Israel; the ever-more open role of the Ben Gurion government of Israel as a tool of American imperialism; the development of discontent among the Jewish and Arab populations in Israel, due to the worsened economic conditions and attacks on their democratic rights; and the annexation of the Arab part of Palestine by Transjordan—which means placing it under direct British control. Further, we must note the anti-imperialist stirrings among the Arabs, as well as the developing dissensions within the Arab League, which always was and is a British tool. These are the new developments that need watching.

In this connection, it is well to bear in mind that the recent Soviet

note on Jerusalem speaks, not only of Jews, but of Jews and Arabs. It also deals with Palestine as a whole, of which Israel is only a part. In our work, however, we tend too often to ignore the masses of poor Arabs and do not counteract an impermissible chauvinist attitude on the part of many Jews in Israel toward the Arab people.

Instead of speculation as to how to interpret the Soviet Union's moves in the U.N., let us popularize the basic policies of the Soviet Union in behalf of the national independence of Israel and for the maintenance of world peace, both of which are threatened by U.S. imperialism. The tasks on which we should concentrate are:

1. exposing the machinations of U.S.-British imperialism to use Israel, Jerusalem, Transjordan as war bases;

2. exposing the Ben Gurion government's policies of surrender to U.S. imperialism, which can only mean aiding Wall Street's drive to unleash a Third World War;

3. developing a broad movement for peace among the Jewish people in the United States that will link up with the promotion of their interests, while learning how to connect such a peace movement among the Jewish masses with defense of the national interests of the people of Israel;

4. developing a mass campaign demanding that the American government condemn the annexation of

the Arab part of Palestine and refuse to recognize it diplomatically. Simultaneously, we should demand an end to the shameful situation in which the Chinese people are denied representation in the U.N.—a situation in which, naturally, the Soviet Union will not participate in the various U.N. commissions, so long as the Chiang Kai-shek agents are recognized as spokesmen for China. Ousting the Kuomintang bandits will enable the Soviet Union to play its full role in the U.N. also in finding a solution to the Jerusalem problem—a solution that will prevent the betrayal of Israel by U.S. imperialism.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

The National Committee is of the opinion that one of the most serious tasks confronting our Jewish comrades is to organize a more effective and consistent campaign against all expressions of bourgeois ideology that are penetrating the Jewish masses. It is clear that the chauvinist nationalism and jingoism of American imperialism are not without their influence on certain strata of the Jewish people, and one must never forget that Jews are also to be found among monopoly capitalists and in the capitalist state machinery.

The main ideological danger among the Jewish people that must be exposed and fought against is the mounting influence of pernicious

bourgeois nationalism. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the cannibalistic fascist-Hitler policy of extermination of the Jewish people stimulated the growth of bourgeois-nationalist influences. These influences were further accentuated by the establishment of Israel as a state. Today, bourgeois nationalism is primarily a pro-war instrument of American imperialist policy. It is being used to divert the Jewish people from their true interests, from taking their rightful place as an integral part of the camp of peace and democracy.

This bourgeois-nationalist influence on broad sections of the Jewish people penetrates into progressive and Left circles and brings its pressure to bear among some comrades in the Party. Today, many comrades in mass organizations, as well as some on the *Morning Freiheit* staff, tend to capitulate to this pressure of bourgeois nationalism and do not fight it effectively. This was particularly seen at the time of the U.N. decision on Jerusalem; but it is generally prevalent. The penetration of bourgeois nationalism is seen in the J.P.F.O. children's schools, in the attitude to the United Jewish Appeal, etc. It is necessary that the incoming Commission on Jewish work prepare a thorough discussion with our trade-union comrades to work out a sound and effective policy toward influencing the trade unions to establish a proper relationship with all the Jewish activities

and to fund-raising organizations.

As Communists, we must always recognize moods that influence masses and then work out effective, non-sectarian tactics to combat them. But, while avoiding sectarianism, Communists must under no circumstances allow themselves to be influenced by bourgeois nationalism. Succumbing to such influence is impermissible and must be fought against—but it has not always been fought against effectively or consistently by many comrades in mass organizations and on the *Morning Freiheit* staff.

It must be made clear that the waging of a consistent struggle against bourgeois nationalism has nothing in common with any ideas of neglecting to work in the main mass organizations, which are led by bourgeois nationalists. Our weakness today is that we are not associated closely enough with the members of the major mass organizations of the Jewish people. We will effectively combat the influence of bourgeois nationalism to the extent that we combine our propaganda work with a more effective involvement of the Jewish people in mass struggles on issues affecting them.

We must also recognize that bourgeois nationalism serves today as one of the main instruments for the spread of anti-Soviet slanders among the Jewish people. These slanders must be exposed much more effectively and systematically. We all know that over the years the Socialist

Soviet Union, with the complete abolition of anti-Semitism and its firm adherence to a policy of guaranteeing full equality for the Jewish people within its borders, full development of Jewish culture, possibility of Soviet Jews to build their own Socialist Jewish state in Birobidjan—has inspired increasing numbers of Jews everywhere, including those in our country.

There has been no change in the Soviet Union's Leninist policy on the national question. On the contrary, that policy remains one of the main cornerstones of the Socialist State. In this connection it should be clear that the guarantee of full equality allows unrestricted freedom and provides unstinted aid to all nationalities to preserve and develop their full cultural heritage, national in form and Socialist in content. At the same time, the Socialist State removes all possible barriers to full voluntary integration of all peoples and groups, who so desire, with the Socialist nations in which they reside. It is clear that such Socialist integration has nothing in common with bourgeois assimilation, which is coercive and is based on domination.

The Socialist solution of the Jewish question runs counter to the program of imperialism, which continues to use the Jew as a scapegoat in carrying through its reactionary, pro-fascist policies. It runs counter to the widespread bourgeois nationalist ideas of a "world Jewish nation," of the "oneness" of Jews

internationally irrespective of the country of which they are a part, of a distinct "world Jewish culture," etc.—ideas that still have strong roots among sections of the Jewish people. All the reactionaries in the Jewish field, and in the first place the Zionist and Social-Democratic leaders, have started a new campaign of attack on the Soviet Union and its Socialist solution of the Jewish question. As they have repeatedly done over the years, they shamelessly lie about and misrepresent what is happening. Despite the well-known facts about the magnificent record of the U.S.S.R. in eradicating anti-Semitism in the land which was once marked by hideous pogroms, they concoct fantastic tales about a "rebirth of anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union. And, reflecting their consciousness of the enormity of that lie, they go to the extent of creating a mystical "Jewish soul," which they claim is now being destroyed in the Soviet Union.

We must combat and expose this reactionary campaign, which is part and parcel of the anti-Soviet war drive of American imperialism. Instead of being on the defensive, as some of our own writers appear to be, we must take the offensive.

We must popularize and explain the Socialist achievement in the Soviet Union of eliminating all forms of social oppression—including national oppression and anti-Semitism. Many comrades in Jewish work and in the *Morning Freiheit* have demon-

strated great ideological weakness on this question and some have themselves fallen victim to the ravings of the bourgeoisie about "what happened to the Soviet Jewish writers?" Such comrades must be sharply criticized. It is the opinion of the National Committee that the comrades in the *Morning Freiheit* should work out a series of projects for self-correction to guarantee a systematic ideological campaign in the *Morning Freiheit* popularizing the Soviet Union, its tremendous achievements in the Socialist solution of the Jewish question.

While developing this educational campaign, we must make it clear that agreement on the Soviet Union's Socialist solution of the Jewish question is not a prerequisite for any group of Jewish workers or others taking joint action with us on the burning issues confronting the Jewish people here in the United States. In fact, because we live in capitalist America, we must emphasize the fight for peace and against fascist reaction, as it relates to the Jewish masses in the U.S.A. and to Israel as a state. Regardless of differences on other questions, we should develop a broad protest campaign against the restoration of the Nazis to posts of government in Germany and demand real denazification in Germany; we must especially develop in our country the broadest struggle against anti-Semitism in all its manifestations.

SECTARIANISM: MAIN BARRIER TO JEWISH WORKING MASSES

Traditionally, Social-Democracy has been and is a main instrument of the imperialist bourgeoisie utilized among the Jewish workers and trade unionists to confuse, divide and mislead. Today, the Dubinsky-*Forward* Social-Democratic group are the most vicious anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist forces among the Jewish workers. There is a growing collaboration between these Social-Democratic labor leaders and the various bourgeois-nationalist organizations, such as the Zionists.

The defeat and isolation of the reactionary Jewish Social-Democrats among the workers and in the trade unions is an indispensable task in making it possible for the Jewish workers to lead the Jewish people in struggle. While effective propaganda and agitation are a necessary part of this task, the decisive thing is to develop joint struggles of Jewish workers, irrespective of what trade unions they belong to, on the burning issues of the day.

While Left-sectarian approaches, such as the incorrect identification of the mass of the rank and file with the reactionary leaders are the main barrier between us and the mass of the workers in the Social-Democratic-led trade unions, the forces we have in such unions many times combine this sectarianism with Right-opportunist tendencies. Our

forces tend to see only the highly skilled and best-paid workers in the Social-Democratic-led needle trades unions and often neglect to defend the lowest-paid and unskilled workers. They are not in the forefront in organizing unorganized shops; they are not the consistent champions of the unity of Jewish and non-Jewish workers in the industry. They do not sufficiently promote the election of non-Jews to posts of union leadership.

It is our opinion that the Communists in the American Jewish Labor Council should recognize that this organization functions in a narrow way and confines its work almost exclusively to the members of progressive-led trade unions. To be of real service to the Jewish workers, the Council should constantly develop united actions of the Jewish members of all trade unions, irrespective of their leadership.

NEGRO-JEWISH UNITY

As part of the fight to establish a broad people's camp of peace and anti-fascism, a major feature of which will be the struggle against all discrimination, there is need of closer unity of the Negro people and the Jewish workers. This process of developing Negro-Jewish unity is gaining momentum and had one of its finest manifestations in the Battle of Peekskill. To cement the common bond, of a most elementary but basic character, the Communists and

all progressives must advance the joint struggle against discrimination of Negroes and Jews, in unity with all other democratic forces.

However, we must also be clear in this common struggle as to the dissimilarities between the two peoples. The Jews are a national group in the U.S.A., against whom is directed specifically the ruling-class weapon of anti-Semitism. The Negro people, on the other hand, suffer from national oppression and are developing a national-liberation movement, not only for equal rights and full economic, social and political equality, but for the full realization of their right to nationhood in the Black Belt of the South. It is within the framework of this distinction that we must also estimate the special significance of the struggle against white chauvinism. This imperialist ruling-class poison of white chauvinism has penetrated also among the Jewish people and even finds expression in their progressive and Left circles and among some members of the Party itself.

During recent months our National Committee has again launched an intensive struggle against white chauvinism and against the penetration of its influences and tendencies in our ranks. While this struggle is far from complete, substantial progress has been made, with the result that not only is there a healthier atmosphere in the Party, but the mass struggle for Negro rights has

been raised to a level unparalleled in many years.

The trade unions have been one of the fronts of this struggle against white-chauvinist tendencies and actions on the part of some comrades. The fight against white-chauvinist tendencies even had to extend to some of the members of the Fur Workers' Union, which generally had demonstrated an appreciation of the fight for full equality of the Negro people and had a good record in organizing Negro workers in the leather industry as well as made some beginnings in breaking down the lily-white character of the fur manufacturing industry. I am happy to report that with the full co-operation of Comrades Gold and Potash, we are making headway.

While important progress has been made on this question in the trade-union movement, it is this sector which still represents, *relatively*, one of the weaker fields in the struggle for Negro rights. In spite of progress made in general among the various unions, we find a serious lack of understanding, and in a number of cases a firm resistance, to the full acceptance of a proper understanding of the national character of the Negro question.

None of us should underestimate the importance of the struggle for equal wages and equal working conditions for the Negro workers. This fight, which is as yet far from concluded, represents one of the impor-

tant advances in the understanding of the Negro question by the trade-union movement in the last few years. However, while this represents a significant maturing in understanding the role of the Negro workers as part of the working class, we must quickly point out that an equal wage alone does not mean equality for the Negro workers. Equality for Negro workers and Negro trade-union leaders can only be achieved through united mass struggle based on the understanding of the Negro question as a national question. Oppression and discrimination against the Negro workers takes place 24 hours a day. It affects the Negro workers in relation to where they can sleep, where they can eat. It results in a two-price system for the Negro people in Harlem, for instance, where they are forced to buy inferior goods at higher prices. National oppression is the basis of Jim-Crow oppression and discrimination; equal pay, by itself, cannot bring equal benefits to the Negro workers once they leave the shop.

Equality can only be won to the degree that the struggle on all fronts against every manifestation of national oppression is based upon the understanding precisely of the *national* character of that oppression. Only in the process of such struggle can the Negro trade-union leaders and the Negro workers begin to advance to positions of equality in struggle side by side with their white

union brothers.

In Jewish organizations in whose leadership Communists participate, even among some of our own comrades, there is a lack of sensitivity to expressions of white chauvinism.

A number of leading Jewish comrades make it a habit to go to Miami Beach for vacations. This should be a matter, not for Party decision, but for Party understanding. I hardly deem it necessary to muster all the arguments as to why it is wrong to go to Miami Beach. Let me simply state a few facts and ask one question. In Miami Beach, there is not just the stinking Jim-Crow system that covers the entire South. In that city a Negro cannot be in the city limits without a pass after 6 P.M., and no Negro is allowed to sleep overnight in the city. How comfortable can a white Communist feel in such an atmosphere?

Someone may ask: Will staying away remove the racist label that is on that city? Of course not. The fight to remove that label has to be made by the white and Negro people of the South with the full assistance of a nation-wide struggle. But look at this through different glasses. There are hotels and resorts in different parts of the country with the sign "restricted" or "Christians Only." What would you think of your fellow-Communist who is not Jewish going to one of these anti-Semitic vacation places? I have enough confidence in you that to ask the question is to answer it.

It is necessary that our Jewish comrades everywhere, that the columns of the *Morning Freiheit*, that you comrades in your articles, speeches and above all in activities—develop a really intensified campaign against every manifestation of white chauvinism in our ranks and in the ranks of the Jewish people and their organizations.

Another ideological weakness is the underestimation of the leading role of the working class among the Jewish people in all these struggles and an approach that tries to answer this problem in terms of arithmetic. Without the Jewish workers assuming leadership of the democratic movements among the Jewish people, this movement will always remain in a vacillating position; it will never really advance the interests of the Jewish people as a whole and it will be an easy prey for American imperialism.

Today the entire Left Jewish movement, including the *Morning Freiheit*, has a weak working-class orientation. Because there are relatively few Jewish workers in some industries, the developments and struggles in such industries are not given adequate coverage. The National Committee places before the entire Party, and not just the Jewish comrades, the task of fighting to build the main base of the Party among the workers, their trade unions and other mass organizations, of fighting there for united action.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

This brings me to the fundamental question: What is demanded of our Party if it is to improve its fight to influence the Jewish masses? I would summarize the answer as follows:

First: The accomplishment of this task is the responsibility of the entire Party, and not just of the comrades on the *Morning Freiheit* and in Party Jewish Commissions;

Second: There must be a deeper understanding of the general line of the Party and especially a better ability to apply concretely the line of the National Committee in each situation. The weakest phase of our work in the Jewish field is the failure to apply boldly the tactic of the united front of struggle.

Third: We must struggle vigorously and *unitedly* against all deviations. They are all harmful to the development of our work. In the opinion of the National Committee there can be no doubt that today the main danger in the Jewish field is bourgeois nationalism in particular and Right opportunism in general. Not to see that is to be blind to what is happening around us and in our very midst. The National Committee emphasizes with equal force that the struggle against bourgeois nationalism is seriously impeded by many sectarian attitudes and practices, especially in our failure to develop a bold united-front approach. Many comrades, irrespective

of their position on some of the present controversial questions, suffer from ingrown habits of "Left" sectarianism. This "Left" sectarianism must also be vigorously combatted with all means at our disposal.

Fourth: We must orientate our comrades to be active among the masses and main organizations of the Jewish workers and people and not to isolate themselves or leave the bulk of the people to the influence of reactionary leadership.

Fifth: Most important of all, the National Committee demands a liquidation of the present situation of disunity among our leading Party cadres in Jewish work. In our opinion this is a situation which has all the earmarks of a factional situation, from which none of the leading comrades is absolved.

This situation is a sign of weakness in our Party work. It impedes the application of Party policy and threatens the unity and life of our Party. It opens up the Party to the work and penetration of the enemy. We cannot gloss over it lightly. We cannot grapple effectively with the big political and ideological problems discussed previously without quickly liquidating this situation, with its factional characteristics, without restoring complete unity in our ranks.

In case there is any doubt about the gravity of this situation, let us look at some of the manifestations:

1. While there are no organized groups with meetings, there are clearly two groupings, with each

group denouncing each other. The comrades in each group see only what is wrong with the other, but seldom, if ever, criticize themselves.

2. Leading comrades come to meetings "armed" with accumulated notes, speeches and articles of many years' background, ready to use them against each other.

3. Criticisms have been saved up and suddenly "sprung" months after the deeds criticized took place, while, at the time they were committed, no criticism was levelled.

4. Comrades have at times refused to participate in meetings with one another.

5. For a brief period, some leading comrades exchanged letters, although they were in offices next door to each other.

6. There have been indiscriminate charges and counter charges.

7. We must note a certain factional tone and some irresponsible statements in one document that came before us, as well as the bad attitudes of certain comrades in these discussions.

As is always the case in such a situation, none of the comrades really knows or practices self-criticism. The complete absence of comradely criticism and self-criticism is a serious weakness of all the leading comrades.

As loyal Party forces, the leading comrades must each rise to the occasion and examine self-critically their own work, their own responsibility and role in this situation. As I said at the beginning, the National Com-

mittee recognizes its failure boldly to tackle this situation a year ago when it first became evident to us. We also recognize that too many Party committees relegate all work among the Jewish workers and people to the comrades in the *Morning Freiheit*. We start from the premise that the National Committee and everyone associated with it must set the example in developing criticism and self-criticism of their work. Failure to do that means inability to carry through the National Committee policies.

We expect that all the comrades, and in the first places Comrades Bittelman, Novik, Wofsy and Moe Miller will engage in searching self-criticism and take the leadership in liquidating this situation on the basis of our National Committee estimate.

Let me say a few words concerning Comrade Bittelman. Because he is a close co-worker of the National Committee, a national leader of our Party, and our foremost political and theoretical Party leader in the Jewish field, we feel free to adopt the sharpest attitude toward him. We feel that his failure to meet regularly with the *Morning Freiheit* staff is a serious shortcoming. Further, it is our opinion that even he is not completely free from the factional atmosphere around him. In general, Comrade Bittelman has fought for the line of the Party as applied to the Jewish field, but he has not fought most effectively, collectively, critically and self-critically.

While many times he is the first to take the initiative in correcting mistakes, he too often deprives his co-workers of full explanations as to the essence and source of what was incorrect.

The National Committee expects an immediate liquidation of this internal situation and the establishment of complete unity of all our leading cadres. Because of the great amount of subjectivity present, this may be difficult for some comrades. There must be brought about a new, comradely atmosphere based upon united support of the National Committee policies and tasks recently adopted by the Plenum, as well as of this National Committee estimate. All of the comrades must strengthen their ties with mass work. In addition, all the Communists in the *Morning Freiheit* and in mass organizations must become an integral part of the Party, its clubs and committees, and assume general Party responsibilities.

While we have a high estimate of all the leading comrades, we warn that failure by anyone to liquidate this inner situation, failure to unite the Party cadres and fight for the Party policies in the course of mass work, will necessitate disciplinary action by the National Committee.

Sixth: Another prerequisite to advance our work is to change the present organizational set-up with regard to Jewish work. We consider it impermissible that the National Jewish Commission has only met

twice in over a year. Further, it is clear that the Executive of the Morning Freiheit Association has in effect replaced this Party Commission. It is at all times wrong for any non-Party organization to replace the functions of Party Committees, just as it is wrong for a Party organization to substitute for a non-Party organization.

We conclude that it is essential to establish immediately a small, but representative and authoritative Party National Jewish Commission, which shall be the political arm of the Party in the Jewish field and function regularly. In the future, the National Jewish Commission shall be more closely connected with the National Groups Commission of the National Committee.

Seventh: An important condition for the realization of all the above tasks is the immediate organization of a discussion among the comrades in the *Morning Freiheit* staff, and the Communists in the Morning Freiheit Association, the J.P.F.O., the School of Jewish Studies, Yiddisher Kultur Farband (Ikuf), etc., on the National Committee's Plenum reports and how to apply these concretely in the Jewish field. These discussions should cover the

main reports of the Plenum; the comrades should be required to read the material and the discussions should deepen their understanding of Party policy and enhance their ability to apply it correctly and energetically. The organizing of such discussion should be carried through in consultation with the National Groups and Educational Commissions of the National Committee of the Party.

[At this point in his Report, Comrade Williamson outlined a series of organizational proposals.]

Let me say in conclusion, comrades, that we members of the subcommittee who have not been directly connected with Jewish work have learned much from these discussions. The National Committee is confident that, although we face many serious problems in the Jewish field, you, as devoted Party comrades, will play your proper role to correct the political and organizational shortcomings, re-establish firm Party unity in our ranks, and, together with the Party leadership and our entire membership, close ranks to rally the peace-loving, anti-fascist masses in our country in the struggle to defeat the drive of U.S. imperialism to war and fascist reaction.