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

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 Labour Bund and the Jewish Students' Bund. The Bund (Yiddish for Bund, Bundung, Link or Union) has two basic elements: progressive Jewishness and internationalism and 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 with- out wrongs and injustice to other people anywhere.

We are against assimilation. An excision merely 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 — without prejudice to other people. No "melting pots." Discrimination, not extinction of any kind! This ought to be the way of life of any people, nations, peoples, races and individuals.

THE OTHER WAY includes our principled opposition to Zionism, and to its Israel-oriented 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 "identity" and "nationalist" and "Jewish" everywhere, except in Israel! The overwhelming majority of the Jewish people live, 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 national or national potential whatsoever for furthering 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 murdered only because they were Jews, and, on the other hand, the heroic Ghetto-fighters is a lasting testament. They show — in a 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 national state-solution. True racism 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 — with blacks, 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 Jewish and Jewish culture 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 liberationism. 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 various 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 democracy. For this reason, that the socialist struggle should be non-violent but consistent, against both aggressive capitalism and totalitarian 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.

Toward A Radicalized World

The needs for radical, progressive and really liberating changes are apparent in all parts of the world. Yet there is an over- abundance of reaction, conservative, racist 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 developments.

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 left government under Allende came to power in a democratic way and in 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 that one common and overwhelming factor has been producing them both toward socialism — the abundance of poverty, conservation, racism and all kinds of dictatorships. They are too poor to afford the waste of capitalism. Thus they are an example for many other people of that large part of mankind, whose increasing misery is much greater than Marx ever envisaged.

From Italy there recently came a most unexpected news item. A Catholic Bishop of a Northern diocese (South Tyrol) adopted, with a significant majority, a statement that capitalism is an unjust system and that Marxism is 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 isolated under Moscow's rule. The recent upheavals in Poland show that, despite superficial appearances, all is not quiet on the Eastern front. Now is all quiet among the intellectual echelons, even within the USSR. Here, unlike the poverty-factor in the underdeveloped

(Continued on page 15)

And Laos...

by Alexander Erlich

The predictable happened. The divisions of Mekong, Ky's and Thieu's armies were moved into Laos, with thousands of American war planes lending 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 conversion 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 does so the protestations that the U.S. is exercising self-restraint when it refrains from sending land forces into Laos but is "only" blasting the inured 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 warproved its futility and brought his prede-

MIDDLE-EAST

What Next?

It is a facetious 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 resums, seems at this writing almost deadlocked. The reason — again, too many to enumerate. For a long time the dominant Arab attitude of absolute intransigence to the very existence of Israel created the overall impression that Israel was really the aggressor, in presence of war for the sake of war, but that it was the latter who

(Continued on page 15)
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 outdated 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 parceil even before labor was won over to a socialist ideology. The British Labour Party was an outstanding example of what I mean. In theory the Labour Party was anti-Socialist Party, but it 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 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 lose jobs, 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 serious 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—eens 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 footloose 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 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 Democratic Party—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, 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 asked him what was the matter. Wenner's 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 all boys $5.50 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 blue-collar workers, the wage-earning proletariat. The proportion of blue-collar workers to the total population is steadily diminishing.

What is still more important is the fact that oligarchy 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 immiserization.

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 a costly 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.

(Continued on page 11)
Jayapriya Nayar

Dimension of a Double Revolution

India with her present population of 570 million (and potentially a billion by the year 2000) is certainly destined to be the most influential country within the Third World. The British, even in their diverse forms—no many followers, each, even make the greatest part of the Congress Party. Once more, the question of Indianisation is reflected in the following, an adaptation of the famous sentence, in the Indian Science Journal, published in Bombay. The author, who studied in the 1920s at the universities of Calcutta, Iowa, Wisconsin and Ohio, is a lifelong Indianist and recent disciple of Gandhi.

As I see it, the essential nature of the revolution of the past and the revolution of today lies in the present. The revolution of the past may have left its mark on India, but it was not the revolution of the present. It was not the revolution of the present, but a revolution of the past. The revolution of the present may have left its mark on India, but it was not the revolution of the past. It was not the revolution of the past, but a revolution of the present.

I think it is this spirit, which is the essence of the Indian spirit, that is being expressed today. We are going through a very deep revolution, a revolution which is being expressed in the minds and souls of our people. The essence of this revolution is not to be seen in the external world, but in the internal world of the mind.

Somebody has asked me what would have happened if Gandhi had lived. Many people wonder and ask me questions. How can Gandhi’s India be as it is?

Why did not India and Gandhi’s followers follow in his footsteps and make India the image of Gandhi’s India? The same question could have been 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 expeditious to follow. This was true of Jayaprakash Narayan, of Nehru, and of everybody who was in the political and social scene.

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. They accepted it as an experience.

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

India was a diametrically opposed by the British rulers. Gandhi’s genius lay in the fact that he had placed in the hands of the disarmed people weapons which they could wield and which proved to be effective, assisted by the forces of history, of course. Independence had been won, the political followers of Mohandas Gandhi, from Nehru downwards, turned their backs on him. In that basic sense, they were inconsistent, 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.

If 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 he had to do. Most of the political parties in our country are wishing socialism to be brought about, how do we socialists? How do we get to the development of socialist man and the values of socialism to be institutionalised? This is the issue the revolutionaries have to face. They have to face this issue.

Is there a way to do this? If we are to change human beings? Who are we to change human beings? Who has given this right to us? We, the people, must do it, that is the right given to us.

For me, violence is not the way to change human beings. One cannot change the behaviour of man in one breath and begin to annihilate human beings in the other.

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.

A white African may strike any native whenever.

A white African who takes an native’s job or invests his own money in a business will have to leave the country within 24 hours.

Unless they have obtained a special permit to work, a white person and a non-white person may not work together on a job.

No white person may teach an African women to read.

By order of the South African Ministry of Justice.

Issued in the interest of justice by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 6 Charlotte Street, London W1, UK.
What is anti-Semitism? Who is an anti-Semite? Who is an anti-Semitic movement? The answer to these questions is necessarily based on a definition of anti-Semitism and an anti-Semitic movement. The term “anti-Semitism” is often used to describe any form of prejudice or hatred directed against Jews. However, it is important to note that not all forms of prejudice or hatred directed against Jews can be considered anti-Semitic. For example, some forms of anti-Semitic behavior are simply expressions of personal or cultural attitudes, while others are based on specific ideological or political beliefs.

The treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union under communist rule is a clear example of anti-Semitism. Under the Soviet regime, Jews were systematically denied equal rights and opportunities, and were subjected to severe discrimination. In particular, Jewish intellectuals, artists, and scientists were often targeted for persecution, and were forced to endure harsh living conditions.

The Soviet Union was not the only country where anti-Semitism flourished. In the United States, for example, anti-Semitism was a significant force in the American cultural and political landscape. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and 1930s, and the emergence of the American Nazi Party in the 1930s and 1940s, were both examples of anti-Semitic movements.

The term “anti-Semitism” is also often used to describe the relationship between Jews and non-Jews in various contexts. It is important to note that anti-Semitism is not a binary concept, and that it can manifest itself in a variety of ways, from subtle forms of discrimination to overt acts of violence.

It is also important to recognize that anti-Semitism is not a static phenomenon. It is constantly evolving, and its manifestations can change over time. For example, the rise of xenophobia and the anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe and the United States is a modern form of anti-Semitism.

In conclusion, anti-Semitism is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. It is important to understand the different forms it can take, and to recognize the ways in which it manifests itself in the world today.
... AND DISCRIMINATORY INEQUALITY

There is, however, one basic area where the two countries differ. Jews are not "equal" to the other inhabitants of the country. Their status is, at best, differentially inferior. Most of the Jews in the Soviet Union, for example, live in cities where they are 5% of the population. They are thus at the bottom of the social scale. In the Soviet Union, Jews are not protected by any anti-discrimination laws. In Poland, on the other hand, Jews are protected by the law. This is a fundamental difference between the two countries.

Not anti-Zionism, but anti-Jewishism, or anti-Jewish culture, is anti-Semitic in the Soviet Union.

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 en-abled to "live in accord with the Jewish cultural and religious heritage". But this demand is substantially down-graded;

- An effect, first and foremost interest is given to the demand for emigration — and this role 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, their Jewish identity and culture and these which do not exist. And this choice is completely sterilised; there is not even the choice of attending merely known in Jewish emigration in the public schools.

In other words, the complete de-rial of national-cultural education for the Jews in the U.S.S.R. is not a voluntary abdication of their national rights, but state-mandated forced assimilation.

The Soviet Jews are the only So- viet ethnics to be deprived of the basic cultural rights guaranteed under 1948. It is not so much this denial of a natural right or a cultural freedom as the anti-Semitic culture in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government denies this, but their words are empty. The only way it can effectively do its job is

IN POLAND...

The recent workers’ revolt in Poland and the resulting changes with-in the political structure of the government party are so evidently far from any anti-Zionist rhetoric that the latter cannot be altered by any anti-Zionist mechanism. Anyhow, it looks at this will.

But what happened during the last few years—a new revival of anti-Communist policy—before it occurred, also seemed impossible in any country, with such a small Jewish population as in Poland. Today, it did happen, and it did happen against...

"We are opposed to Zionism, but not to anti-Semitism," have become the policy of Poland’s government. In fact, it is not the distant and small State of Israel, nor the near and few Polish Jews, but the political system which has led the Polish Government to establish an independent anti-Semitic organization, to control the Jewish community, and to disturb the peace of the Jews. The Polish Government has taken extreme measures to bar the entry of Jewish immigrants, and to impede the development of the Jewish community.

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DICTATORS

This cartoon, with its title, DICTATORS, appeared in a Polish weekly "Wazdawy" several weeks before the Polish workers' revolt. The cartoon shows the leadership of Poland, which is smilingly calling the Jews "slaves". The cartoon refers to the new political leaders, the "communist" leaders. In the next issue—other aspects of anti-Semitism...
Zionism has lost sight of the meaningful content in the Jewish past.

Jewish Nationalism has this concern with the quality of life in common with all other radical movements and, therefore, with all other radical programs, is fiercely opposed by certain other Jewish groups and individuals.

The Zionist, however, is unyielding. "You have no choice," he tells them. "Anti-Semitism is the eternal soul which will eventually force you to disinterrogate history and thus re-create an era of Greater Jewish Warmth which the hills of Christendom are fully in touch with than 17.

If this were truly only my cherished illusion, I would not forego it and sacrifice. The Zionist, however, is unyielding. "You have no choice," he tells them. "Anti-Semitism is the eternal soul which will eventually force you to disinterrogate history and thus re-create an era of Greater Jewish Warmth which the hills of Christendom are fully in touch with than 17.

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

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 universalist vision—a liberated world.

It is precisely the ability to function as an integrated radical entity, politically with a constant countervailing system which is the essence of an authentic Jewish cultural power. That is the meaning of the American attempt to impose an atmosphere of socialist and socialistic society and political values. It is a matter of such a relationship, but radical political values will always exist in the struggle to be co-opted into the system. In the absence of such a relationship, the possibility to function as an organic person is greatly reduced.

The American Jewish community, its commitment to the struggle against anti-Semitism, its participation in the movement for civil rights, and its active role in the fight against poverty and injustice, has become an integral part of the American political and social landscape. The Jewish community has played a significant role in the development of civil rights legislation, and has been a leader in the struggle for equality and justice.

The Jewish socialist movement of the 19th century transformed the circle of 19th-century humanistic Yiddish culture of Eastern Europe into an effective instrument for political change. It created the values of rationalism and modernity, as well as the concept of the new Jew as a modern individual. The Yiddish language became the vehicle for expressing the aspirations of the Jewish proletariat and for organizing the struggle for social justice.

The Jewish socialist movement of the 19th century, with its emphasis on the struggle for social justice and equality, has contributed significantly to the development of modern Jewish culture. The Yiddish language, with its rich tradition of poetry, music, and literature, has played a vital role in shaping the cultural identity of the Jewish community. The Yiddish language has been a powerful tool for expressing the Jewish struggle for freedom and equality, and has served as a unifying force for the Jewish people around the world.

In conclusion, the Jewish socialist movement of the 19th century has left a lasting legacy in the development of modern Jewish culture. The Yiddish language, with its rich tradition of poetry, music, and literature, has played a vital role in shaping the cultural identity of the Jewish community. The Yiddish language has been a powerful tool for expressing the Jewish struggle for freedom and equality, and has served as a unifying force for the Jewish people around the world.
The author is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies and author of THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: A NEW DIRECTION.

The crisis in American society that began in 1969 with the assassinations by the radicals of Dr. King and Dr. Malcom X, and the young men of the Weathermen and the Weatherwomen, has spread to affect almost every aspect of American life. The economic, social, and political upheavals that have taken place over the past nine years have had profound effects on the way we perceive and understand our society. The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of alienation and militancy among young people, a decline in the authority of traditional institutions, and a rise in the incidence of crime and violence.

The crisis has been exacerbated by the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, with a diverse population that has come from many different parts of the world. The cultural and linguistic differences between the various groups have contributed to a sense of fragmentation and disunity. The crisis has also been fueled by the growing influence of the mass media, which has been able to give voice to the concerns and frustrations of the young people, and to provide a platform for the expression of their ideas and demands.

The crisis has also been characterized by a growing sense of racial and ethnic diversity. The United States is a nation of communities, with a rich history of cultural and linguistic diversity. The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of racial and ethnic division, with the emergence of new conflicts and tensions between the different groups. The crisis has also been characterized by a growing sense of political fragmentation, with the emergence of new political movements and organizations that are challenging the traditional political order.

The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of economic inequality. The United States is a nation of wealth, with a rich history of economic growth and prosperity. The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of economic inequality, with the growing gap between the rich and the poor, and the declining standard of living for many people.

The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of environmental degradation. The United States is a nation of nature, with a rich history of environmental protection and conservation. The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of environmental degradation, with the growing threat of pollution and climate change, and the declining quality of our natural resources.

The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of political polarization. The United States is a nation of democracy, with a rich history of political freedom and equality. The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of political polarization, with the growing division between the political parties, and the declining trust in the political process.

The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of social disorganization. The United States is a nation of institutions, with a rich history of social and cultural traditions. The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of social disorganization, with the growing threat to the stability of our social structures, and the declining quality of our social relationships.

The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of cultural fragmentation. The United States is a nation of culture, with a rich history of cultural diversity and creativity. The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of cultural fragmentation, with the growing threat to the integrity of our cultural traditions, and the declining quality of our cultural expressions.

The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of political collapse. The United States is a nation of politics, with a rich history of political debate and discourse. The crisis has been characterized by a growing sense of political collapse, with the growing threat to the stability of our political institutions, and the declining quality of our political discourse.

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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 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 on 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 these illegal, went through hand-written, mimeographed or leaflet form. In Moscow, 1897, the first issue of the Bund's newspaper Der Yiddisher Arbeiter ("The Jewish Worker") was printed. In Vilna, 1897, the first issue of the Bund's newspaper Der Shelmame ("The Voice of the Worker") was printed.

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 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 10, 1897, thirteen delegates (three of them women), representing already active Jewish labor groups in Vilna, Warsaw, Bialystok, Minsk and Wilna met—legally and in great danger of the Tsarist police—to form a tiny but active Jewish labor Bund. The Bund is the first broadly organized Jewish socialist party.

A Central Committee, consisting of Avraam Kremer, the leading force in the founding of the Bund; Vladimir Kaminer, the Bund's foremost theorist of that time; and with whom Lenin conducted an extensive polemic; and Abraham Bikovitch, a foundling in 1898, the Bund sends three delegates to the founding Democratic Labor Party (a Jewish worker among the nine delegates was the Central Committee of three), to represent the Bund. The Manifesto of the new party was the order of the day at the first meeting of the Bund.

THE BUND'S ACTIVITIES

The Bund's first major undertaking was to organize groups in all major cities of (Tsarist) Russia. By 1898, the Bund sends three Shmuel Katz — the founding of Democratic Labor Party (a Jewish worker among the nine delegates was the Central Committee of three), to represent the Bund. The Manifesto of the new party was the order of the day at the first meeting of the Bund.

THE MARTYRS OF TOMEWODOW,

of the Bund in Tomewodow who, when arrested for their work, were beheaded by the police. Among those who died are, from left to right: Shneur Feiman, Shlomo Feiman, Moshe Feiman.

Newspapers and brochures of the Bund in underground printing shops, the result of the Bund's activities are met by the Tsarist police. The Bund, as well as 70 Bund leaders in the Moscow trial in 1899, was condemned to death. The revolution began.
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 published illegal Jewish socialist newspaper, Die Arbeiter Stimme ("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 Wilna 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.

A GREENKOISER


Author of the song "On Aplication," which altered the course of the Russian revolutionary movement.

A Central Committee, consisting of Aron Kaminer, 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 Muznik, a leading Bundist organizer, is formed.

The Arbeiter Stimme 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—Kaminer, Muznik and Samuel 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 the Bund, the Bund is represented by Kaminer.

The Manifesto of the new party is printed in the underground printing shop of the Bund.

THE MARTYRS OF TCHUDELOW

Under this same history records the 14 members of the Bund in Tchudelow who were lynching in Tchudelow to help the self-defense group there. While on their way they were overtaken by peasants who killed 9 and wounded 5 of them. Those of the photo, shown above, are, from left: Finkels, Herz, Jacob Bredol, Arie Fischler.

In 1901 the Bund declares that Russia is a federation of its variety of nationalities "for each of them," and that the "concept of the Jewish people" is the first line of party declaration to Jews, are in the Diaspora entitled to full national rights.

THE BUND'S ACTIVITIES

The Bund's activities are marked by a special "Liquidation Action" in 1894 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.
a Revolution

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 1903, 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.)

In 1903, 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, 1903, the Bundist Hirsh Lebert 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 Lebert.)

Because of the continued suppression of the Bund and because of 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 venoms 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 exclude 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.

Nine Bundists are among the 57 political exiles who, after their political and personal demands are rejected by the governor, barricade themselves for 37 days (from February 26, 1904) in a house in Yaroslav, eastern Siberia, and engage in battle with the Tsarist soldiers. This is recorded in history as the “Romanovka 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 get up barricades in St. Petersburg—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.
on one bunch two youths. One is yanked across her, the other is tugging up her head. They're embedded in a glossy conversation. I sit down, see myself into my manuscript, but there's no room for my reading. And I learn—Jenxy, look how empty it is here today.

Saturday, October 10, 1976. Fort Ysper Park in the upper part of Manhattan. The highest part of the park in New York, but also one of the nicest. Not only because of the high-rise towers and the beautiful new flower beds (this can also be said of several other parks), but because of the surroundings and the views. The upper park is within the museum's Hudson River with a green strip down its high banks, and West Seventy-seventh Street--as if it could be translated. On my left the East, the neighboring stones, and between them the hilly Upper West with its houses and green hills, which rise to fifty feet from the height of the park. Historical improvements, but since the days of George Washington's army on this site both the Dutch and for the Indian element, a little town.

Saturday, Fort Ysper Park becomes Jewishness of Dan. It becomes occupied by elderly and middle-aged men and women of languages English, German (on some streets there are many Jewish Germans), Yid-

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

they don't understand that it is just as vulgar as when they themselves exalt the continuity of their folk-language, which during a thousand years the people developed, shaped and molded into their hands and hearts.

The birth of the State of Israel and of Hebrew as its official lan-
guage has led certain groups to suppress Yiddish, the language of Jewish culture until today set as a barrier between the Jewish people and Israel. The way Yiddish is talked in any corner of the world today is just as vulgar as when they themselves exalt the continuity of their folk-language, which during a thousand years the people developed, shaped and molded into their hands and hearts.

Sooner or later it must dawn upon Jewish leaders that contribu-
ting to charity, or belonging to a country club, or attending a service once in a while in an oscher substitute a spirtied star for a star in not the returning of the people's existence among a large 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 aspect of all, for learning and using Yiddish in everyday life, is the distinction of Jewish culture unity caused by the abandonment of Yiddish. Jewish newspapers from France, Mexico, Poland, Argentina, Brazil, Utaga, Israel, Australia, South Africa, Canada, the United States and other countries. They are published in the United States and abroad, and even in some countries.

They are the people who believe in Yiddish, who are the meatiest part of the Yiddish culture.

Yiddish is a living, breathing language, a language of the people, a language of the past but a language of the future as well.
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 slavery.

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 what the Social Democrats and the Labor party hope in the inherent virtue of labor. It is obvious that socialism needs working-class support: and more than that it needs to find 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 propagate its own cause in terms of the total benefits 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 thirst of too dogmatic an ideology which some sociologists have acclaimed as not wholly bad. But we do need some basic ideas and guiding principles. Socialism cannot derive from Marx or any other of his great teachers a precise program in the country that does exist or any age of capitalism 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 more to be done. ErnestH. Shank’s declaration some years ago that the thing we socialists were learning to nationalize best was the cinema 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 unbalanced world. Yet in the end our ideals will not be achieved unless 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 work under the religion of nationalism. The workers of different countries in the world, workers of hands and brains, have 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 not in the business of American Christians to pretense the oppressed as racism is used to divide the working class. As racism and chauvinism must be liquidated in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, anti-Semitism must be liquidated in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. All minority parties must recognize that anti-Semitism is a constant racial 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 degrading all others hatred. For our only true defense is in the accomplishment of the cause of universal liberation.
Liebman Hersch

Statehood and Jewish History

Statehood and Jewish History

EIGHTY YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE IN PALESTINE

The public at large generally looks at the circle 3500 year Jewish history as consisting of two separate units: one, about 3000 years until the second destruction of the Temples; and the second, about the same number of years from the second destruction of the Temples until the present. On the first, 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), Babylonia, Egypt, the valley of the Nile on one side, and that of the Tigris, and the other side of these valleys was the cradle of a great empire; Egyptian and Assyrian and Babylonian on the other. Squeezed between two mighty neighbors, Palestine never ceased to be a borderland, a buffer state, a place of conflict, a place of suffering, a place of weakness, as it were. This period of the Jewish people in their own land and later history have actually not had any true independent state.

The situation of the Jews was one of the worst at the beginning of the 20th century. Their position was one of political and social inferiority, and they were subjected to a series of injustices and brutalities, which were to continue until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

CREATIVITY IN BABYLONIAN EXILE

It was at the height of the decay of the ancient state of Judah that Jewish civilization in exile, in Babylonia, reached its height and became a center of Jewish intellectual activity. The Jewish scholars, rabbis, and philosophers of Babylonia, who were educated in Jewish law and philosophy, were the first to develop a comprehensive system of Jewish thought. They developed a concept of the Jewish nation as a community of individuals who share a common language, culture, and history.

The forced exile in Babylonia lasted only for a short time, but it was a time of intense spiritual activity. The Jews, forced to leave their homeland, developed a new form of Jewish culture, which became the basis of the Jewish people's subsequent development.

They (the Jews) came out of Babylonia not only cleansed of idolatry, but also of any dreams of military might. People of all kinds were often misled into the most pious idolatry, with its fruits, but the Jews did not have a country to fight against. And if, in a particular case, the Jews had a country to fight against, they would have been immediately returned to their previous way of living, independent, self-sufficient and self-governing. This pattern was maintained until the external forces, particularly the brilliance and great achievements of Babylonia on one hand, and the pressure to steadily combine their forces and to come together as a whole kingdom, who was supposed to lead the Jewish nation out of the external enemy as to establish an internal order. The first effort in this direction was, as it is well-known, the first capital of Babylonia, the Babylon of King David. Saul's opposition and eventual capture, and then the destruction of the Jewish capital, and finally the establishment of a new capital in the land of Palestine.

Chankuh is the holiday of “chankuh habayit,” i.e., the re-opening of the Temple... As to the matter of an independent Jewish state, the Jewish population remained indifferent... The MACCABAEAN UPRISING

The situation in ancient Palestine changed, however, after the country was taken over by the Seleucid Empire. The Maccabean Dynasty was already at the height of its power, and Antiochus IV decided to reinforce Hellenization upon the entire (and vast) population of his kingdom. Therefore, with the help of some previous Greek Jews, he not only promulgated the Greek language and the Greek way of life throughout Judea, but also forced the Jews to adopt the Greek gods and placed them within the entire Temple in Jerusalem, in addition to the Greek gods that he wanted to impose on the Jewish people. This act of the Maccabean Dynasty to open a new period in the history of the Jewish people.

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 received a clear and unambiguous command from God to build a temple in Jerusalem, and to establish an independent state. Thus for a full 2000 years Palestine existed as one of the 137 provinces of the Persian Empire; and during all this time one cannot find among the Jews the slightest trace of a desire to establish a Jewish state, or of a desire to become independent...
In present-day terms, Jehovah, the great Tanait... committed treason: he betrayed the state, betrayed his brothers... betrayed the greatest national shrine...
From The Movement

TWO STATEMENTS

The following statements were issued during the Litvinov trials. Though the death sentences were later commuted, the statements remain 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 to the Litvinov defendants accused of conspiring to hijack a Soviet plane.

We declare: The Bund is opposed to the Zionist slogan of “Ezroa” or “emigration only to the State of Israel.” We do demand that all anti-Jewish regulations of national minority should be 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 are deprived of their national cultural rights. We demand for the Jewish Soviet the same opportunities to learn their national language, culture and history as other nationalities 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 thence a lasting Jewish life with a progressive Jewish secular culture.

World Coordinating Committee of the Jewish Labor Bund

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 among the 3 million Polish Jews.

We have always been uncompromising international and democratic socialists, consistently against Fascism and Colonialism. We are anti-nationalist 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-assimilators, e.g. Yiddish-speaking, and consequently we oppose Zionism demands of “Ezroa.” We demand faced emigration for all Soviet citizens, regardless of nationality. Furthermore, we believe that this single-minded Zionist “Ezroa” 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 reconsider the two death-convictions and the death 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 small Bund groups in other countries of Western Europe and Latin America.

The Bund is a member-party of the Socialist International, to which it has always adhered to its own principles 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 been declared and thrown out.

IN MELBOURNE, the Bund had a centennial year in 1970. Its youth organization, SKIF—“Socialistischer Kinder Freikampf,” 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 Bund youth 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 in defense against American Jewish radical youth. (The most recently published Bundist ideology 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 Litvinov trials; both statements were printed on page 2.

The Washington and New York J.S.B. groups recently organized a conference, held in 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 TSIAT, 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 TSIAT, 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 SHITIME, published by the Bund in Paris, is in 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—LEHMINSFAGEN.

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, Montreal, and Rio de Janeiro.

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

THE FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS 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 (1945).

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.

THE OTHER WAY

Published by the Jewish Labor Bund
and Jewish Students’ Bund
Editors: Dr. Emanuel Schorr
Chill Spiegel
Address: 25 East 78th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
Tel.: LE 50850

* * *

We invite your cooperation, comments, questions.

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A Home for Radical Literature

DON'T THINK...

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, to gorge and go gluttony, while glassy-eyed others look on at a distance, swallow salivas 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 guest on their parfum 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 travel up in the sky — is a curtain to cut of god's view the fog — to keep them from your hands the wind — choking off the wild screaming the earth — to sup 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 far enough the tears become rivers and rivers make oceans oceans will flood and sparks become thunder!

Don't think there's no judgment no jury

by I. L. Parets

A source of constant rejuvenation of Bundist activity is the Bund Archives. They are the oldest and richest archives in the Jewish labor movement. They contain tens of thousands of documents and many million of pages of original source material documenting the history of the Bund from its very inception. Disturbing 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 the 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 reorganized, were moved to Berlin, the center of the German socialist movement. After Hitler began his treacherous reign, Soviet Troopers were dispatched to the building of the General Soviet 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 transferred 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 throughout their occupation. While confining their evacuation of Paris, the Nazis did finally find the Archives, and for months the whereabouts of the storied Archives remained unknown. The turning-point of the war was finally won, and the Nazis fled Paris.

Through the courageous efforts of some Bundists in Paris the Archives were found and again saved.

Following the third and most monstrous 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, dates and papers have been written there. A great wealth of knowledge in very great surroundings.

Vorwemer: 1892 a.t.

1893

A Home for Radical Literature

The title-page of the publication of the specific of four pioneers of the Jewish labor movement, delivered in 1993 in Vilna, the capital of Lithuania (and one of the first general May Day rallies in Russia). The book was published, with the help of all East London and others, in 1893–1894. This entry on the page says that 30 per cent of the proceeds of the book will be directed to the Jewish workman's home — 1893.
Remember April 19, 1943—

The first day of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

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**THE GHETTO SPEAKS**

**JULY 1, 1943**

**No. 21**

**ARTUR ZYGIELBOIM'S FINAL APPEAL TO HUMANITY and Prime Minister Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz**

The responsibility for the crime of murdering all the enemy on the whole of humanity, and especially that of the Allies, has been placed in the hands of the Nazi criminal police. The order of the day is a declaration of defenseless millions of children, women and men, that countries have gone.

And the murders are still going on incessantly. Jewish people, whom I represent in the Polish Parliament-in-exile, are being murdered in the Warsaw ghetto.

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 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 a Poland will arise and that such a world will come.

**ARTUR (Shmuel Mordecai) ZYGIELBOIM A JEW**

**LAST MESSAGE TO COMRADES AND FRIENDS**

(Addressed to the American Jewish Labor Bund, New York)

I send you this cable to say farewell to all my beloved comrades and friends. The remnant of our people in Poland are being annihilated and I have no hope to save any of them. I have a debt to pay to all those whom I left.

The last of our comrades in the Warsaw ghetto have just now died in the heroic struggle, begun on April 19, 1943. I cannot live without them. I belong to and work for the Jewish people who did nothing to stop the mass annihilation of the Jewish population in Poland. Perhaps I shall achieve by my death less than 300,000 Jews who are still alive in Poland, and I think of you for the joy and good fortune you have given me through this effort.

Long live the Jewish Labor Bund!

**ARTUR (Shmuel Mordecai) ZYGIELBOIM**

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Remember the Fighters.

Remember the 6 million victims of Nazi genocide.

Remember all victims of racism, nazism, fascism.