

THE OTHER WAY

This is a new publication. Why? Because what we present here is substantially different from all other political periodicals in the English language. And whether you will agree with its contents or not, you will certainly see that ours is indeed what is called—THE OTHER WAY. It should be added that it is the other way in Jewish politics.

But—and here is the essence of our "otherness"—we address ourselves to Jews and non-Jews; to Jewish, non-Jewish and general problems. Our aims and principles and ideas are equally Jewish and universalistic. This reflects the fundamental approach of the publishers of THE OTHER WAY: The Jewish Labor Bund and the Jewish Students' Bund. The Bund (Yiddish for Bond, Binding, Link or Union) has two basic elements: progressive Jewishness and international socialism and, in our way, the two can never contradict one another. Accordingly, what we are striving and fighting for is: rights and justice for Jews everywhere without wrongs and injustice to other people anywhere.

We are against assimilation. An escapism mostly self-defeating for individual Jews, assimilation is not a solution for the Jewish people. To live and survive as Jews, to maintain the Jewish culture, nationality and identity everywhere we live is a right—clearly without wrongs to other people. No "melting pots!" Distinction, not extinction of any kind! This ought to be the way of cooperative life among nations, peoples, races and individuals.

THE OTHER WAY includes our principled opposition to Zionism, and to its Israel-centered policy. That Zionism is not the solution to the major problems of World Jewry is now more evident than ever before.

We object to the concept of a one-dimensional Jew, who is supposedly "homeless" and "alienated" everywhere, except in Israel. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish people lives, will continue to live in the foreseeable future in three dimensions: as Jews, as citizens of their countries of residence, and as citizens of the world. Therefore, there is no rationale or potential whatsoever for transferring or converting the world-wide Jewish people into a nation of one state. Only a world-oriented ideology is therefore—apart from other reasons—adequate for the needs and life-conditions of World Jewry.

We know, this is a world of many evils, the evils of anti-Semitism and racism among them. The Nazi Genocide, the millions martyred only because they were Jews, and, on the other hand, the heroic Ghetto-fighters are a lasting memento. They show—in a terribly tragic way—that for Jews, even more than for other people, there is no lasting security in a world that can produce mass-killers. There is no guarantee of safety or salvation through a nationalistic state-isolation. True Radicalism means going to the roots and the radical and cardinal truth of the matter is: we cannot escape the evils and dangers from the outside world unless it is changed from within. There is nowhere the slightest possibility of a durable Jewish liberation without one also for non-Jews—white, black, red and brown—a real universal liberation.

THE OTHER WAY is also another way within the pluralistic Jewish life. Years ago Yiddish was the most widely spoken and much denigrated language of the Jewish people. The Bund became the first and strongest fighter on behalf of the Jewish masses, for their rights, including Yiddish and the then newly arisen Jewish secular culture. Now, both Yiddish and Jewish secularism are weakened—mostly because of the Holocaust—but they are still vital to progressive Jewish life, to promote both is still a great and urgent aim.

THE OTHER WAY includes as its equal and inseparable part the aims and ideas of liberating socialism. In all of its 74 years, depending on various circumstances, the Bund has functioned in a consistent international socialist spirit on all three levels of the Jewish people's life: in the Jewish communities, struggling with their establishments; in conjunction with other socialists of the respective countries in which Jews live; and within the socialist movement of the world. The quintessence of our socialist approach is that there is no true socialism without democracy, as there is no real freedom without democratic socialism, that the socialist struggle should be non-violent but consistent, against both oppressive capitalism and dictatorial communism, with no concessions to either.

The time has come to put an end to war, poverty, racism, anti-Semitism, national chauvinism, dictatorship and violence. THE OTHER WAY wants to contribute its share toward that end. We appeal for your support.

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Toward A Radicalized World And Laos . . .

by Alexander Erlich

The needs for radical, progressive and really liberating changes are apparent in all parts of the world. Yet there is an overabundance of reaction, conservatism, racism and all kinds of dictatorships. But trends toward radicalization do exist and make themselves visible in various ways and instances. We shall mention here some of recent date.

In India, the overwhelming majority voted for a government policy which, in Western terms, is called democratic socialism. And among the minority parties some are openly Socialist. Thus, a population nearly as large as that of Europe and at the same time one of the poorest and internally most diversified countries voted, for the first time in its history, overwhelmingly for socialism. Certainly, a momentous sign of radicalization.

On another continent, in Chile, the new government of Allende came to power in a democratic way and is the first socialist government of its kind on both American continents. Again, an evident act of radicalization.

India and Chile are worlds apart in a variety of matters. But one common and overwhelming factor has been prodding them both toward socialism—the enormous poverty of their people. They are too poor to afford the wastes of capitalism. Theirs may be an example for many other people of that large part of mankind, whose increasing misery is much greater than Marx ever envisioned.

From Italy there recently came a most unexpected news item. A Catholic Synod of a Northern diocese (South Tyrol) adopted, with a significant majority, a statement that capitalism is an unjust system and that Marxism as a philosophy—but not in its falsified (i.e. Communist) application, serves mankind better than capitalism. A small thing? No, because it is one of many radical fermentations occurring presently within different religious hierarchies and particularly because it comes from the country which is the center of world Catholicism.

Now, a look at the dictatorial Soviet-Communist empire. Except for Yugoslavia, none of its parts has managed to gain even a measure of independence. And after Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, everything seemed completely controlled and pacified under Moscow's rule. The recent eruptions in Poland show that, despite superficial appearances, all is not quiet on the Eastern front. Nor is all quiet among the intellectual echelons, even within the USSR. Here—unlike the poverty-factor in the underdeveloped

The predictable happened. The divisions of Messrs. Ky's and Thieu's armies were moved into Laos, with thousands of American war planes leading the way and providing support. Obviously, in all important respects it is Cambodia all over again: another major extension of the most infamous war in American history.

On the face of it, the official rationalizations of the new venture are ludicrous. The contention that in order to secure the withdrawal of troops from one country it is necessary to invade two adjacent countries sounds like an obscene joke, and so does the protestation that the U. S. is exercising self-restraint when it refrains from sending land forces into Laos but is "only" blasting the invaded areas from the air. Actually, there is a little more to all this. President Nixon did learn from the experiences of 1968 when the continual and massive escalation of the war proved its futility and brought his prede-

MIDDLE-EAST What Next?

It is a fateful question. The survival of the people of that region, and perhaps of many more, may hang on it.

The U. N. peace mission of Ambassador Jarring, at least barely resumed, seems at this writing almost deadlocked. The reason?

For a long time the dominant Arab attitude of absolute intransigence to the very existence of Israel created the overall impression that Israel was ready for peace with the Arabs but that it was the latter who

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The cover of the Bund's YUGNT SHTIMME ("Voice of the Youth"), one of the first underground publications in the Warsaw Ghetto. The caption reads, in translation: "Fascism must be crushed." It was one among the many other Bund publications calling, under threat of certain death, to resistance against the Nazis.

Remember . . . Remember . . . See Back Page

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Norman Thomas

LOOKING BACKWARDS AND FORWARDS

This article was written by Norman Thomas some time before his death for a new issue of an English-language Bund magazine, which was then in preparation but did not appear. The article was never published. It is still not out-dated and should have a considerable impact on current American Socialist thinking.

THE BUND is performing a real service in establishing its English magazine. Socialism needs a lot of discussion about perspectives these days and the Bund has an important contribution to make.

I personally would like to raise a question which has long concerned me. It is a commonplace to say that Marxist socialism was to be realized by the working class. Much non-Marxist socialism took a similar point of view and socialists pushed the organization of labor parties even before labor was soundly converted to a socialist ideology. The British Labour Party was an outstanding example of what I mean. In theory the American Socialist Party has been committed to a labor party, or, in our circumstances, a farmer-labor party, ever since the early twenties.

In 1924, under the leadership of Morris Hillquit, the Party pushed for a coalition with the La Follette Progressives in Wisconsin and a rather radical but not socialist group of unions calling itself the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The Party threw itself so heartily into the campaign for La Follette in 1924 that it more or less neglected its own state and regional organizations. I can testify concerning this because I ran for governor of New York on the Socialist ticket in 1924 and it was a rather lonesome job, so strenuously was our Party working for La Follette in combination with others, who by no means supported our state ticket. In 1928, when I first ran for president on the Socialist ticket, I saw plenty of evidence that the failure of the La Follette coalition had had a very sorry effect upon our party. Nevertheless, I do not regret the 1924 effort which had the blessing of Gene Debs at the end of his life. One of the things I shall not forget is his exhortation of the union leaders who pulled out at the Chicago conference where we were discussing whether or not we could go on to a labor party. Union labor's verdict was adverse.

Nothing has changed that adverse verdict. Not even the great depression. On the contrary, after Roosevelt had appropriated a great many immediate demands from us Socialists, the AFL-CIO became more definitely anti-Socialist-Party than ever before. In times of the relative weakness of our unions, I, for instance, was in considerable demand as a speaker, especially on the occasions of strikes or efforts to organize unions. With the growth of the New Deal, most unions put me on a kind of blacklist — even a union which had previously made me an honorary member. Moreover, a good many Socialists in

about equal numbers from our left and right wings found it much easier to work together in the Democratic Party than in the Socialist Party. They felt with some justification that organized labor was making a degree of progress under the New Deal which it could not make under American conditions by fooling around with a third party. This point of view persists to this day.

What we have is a situation in which workers in well-organized industries and trades, so long as they keep their jobs, are well paid and have many fringe benefits. With some exceptions, the tactics of the unions have been directed to preserving this situation with each trade and industrial union acting for itself. Socialist confidence that strong labor unions would more or less automatically advance socialism have been disappointed. In fact, as I have illustrated from my own experience, the leaders of most unions have been for some years more anti-Socialist-Party than even in Gompers' time. They, like the rest of the public, have accepted a good many of the ideas and political and social arrangements formerly regarded as socialist, but, their tactics are the tactics of supporting the major party — almost always the Democrats — which will support particular laws that they want, or be more friendly in enforcing existing laws for the benefit of labor.

Certain unions, once much influenced by socialism, as in the garment trades and the United Automobile Workers, have advanced social programs for the general good which are worthy of praise, but it cannot be said that the current political campaign against poverty originated in the working class. Still less did the campaign for civil rights and for justice to our Negro fellow citizens originate with the working class.

Here we Socialists have to confess a fault or an error. Back in Debs' time, he and other Socialist leaders honestly thought that if the working class could get its due and we could achieve economic justice, almost all other issues would be settled and that there was no particular need to emphasize a program for Negro rights. This was a mistake because racial feeling has been very strong, and that not alone in the South.

The particular experience which made the greatest impression upon me was in the dreadful city of Birmingham, Alabama, in the comparatively early days of the New Deal. We had in Birmingham a group of loyal Socialists and one of them, a fine, upstanding worker in the steel mills, when he had a job, was taking me to a meeting. He seemed very lugubrious and I asked him what was the matter. Weren't things getting better? He replied, "Yes, comrade, but today I was out with the boys [the unemployed] and I said to them, 'Boys, which would you rather: That President Roosevelt give us all jobs at \$4.00 a day [I am not sure of the exact

sum] or that he say, 'I will give you white boys \$3.50 and you nigras \$3.00.' And they said the latter." I wonder whether in the pinch they would have chosen the latter but that is what was told me by an outstanding Socialist. Moreover, we have to remember that in our own present time, Negroes in the North consider that some of the construction unions are among the chief blocks to fair employment.

Nor is this all. It becomes more and more a question whether labor, in the sense we had once believed, can or will be the savior of a sick capitalist society or the principal builder of a new society.

In the early part of this century, when socialists spoke of labor, they meant principally the bluecollar workers, the wage-earning proletariat. The proportion of bluecollar workers to the total population is steadily diminishing.

What is still more important is the fact that cybernation has hardly more than begun its ravages on the number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who will be supplanted by the machine. We can have a very affluent society with a large number of the unemployed, and the controllers of the machines as a group or class will have unprecedented power over society. This is something that Marx could not possibly have foreseen when he developed his theory of immiseration.

In view of these facts, if the outlook of socialism is dependent upon the working class, as that class now is in the United States, the outlook is dark. We can get a state capitalism with a good deal of welfare legislation and some regard for the organized workers in crafts and industries where they have strength. But this is not the socialism of our heart's desire.

I used to say what the government ought to own depends largely on who owns the government, and the principal owners of the U. S. government are the members of what Eisenhower called the military-industrial complex. As long as we wage the cold war on so costly a basis it will shape our economics. We shall have pretty much of a garrison state. Some labor sees this, but in general workers have felt that the all-important thing was to hang onto jobs

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2 VOICES ON SOCIALISM



Jayaprakash Narayan

Dimension of a Double Revolution

India with her present population of 550 million (and potentially a billion by the year 2000) is certainly destined to be the most influential country within the Third World. Socialism—in quite diversified forms—has many followers there, even within the governing part of the Congress Party. One strain of Indian Socialism is reflected in the following, an adaptation from two recent articles in JANAYA (an Indian Socialist journal published in Bombay). The author, who studied in the 1920's at the universities of California, Iowa, Wisconsin and Ohio, is a lifelong Indian socialist and revered disciple of Gandhi.

As I see it, the essential nature of the revolutionary situation around us today and the revolutions that took place in history before our times, was the expression in different conditions and at different times of the assertion of the human spirit for freedom, for joy, for self-realization.

I think it is this spirit, which is the essence of all human beings, that is being expressed today.

We are going through a very deep revolution, a revolution inside the hearts and minds of our young people. One of the most uplifting experiences that I have had in recent years has been the experience of meeting with young students. A new spirit seems to move them. It's not only Viet Nam or the race question. I think something deeper is happening in their hearts. I think they are questioning the values of this civilization which is sparkling and so attractive to look at. Inside I do not know how sound or hollow it is.

I am reminded of what Mahatma Gandhi used to say. That whereas all other revolutions had been what he called single revolutions, revolutions which brought about changes in the outward forms in society, his revolution would be a double revolution; a *human* revolution which would begin in the minds of men and would result in a *social* revolution in the institutions and outward forms of society. From a practical point of view, if we were to be true revolutionaries, seizure or acquisition of power by us the revolutionaries should have no meaning whatever, and most of the revolutions meant merely that.

To Gandhi, there was no real conflict between individual and social good. While he condemned unrestricted individualism and said that willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well-being of society enriches both the individual and society of which one is a member, he also emphasized that society must work zealously for the well-being of the individual, fully respecting his human rights and treating him as a human person reserving the right even to a single individual to dissent and to non-conformity.

It seems necessary here to enter a caveat in view of Gandhi's personal asceticism leading one astray. Though himself a half naked fakir he did not idealize poverty.

The value of Gandhi's method becomes impressive when one realizes how State action, legislation, administration and planned developments, often fail. They fail in the

absence of (a) change in people's attitude, values and aspirations and (b) people's voluntary action.

There are so many laws on the statute book and the Constitution

dia do this, that or the other? Where is Gandhi in India?"

Lenin lived nearly seven years after the revolution but Gandhi lived only seven months after his.

Once independence had been won the political followers of Gandhi, from Nehru downwards, turned their backs on him.

itself and yet in actual life of the people we do not see them being applied. Untouchability was abolished in the Constitution of India. It was made an illegal offense and yet in every village and in every town and in every city there is untouchability and rampant untouchability.

So also prohibition or land reforms, income-tax or control. Whatever commodity is controlled, it disappears from the market and one can buy it in any quantity from the black-market.

Nobody knows what would have happened if Gandhi had lived. Many people wonder and ask me questions, "How can Gandhi's In-

Why did not India and Gandhi's followers follow in his footsteps and make India the image of Gandhi's ideas? The same question could be asked of Lenin's followers. Different answers would have to be given. It is not realized that most of Gandhi's followers in India were followers not by conviction but because it was expedient to follow him. This was true of Jayaprakash Narayan, of Nehru and of everybody who was in the political movement.

There were few among the political leaders of India who had accepted truth and non-violence, or truth and love, as a philosophy of life, as a creed. They accepted it as an expediency.

India was a disarmed nation, disarmed by the British rulers. Gandhi's genius lay in the fact that he had placed in the hands of a disarmed people weapons which they could wield and which proved to be effective, assisted by the forces of history, of course. Once independence had been won, the political followers of Mahatma Gandhi, from Nehru downwards, turned their backs on him. In that basic sense, they were insincere, because Gandhi knew, as Nehru's biography would show, that his followers had not accepted him fully. And this is the reason why those who followed Gandhi failed to implement his idea of revolution.

I have not seen anywhere that as a result of the process of development the first beneficiaries are those who are at the lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder. This is what Gandhi said had to be done.

Most of the political parties in our country are wishing socialism to be brought about. How do we get socialism? There has to be a development of socialist man and the values of socialism have to be

inculcated in the citizens, in the people. After seeing the problems that have been created both under democratic socialism as under totalitarian communism—the problems dealing with economic activities of society, I don't think either the totalitarian communism or democratic socialism, as they are today, has an answer. There has to be something more added on. Without that something more added on, it would be just outward kind of institutional socialism.

Our ideals must be such that we never reach them. We should always strive to reach them, but never actually arrive at our ideals. They should be pitched so high.

If this be the desire of the revolutionaries, it should be realized that the revolutionary method should be based on methods which aim primarily to change human beings, change their values of life, change their attitudes towards life, their attitude towards things, their attitudes towards men, towards nature.

A revolutionary at this age and time of history where man is landing on the moon should have no lesser ideal than to build a *world community of human beings*; a real human family. This could be the only revolutionary goal of today. And if this is the goal, then all the questions of how aid is to be distributed and percentages of the GNP and what machinery and all that, would lose the present meanings and acquire entirely new meanings.

Now the question is, how do we change human beings? Who are we to change human beings? Who has given this right to us? Well, we are brothers, and that has given us the right. If we eschew violence it is not because of any moral imperative but because violence cannot change human beings. One cannot declare the brotherhood of man in one breath and begin to annihilate human beings in the other.

I think this has relevance not only to India, but at the present time to the social revolution in all countries, particularly on the questions of poverty and race. I cannot conceive of this revolution succeeding in any meaningful way, any human way except through the method which Gandhi had prescribed.

Many people would say that this method may be a noble method, a well-meaning method, a method which is very slow. In India, to date, more land has been redistributed through Vinoba Bhave's (Gandhi's spiritual successor) land movement than through legislation in spite of the Planning Commission hammering at the idea that there must be land reforms and they must be adequate and so on and so forth.

In Gramdan where the whole community is involved in this process of the beginning towards a new life, the first step is community ownership, legal ownership of land, sharing of land, sharing of produce, sharing of money incomes and sharing of labor.

I think this is a much more rapid pace of change than even the most radical parties in India have brought about.

Anyone disobeying these laws will be imprisoned, fined, and/or whipped:

All Africans over the age of 16 must produce a passbook on demand by a policeman.

Under no circumstances may an employer pay Africans the same rates as white persons even if they do the same work and work the same hours.

No African may strike for any reason whatsoever.

Any African who takes a job outside his town, even if he has lived there for 20 years, must leave that town within 72 hours.

Unless they have obtained a special permit to do so, a white person and a non-white person may not under any circumstances drink a cup of tea together in a cafe.

No white person may have sexual relations with an African, Coloured or Indian person. And vice versa.

No African may attend a birthday party if the number attending could make the gathering undesirable.

An African in an urban area who is out of work must take work offered to him by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner or be removed from the area.

No African may buy land, or own property, anywhere in the Republic.

Under no circumstances may a non-white person use facilities set aside for the use of white persons.

No white man may teach an African servant to read.

By order of the South African Ministry of Justice.

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ON ANTI-SEMITISM

by Emanuel Scherer

and

What is anti-Semitism? Who is an anti-Semite? After so many centuries of terrible anti-Jewish practices, these questions, posed now in the light of new situations, are not as easy to answer as it might appear.

One answer is clear: Those who openly declare themselves to be anti-Semites are certainly that. And overt anti-Semitism has been the rule rather than the exception in the long history of this plague. But the murderous Nazism—the ghettos, the concentration camps, the gas chambers, the six million Jews killed only because they were Jews—discredited anti-Semitism in a great many circles. Thus, present day anti-Semitism, in contrast to its former practices, has become for the most part covert. The question, therefore, is: Who are today the practitioners of anti-Semitism, though they do not admit it?

PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION

This question has become particularly problematic with the rise of the State of Israel and correlated developments.

Organized political Zionism has existed for nearly 74 years, but until 1948 no one could have said in minimal earnest that "anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism." After all, the majority of the Jewish people was for a long time anti-Zionist. Even today, the majority of World Jewry is non-Zionist, and a considerable segment is also anti-Zionist though often not outspoken. But the State of Israel is certainly the realization of the Zionist state-goal and the ideology of Zionism is reflected in the national policies of the state. The question therefore arises: Is it anti-Semitic to oppose Zionism and/or the policies of the Israeli government as an expression of Zionism?

Many, particularly Zionists, would answer: "Yes." And conceivably, an identification of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism can be quite useful for Zionist and Israeli politics. This, however, leads to a peculiar situation. One is not "anti-American" by being against the politics of the American presidents, even over such a cardinal issue as the war in Vietnam; and generally, we do not become an "enemy" of any nation, people or country because we oppose their governments.

In principle and in praxis, the notions of "people," "state," "government" and "governing party" are not identical. They are particularly divergent in regard to the "Jewish people," "Israel," "Zionism" and certainly in connection with "anti-Semitism."

As for the Bund, its struggle against anti-Semitism has always been combined with the struggle against every oppression, for the rights of all peoples and for the goals of socialism in general. The Bund never fought for and never accepted anything which appeared to be "good for Jews," if it was injurious to other peoples or wrong from our general humanist socialist viewpoint—this is the essence of the Bund's unique fusion of Jewish nationality with internationalism. There was a time, for instance, during the 1920's and partly in the 1930's, when the dictatorial Soviet regime seemed to appear "good for Jews" because Yiddishism was then flourishing in the U.S.S.R.; yet, due

to its general humanistic and socialistic motivations, the Bund also then opposed Communism.

In 1947 and 1948, the Soviet Union was against the Arabs and in favor of a Jewish state in Palestine. Still, the rationale behind the Soviet policy then and now, when the U.S.S.R. supports the Arabs, is basically the same. In both instances the motivating force has been the same—the self-interest of the Soviet regime. On the other hand, within the capitalist world, France, for example, even the same de Gaulle, was for a long time strongly pro-Israel and contributed much to the arming of Israel; but this did not hinder his later becoming pro-Arab. In both instances it is the politics of French self-interest, just as the more stable United States' policy is dictated, to no lesser degree, by one or another form of American self-interest. In general, since the State of Israel has become a junior participant in the game of world-politics, due to the role of the Middle East, it is not the attitude toward the Jewish people but the concern of power-politics, which mostly decide the stance of various countries on Zionism. This is a new political reason why positions against Zionism or Israeli politics are not *per se* anti-Semitic. As for that matter, attitudes against Communism and Soviet-Russia are not *per se* anti-Russian.

To be sure, there are cases where anti-Zionism can be and is anti-Semitic: those cases when the terms "Zionists" and "Zionism" are used solely as covers for "Jews" and "Jewish." Actually, this has been done recently by the Soviet rulers and their subordinates in other countries, when they attack as "Zionist" anyone among the Jews—even lifelong and devoted communists—because they have become opponents of Soviet policies, particularly the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But this viciousness (not new in Communist practices) does not justify, with or without an "almost," the equation: "anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism."

It is false in demographic and political terms. It equates—a contrario—*Jewishness* with *Zionism*, while under all circumstances, past, present and foreseeable, Zionism was, is and can be only one part of what constitutes the Jewish people and Jewishness.

In fact, one can be "anti-Zionist" and "anti-Israel" and yet not be anti-Semitic; certainly one should wish it so on the part of non-Jews taking anti-Zionist stands. On the other hand, it is possible to be "pro-Israel" and "pro-Zionist" and yet be anti-Semitic.

The combination of *pro-Israelism* and *pro-Zionism* with anti-Semitism has been shown by two examples: One is from pre-war Poland, where anti-Semites coupled their acts of violence against Polish Jews and Jewish students ("ghetto seats" for Jewish students in university classrooms) with support for Zionism, support for its aim of a Jewish state. The other example is the Soviet Union. In the same year, 1948, when the affirmative vote of the U.S.S.R. was crucial in the U.N. decision on the establishment of the State of Israel—and this was (apart from Stalin's intention) objectively an act of *pro-Zionism*—in that same year, that same Stalin carried

out the brutal annihilation of the entire Soviet-Yiddish culture and the massacre of its numerous leaders and activists, a most gruesome act of anti-Semitism.

And a hypothetical example: If the Soviet government were to decide to return to Soviet Jews the national-cultural rights they possessed in the 1920's and even in the 1930's, while retaining its present attitude towards Zionism, then this would be a combination of opposition to Zionism with a certain (Soviet) form of an objective pro-Yiddishness. Hardly an anti-Semitic posture, though still a Communist dictatorship.

The demand for a Soviet-Jewish "exodus" . . . is out of touch with the political realities and harmful to the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews who will remain in their country

THE OBJECTIVE CRITERION

There is no complete, all-embracing definition of anti-Semitism. Just as there is no all-embracing definition of such a widespread phenomenon as "nationality." Harold Laski, an English Marxist sociologist, said that one cannot conceive of a definition of nation that would include all existing peoples. And if today there is—even within the Jewish people—no generally accepted answer to the question "Who is a Jew?" (our answer: everyone who considers himself Jewish), how can we expect a generally accepted answer to the question "Who is an anti-Jew?" or "Who is an anti-Semite?"

There are Jews who see an expression of anti-Semitism in each and every injustice we suffer. In fact, not all the miseries of Jews are Jewish miseries, because not all of them stem from anti-Semitism; anti-Semitism is not our only socio-political tragedy. Rather, in the light of the entire Jewish history, one could discern as a rule, that in those time-periods when Jews were free from virulent anti-Semitism they mostly suffered from such evils which also led to the sufferings of many non-Jews.

Lenin, shortly after the onset of the Soviet regime (in August, 1918), gave a not bad illustration of the difference between the anti-Semitic and the non-anti-Semitic sufferings of Jews. "The Jewish bourgeoisie!"—Lenin said—"is our enemy, not as Jews, but as a bourgeois class; the Jewish worker is our brother." Consequently, the struggles and restrictions directed, in countries with a Jewish minority, only against the Jewish bourgeoisie are not socialistic, but anti-Semitic. Likewise, the struggles and demands favoring the workers of one nationality or race against those of other ethnic groups are expressions not of socialism, but of nationalism, racism or anti-Semitism, depending on the circumstances.

Returning to the Lenin quote one should note that, according to the official Soviet position, there is now absolutely no bourgeoisie in Russia; all Soviet nationalities, including the Jewish nation, consist entirely of working-classes. And legally anti-Semitism has under the Soviet regime always been considered a crime. But has anti-Semitism really

been eliminated? Or is it expressed there merely in the anti-Jewish feelings among various non-Jewish individuals? Certainly such subjective feelings do exist, but this is not the problem which concerns us here. Our present remarks are confined to the question: Whether the Soviet policy toward Jews in the U.S.S.R. is anti-Semitic, and if so, what in that policy is *objectively* anti-Semitic?

The key word in our answer to this question is "discrimination." That is to say: discrimination, the differential treatment of Jews qua Jews, different from the other local

people, not only Jews. Our answer to equal wrongs is equal rights; in this case—*free emigration for all*.

There is more in this narrowness than meets the eye. The Zionist demands for emigration *only to Israel* are actually discriminatory toward the Soviet Jews themselves. In two ways: First, the demand for "exodus" overlooks, in effect, the real needs of the large Soviet-Jewish community of today and tomorrow. Second, it denigrates those among the would-be emigrants who want to live in countries of their own choice.

In addition, there can be no reasonable doubt that only a minority of the three million Soviet Jews (possibly smaller than their annual natural growth) would be willing and able to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

The demand for a Soviet-Jewish "exodus," as continuously proclaimed under Israeli pressures, is out of touch with the political realities and harmful to the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews who will remain in their country for the foreseeable future. The Bund is opposed to this slogan and does not participate in any "exodus" actions, which in any case are no solution to the problems of the Soviet Jews. Only basic democratic changes and improvements within the Soviet Union itself can change and promote the fate of the Soviet-Jewish community, in its overwhelming majority.

The recent persecutions of Zionists in the U.S.S.R. belong to another category of equal Soviet wrongs, that of general political oppressions. Facts of these oppressions are abundant and well-known. The rightly and widely protested Leningrad trial, last December, is no exception to this general factual rule. The Soviet dictators combat—and also persecute, if they can—all "isms," non-Jewish and Jewish, which are opposed to their Communism.

Bundism suffered no less than Zionism under the Soviet regime. Soon after the Bolshevik Revolution, the Soviet dictators not only liquidated the Russian "Bund" (as they did all anti-Communist movements), they later also murdered a great many Bundist activists and leaders, including even those who, after 1917, became Communists. Venomous anti-Bundism has been one of the components of Soviet—and Leninist—Communism. This grievous attitude has been expressed in many Soviet pronouncements, including, among others, the official history of Russian Communism. Even as recently as the 1960's, Khrushchev attacked the Bund, and lumped it together with Zionism. Yet, we have always regarded all the murderous and calumnious Soviet attacks on the Bund as acts not of anti-Semitism but of terrorist dictatorial Communism.

Bundism and Zionism are two diametrically opposed ideologies, though both belong to Jewish life. And even though both have been brutally suppressed by the Soviet regime, neither Soviet anti-Bundism nor Soviet anti-Zionism can objectively be regarded as anti-Semitic. These two Soviet "antis" belong, as do many others, to that large category of equal Communist wrongs—equal in their ruthless affliction upon both Jews and non-Jews.

national minorities—this is the objective criterion of anti-Semitism.

IN THE U.S.S.R.— EQUAL WRONGS . . .

In George Orwell's satire on Soviet society it is said that: "All are equal, but some are more equal." With a slight change we get reality: All are *unequal*, but some are more unequal; all are *unfree*, but some are more free.

The Soviet Jews are, however, not more unfree by the fact that they are not permitted to leave the country; no one is permitted to freely leave the Soviet Union. Theirs is a closed society. And the Soviet policy of closed emigration, being governed by "equality"—equal oppression, that is—is injurious not only to Jews and therefore is not anti-Semitic. As democratic socialists we naturally oppose every, including the Communist, suppression of freedom and other human rights; and freedom of movement, of free emigration, belongs to the most elementary human rights. This right has, however, been denied by the Soviet regime to everyone.

The demand for free emigration of Soviet Jews contradicts therefore the immediate principle postulate that the Soviet Jews ought to have now—under the present Soviet order—the same rights granted other Soviet citizens and nationalities. Logically, to be in agreement with this postulate of equality, the demand for the emigration of Soviet Jews can only be expressed either as an exceptional act of humanitarianism toward those, for instance, whose families were separated by adverse circumstances and who want to be reunited abroad, or, as a demand for general freedom of emigration for all Soviet citizens, regardless of nationality.

Neither of these conditions fits into the well-known Zionist slogans of "Exodus" and "Let my people go," or (in secular terms) "Let them leave for Israel." Evidently, these are exceptional demands. But the injury, the Soviet denial of man's right to migrate, is not exceptional, only for Jews. Therefore, as Jewish and international-minded socialists, we of the Bund do not subscribe to such nationalistic narrowness in a general evil which affects many

The Tale of Two Countries

... AND DISCRIMINATORY INEQUALITY

There is, however, one basic area where the regime treats the Soviet Jews not as "equals" to the other nationalities, but as drastically unequal. Suffice it to note:

The once large Yiddish (communist) press, with several important and central newspapers, many weeklies, monthlies and other periodicals, all in Yiddish, has dwindled into almost nothingness: one literary monthly and one very peripheral (Biro-Bidjan) newspaper.

The publication of Yiddish books has been virtually stopped. For instance, there were published from 1930 to 1939, 4345 Yiddish books under different titles, but during the two decades, from 1950 to 1969, there were in the entire U.S.S.R. all together about 20.

Most important, the Soviet regime today allows neither means nor opportunities whatsoever to learn in any schools the language, literature and history of the Jewish people, although 59 national languages of other national groups (almost 50 of which are smaller—many much smaller—than the So-

viets, and a few of which are also dispersed territorially) are being taught in the public schools. Religious Judaism is severely restricted, more so than the non-Jewish religions (there are today approximately 50 synagogues open to Jews).

Not anti-Zionism, but anti-Yiddishism, or anti-Jewish culturism, is anti-Semitic in the Soviet Union.

to do away with this evident deprivation of the national-cultural rights and opportunities of the Soviet Jews. The Soviet Jews must have the same rights to maintain and learn their national language, culture and history, as have other national minorities in the U.S.S.R. And some day—we hope—they will.

Incidentally, the Bund was the first and for many years the only party engaged—from the beginning—in a consistent struggle against the Bolshevik stand on the Jewish question. After World War II, when many of today's most vociferous advocates of Soviet Jewry were silent as to the fate of the Soviet Jews, the Bund argued resolutely the case of Soviet Jewry at the many conferences of the Socialist International in the fifties and sixties. At one conference (1966), this writer moved, on behalf of the Bund, that a special delegation of the Socialist International be sent to the U.S.S.R. with the clear task of interceding with the Soviet authorities for the national-cultural rights of Soviet Jews. The International has at times adopted resolutions and reports in behalf of Soviet Jewry, but not (or, perhaps, not yet) this action.

At the same time the once secular (and communist) Jewish schools—primary, secondary and other, numbering at one time nearly a thousand and all Yiddish—have been reduced literally to nil. Indeed, it is extremely paradoxical that the ultra-secular Soviets should have annihilated this most consequential element of the secular Jewish education and culture.

The quite flagrant goal of this elaborated discriminatory policy is the assimilation and national disintegration of Soviet Jews. According to official Soviet pronouncements, this is allegedly a result of the free will of Soviet Jews. But true "free will" would imply that the Soviet Jews had, for example, a factual choice between schools which do teach topics pertaining to their Jewish identity and culture and those which do not. And this choice is completely eliminated; there is not even the choice of attending merely lessons in Jewish topics in the public schools.

In other words: the complete denial of national-cultural education for Soviet Jews is not a voluntary abdication of their national rights, but a result of the Soviet policy of forced assimilation.

The Soviet Jews are the only Soviet nationality which is deprived of the basic cultural rights granted other nationalities. It is precisely this singling out of Jews which is extremely unequal and discriminatory in the Soviet policy toward Soviet Jews. Not anti-Zionism, but anti-Yiddishism, or anti-Jewish culturism, is objectively anti-Semitic in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government denies this, but their words are empty. The only way they can effectively deny it is

IN POLAND . . .

The recent workers' revolt in Poland and the resulting changes within the governing Polish communist party are so evidently far from any imputable Jewish "influence" that the latter cannot be abused by any anti-Semitic machination. Anyhow, it looks so at this writing.

But what happened during the last few years—a new revival of anti-Semitic policy—before it occurred, also seemed impossible in a country with such a tiny Jewish population as in Poland today. Still, it did happen, and it can happen again.

"We are opposed to Zionism, but also to anti-Semitism," have declared some defendants of Poland's governmental policy. In fact, it is not the distant and small State of Israel, nor the near and few Polish Jews, but something entirely different which has led the ruling Polish communists to embark on their recent anti-Jewish course; it was (and possibly still is) their fear of liberation aspirations, wherever they arise. The provocations were organized by the "Jew-boys" ("Jew-boys" is used here in place of an intranslatable Polish slur derived from the Jewish name "Moishe"), one could read in the official proclamations spread soon after the first, well-known, demonstrations of the Warsaw students, in January, 1968. Thus the Polish communist rulers tried to distort the progressive nature of the protests and to discredit the demonstrators by an imputation of their "Jewishness"—an old political function of anti-Semitism, normally used by various reactionary forces. Now, in communist-ruled Poland, it has been tied in with another long-established function of anti-Semitism, that of a tool in the competition for jobs, careers and power. And to make it still easier for the communists, the old catchword of the former anti-Semites has been injected lately in the many "dictums" of the present Polish rulers: "Poland for the Poles." Even Wladislaw Gomułka's saying (in his famous speech in March, 1968) that those Jews who want to live in Poland must consider and conduct themselves as Poles was, in substance, only another version of the old anti-Semitic slogan: "Poland for the Poles." And Gomułka's successor, Edward Gierek, is certainly no lesser an advocate of this course.

Consequently, it has been demanded that all positions of political, economic and cultural importance be occupied only by "true" Poles, and the demand was unrelentingly executed on various levels of the Polish communist hierarchy. In other words: an anti-Jewish purge. Its victims even included many Jews, or "Poles of Jewish descent," as they are called now, who had suffered long years in prison for their illegal communist activities in pre-war Poland. Furthermore, a system of dossiers of Jews and "half-Jews" has been instituted. In Warsaw there is a file with the names of about 300,000 so-called "half-Jews" whose future can be placed in doubt (as reported by a British journalist, Margaret Reynolds in "The New Republic" of March 21, 1970).

The anti-Semitic theory of "Poland for the Poles" is also reflected in the manner in which the Polish communist rulers have handled the "emigration" of Jews. They "allow" the Jews to go. But this is conditional on their meeting several re-

quirements: they must sign a declaration—first, that they want to go to Israel (for a great many Jews this has not been true, but in this way the Polish government's claims that all Jews are "Zionists" and that the Jews are leaving Poland because of their "Zionism" are superficially upheld); second, that they give up ("voluntarily") their Polish citizenship. And from the moment they cross the Polish border they automatically (and "voluntarily") yield their right of ever returning to their age-old homeland. Small wonder that those permitted to leave feel like refugees.

... ANTI-SEMITES WITHOUT JEWS

Who are now the anti-Semites in Poland?

In years gone by it was the Polish students who were the stronghold of anti-Semitism. Today's Polish students, however, have manifested progressive and liberal aspirations—now suppressed. Also in other strata of Polish society and among the majority of the population in general, there are indications that anti-Semitism is regarded as a thing of the past. And in the ranks of the ruling "United Polish (communist) Workers' Party," with its largely captive membership, which includes not only communists but also past and present socialists, there are workers and party officials (unfortunately not too many) who

have (within the realm of the party) spoken out against discriminatory anti-Jewish policies.

But despite the fact that the old anti-Semitic parties have formally been liquidated, there still exist many of the old-time leaders, supporters and disciples, and they exert some considerable influence by trying to tie the former political anti-Semitism with the present ruling communism. This is one group of anti-Semites in Poland today—they may be called "communized Endeks." The second, far more important, group of anti-Semites one can regard as "Endekized communists." (In interwar Poland the dominant reactionary, anti-Semitic party was the National Democratic Party, popularly referred to as "Endeks"). This includes many older as well as younger leaders of the ruling communist party, who became national-chauvinists for a variety of reasons. Some of them think that this is the way to strengthen their lack of popularity in the land. Others, the majority, hold that they personally Poland ("we are Poland"), and that appeals to "patriotism" and "nationalism" are useful to those who represent the nation (the "patria")—in this case, those who are now in power and who by every means seek to maintain their power. Whatever their reasoning, the objective interplay between these two groups—the "communized Endeks" and the "Endekized communists"—is the most important single internal factor in the anti-Semitic courses of present-day Poland.

Once, under the regime of the Pilsudski-epigones, one of his pillars (Boguslaw Miedziński) expressed envy of Denmark, which at that time had only fifty thousand Jews: How fortunate, he wrote, we Poles would be if Poland had only fifty thousand Jews. This virulent anti-Semitic dream has been realized, even with a minus—there were only 25-30 thousand Jews in Poland two or three years ago... Who would have believed during and after the horrors of the Hitler occupation, that in a virtually "Jew-free" Poland, it would be the communist power-holders who would drive out from the country even the remaining handful of its former million Jews?

There is a "theory" which claims that the mere existence of Jews creates anti-Semitism. What is true in this "theory" is banal (like saying, without people there would be no wars) and what remains after its banality is totally absurd. Anyhow, how many Jews have to be in a country that there be enough for anti-Semitism?

No one today knows exactly how few Jews are now living in Poland. The numbers given—all small—are various. In a population of 33 million the Jews constitute now not even one mill, but merely a few per 10,000 Poles. Moreover, with the exception of the few cities where the entire iota of the present Jewish-Polish population now lives, Poland is, for all intents and purposes, over its length and breadth, in most of its cities and in all of its towns and villages, a country without Jews. Yet—anti-Semites and anti-Semitism without Jews!

In the next issue—other aspects of anti-Semitism.

A WRONG WAY

We refer to the "appeal" issued by the World Conference on Soviet Jewry recently held in Brussels.

The appeal, to be sure, contains a demand that the Jews in the U.S.S.R. be enabled to live "in accord with the Jewish cultural and religious heritage." But this demand is substantially downgraded:

- In effect, first and foremost importance is given to the demand for emigration—and this not as the natural human right of all Soviet people but only for the Jews.
- In addition, the appeal does not demand for Soviet Jews the right to emigrate to the countries of their choice, as it should be, but only to Israel—an obvious encroachment of other people's rights.
- This is called a "return to their historic homeland"—an application of the harmful Zionist view that Jews are "homeless" everywhere except in Israel.
- The most solemn and most important call of the appeal is its final line: "Let my people go." In other words: "Exodus" of Soviet Jewry. More about this, in the above article and on page 14. Briefly, it is not a solution of the problems of Soviet Jewry: it is their aggravation.

A wrong way.

DICTATORS



Diktatorzy
Fig. J. Flank

This cartoon, with its title, DICTATORS, appeared in a Polish weekly in Warsaw ("Penspektyw") several weeks before the Polish workers' revolt last December. Particularly noteworthy is the striking resemblance of the caricatures to Wl. Gomułka, then the ruling (later deposed) Polish communist leader.

Zionism and the Jewish Radical

by Gabe Ross

Any Jewish movement must be concerned with the problems of insuring a continued Jewish existence. But a radical Jewish movement must go beyond this: it must be concerned with the quality of Jewish life. It must strive for conditions which will allow for the actualization of positive Jewish aspirations; a real possibility only in a liberated world.

Zionism has lost sight of the meaningful content in the Jewish past.

Jewish Radicalism has this concern with the quality of life in common with all other radical movements and, as is the case with other radical programs, is fiercely opposed by an establishment view of the world. That Zionism is now the philosophy of the Jewish Establishment, its driving force, is incontrovertible.

Yet there are some individuals and groups who consider themselves both Zionist and radical. It may be that they seem radical in their desire for certain immediate changes, but their espousal of a Zionist program should make it clear that their goals are in direct conflict with those of any truly progressive movement.

The program of the so-called radical Zionist may differ from that of his establishment Zionist counterpart in its militancy, but not in its basic content. This content of Zionism, concepts common to all its adherents, can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The Diaspora has been a totally negative experience marked in its essence only by suffering, and the reason for this suffering, for anti-Semitism, is that the Jews were unlike other people.
- 2) To become like the other nations and thereby end the suffering, the Jews too must have a country, and Palestine is that country.
- 3) The creation of the State of Israel has solved the Jewish problem; all that remains is to complete the "ingathering of the exiles," thus further strengthening the State.

What a bleak picture this presents of Jewish history! It would seem that for two thousand years the Jews have merely sought the security of being like other peoples. Nor is its outlook on the Jewish future any brighter; the sponsoring of one tiny state in the Middle East, a state most probably doomed to a condition of perennial belligerency with its neighbors.

In the process of dealing exclusively with the security of the Jews, Zionism has lost sight of the meaningful content in the Jewish past. The Zionist—even the radical one—tells me that I can live a full Jewish life only in a Jewish state. A full Jew? A good Jew? Then who am I? Who were my parents and their parents?

The Jews, I am patiently told, have acquired a ghetto mentality. Their existence in the Diaspora has been a painful experience. They have been the pawns of more powerful nations. The only point to their credit is that they have persevered through the years so that they can again realize their greatness by re-establishing their long-lost State.

Is my Jewishness merely a ghetto mentality? Is my destiny to bypass the last two thousand years of Jewish

history and thus re-create an era of "greatness" with which the bible belt Christian is more fully in touch than I?

No! If this were truly my only inheritance, I would rather forego it and assimilate. The Zionist, however, is unperturbed. "You have no choice," he tells me. "Anti-Semitism is the perennial evil which will eventually force you to disintegrate

barren, there is the pleasure of vicariously reaping the achievements of Israel. For those who feel guilt in having stood by while witnessing the destruction of a third of their people, there is the vision of Jewish armies and retribution. Even for those who are concerned with their Jewishness and have the potential for improving the quality of Jewish life around them, there is the appeal of "aliyah":—leaving the problem behind and thereby, through the logic of Zionism, solving it. For all those who, in effect, fear their Jewish identity, who need to conform, whose lives are constricted by their search for personal security, Zionism does have a great appeal. But surely not for the radical Jew.

or to seek the security obtainable only in a Jewish State."

Such a Zionist approach to one's Jewish identity no doubt has a great appeal for many, particularly in America. For those to whom their Jewishness is somehow dichotomous with respectability, there is the appeal of a Jewish State, a member in the establishment of nations. For those to whom their Jewishness is

The radical cannot conceive of an isolated Jewish problem, only of a world problem. Through the ages, the Jew has been the wandering hippie expressing his unique lifestyle in the world arena. He did not proselytize others to his particular way of life, but the revolutionary message transmitted by his presence was clearly perceived by those in

The revolutionary message transmitted by the Jew's presence was clearly perceived by those in power.

power: There are alternative ways of living and thinking. The destiny of a people is to express its uniqueness. The State is ultimately powerless; it can be repressive, brutal, murderous, but it cannot change the will of a people. Real power, the ability to persist in the striving for self-expression, is always in the possession of the people.

The so-called Jewish problem is the problem of all those who openly show that they are different. Its solution must lie in fighting for the fulfillment of the universalistic vision—a liberated world.

How incongruent this vision is with that of the "radical" Zionist who says that he too is concerned with liberation, but who, at the same time, views the solution in terms of escape—an armed Jewish

State, an enclave in a hostile world. He also says that he is concerned with imperialism, but seems even more concerned with American arms for Israel. He is troubled by injustices imposed on "the Arabs", but cannot come to terms with Palestinian claims for justice. He is critical of Israel's policies, but the leaders of his movement are a part of the ruling coalition government, making him an apologist for Meir-Dayton politics. He is always in a quandary because his Zionism denies the obvious difference between Israeli nationalism and Jewish internationalism; between the alleged needs of the State and the higher aspirations of the people. He must decide on a direction. If he chooses to be a radical, he must oppose Zionism.

Culture, Politics & being Jewish

by Elliott Palevsky

Communism, Scientology, Astrology, Zen, and I Ching are some of the counter-cultures that brothers and sisters have been turning to as an alternative to the culture of America.

On the international level, this culture has involved accepting American support of dictators and despots, the use of military might in place of social policy, and the destruction of societies in supporting such "democratic" figures as Diem, Ky and Thieu, under the banner of "struggle for democracy." Thus, the concept of democracy is made cheap, and since our society is supposedly democratic, it is also cheapened and undermined. As a result, the ideal which is supposed to unite a heterogeneous people becomes empty. The use of oppressive police force, the exclusiveness of political power and the omnipotence of the dollar, underlie and intensify this process.

On the social and economic level, American culture involves competitive materialism and institutionalized poverty, racism and sexism. Each difference is used to divide group from group in order to increase the possibilities of economic exploitation and inter-group alienation.

On the individual level, American culture leads to self-alienation. The factory worker, the white collar employee, the student and even the teacher have little control over their role or productivity. They are not involved in decision-making, assigning values or priorities. In our over-mature complex industrial society, we are atomized. We function within a system where profit, and not human need, becomes the organizing imperative. Productivity becomes the only measure of achievement to the exclusion of self-realization and fulfillment. In addition, the potential human satisfaction inherent in ethnic or group identification is blocked by making such identifications economic and social handicaps.

Our society in general is becoming increasingly manipulated through

the effects of mass-media and communication. On the other hand, individual awareness, for a privileged portion of the population, is also increasing due to rising levels of education, economic and social mobility. As a result, a new class—or un-class—of individuals has come into existence throughout the country. They have the privilege of the middle class, but their awareness alienates them from all levels of interaction with the society, due to realizations previously described. The society in turn alienates them from themselves. From this group comes the recruits to astrology, scientology, etc.

On another level, there exist various commune movements. At best

more concrete social vision and the mechanisms for its realization.

Even under the best of circumstances, an activist of the new left remains alienated from himself unless he can relate to a culture which is personal and supportive of his social and political values. In the absence of such a relationship, his radical political values will atrophy and he will easily be co-opted into the system. In the absence of such a relationship, the possibility to function as an organic person is also precluded.

It is precisely the ability to function as an integrated radical, humanistic being with a constant countervailing value system which is endemic to an aware Jewish cultural

The Jewish socialist movement of the Bund transformed the circa 1000 year-old humanistic Yiddish culture of Eastern Europe into an effective radical culture and politic.

they are able to create a self-enclosed viable environment. Essentially, however, they present no threat to the society and contain little potential for general social change. Often, some communes, in order to exist, must engage in exploitative economic and social relationships. There are also those who have joined in activity, broadly characterized as "new left." Individuals and groups who, on an overt level, react to specific instances of aggravation and persecution.

Yet, it is very difficult to sustain an attack on corrupt and immoral social-economic institutions, when the only weapons available are precisely those concepts the attacked society has socialized into us. It is further difficult to sustain such an attack without an inclusive countervailing value system, leading to a

identity, in the tradition of the Bund. We are not speaking of the American middle-class Jewish life style. That life style developed in acquiescence to the pressure of the "melting pot" and its economic system. This resulted in a loss of real Jewish consciousness and the retention only of certain hollow Jewish forms.

Jewish tradition began with the belief in a universal god of social justice. We speak of the prophetic Jewish tradition. Prophets, especially during the brief time of Biblical Jewish statehood, opposed the oppressive nature of the priesthood and of state power. They held out the countervailing values of social justice in man-to-man relationships and the notion of society in the service of human needs.

For the major portion of Jewish history, Jews have lived as an op-

pressed minority in non-Jewish states. The greatest portion of Jewish creativity, including the humane laws of the Talmud, occurred in the so-called Diaspora. Jewish values, in order to justify Jewish survival, had to be the values of resistance against oppression.

The secularization of Jewish life, primarily brought about by the Jewish labor movement, whose strongest element became the Bund, brought these values into political action in confronting the 20th century. The Jewish socialist movement of the Bund transformed the circa 1000 year-old humanistic Yiddish culture of Eastern Europe into an effective radical culture and politic. It rejected the values of nationalism or statism, inherent in Zionist ideology. It mobilized the Jewish working population for a fight against oppression in solidarity with other, non-Jewish, oppressed groups. And its goal was to create a society with truly democratic economic and social institutions. A society to meet human needs, to make possible the fulfillment of human potential, to enable each group to freely maintain its own cultural identity—that became the vision based upon Jewish values to be realized by radical action.

Around this ideology developed a full culture. The people's vision became the content of its art and its great literature. To the basic humanism the Yiddish language already expressed, was added the radicalism and socialism of its constituency.

It is this tradition which has become relevant now in America. It is a living tradition—the only one which enables Jewish youth to have a constant base of radical social values. It provides an opportunity to function as an integrated being, to function in terms of collective solidarity with other like-minded groups, and to move away from self-alienation towards self-realization.

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION

The Politics of Jewish Radicalism

by Arthur I. Waskow

The author is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies; author of THE FREEDOM SIDER and the forthcoming AGAINST THE PHARAOHS: TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY JUDAISM.

The crisis in American society that "began" in 1960 with the sit-ins has, by 1970, had the effect of pushing the consciously Jewish community to the right—at least to the right as compared with its relative position in American politics as of 1960. On every issue except the Vietnam war, Jewish grass-roots opinion—at least when it is being expressed as explicitly "Jewish"—is a much less likely to be radical, relative to other groups, than it was 10 years ago (when of course all groups were unlikely to be radical); and even much less vocally liberal than it was. Even on the war, liberal opposition has been late and weak from specifically Jewish organizations—though not from individual Jews acting in other roles.

Partly in response to this Jewish shift to the right, semi-consciously Left youth who are Jewish have been pushed/drifted out of the consciously Jewish community.

As both evidence for and symptom of the rightward drift: the only massive actions of the Jewish community as Jews, over the last few years, have been around issues of Israel and, to some extent, of Soviet Jewry. No sizeable Jewish action has taken place on any American issue.

The "radical" Jewish movement presumably exists because we do not regard either the rightward or the outward drift as inevitable. We believe the Jewish community in America and in the world is oppressed by the powerful—not by the Blacks or the Arabs and not chiefly by the Russians—and we believe that if it can consciously identify its oppressions, it will turn to the Left and join the resistance. We also believe that a decent (democratic, socialist) resolution of the American crisis will require and include a liberated Jewish people.

But our movement is still embryonic. New energies in the Jewish Peace Fellowship and the Jewish Labor (and Student) Bund, as well as such groupings as Jews for Urban Justice in Washington, D.C., the Jewish Radical Union at Columbia University, Na'ach in Philadelphia and similar groups on the West Coast, are still very small, very unclear as to their own politics, and very much out of touch with the Jewish community (even with its youth). What's worse, most of the Jewish community (even the youth) are not even aware there is a radical Jewish movement.

If the Jewish community is to move to the Left, the American crisis that has to far been moving it rightward would have to take on a new form, and be seen in a new way.

The question before us, are we at a moment in which we can shape the issues (i.e., the felt impacts of the crisis) in new ways as we face the Jewish community, and do so in such a way as to make a radical Jewish alternative more visible to the Jewish community?

There is some reason to believe we are at such a moment. The Congressional deflections, the campus uprisings, wildcat strikes, and continuing inflation and unemployment portend a greater crisis—especially since there may well be a major military defeat, as well, or a new escalation of the war to prevent such a defeat.

The "issues" which might be Leftward organizing points might include the following:

- "Spiritual" or "psychological" oppression or deprivation (alienation, absence of community, rigidity of male-female roles, absence of ecstasy, etc.)
- Militarism, repression, the Indo-China War, imperialism
- Institutionalized racism
- Inflation/unemployment/collapse of public services
- Destruction of the world environment
- The melting pot and American cultural imperialism
- Undemocratic control of all institutions (workplaces, neighborhoods, synagogues, medical facilities, etc.)

The only issues here which seem to imply automatically a special Jewish content are (a), (f), and to some extent (g). That is, these issues affect all Americans but a solution to them so far as Jews are concerned could be Jewish. For example: Spiritual wholeness can be achieved through radical Jewish collectives. The melting pot can be broken by the rebirth of a real Jewish community. Institutions in which Jews work and live could be democratized as Jewish democratic institutions.

The next step in this area is probably the creation of an urban-rural Jewish commune joining daily life and spirit, action, and ideology.

Democratizing Jewry would certainly become confrontational at once if, as part of (g), we were trying to democratize the large existing Jewish institutions—as well as to create tiny new ones that are democratic. But we are scarcely doing that.

The other issues where confrontation is already necessary—militarism, racism, economic injustice, pollution—seem not to have "Jewish" solutions, at least so far as our thinking now goes. To ignore these issues because they are not especially Jewish, on the other hand, is to abandon the elements of Judaism that it does share with other radicalisms, and also to abdicate any response to the issues that are on the verge of destroying the country, the world, and incidentally the Jewish people. If we believe that these issues are important, and that confrontation with a demonic system is also important, then we seem to have these choices:

- Linking one or more of these issues as tightly as possible with the radical expression of Jewish spiritual and cultural and communal values.
- Discovering or creating a specifically "Jewish" answer to these problems (different from the Quaker, Gandhian, or Marxist answer) and organizing around that.
- Focusing on existing undemocratic Jewish or chiefly Jewish institutions which are also complicitous in militarism, racism, exploitation, or pollution, and organizing/confronting to force them to become democratic Jewish collectives that support liberation, not oppression.

If we now look back at the possibilities of a more intense crisis in American society, extending into the 1970s and even beyond, we may see these possibilities:

The crisis may be seen in new

ways by the Jewish community, with more anger at the Empire and less at Blacks, etc. This might result from the economic pressures (Jewish teachers unemployed, etc.), a more intense repression, a Nixon put-down of Congress, escalation of the war, cuts in domestic spending for health and education, cop-outs on pollution control, etc.

It seems increasingly likely that the Jewish community will define almost anything that goes wrong as caused by the war (which will be partly true) and it also seems likely that the war itself will look increasingly bad. For these reasons, perhaps any Jewish action over the next six months should focus on the Vietnam war specifically or the war machine, more generally. The times of year during which practically all American Jews are aware of being Jews, and "different," are the High Holy Days, Chanukah, and Passover. They are also periods that have been badly emptied of Jewish spiritual/political content, even when most widely celebrated. They are obvious points of entry for a re-

birth of Jewish cultural and spiritual life.

One possibility would be to focus on a major Jewish-controlled institution that is complicitous with the war and could be but is not serving the people, and to demand its transformation into a communally (and democratically) Jewish institution. There is no "obvious" candidate, which makes organizing somewhat harder but not impossible.

Or we might focus on a Jewish institution that is oppressing not only "others"—Vietnamese, or Blacks, or Palestinians, etc.—but also oppressing the Jewish community itself. (This would have the important psychological and political benefit that it is not organizing Jews to "help" other people, but to liberate ourselves.)

For instance, there are Jewish hospitals in many places, health care is one of the major collapsing institutions in America, and health is also a cross-class issue—new-class Jews feel victimized as do Blacks on welfare as do white factory workers. Should we consider a major campaign to remake-the-Jewish-hospital

as a radical institution? Would that place the American system under greater strain?

The other major possibility might be to focus on an Imperial institution itself, trying to link the rebirth of Jewish spiritual-cultural values with resistance to evil.

Meanwhile, we should also pursue the production commune project, with the perspective that it would have a clear political-organizing goal, as well as communal and economic goals. But this means involving people who are prepared to unify theory and practice, to get their hands dirty at work—literally—along with thinking through the theory. In any case, it is really important for there to be an action or actions by the radical Jewish movement that are either "large" enough or "strong" enough, or both, to point a new direction for the Jewish community as a way to respond to the American crisis. To do nothing, given the intensification of the crisis, would be a dereliction of both radical and Jewish duty.

And Laos . . .

(Continued from page 1)

cessor down. He would certainly much prefer, in Eisenhower's words, to "let Asians fight Asians" by scaling down the American participation to the level which the folks at home could tolerate, and beefing up the strength of the "good" Asians, with the streamlined version of the old Diem regime as an ideal. Yet this "Vietnamization" strategy is too clever by half, and intrinsically inconsistent in two ways at least:

(1) In spite of solemn assurances to the contrary, the Pentagon men know quite well that their South Vietnamese underlings are no match for their adversaries and that a substantial American withdrawal could expose them to gravest dangers. Hence the desire to minimize such risks by a preventive "cleaning-up" of communication lines or of potential staging areas for the new Communist offensive.

(2) While it would be rash to accept the official statements about alleged North Vietnamese build-ups at their face value, it would be odd if such build-ups had not occurred. For better or worse, the leaders of North Vietnam see their prime task in bringing the Ky-Thieu regime down and not in maintaining the status quo. They are not alone in assuming that Mr. Nixon will not withdraw from Vietnam of his own volition before his puppets can stand on their own feet which may very well mean never. To lie in wait in such conditions would be to give up and to help Mr. Nixon in playing his charming games with the American public.

These considerations explain

the recurrence of spasmodic escalations as a part and parcel of "Vietnamization." But they also explain why this policy is doomed. The Vietnamese Communists who proved their resilience against massive onslaughts by the Japanese, the French, and the Americans in the past are not going to be sitting ducks for such preventive strikes. Their retaliation capabilities are far from exhausted; one of them consists in hitting back at the tottering "neutral" governments of the newly invaded countries, and thus extending the area of conflict still further. But should their situation seriously deteriorate, Russia and most definitely China could not take this lying down without unmasking themselves as "paper tigers" and without gravely jeopardizing their military position; this could start a chain of events which might begin with a Korea-type intervention of Chinese "volunteers" and end in a nuclear holocaust.

In order to retreat from the precipitous path before it is too late, it is imperative to scuttle once and for all not only the "Vietnamization" hoax, but also that oldest and most formidable fraud which has been underwriting our intervention in Indochina through all its twists and turns—the notion that by defending a corrupt reactionary dictatorship in a small scrap of territory across the Pacific we are upholding the cause of freedom in Southeast Asia and protecting our own security; and the assumption that this noble endeavor has been worth the price of devastating the country we pretend to be saving, of blocking the social progress at home, of forty-odd thousand young Americans killed and countless

others converted into murderers of unarmed men, women and children.

At present, this lie which has its roots in the vested interests of the military-industrial complex, in the paranoid fears of "middle Americans" and the self-serving calculations of reactionary politicians, is still riding high. But the "silent majority" is getting increasingly restive as the military action drags on while inflation-cum-unemployment persists, the decay of cities continues, and the air is thickened with exhaust fumes and broken promises. It is therefore not too much to expect that when the inevitable difficulties and reverses on the Southeast Asian fronts will explode the myth of the *de luxe* war, the stage will be set for a new upsurge of the resistance, which will not be confined to the campuses and their environs and which could be powerful enough to enforce a complete and rapid withdrawal. Let us be prepared for these days; and let us work for this outcome.

The author is Professor of Economics at Columbia University and a member of the World Coordinating Committee of the Bund.

A Postscript

This article had been sent to the printer before the South Vietnamese troops began their headlong retreat from Laos. The above analysis nevertheless remains valid. Ed.

The following is not intended as a comprehensive history of the Bund, but only as an outline of some historical facts which the reader may find stimulating. This pictorial essay, compiled from materials in the Bund Archives, will be continued in future issues.

THE BEGINNINGS

The Bund was founded in 1897, but its roots lie in the preceding decades.

In Minsk (1884) and Vilna (1886), in the midst of an economic depression in Russia, there appear the first informal Jewish labor groups. As the depression becomes particularly acute at the beginning



Cover of Bundist organ DER YIDDISHER ARBEITER ("The Jewish Worker"). Published abroad by the Jewish socialists in Vilna who later helped found the Bund. First appeared in 1896. It was smuggled into Russia.

of the 1890's, the activities in these groups change from just propaganda to active agitation. In 1891, we have in Vilna the first strike of Jewish workers. And in 1892, for the first time, Jewish workers en masse participate in a (clandestine) May Day demonstration. By 1893 there is a successful strike movement in a number of towns within the Jewish Pale.

During these years, these Jewish workers' interest groups become socialist in their political orientation. Their papers and newsletters, all

of them illegal, most of them hand-written, some printed on hectograph, continue to appear. In August, 1897, a group of Jewish socialists in Vilna put out the first printed illegal Jewish socialist newspaper *Die Arbeter Shtimme* ("The Voice of the Worker").

By now, most of these groups, in order to reach the broad masses of the Jewish population, are conducting their activities in Yiddish (they had previously been conducted wholly in Russian). Yiddish becomes the language of Jewish revolutionary work. This transition spells the birth of an independent Jewish labor movement, resulting in the formation of broad Jewish organizations and in the development of the modern Yiddish culture. This sets the stage for the rise of an organization, which is at once both socialist and Yiddish-cultural.

THE FOUNDING

At a secret founding convention, October 8, 9, 10, 1897, thirteen delegates (three of them women), representing already active Jewish labor groups in Vilna, Warsaw, Bialystok, Minsk and Witebsk meet — illegally and in great danger of the Tsarist police — in a tiny attic of a small house in Vilna, and officially found the General Jewish Labor Bund. The "Bund" is the first broadly organized Jewish socialist party.



ARKADY KREMER
Pioneer of the Bund and the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. Author of the essay "On Agitation", which altered the course of the Russian revolutionary movement.



GENIA HURWITZCH
Long-time Bundist, who made early translation of Marx's "Kapital" into Russian.

A Central Committee, consisting of Arkady Kremer, the leading force in the founding of the Bund; Vladimir Kosowski, the Bund's foremost theoretician of that time and with whom Lenin conducted an

extensive polemic; and Abraham M. is formed.

Die Arbeter Shtimme becomes the

THE BUND'S ACTIVITIES

The Bund's first major undertakings in all major cities of (Tsarist)

In 1898, the Bund sends three Shmuel Katz — to the founding of the Democratic Labor Party (in Minsk) — worker among the nine delegates to the Central Committee of three, the The Manifesto of the new party is published in the shop of the Bund.



THE MARTYRS OF TCHUDNOW. Members of the Bund in Tchudnow who formed a self-defense group there. While on a strike peasants who killed 9 and seriously wounded 10 shown above, are, from left: Pinchas H...



Newspapers and brochures of the Bund in underground printing shops, the result of...

The Bund's activities are met by the repression of the Moscow secret police in 1898, as well as 70 Bund leaders arrested in this severe repression, the revolution...



Political exiles who took part in the Romanovka Uprising. For this, all were sentenced to 12 years hard labor. Liberated as a result of Revolution of 1905.

Highlights of THE BUND

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Die Arbeter Shtimme becomes the central organ of the Bund.

THE BUND'S ACTIVITIES

The Bund's first major undertaking is to organize Jewish labor groups in all major cities of (Tsarist) Russia.

In 1898, the Bund sends three delegates — Kremer, Mutnik and Shmuel Katz — to the founding convention of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (in Minsk). The Bundist Katz is the only worker among the nine delegates who take part in the convention. In the Central Committee of three, the Bund is represented by Kremer. The Manifesto of the new party is printed in the underground printing shop of the Bund.



THE MARTYRS OF TCHUDNOW. Under this name history records the 14 members of the Bund in Tchudnow who were journeying to Zhitomir to help the self-defense group there. While on their way they were overtaken by peasants who killed 9 and seriously wounded 5 of them. Three of the slain, shown above, are, from left: Pinchas Morowitz, Jacob Brodski, Azriel Fleisher.



Newspapers and brochures of the Bund, 1897-1904. Most of them were printed in underground printing shops, the rest abroad.

The Bund's activities are met by a special "Liquidation Action" in 1898 of the Moscow secret police: The Central Committee of the Bund, as well as 70 Bund leaders in various cities are arrested. Despite this severe repression, the revolutionary activities of the Bund continue.

From its print shops continue to come man in Yiddish, Russian and Polish.

The Bund gains world-wide socialist rec for the first time, in 1900, at a Congress o in Paris. The first time in history that a Jc pates in an international conference. (Th this and subsequent meetings of the Socia the only Jewish representation on any worl 1919.)



Members of Bundist Self-Defense

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In June, 1902, the Bundist Hirsch Leker the Tsarist governor of Vilna, who had o demonstrators at a May Day rally organize panying article on Leker.)

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BUND a Revolution

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From its print shops continue to come many underground publications in Yiddish, Russian and Polish.

The Bund gains world-wide socialist recognition, and is represented for the first time, in 1900, at a Congress of the Socialist International in Paris. The first time in history that a Jewish political party participates in an international conference. (The Bund's representation at this and subsequent meetings of the Socialist International constitute the only Jewish representation on any world-wide political arena until 1919.)

the rampant anti-Semitism and pogroms against the Jews, the Bund organizes self-defense groups. Many members of these groups are killed in defense of the Jewish community against the pogromists. But, for the first time in their history, Jews have taken arms against the venomous forces of anti-Semitism.

In 1903, the Bund withdraws from the second convention of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party because the convention resolves to vest all power in its Central Committee and to retract the Bund's position as representative of the broad Jewish working masses and its autonomy in Jewish matters — an autonomy granted the Bund at the Party's first convention. The Party splits into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, both of which are opposed to the Bund at that time.

In the same year a central federation of Bundist organizations is formed in America.

From the summer of 1903 to the summer of 1904 there are mass strikes and demonstrations in which the Bund plays an important organizing role. About 4,500 are arrested during this span. And yet the Bund undergoes great membership growth.



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Members of Bundist Self-Defense Group in Odessa, 1905. The three victims, members of the group fell during fight with pogromists.

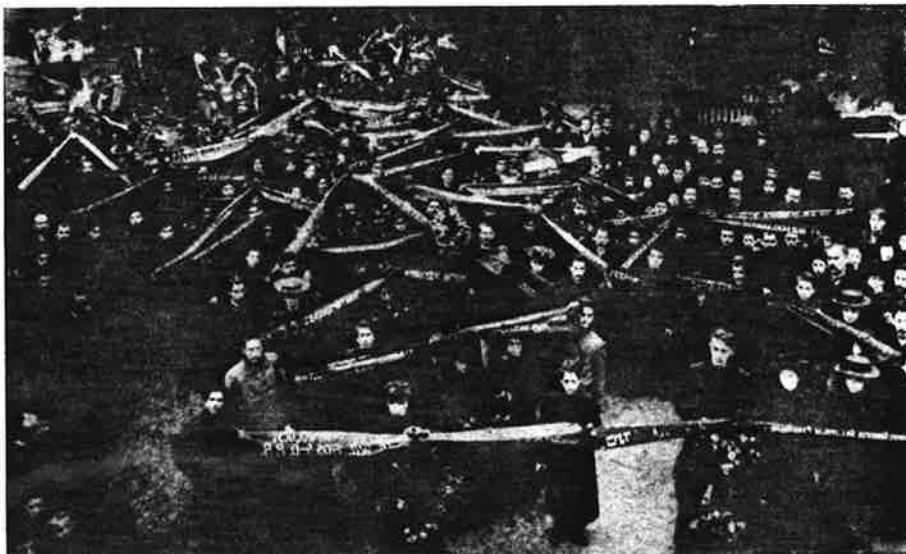
In 1901 the Bund declares that Russia should transform itself into a federation of its variety of nationalities "with full national autonomy for each of them," and that the "concept of nationality applies also to the Jewish people." This is the first time in history that a Jewish party declares that Jews are (in the Diaspora) a nation and therefore entitled to full national rights.

In June, 1902, the Bundist Hirsh Lekert is hanged for shooting at the Tsarist governor of Vilna, who had ordered the whipping of the demonstrators at a May Day rally organized by the Bund. (See accompanying article on Lekert.)

Because of the continued suppression of the Bund and because of

Nine Bundists are among the 57 political exiles who, after their political and personal demands are rejected by the governor, barricade themselves for 17 days (from February 26, 1904) in a house in Yakutsk, eastern Siberia, and engage in battle with the Tsarist soldiers. This is recorded in history as the "Romanowka Uprising."

In 1905, the Bund plays an important role in the Revolution. It organizes strikes and demonstrations in hundreds of cities and towns. The Bund helps set up barricades in Lodz — the first in Russia. Many people, among them Jews and Bundists, are killed. The Bundist self-defense groups are again active against the government organized pogromists.



Wreaths in honor of fallen comrades, victims of Tsarist repression of workers' uprising, at demonstration organized by the Bund in Vilna, October, 1905.

by Dr. A. A. Roback

The author (1890-1965), an eminent psychologist, educator and prolific author in Yiddish and English, was professor of psychology at Emerson College, Boston. He helped organize the Yiddish Department of the Harvard College Library. The following is an abridgment of his essay published in *New York in 1958*.

The great question posed by the brooding prince of Denmark, is not an isolated one. Thousands of young men and women who were born Jews are, consciously or unconsciously, mulling over the question "to be or not to be." In this instance however, they have in mind not their own personal existence, but the general problem of either remaining a Jew, or disappearing through assimilation.

The architects of Judaism were as much concerned with keeping the nation intact as a distinct group, as with the tenets of religion per se. Monotheism was a mode of separatism to insure Jewish survival, and therefore the practice of idolatry was regarded as high treason, meriting death. Religion in this instance, whatever else it might be, theologically or metaphysically, is an instrument serving the national instinct of self-preservation. It was religion which, throughout the Middle Ages, kept the Jewish ethnic group alive, even though in so doing, thousands of individuals lost their lives. They died not in order to receive a heavenly reward but for a principle.

Religion in the past has been a powerful elixir for Jews. Regrettably or otherwise, the trend in Jewish

life today is toward a diluted, acculturated form of religion, lacking its former intensity. Religion of this kind will not foster Jewish survival. If anything, it spurs assimilation.

Hegel said that no nation has the right to exist unless it produces ideas. The rationale for Jewish existence, scattered as we are among scores of nations, would be scarcely perceptible, were it not for what we have to offer. The Jews, a small group of people, have presented the world not only with their Bible and

active and creative culture. This applies particularly to the Jews, who have had to dwell constantly among other nations. The Jewish way of life is characterized by numerous aspects. Thus, Jewish culture includes religion, but it also consists of the specific Jewish languages which the Jews have developed and the literature created in these languages as well as art, music, folklore, and the theater.

We know that a great literature in Hebrew has risen through the

Sooner or later it must dawn upon Jewish leaders that contributing to charities, . . . or attending a service once in a while . . . is not the rationale of a people's existence . . .

ethical code, but also with creative achievements by individuals in various parts of the globe. But unless Jews create as a body, they will not enjoy recognition for it. In order to create as a people they must possess and utilize means of expression peculiar to themselves.

The question has often been raised: why not help build a Jewish culture in English, accessible to youth, and let Hebrew sustain Jewish tradition? In reply, let us begin by asserting that any ethnic group, in order to survive, must possess an

centuries, but for over 2,000 years Hebrew has not been the people's medium of expression. While it is now alive and vital in Israel, it is likely to remain in the Diaspora a language limited to prayer-books.

It is true that the vitality of Yiddish has weakened by the loss of six million Yiddish-speaking Jews. However, the prestige of Yiddish still constitutes the backbone of Jewish creativity. Yiddish extends from Northern Canada to Australia and from Bergen in Norway to the

Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. During World War II, Yiddish books and journals were published in Shanghai, and during the Civil War in Spain, a Yiddish periodical, "BUTVIN", appeared at the Catalan front. As in the case of the old British Empire, the sun never sets on Yiddish, and despite prophecies of doom, it continues to exhibit vitality and creativeness.

Sooner or later it must dawn upon Jewish leaders that contributing to charities or belonging to a country club, or attending a service once in a while in an edifice which substitutes a six-pointed star for a cross is not the rationale of a people's existence among a larger group, and that a separate culture with a vehicle of expression that transmits the thoughts and feelings of its people as no other medium can do is a sine qua non.

The most telling reason of all for learning and using Yiddish in everyday life, is the disintegration of Jewish cultural unity caused by the abandonment of Yiddish. I receive Yiddish newspapers from France, Mexico, Poland, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Israel, Australia, South Africa, Canada, the United States and other countries. They all express a cultural commonwealth separated only by geographical barriers. Only in Yiddish can they discuss matters of common interest.

English cannot take the place of Yiddish without erasing Jewish cul-

ture and jeopardizing the existence of the Jews as an ethnic unit. If Jewish culture in America and the British Commonwealth would be expressed through the medium of English, and Jewish culture in France appeared in French garb, and so on, then there would be no Jewish culture, but a miscellaneous bundle of marginal sub-American, sub-French, sub-Argentinian cultures. If the Jewish mode of life differs in no respect from the general mode, and the same language is spoken by all, then the very term "Jewish culture" is rendered nugatory. There can be only one course to take, if we are interested in Jewish survival: to intensify Jewish life through the cultivation of Yiddish arts and letters as a means of Jewish national creativeness and existence.

The rebirth of the State of Israel and of Hebrew as its official language has led certain groups to impose Hebrew on the Jews of the Diaspora at the expense of Yiddish. There are those who would liquidate not only the Diaspora but first of all its chief support—Yiddish.

We do not believe that Hebrew can take the place now held by Yiddish. Hebrew is undoubtedly a positive factor in furthering Jewish survival, but we question its practical use outside of Israel. Hebrew, with its strong center in Israel, negates the value of Jewish life outside Israel, while Yiddish by its very nature, is a driving force toward strengthening Jewish life wherever it may be.

WHY YIDDISH

by J. Hart

The author is a frequent contributor to *Unter Taitl*, the *Bund's* monthly publication (in Yiddish).

Saturday, October 10, 1970. Fort Tryon Park in the upper part of Manhattan. One of the highest areas in New York City. And also one of the nicest. Not only because of the old foliated trees and the beautiful new flower beds (this can also be found in other parks), but because of the surroundings and the views. To the West—the mighty current of the Hudson River with a green forest atop its high banks, and the majestic George Washington Bridge—as if it could be touched by an outstretched hand; to the East—the neighboring streets, and to the Northeast—the upper Bronx with its houses and green hills which are seen so clearly from the heights of the park. Historical importance also abounds. 194 years ago George Washington's army on this site fought the British for the independence of America.

Saturday, Fort Tryon Park becomes Jewish. The benches are fully occupied by elderly and middle-aged Jews. A mélange of languages: English, German (on nearby streets there live many Getzman Jews), Yiddish and other languages. Among the promenaders—many young people. At the highest elevation of the park there are crowded groups of boys and girls. The boys—the vast majority of them—with barely visible yarmulkes on their heads (there are a few Yeshivas in the neighborhood). "For God a candle—for the Devil a flood-light." They gab and gossip, joke and boast—they flirt.

Today, however, is different. The Sabbath of Sabbaths—Yom Kippur. The perennial sitters and promenaders are now in the synagogues. The benches are almost totally vacant, an infrequent passerby here and there, pensively staring to the West, where the setting sun is playing on the horizon her color symphony.

On one bench two youths. One is stretched out, the other is sitting upright near his head. They are embroiled in a playful conversation. I sit down nearby and look into my magazine, but their words disturb my reading. And I hear:—Sammy, look how empty it is here today.

Sammy answers:—Gerry, it's ne'lah already and soon we'll hear the shophar.

Gerry sits up suddenly and asks:—What is this "ne'lah"?

Sammy explains to him that these are the last prayers of the Yom Kippur service and after giving some thought continues:—What I just told you is true, but... when a Jew says "ne'lah" it means a lot more. What emotions and pictures accompany this word...

Gerry:—What do you mean by that?

Sammy:—Words that are translated into another language don't say everything and sometimes aren't even right. A story comes to mind, a story told me by my grandfather. In the *shetl*, in the old country, a Jew was robbed. Later the *ganef* was caught. At the trial the judge asks the robbed Jew what was taken from him. The plaintiff lists the items—among them a shophar. The Polish judge asks the Jew to explain to him what a shophar is. The Jew, who didn't know Polish too well, tries to explain it to him, but the judge still doesn't understand. Having no other choice, the Jew tells him that a shophar is a trumpet. The judge already quite angry: "What did you waste my time for, you could have told me right off that it was a trumpet." The Jew sighs: "Is a shophar then a trumpet?"

Gerry:—True. Translation is only imitation.

Sammy:—Knowing the original is to know it fully.

Gerry:—There's no question about it, Sammy, you know that in Jewish matters I am an ignoramus. You're well off—your parents still speak Yiddish, mine don't, though

they understand it. You naturally learned Yiddish from your parents, but why should I trouble myself to learn another language? What use would I have from it?

Sammy:—There are two inter-related things involved in this: One, knowing Jewish life and Jewish thought; secondly, knowing the Yiddish language.

Gerry:—You know that there is no disagreement between us on the first issue. Like you, I also believe that a Jew should know about Jewish life and Jewish thoughts. That means to know oneself. I don't want to run away from it and I certainly don't want to be a convert.

Sammy:—What is your conclusion out of all of this?

Gerry:—I don't care for religion, proof-positive: I'm sitting here in Fort Tryon Park and not in the synagogue. Should a workable peace ever be established in the Middle East, the State of Israel can at best serve only a small minority of the Jewish people; that part that lives there. Jews must live and create in those countries in which they are. In their own way they should con-

tribute to the elevation of their countries and to the future of the Jewish people. I don't just want to be a Jew biologically, but a conscious and active Jew.

Sammy:—Why not?

Gerry:—Let me tell you that this is a fatal mistake that many Jews make. I don't mean here those Jews who become alienated and who consciously run away—to the stronger, to the ruling, Jews are not more than human and this is a human

weakness. I mean those Jews who want to body and soul remain among Jews, be active and creative in their Jewish milieu, and at the same time co-operate with the non-Jewish world for the betterment of the whole population. I don't want a ghetto.

Gerry:—I still don't see the connection between Jewish activism and the Yiddish language. Jewish knowledge can be gotten in English.

Sammy:—One can certainly receive some Jewish knowledge in English, but it won't be at all comprehensive. They will be lacking the authenticity of originality. All sorts of people *live*, but between the lives of the rich and the lives of the poor there is a tremendous difference both in material and spiritual aspects. Nationally and culturally one can lead a pitiful and bloodless existence. But that should hardly be our ideal. Decadence should not be the goal of intelligent people.

Gerry:—Maybe you're right, but do you think that with Yiddish we will elevate ourselves and with ourselves Jewish life?

Sammy:—I must tell you that Jews have various sins and one of

No other language, including Hebrew, can so strongly and faithfully express the individuality of today's Diaspora Jew as Yiddish can.

them is vandalism. As a people and as individuals, Jews have suffered from foreign vandalism, but also to no small extent from their own vandalism. It is distressing when one Jew has to justify for another why a Jew should learn Yiddish.

Gerry:—What does that mean?

Sammy:—Intelligent Jews with higher education understand how bad and destructive it was, during the course of human history, when primitive peoples destroyed the cultural achievements of developed nations. It is called vandalism. But

they don't understand that it is just as vandalous when they themselves cut off the blood circulation of their folk-language, which during a thousand years the people developed, shaped and molded into their heads and their hearts.

Gerry:—It is still not clear to me why I cannot be a good, active Jew even though I don't know any Yiddish.

Sammy:—We come here every single Saturday afternoon. Let's be honest, if it weren't for the girls many fewer of us would come. The same can be said of the girls. Each of us has a girl-friend here and every girl a boy-friend. Why one boy-friend or one girl-friend? Because only in him or in her does one see the charm, the smile, the wit and the wisdom, which attract and elevate. We seek a certain individuality. The same is true of a language. No other language, including Hebrew, can so strongly and faithfully express the individuality of today's Diaspora Jew as Yiddish can.

Gerry:—I understand this in regards to other languages, but why not Hebrew.

Sammy:—Hebrew had a pause of over two thousand years. Modern Hebrew is a suffix to an ancient past. Yiddish is a thousand year continuum to this day. And it is no coincidence that the modern Hebrew literature could not reach the heights of the modern Yiddish literature. You'll be amazed at the great treasures created in the Yiddish language. If you don't know Yiddish you don't have the key to them.

Gerry:—I can't argue that with you. You know Yiddish. So you're qualified to give an opinion.

Sammy:—We have to go. But I have to tell you one more thing: Language isn't only words. Every language is an expression of national character. And the most genuine expression of the Jew is in Yiddish.

Darkness quickly settled. The two boys got up from the bench and slowly headed for the exit from the park.

THE "JEWISH DEFENSE (?) LEAGUE"

by Arkady Wolfe

During the 1930's, a segment of the Zionist movement severed itself from the World Zionist Organization because they were disenchanted with what they considered to be the mild nationalistic temperament and insufficient militancy of the general Zionist movement. These Revisionists, led by Zev Jabotinsky, insisted on a more anti-socialist more militaristic and even more colonialistic Zionist ideology and

policy. And for quite some time (until World War II) their ultra-chauvinism brought them into a natural affinity with racism, authoritarianism and militarism, so that the non-Jewish (Polish) Fascists and the Zionist Revisionists got along infamously well together.

Continuing in this ignoble Revisionist tradition, the Jewish Defense League (JDL) spews the same insanity. It is no surprise that the only Jewish organization that

backs the JDL is the United Revision-Zionists of America. It is also no surprise that Rabbi Meir Kahane, the medieval fanatic who runs the JDL and practically all of its adult leaders have been members of the Revisionist movement since their youth. And so when we witness the deliberately provocative policies of the JDL, and when we hear Commander Kahane declare, as quoted in *Midstream* (by its own description a Zionist publication), that "We want all of our kids to go to Israel. There is no future for Jews in America" — we are further convinced that Kahane is perpetuating the old fascist Revisionist policy of supporting the end of the Diaspora.

But if the fascist Revisionist politics are so widely discredited how have they gained any support in the Jewish community? The JDL is a result of the exigencies arising from the Jewish condition in urban America, and to understand its strength is to better understand the weaknesses of our situation this side of the melting-pot.

The constituency of the JDL is made up of Jewish high school youth, college students and the working lower-middle class. Many of these Jews live in so-called frontier areas, i.e. sections that were once Jewish but are now Black or Puerto Rican ghettos. They are religious

orthodox for the most part, and so their visibility in their neighborhoods is high. They are easily identifiable targets for anti-Semitism, and thus they are not infrequent victims of criminal attacks with heavily racist overtones. Their synagogues are firebombed, their homes vandalized, their shops looted. With swastikas and anti-Semitic epithets accompanying every act of vandalism, they see no difference between these criminals and the terrorism of the Nazi or other anti-Semitic hoodlums.

In addition, the discontent that pervades the white-working class at large affects also the Jewish working classes. They feel that they have no friends among the silent majority and they don't think twice about the latent anti-Semitism in anyone to the right of the Democratic party. Yet from the left come strident expressions of anti-Semitism, and so they have nowhere to turn but inward.

The urban Jews find no solace in the established leadership of their communities. The incessantly mouthed platitudes of suburban

American counterpart of the Israeli superjewe.

The relative success of the JDL demands a strong effort on the part of progressive American Jews to combat its reactionary, nationalist and fascist propaganda and its disintegrating and inimical effect on the urban Jewish community. We must show the people the danger and the destructiveness of the JDL. But it should be clear that the rejection of the JDL does not mean that we are denying our right to self-defense or the rights of other peoples to self-defense. *The question is who is our enemy — not whether we should fight him!*

It should not be difficult to show the urban Jew why and how the capitalist system and its ruling class is his real enemy. Jewish history is filled with examples of anti-Semitism in various forms. Anti-Semitism is an old weapon used by many ruling classes to deflect from themselves to the Jews the rage of the masses. History shows that more often than not the soldiers and sergeants of the anti-Semitic armies have come from the ranks of the oppressed people, who did not know that in fighting the Jews they were acting as tools of their own oppressors — the hidden rulers and commanders of their armies — and entrenching their own oppressions. In America, anti-Semitism is used to

"Long Live Socialism"



ASIE BIG, 20-year-old student and active woman worker in the Bund's youth organization, in the Party and the United Partisans' Organization; and AVROM CHWOINIK, 36-year-old leader of the underground Bund in Vilna and a leader of the United Partisans' Organization. Both these heroes of the Vilna Ghetto were publicly hanged by the Nazis, Sept. 24, 1943. Their last words: "Long live socialism."

Looking Backwards and Forwards

(Continued from page 2)

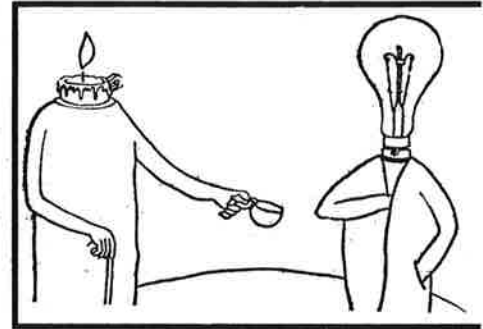
no matter what the jobs were, and the strength of movements for universal disarmament or for great reductions in military expenditure have not come primarily from the working class. This, although a far better basis for employment for the working class would be jobs created by total war against slums.

I am not writing with pleasure in thus criticizing organized labor. I am proud to be a union member. These facts have explanations, but the explanations do not accord with, for instance, Gene Debs' hope in the inherent virtue of labor. It is obvious that socialism needs working-class support and must find more successful ways to bring workers to its banners, but to me it also seems obvious that modern socialism in a country so far advanced in an economy of abundance rather than scarcity will have to be very largely what I have called a consumer's socialism. That is, it must propagandize its own cause in terms of the total benefit to human society of the conquest of slums, the elimination of poverty, and victory over preventable disease and war.

We Americans are a pragmatic people and tend of *too dogmatic* an ideology which some sociologists have acclaimed is not wholly bad. But we do need some basic ideas and guiding principles. Socialism cannot derive from Marx or any other of its great teachers a precise program in the extraordinary age of cybernation in a world where the gap between the developed and undeveloped nations is widening not narrowing. We can insist on the all-important socialist principle that production must be deliberately and consciously for the use of

all and that the distribution of a national income, material and cultural, must be far more equitably carried on than it is today. It is on this basis that I think we can make our appeal. Toward socialism in the vulgar sense of more planning by government and government agents and more collectivism of control we inevitably drift. But this is not good enough for democratic socialism.

Especially it is not enough for democratic socialism under the current religion of military nationalism. Unfortunately there is a great deal of truth in Paul-Henri Spaak's declaration some years ago that the thing we socialists were learning to nationalize best was socialism, and this runs counter to the whole spirit of Marx and others of our great teachers. It is easy to see why this development has come about in democratic societies because the field in which labor and liberal forces can operate is the sovereign nation and often the interests of labor in such a nation are not, temporarily, the interests of worldwide labor throughout this extraordinarily unevenly developed world. Yet in the end our ideals will not be achieved until we can bring about not only a warless world, but a world in which a general struggle against poverty, illiteracy and general disease has made far greater progress than today. We cannot achieve this world under the religion of nationalism. The workers of different countries in the world, workers of hand and brain, have chains of very unequal weight but they are still chains, and the world of free men in a socialist society is still to be won. It is our immediate business to think deeper and harder and to act more effectively to win it.



liberalism are pathetically irrelevant to these communities. The established ruling clique, cloistered in its suburban comfort, hasn't the crudest conception of the needs of the discontented Jews and offers no nostrums to relieve them of their dilemma. Instead of addressing themselves to the legitimate needs of the urban Jews, most Jewish leaders ignore the whole issue of the plight of these Jews. And instead of condemning the (Jewish) chauvinism, racism, fascism and imperialism, which are the essence of JDL policies and the motives for its gloomy existence, they seem to decry the right of the Jewish community to defend itself if necessary.

Finally, post-World War II Jewish nationalism is a contributing factor to the receptivity among Jews to the JDL's credo. Realizing that the world had abandoned them to the Holocaust, the Jews lost faith in man's good-will, and nationalism — unfortunately — replaced (hopefully, not for long) socialism as the predominant political force. The intense and often fanatic identification of American Jews with Israel and her military expertise is common knowledge. This identification can be so overwhelming as to convince some American Jews that they are in the same predicament as Israel, and thus must respond in similar fashion to what they consider their surrounding "enemies." Imputing to themselves feelings of isolation from the general society and of rejection by right and left, they look to Israel's supposed self-reliance and militance as the blueprint for the JDL's own brand of Jewish machismo or as the

frustrate the oppressed as racism is used to divide the working class.

As racism and chauvinism must be liquidated in the Jewish community, anti-Semitism must be liquidated in the Black and Puerto-Rican communities. All truly socialist parties must recognize that anti-Semitism, in any form, is reactionary, racist and an old tool of the ruling class. A mutual respect and understanding, leading to solid alliances, must be established amongst all urban minority communities. This alliance should be based on a common commitment to the just and humane principles of socialism, to the struggle against all forms of oppression, exploitation, racism and persecution, and to the universal liberation of mankind. These principles have to be pronounced even more than ever in the Jewish community and in the Black and Puerto-Rican communities as well. We must take to the offensive then in elevating these principles and in destroying all ethnic hatred. For our only true defense is the advancement of the cause of universal liberation.

Yes, NEVER AGAIN!
But also — never again
racism, fascism and
chauvinism!

Liebmann Hersch

Statehood and Jewish History

Liebmann Hersch (1882-1955) was a renowned scholar, author, and long-time professor of demography and statistics at the University of Geneva, Switzerland. Elected, in 1949, President of the International Union for Scientific Study of Population, he was, in 1954, President of the World Population Conference held in Rome under the auspices of the United Nations and the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population.

A Bundist since his early adult years, he was particularly active in the Bund under the Tsarist regime and after World War II; he scholarly defended the ideas of the Bund. We publish here—for the first time in English—a shortened adaptation of his essay, written in February, 1948, which appeared originally in UNSER TRAIT, the main publication of the Jewish Labor Bund, which has appeared monthly in New York, in Yiddish, since 1941.

Since the Great French Revolution, it has been the opinion of the assimilated Jews that Jews are not a nation, much less a nation like other nations. In contrast, there are within the Jewish people claims that Jews are a nation equal, in every sense, to other nations. I believe, however, that Jews are a nation, but not like other nations, and all claims to the contrary are, at best, no more than ingenious and crafty mystifications.

True, nations have, generally been concentrated on certain territories, and the supposed exceptions to the rule actually prove it. Nations have a common language, and also in this regard do the rare would-be exceptions confirm the general rule. Nations usually (but not always) possess their own state. But Jews have, for thousands of years, since their exile in Babylonia, been spread over the length and breadth of the earth.

It was at the height of the decadence of the small state of Judah . . . that Jewish antiquity in exile, in Babylonia, effected its most noble moral achievements . . .

We have for thousands of years and in many countries spoken many different languages, and we have for thousands of years not had our own state. All this shows that evidently we are not a people (nation) like other peoples (nations). But it does not mean that we are not a nation at all.*

What follows logically from the Jewish uncommon history is that we are a people (nation) which has existed for thousands of years without a common state, without a common territory, and even without a common language—a people (nation) different from other nations. The consciousness of Jewish national identity, the awareness of belonging to the Jewish people, have shown an uncommon strength, outlasting many a great civilization which did have the "benefits" of common territory, language and state.

*Editor's note: The term "nation", contrary to popular English usage but in accordance with the practice of some multinational states of Europe, denotes here people with a distinct common history, culture and identity, regardless of whether or not they have a state of their own. Consequently, the terms "Jewish nation" and "Jewish people" (both used here interchangeably) define Jews who lived in the past or live today both inside and outside modern Palestine or the present-day State of Israel.

EIGHTY YEARS OF INDEPENDENT STATEHOOD

The public at large generally looks at the circa 3500 year Jewish history as consisting of two almost equally long epochs: about 1800 years until the second destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, and more or less the same number of years thereafter. During the first era the Jews lived in an independent Jewish state in Ancient Palestine; their second era has been spent in the Diaspora. Accordingly, it is generally assumed that anything great in Jewish history must have developed during that period when the Jews had their own independent state, but that afterwards, during the long time the Jews did not have an independent state, everything went downhill. Let us examine a little closer that period of Jewish history when, according to this conception, the Jews did have their own independent state.

It is germane to this discussion to first make an observation of a geographical nature. Canaan (ancient Palestine) was situated between two valleys: the valley of the Nile on one side, and that of the Tigris and Euphrates on the other side. Each of these valleys was the crib for a great ancient civilization, each became the seat of a great empire: Egypt on one side, Assyria and Babylonia on the other. Squeezed geographically in between these two mighty neighbors, Palestine had no chance to become a military power or to play any significant international role as a "great power"; even her very "political independence" was, therefore, from the outset questionable. In fact, the Hebrew Palestine constantly had to maneuver between her two powerful neighbors, seeking more often than not support from the less dynamic Egypt on one

tribes to steadily combine their forces and to choose over themselves a king, who was supposed to lead the struggle against the external enemy and to maintain an internal legal order. The first effort in this direction was, as is well-known, unsuccessful; the first king, Saul, was himself killed in battle against the Philistines. It was King David, Saul's opponent and eventual successor, who captured Jerusalem, made it the capital, and finally united Palestine into one Jewish state. His state lasted only until the death of his son and heir, King Solomon and this short period of eighty years, during which (according to the Bible) the two kings ruled, was the entire extent of time in which the whole of the Jewish population lived together in an independent state. That is—eighty years out of thirty-five hundred, or about two per cent of the entire time encompassed in the history of Jews!

As is well-known, after King Solomon's death, the united Jewish kingdom was split. The larger part, in the center and in the north (Israel), led a more or less independent existence for 200 years, until it was conquered and destroyed by Assyria. The smaller part, in the south (Judah), with its capital city Jerusalem and with its great Temple which King Solomon built, was captured and destroyed 150 years later by Babylonia. Since then, the Jewish people in their ancient and later history have actually not had any truly independent state.

CREATIVITY IN BABYLONIAN EXILE

It was at the height of the decadence of the small state of Judah and immediately after Judah's destruction that Jewish antiquity in exile, in Babylonia, effected its most noble moral achievement: the Prophecies, the immortal works of both Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and other Prophets; their teachings of universal justice; of the uncompromising struggle against all social inequities; of brotherly love; and of peace based on international righteousness.

The forced exile in Babylonia lasted only two generations. But this was a time of intensive spiritual activity, and of a great moral turning-point among the Jewish people. Until then the monotheistic *Weltanschauung* had been limited essentially to the narrow bounds of a moral elite, including the Prophets and their disciples, some priests and other select individuals; the royal court, the aristocracy and the

They (the Jews) came out of Babylonia not only cleansed of idolatry, but also of any dreams of military might.

people would often relapse into the most pagan idolatry, with its human sacrifices, nonsensical superstitions, and sex orgies. In general, life among the Babylonians had a twofold effect on the Jewish people. It led to the assimilation into Babylonian culture of those among the Jewish population who were distant from the monotheistic faith; but on the other hand, it led those Jews who had been influenced by the

teachings of Moses and the Prophets to amend their ways, and absorb and strengthen these beliefs. Thus, after their exile in Babylonia there are no more traces of idolatry to be found among Jews.

UNDER PERSIA, MACEDONIA AND EGYPT

The Persian King Cyrus destroyed the Babylonian Empire, built on its ruins the Medo-Persian Empire, and permitted the Jews to return to their old home. In several emigrations the Jews returned to the land of their ancestors. There they enjoyed a fairly extensive internal autonomy, equal to other peoples and states (provinces) in the large Persian Empire. Indeed, they did not want more. They came out of the Babylonian exile not only cleansed of idolatry, but also of any dreams of military might. Thus for a full 200 years Palestine existed as one of the 127 provinces of the Persian Empire; and during all this time one cannot find among the Jews the slightest trace of revolt, of insurrection, of a desire to establish an independent state.

Chanukah is . . . the holiday of "chanukas habayis," i.e. the re-opening of the Temple . . . As to the matter of an independent Jewish state, the Jewish populace remained indifferent

After the Persian era, a new period of 150 years followed. Alexander of Macedonia destroyed the Persian Empire, erected his own empire, which shortly after his death fell apart and was divided among his generals. One of them received Syria, another took Egypt, and Palestine was thereby passed on to Egypt. The kings of Egypt, the Ptolemies, also permitted the Jews to retain the internal autonomy which they had enjoyed under Persian rule, and, until the beginning of the second century B.C., the situation, in this respect, changed very little for the Jews.

The French say: "fortunate peoples have no history." The Jews, indeed, did not then have an independent state, but they were fortunate to enjoy peace under the protection of the Persian Empire during the first period, and of Egypt during the second. There was a growth of Jewish population in Palestine as well as in other countries: Babylonia, Egypt, Persia, the coasts of the Black and Mediterranean Seas. And internally, within the Jewish people, there continued an enormous intellectual activity: the definitive text of the Pentateuch was concluded; a series of the most important works of the Bible were written (part of the Book of Psalms, part of the Second Book of Isaiah, the Book of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, perhaps also the Song of Songs and others); the Jewish Bible was completed, and therewith the foundation was laid for the spiritual life of the Jewish people for the next thousand years. In addition, the Pentateuch was translated into Greek—a matter of immense import to world-history, because this greatly weakened the various pagan attitudes of the Western world and thus paved the way for the advent of Christianity. Also the first sprouts of the Mishnah were seen,

THE MACCABEAN UPRISING

The situation in ancient Palestine changed, however, after the country was taken over by Syria, at the beginning of the second century B.C. The Greco-Syrian Empire of the Seleucid Dynasty was already at that time in a state of decadence and Antiochus IV decided to enforce Hellenization upon the entire (and varied) population of his kingdom. Therefore, with the help of some upper class Jews, he not only promulgated the Greek language and the Greek way of life throughout Palestine, but also forced the Jews to worship the Greek gods, and placed within the Great Temple of Jerusalem a statue of Zeus. At this point, the Jews, who for about four hundred years had enjoyed a peaceful existence, took arms and, under the leadership of the Maccabees, rose up against the Syrians.

There has been a tendency, in our times, to picture the Maccabean revolt as a movement whose goal it was to establish an independent Jewish state. This interpolates the concepts of the present into that

ancient past epoch, but that is a false interpretation of the historical reality. The truth of the matter is that the Maccabean uprising broke out not over the issue of Jewish political independence, but because the Bible had been profaned, the Great Temple had been desecrated; in other words, because the Jews were not permitted to live as Jews, as their ancestors had lived for the previous hundreds of years: i.e., in internal autonomy. And Chanukah was initially not a festival to commemorate the establishment of an independent Jewish state, which was realized—incidentally, only in a relative sense—not until a quarter of a century later, and which the Jewish people did not immortalize at all. Chanukah is—according to Hebrew semantics—the holiday of "*chanukas habayis*," i.e., the re-opening of the Temple, the removal of the idols, and its purification. As to the matter of an independent Jewish state, the Jewish populace remained indifferent, and even the leaders of the revolt, the Maccabees, more than once made peace with the Syrians on condition that they (the Syrians) recognize the internal autonomy of the Jews. But, since this condition was often broken by the Syrians, and since the Syrian state itself had become greatly weakened by the direct onslaughts of the Parthians and the indirect attacks of the Romans, the struggle between the Jews and the Syrians was continually renewed, until the Maccabees—who were allied with the Romans—were finally able to rid themselves of the Syrians, and ancient Palestine ("Eretz Israel") again became independent. That is, Palestine became independent, but not all the Jews, because already then only a part of the Jewish people lived in Palestine. In addition, by this time (the second half of the second century B.C.) it was the Romans who had assumed

effective control of the states bordering on the Mediterranean, and the new independence of the Jewish state of Palestine was already quite relative.

The insignificance ascribed by the Jewish people to this "independent" Jewish state is to be seen in the low esteem in which Jewish tradition has held the successors of the Maccabees: the later Maccabees, the Antigonuses, the Aristobuluses, the Alexander Jan-naeus, and all the other supposedly independent Sadducean and Phari-saic high priests and kings with non-Jewish names. The Jewish people and Jewish history honor the memory of the first Maccabees, who fought for the rights of Jews to live as a distinct people; it has, however, practically forgotten the names of those who later were the representa-tives and embodiment of the supposedly independent Jewish state. And this supposedly independent

In present-day terms, Jochanan, the great Tanaite . . . committed treason: he betrayed the state, betrayed his brothers . . . betrayed the greatest national shrine . . .

state — "independent" then only by the grace of Rome — also existed (with some interruptions) for about eighty years, until the Roman general, Pompey, in the year 63 B.C. taking advantage of the internal war between two Maccabean brothers (an Hyrcanus and an Aristobu-lus), put Palestine completely under direct Roman rule.

Thus ended the so-called "in-dependence" of the Jewish state in the time of the second Temple of Jerusalem. Hereby is concluded everything that ancient Jewish history notes on an "independent" state among Jews.

JEWISH SPIRITUAL LEADERS OF THE PAST ON THE IDEA OF A JEWISH STATE

How did the recognized Jewish spiritual leaders relate to the issue of an independent Jewish state?

This is an involved question. Here, I shall cite only several instances, which are to me of particular im-portance. The Pentateuch (Deu-teronomy XVII, verses 14, 15) al-lows for a monarchy among Jews, but views kingly power with much apprehension and greatly limits its scope. True, the discourse is con-cerned not with a Jewish state in general, but with a specific type of state: monarchy. However, in those ancient times a state could take virtually no other form. And when the Jews (having lived for hundreds of years as separate tribes) appealed to the revered Prophet Samuel to appoint a king over them, he faced with the concrete choice: a state with a king at its head, or no state at all.

other nations. True, the realization of this ideal was foreseen by the Prophets in the very distant future, but everything that stands in the way of its realization must be op-posed; everything, even the Jewish state, to the extent that it is pre-dicated on injustice. The later Proph-ets, even more explicitly than Moses or Samuel, express this elementary thought that an independent Jewish state has no absolute, but only rela-tive merit, that only justice in re-lations among peoples has absolute value.

This relative and subordinated merit that an independent Jewish state held in the eyes of the spiri-tual leaders of the ancient Jewish past, will be clearer by considering, though only briefly, their views on the particular Jewish state of their times and in the most critical mo-ments of ancient Jewish history.

THE "DEFEATISM" OF JEREMIAH

During the last years of the State of Judah the Babylonian Empire conquered many peoples and coun-tries, including Judah, took into captivity the king and the leaders of the state, and placed on the Jewish throne one of her vassals. The new king, however, made an alliance with Egypt and revolted against Babylonia. The entire civil and mili-tary Jewish aristocracy sided with the king in his uprising. According to modern terminology, these were "patriots". But, the Prophet Jerem-iah opposed them. He had for a long time warned the royal court, the priests and the people against such a policy. He thundered against the social injustices that reigned in the country; he warned that as long as there was no internal justice, there was no point in building the future merely on help from outside, from Egypt; and he predicted that war against Babylonia would result in a horrible national disaster. He even demanded that the Jews submit to

the Babylonians, that they carry out internal social reforms, enforce an order based on justice, saying that only under these conditions would the people ever live to see better times. And later, when the Baby-lonians came and occupied the land and laid siege to Jerusalem, which defended itself heroically, dying of hunger, or pestilence and the swords of the enemy, Jeremiah still did not stop charging the king to capitulate, and the people to desert the king, in order to save at least the very lives of the people. (Jeremiah, ch. 22, verses 8 & 9.)

Nowadays, this sort of propa-ganda of "defeatism", "capitulation", "desertion" in the midst of a war and in danger of national destruc-tion, is high treason. But the role of Jeremiah in Jewish history is well-known: he is highly esteemed in the Jewish cultural tradition.

JABNEH

Once again the Jews were en-gaged in a terrible war. This time with the mightiest military power of ancient times, the Roman Empire. Once again the land was overrun by the enemy, and once again Jeru-salem defended itself with a stub-born, desperate heroism. But what did the great Tanaite Jochanan ben Zakkai do at that time? He simu-lated a corpse; his disciples placed him in a coffin, the military guard permitted them in this manner to carry him beyond the walls of the city for purposes of interring him, and there he rose before the Roman commander-in-chief, Titus, and asked for, and received, his permission to found a Jewish academy in the city of Jabneh. In present-day terms, Jochanan, the great Tanaite, doing this at the moment when the exist-ence of the people, of the state, of Jerusalem, of the Temple, were on the verge of destruction, committed treason: he betrayed the state, be-trayed his brothers who had fought in despair with self-sacrificing devo-tion, betrayed the greatest national

shrine, for which he should have been the first to sacrifice himself. But history has returned another verdict: if after thousands of years after the last destruction of the Temple, there still exists a Jewish people, it is to a large extent, be-cause of Jabneh.

THE FETISH OF STATEHOOD

Compared to our 3500 year his-tory, the 80 year period of a truly independent state, which united the entire Jewish people, is but a tiny episode. Their supposedly independ-ent statehood, during the times when they were surrounded by powerful nations, did in no way avert the great national disasters which befell the Jewish people; on the contrary, it hastened the disasters. The Jewish people had been warned by our Prophets, from Moses to Jeremiah, against making of statehood an abso-lute, a demi-god.

Only complete estrangement from the millennia of our history and from the living spirit of the entire Jewish tradition, enforced by cer-tain historical circumstances (which ought to be explored more thorough-ly) could have led broad sectors of the Jewish people to institute, in our generation, the idolization of independent Jewish statehood, to make it an absolute, a demi-god, a fetish to which all must be sub-servient and before which everyone must genuflect.

What is really of paramount im-portance to our people, and on what its future existence and development really depends, is internal autonomy, i.e. the opportunity to live freely as Jews, in our own national culture and by our own national traditions, in a system of general freedom and social justice. The form and content of this internal autonomy naturally must adapt itself to various epochs and different countries. And the order of freedom and social justice can, in our age, take the form only of socialism, democracy and inter-national understanding and coopera-tion.

Middle-East

(Continued from page 1)

did not want it under any cir-cumstances. Now, through the indirect Jarring negotiations, this picture is radically changed: Egypt declared itself willing to live with Israel in peace and conclude with her a peace-treaty with all concomitant rights and duties. This offer was made despite the opposition of ex-treme Arab nationalists and is linked with a few closely re-lated problems.

First, there is the matter, formerly known as the Arab refugee problem, now largely, though not entirely, transformed into the problem of the Pal-estinian Arabs. Our position on this matter reflects one of the basic attitudes of Bundism. It is our considered conviction that the Jewish attitude toward the Arabs who became refugees or had been deprived in other ways of their rights after the forming of the Israeli State, ought to be motivated not by concepts of might, but by reason of right, which Jews have themselves de-manded for 2,000 years. Thus, in reminiscence of the long, long and still not concluded struggle for our own national self-deter-mination wherever we live, no

Jew, by any stretch of equity, can now deny the Palestinian Arabs the full right to their own self-determination. Unfortunately, the Israeli government does so.

The second, most essential, condition of the Egyptian peace offer is the demand that Israel commit itself to withdraw from the territories occupied after the war of June, 1967. But here again, Israel's answer is nega-tive, and this might become the definitive obstruction to all peace efforts. As Moshe Dayan, the powerful defense minister of the Israeli government, put it very bluntly: Better to have those territories we want with-out peace, than a peace without those territories.

Our stand is just the opposite. It is out of concern for the se-curity and survival of the 2½ million Jews of Israel, and for reasons of international justice as well, that we are for peace without annexations. This is, incidentally, a time-honored so-cialist principle. Annexations af-ter a war are breeding grounds for a new war. This is the way it has worked so tragically for so many centuries for so many nations. It is astonishing that, after a mere 23 years of Israel's existence, its leaders have al-ready forgotten the tragic lessons

of history. "Secure frontiers?" There are none in this age of missiles. After all, Israel won the last two wars from her pre-June 1967 frontiers due to her air-force which has no frontiers at all.

There is one, and only one, way for Israel to gain lasting security: to be accepted by her Arab neighbors and to live with them, not against them. The an-nexations demanded by Israel make this impossible. And if the most decisive of the Arab na-tions (actually not she alone) now offers full recognition of the Israeli state within the terri-tory which only yesterday and for over 1,000 years before that was mainly Arab — a recogni-tion never offered before — then this is a move which can be the beginning of Israel's acceptance by the Arabs and of a peaceful co-existence, which must not be destroyed by Israel herself.

Most important, there is no real and durable substitute for peace. Peace equals security — this is Israel's intransmutable equation. Its alternative is a new Middle East war, this time with the possibility of an explosion that could engulf the entire hu-man race. The next move in the Middle East must not lead away from peace.

Toward A Radicalized World

(Continued from page 1)

countries — it is mainly the ideal of freedom, of real de-mocracy, that animates the action for a radical change of the Communist dictatorships.

And what about the United States? Isn't it strange that this is the only major capitalist coun-try in the world where there is not one strong party against capitalism? Yes — but here too something effective is hap-pening: there are factors and actions which lead away from capitalism and imperialism with-out going astray to dictatorial communism or racism of any color or brand. Such factors are several. We will name a few. First and foremost are the various pollutions (air, water, earth). Objectively, these areas are begging for democratic, so-cialist planning. In other words: India is too poor and too under-developed to afford capitalism, and the United States cannot afford capitalism because it is too rich and too developed. Second, there are the protests of the youth and intellectuals against war and oppression.

The last to be mentioned as a sign of radicalization in

America seems at first glance very strange. That is President Nixon's call for a "Second Revo-lution." How come? Hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to vir-tue. In a sense, even the self-selling of the (probable) future Presidential candidate, is homage to radicalism. But — Caveat emptor!

America is full of contradic-tions. Most of them arise from the fact that the urgent needs of today and tomorrow collide with the ideas and policies of the old order. The most funda-mental political contradiction in the United States is its lack of an independent political labor movement in the country with the largest proportion of wage-earners in the world. But this cannot remain much longer. "The Second American Revolu-tion" is necessary, but it cannot be expected from Nixon's party or, for that matter, from the second dominant American party. The way to do it is by in-dependent, democratic socialism. This is increasingly more needed and therefore it must become in-creasingly more obtainable.

From The Movement

TWO STATEMENTS

The following statements were issued during the Leningrad trials. Though the death sentences were later commuted, the statements are still relevant in that they define the Bund's positions on the general problems of Soviet Jewry.

The Jewish Labor Bund strongly protests the extreme sentences given the 11 Leningrad defendants accused of conspiring to hijack a Soviet plane.

The political atmosphere surrounding the trial, particularly the fact that foreign correspondents were not permitted to witness the proceedings, leaves open to doubt the righteousness of all the sentences. The two death penalties are particularly cruel and in no proportion to the deeds which the defendants are accused of. We demand that the two death sentences be revoked and no other sentences be carried out.

We declare: The Bund is opposed to the Zionist slogan of "Exodus" or of emigration only to the State of Israel. We do demand that all Soviet citizens, regardless of nationality, should have the right to emigrate to the country of their choice. This belongs to the elementary rights of everyone.

We hold that the worst anti-Jewish discrimination in the Soviet Union lies today in the fact that the Jews there are deprived of their national cultural rights. We demand for the Soviet Jews the same opportunities to learn their national language, literature and Jewish history as have scores of other Soviet national minorities for the development of their own national languages and cultures. The right to maintain one's own language, culture and other forms of national expression belongs to the elementary rights of all national minorities.

The Jews in the USSR will, we believe, overcome all their hardships under the present Soviet dictatorship and will secure there a lasting Jewish life with a progressive Jewish secular culture.

World Coordinating Committee of the
Jewish Labor Bund
New York, December, 1970.

Statement of the Jewish Students' Bund

We think it highly appropriate that the Jewish Labor Bund is making the above appeal, which we fully support. For those who are not familiar with the Bund we add the following comments: The Bund was founded in 1897 in Tsarist Russia. A year later it helped found the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party; the Bund continued to play an influential role in the Russian revolutionary movement until its liquidation by the Soviet regime soon after the 1917 Revolution.

The Bund was the first Jewish labor party in history. As such it gained world-wide socialist recognition, in 1900, by being admitted into the Socialist International. In the interwar years the Bund was very active in Poland, and in the late 1930's it became the strongest political party amongst the 3½ million Polish Jews.

We have always been uncompromising international and democratic socialists, consistently against Capitalism and Communism. We are anti-nationalistic yet conscientious Jews. As such, we have always fought for the rights of Jews and non-Jews alike. We are anti-clerical, i.e. against the abuse of any religion for reactionary motives.

According to the tenets of Bundism, we are anti-assimilationist, but also anti-Zionist, and consequently we oppose the Zionist demands of "Exodus." We demand free emigration for all Soviet citizens, regardless of nationality. Furthermore, we believe that this single-minded Zionist "Exodus" propaganda diverts from the real issues: The fight for the equality and full national-cultural rights of the Soviet Jews — only this can ultimately ensure the ethnic survival of Soviet Jewry — and the struggle for freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of movement and the general democratization of the Soviet regime.

We appeal to the Soviet government to rescind the two disproportionate death sentences and reconsider the harsh sentences against the other defendants.

We demand the full restoration of the national cultural rights of the Soviet Jews.

Jewish Students' Bund

THE BUND, before World War II a party concentrated in Eastern Europe, with strong influence among Jewish workers in the U. S. and other countries, was reorganized in 1947 as a world-wide union of Bund organizations — International Jewish Labor Bund. Its headquarters are in New York (25 East 78th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021).

BUND ORGANIZATIONS are active in the following countries: U.S., Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Israel, Australia and South Africa; in addition, there are individual members and smaller Bund-groups in other countries of Western Europe and Latin America.

The Bund is a member-party of the Socialist International, where it has always expressed its distinct point of view. In those instances when the International has adopted resolutions, not in accordance with the Bund's ideological positions (especially on the Middle East and Israel), the Bund has always declared its disagreement.

IN MELBOURNE, the Bund had a milestone year in 1970. Its youth organization, SKIF — "Sozialistischer Kinder Farband," the name of one of the Bund's youth organizations in inter-war Poland — celebrated its 20th anniversary of active existence in Australia.

IN WASHINGTON, D. C., the JEWISH STUDENTS' BUND — incidentally this was the first such organization — is continuing its organizational activity.

IN MEXICO, the Bund's youth organization, ICFIC, has been quite active in the past few months, particularly in radical Yiddish cultural undertakings. The group has conducted a very popular radio program on Yiddish literature and music. It is also planning a Spanish-Yiddish dictionary.

IN NEW YORK, the JEWISH STUDENTS' BUND has been meeting regularly to discuss and eventually publish a comprehensive Bundist ideology, particularly underlining its relevance to American Jewish radical youth. (The most recently published Bund ideology is in Yiddish and does not specifically address itself to youth.) Along these lines J. S. B. circulated a statement, together with the Jewish Labor Bund, on the Leningrad trials; both statements are printed on this page.

The Washington and New York J. S. B. groups recently organized a conference, held in

THE OTHER WAY

Published by the
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and

JEWISH STUDENTS' BUND

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Tel.: LE 5-0850

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We invite your cooperation, comments, questions.

New York; various radical Jewish individuals and organizations were represented. The conclusions of this conference were that more such meetings should take place, at which matters of common interest would be discussed; that we work toward making April 19 — the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising — a day of observance on campuses; that a lecture series be set up; and that a group be formed to tour the country performing Yiddish and proletarian music.

In addition to the above-mentioned cities, prospects are improving for Bundist youth organizations in many cities in the U. S. and Canada.

UNSER TSAIT, the central publication of the Bund and the only theoretical socialist journal in the Yiddish language, is celebrating its 30th anniversary of continuous monthly publication. Send your subscriptions (\$7.00 per year, \$4.00 for students, 60c for a single copy) to Unser Tseit, 25 East 78th St., New York, N. Y. 10021.

The fourth volume of THE HISTORY OF THE BUND (in Yiddish), the only comprehensive history of the Bund, is in the process of being printed in New York. 100 books have been published during the last 20 years in the Bund's publishing houses in New York, Mexico, and Buenos Aires.

UNSER SHTIMME, published by the Bund in Paris, is the only Yiddish Socialist daily in Europe. There are also Bund periodicals in Mexico — FOROYS, Buenos Aires — UNSER GEDANK, Melbourne — UNSER GEDANK, and Tel Aviv — LEBNSFRAGN.

YIDDISH SCHOOLS are conducted, under the auspices of the Bund, in Paris, Mexico, Buenos Aires, Israel, and Australia. The Bund also operates Yiddish libraries in Paris (the largest Yiddish library in France), Tel-Aviv, Montevideo, and Rio de Janeiro.

Anyone interested in getting a person from the Bund to speak at a meeting or participate in any discussions or symposiums should contact our office.

THE FIFTH WORLD CONFERENCE of the Bund (they were begun after World War II) will be held in New York next year, in conjunction with the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Bund.

THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING is commemorated annually by all the Bund organizations around the world on April 19, the anniversary of the first day of the Uprising (1943). In New York, the Bund's commemoration will take place at 5:00 P. M. at the memorial site on Riverside Drive at 83rd Street.

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THE FIRST JEWISH HERO In Modern Times

1902 is a milestone in the modern struggle for the liberation of the Jew, for his human and national dignity.

May 1, 1902, the Jewish unions in Vilna joined in a May Day demonstration, organized by the "Bund." They demonstrated against the tsar and against capitalism, they demanded the tsar's overthrow and the establishment of a socialist order, they demanded equal rights for Jews and freedom for all peoples of Russia.



Hirsh Lekert

Governor Von Wahl became very irritated with these "bad" Jews; he ordered the demonstrators arrested and whipped. This would teach them a lesson not to rise above their lowly prescribed position. Fifty-four demonstrators were arrested. Twenty-six of these were chosen for the whipping, in the presence of Von Wahl, the chief of police, the prosecutor, and a doctor. The remaining twenty-eight prisoners were forced to witness the whipping.

This humiliation was too much for the Jewish labor force to bear. The demonstrators had been prepared to go to prison, to be sent to Siberia, even to die for their beliefs. But this! To be humiliated when they had risked their lives! To receive such a punishment when they had fought for the dignity of man! To be whipped like dogs for the sadistic pleasure of the tsar's officials!

The Central Committee of the Bund issued a proclamation:

Jewish workers! How will you respond to this shameful insult? You have shown that you are no longer timid slaves. With your courageous struggle for freedom you have shown the whole world that you have awakened to a new life, to a life of free citizen.

Until today our party has been against political terror, even now we reject the use of terror as a means to combat tyranny.

But the wild acts of Von Wahl bring out a terrible anger among our comrades. We are convinced that from among the ranks of the Jewish proletariat there will appear an avenger, who will avenge the degradation of his brothers; and should any human blood be spilled, the responsibility will fall squarely on the shoulders of the tsar and his evil servants . . .

On May 18, 1902, Hirsh Lekert, a twenty-two year old shoemaker, a Bundist, approached Governor Von Wahl's coach, as the latter was returning from a performance of the circus, and shot him twice—once in the arm and once in the leg.

Von Wahl suffered only superficial wounds. But Lekert's shots thundered throughout Europe, in the halls of the tsar's palace, in the meeting places of the socialist parties, in the hearts of working-men,

DON'T THINK . . .

by I. L. Peretz

translated from the Yiddish by S. Luba

Don't think the world is a tavern—created to forge a trail with fist and nail to the bar-keg, to gorge and to guzzle, while glassy-eyed others look on at a distance, swallow saliva and suck in their guts wracked with cramps!
Oh, don't think the world is a tavern

Don't think the world is a market—created for strong men to trade, in the weak and the tired buy shame off of destitute girls and milk from the breasts of young women, the marrow from men, and smiles from the children the seldom seen gnat on their paraffin faces!
Oh, don't think the world is a market

Don't think the world an abandon—created for foxes and wolves for plunder and swindle the sky—is a curtain to cut of god's view the fog—to keep them from seeing your hands the wind—choking off the wild screaming the earth—to sop up blood of the victims!
Oh, don't think the world an abandon

The world is no tavern, no market-abandon everything measured, everything weighed no tear no drop of blood disappears no spark in an eye is extinguished for naught the tears become rivers and rivers make oceans oceans will flood and sparks become thunder!
Don't think there's no judgment no jury

and in the consciousness of the entire Jewish people, Bundist and non-Bundist as well. Lekert's shots heralded the coming of a new Jew. Here was a Jew who was fiercely proud of his Jewishness, a Jew who was concerned with worldly problems, a Jew who realized that the struggle to free the Jews could not be separated from the struggle to free all men, and a working-man who insisted on the rights of working-men to be recognized as human beings.

June 11, 1902, Hirshke was hanged. So died the first modern Jewish hero.

Lekert's act was not the act of a mad assassin; he had long participated in Bundist activities. His was an act of supreme courage. He went to his certain death in order to show the world that the Jew and the working-man had to be reckoned with.

There is a tendency to assume that Jewish heroism dates from the founding of the State of Israel. Lekert's heroism predates this by almost fifty years, and his was true heroism. He did not go to his death in defense of his property, or in trying to gain more property, or because he was ordered to act by his government; he died not only for the honor of the Jew, he died for the honor of the working class and for the freedom of the oppressed

A source of constant rejuvenation of Bundist ideology is the Bund Archives. They are the oldest and richest archives of the Jewish labor movement. They contain tens of thousands of documents and many millions of pages of original source material that cannot be found in any other place, as well as many other important writings. Apart from its uniqueness this material is also of great relevance to present-day interest in socialist and worker literature and of particular importance to

a re-awakened interest both in Jewish radical politics and in the wonderful international Jewish socialist struggle for the liberation of Jews and non-Jews that began almost 100 years ago.

The Archives have not only chronicled the Jewish labor movement and general socialist movements—particularly of Eastern Europe—they themselves have a great history.

The Archives were founded in 1899, in Geneva, Switzerland, by the Foreign Committee of the then clandestine Bund in Russia. This followed an attempt in Tsarist Russia to liquidate the Russian Social Democratic Party and its major component, the General Jewish Labor Bund.

After World War I, when Switzerland was no longer the gathering-place for political refugees, the Archives, already quite large and renowned, were moved to Berlin, the center of the German socialist movement. After Hitler began his tyrannous reign, Storm Troopers were dispatched to the building of the German Social Democratic Party, where the Bund's Archives were housed. An ingenious plan was devised to save the Archives from the Nazis, who were ordered to seize all

property in the Building. With the help of the French Ambassador in Berlin, the Archives were transported to Paris by dedicated Bundists, who risked their lives in so doing.

World War II came and Paris too came under Hitler's rule. Despite Nazi efforts, the Archives remained hidden through most of the occupation. Whilst conducting their evacuation of Paris, the Nazis did finally find the Archives, and for months the whereabouts of the stolen Archives remained unknown. The turning-point of the war finally came, and the Nazis fled Paris. Through the courageous efforts of some Bundists in Paris the Archives were found and again saved.

Following this third and most miraculous escape from destruction, the Archives were brought to New York, where they are now housed in the same building as the headquarters of the Bund. Many scholars and students have availed themselves of the rich and unique multilingual (Yiddish, Russian, Polish, German, English, etc.) materials of the Archives; many books; theses and papers have been written there. A great wealth of knowledge in very modest surroundings.

ПЕРВОЕ МАЯ 1892 ГОДА.

ЧЕТЫРЕ РЪЧИ
ЕВРЕЙСКИХЪ РАБОЧИХЪ

СЪ ПРЕДСЛОВИЕМЪ.



ЖЕНЕВА.

ТИПОГРАФИЯ „СОЦІАЛДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЕ ВЪЗДѢИТЕЛСТВО“.

1893.

Половина обора назначается въ пользу соціаль-ныхъ и вѣдѣтельныхъ.

The title page of the publication of the speeches of four pioneers of the Jewish labor movement, delivered in 1892, in Vilna, at the first Jewish May Day rally in Eastern Europe (and one of the first general May Day rallies in Russia). The book was published, with the help of Rosa Luxemburg and others, in Geneva, in 1893. The bottom line on the page says that 50 per cent of the proceeds of the book will go to the aid of political prisoners in Russia. The published speeches at this historic occasion were by a carpenter, his husband—a teacher, a "kameshn'makhar" (spat-maker), all of whom spoke in Russian, and a jeweler, who spoke in Yiddish. There also were speeches, which, for unknown reasons, were not published, by two later founders of the Bund—Arkyady Kramer and John Mill.

Remember April 19, 1943—

The first day of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

THE GHETTO speaks

No. 21

JULY 1, 1943

ARTHUR ZYGLBOIM'S FINAL APPEAL TO HUMANITY (Addressed to the Polish President Wladislaw Raczkiewicz and Prime Minister Wladislaw Sikorski)

The responsibility for the crime of murdering all the Jewish population in Poland falls in the first instance on the perpetrators, but indirectly it is also a burden on the whole of humanity, the peoples and the governments of the Allied States, which so far have made no effort toward a concrete action for the purpose of curtailing this crime. By passive observation of the torture and murder of defenseless millions of children, women and men, these countries have become accomplices of the criminals.

And the murders are still going on incessantly. I cannot remain silent. I cannot go on living when the remnants of the Jewish people, whom I represent in the Polish Parliament-in-Exile, are being annihilated.

My comrades in the Warsaw ghetto perished with weapons in their hands, but I belong to them and their mass graves. By my death I wish to express my strongest protest against the inactivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of the Jewish people.

My life belongs to the Jewish people of Poland and, therefore, I give it to them. I wish that this handful that remains of the several million Polish Jews could live to see with the Polish masses, the liberation — which can come in a world of freedom and in the justice of true socialism. I believe that such a Poland will arise and that such a world will come.

ARTHUR (Shmul Mordecia) ZYGLBOIM A JEW

LAST MESSAGE TO COMRADES AND FRIENDS (Addressed to the American Representation of the Jewish Labor Bund, New York)

I send you this cable to say farewell to all my beloved comrades and friends. The remnants of our people in Poland are being annihilated and I have not been able to save any of them. I have a debt to pay to all those whom I left when I departed from Warsaw in 1940.

The last of our comrades in the Warsaw ghetto have just now died in the heroic resistance, begun on April 19. I cannot live without them. I belong to them.

I take my life as a demonstration of protest against the democratic peoples and governments who did absolutely nothing to stop the total annihilation of the Jewish population in Poland. Perhaps I shall achieve by my death what I was unable to achieve in life — the beginning of a concrete action to save the less than 300,000 Jews who are still alive in Poland out of the three and a half million who were there before. Now is the last minute for such action.

I thank all of you for the joy and good fortune you have given me through all the years, when we lived, worked and fought together. You are all dear to me.

Long live the Jewish Labor Bund!

ARTHUR (Shmul Mordecia) ZYGLBOIM

RECENT REPORTS ABOUT THE BATTLE OF THE WARSAW GHETTO

"Several thousand Jewish fighters have remained in the Ghetto of Warsaw. They comprise those who avoided bullets, who escaped asphyxiation. They are living in cellars and sewers. Polish smugglers provide them with food through underground channels. German guards, wearing rubber boots and equipped with sound detectors are hunting the Jews and Polish smugglers as well. Those who are captured are shot behind the walls of the Pawiak prison. The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto has not ceased."

The smallest detail deserves. This must and should be done at some future date.

The fight between the Jews and the Germans in April and May, 1943, that which has been termed the "Battle of Ghettoograd" (Ghettoograd — reminiscent of the stubbornness of Stalingrad), eclipses everything, that has ever occurred in the annals of the Jews or any other people. The methods and means of the fighting, forced on the belligerents by the special circumstances in the Ghetto, varied in accordance with the various phases of the Battle.

The heartbreaking picture of the Ghetto in flames, shrouded in smoke, the noise of machine guns, cannons, field artillery, mine explosions, the destruction of blocks of buildings, the hell, that was unleashed on our people — will forever remain in our memory. No man of letters, no painter will ever be able to recreate the greatness of the events we witnessed, nor the emotions, that overwhelmed us during those tragic and historic days.

The Battle, that began on the 19th of April, lasted about a month. However, even at the end of May, there was still some resistance.

The backbone of the entire battle was the Jewish Armed Resistance Organization, which led the people into this Organ...

GENERAL JEWISH WORKERS' UNION OF POLAND

401, New York City - Phone: ORchard 4-1587

Remember the Fighters.

Remember the 6 million victims of Nazi genocide.

Remember all victims of racism, nazism, fascism.