

Paul Novick

Jews in the U.S.A.

and

**The Role Of
the Jewish Press**

Eichmann Trial

•
The Struggle Against Anti-Semitism

•
The Meaning of Jewish Unity

•
Zionism and Assimilationism

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Jews in the U. S. A.

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WE have assembled on the occasion of a great anniversary in the life of the Jewish masses in America — and not only of the Jewish masses and not solely in America — the anniversary of forty years of the *Morning Freiheit*.

Forty years ago, on the second of April 1922 a host of Jewish working people in America, headed by Moissaye J. Olgin and Morris Winchevsky, founded the *Freiheit*, now the *Morning Freiheit*. Since that time, for almost forty years it is being published, by the will of the people, by the sacrifices of the people.*

The *Morning Freiheit* is a newspaper of today and tomorrow — and of yesterday and the day before yesterday. Olgin bestowed upon it the traditions of the fighting Yiddish press of 1905, in the old Russia. Morris Winchevsky, "the Grandfather of Jewish Socialism" bestowed upon it the traditions of the pioneer Jewish Socialists. The Jewish labor and peoples press was since Winchevsky's *Poilshe Yidl* (Polish Jew) in London in the 1880's, since the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and the *Abend Blat* in New York in the 1890's, a press of and for Socialism. Also other Yiddish newspapers in the country, which are no longer in existence or which are still being published, were born as Socialist newspapers. What became of them is known.

The *Morning Freiheit* seeks to keep alive the traditions of the Yiddish Socialist press, the traditions of the Jewish fighters for freedom of many generations, the traditions of the Jewish and the general labor movement, traditions which bring us back to the struggles in America for the eight-hour work day, to the historic strikes of the needle workers in

*The *Freiheit* was an afternoon paper, as were most Yiddish papers in the '20s. On June 17, 1929 it became a morning paper and changed its name to *Morning Freiheit*.

the beginning of this century, to the struggles in the 20's and 30's, the struggles against Nazism, fascism and anti-Semitism, up to the struggles of the present day. Carrying forward progressive Jewish traditions, the *Morning Freiheit*, a newspaper rooted in American soil, also seeks to merge them with the noble freedom traditions of our country, with the immortal Jeffersonian outlook and those of the American Revolution.

AT THE CROSSROADS OF MANKIND'S DESTINY

In the lead editorial of the *Freiheit's* first issue, April 2, 1922, written by our unforgettable Olgin, it was pointed out that the *Freiheit* was a newspaper of a new type, born of a new period which brought it to life. And the Jewish masses have since then maintained it because this newspaper is always faithful to the commands of the given moment.

Which are the commands of the present moment that require the greatest attention of the *Morning Freiheit*?

We live in a time when mankind has begun to reach the highest heights, to literally reach out to the stars; in a time of the most profound social changes in human history. Continents which were in chains for centuries have awakened. The formerly enslaved peoples have broken through to new paths, are reaching for a new destiny.

"We are unquestionably in the midst of a world revolution," Chester Bowles wrote in the *New York Times* of December 10, 1961, and here he certainly was right. "In Africa, Asia and Latin America," he wrote, "impatient millions are straining against the old established order." And here he is right again. Mr. Bowles was reminded of our own American Revolution and he recalled the words of Lincoln, that "the right of revolution was a most sacred right." Without going into the question as to how these thoughts are translated into practice by Mr. Bowles himself, or by others in the Kennedy administration, it is obvious that these views are essentially correct. We find ourselves without doubt in one of the most decisive periods in human history, at the crossroads of the destiny of humanity. But here we collide

with a knot of problems upon whose solution depends whether mankind will really achieve the highest heights, or sink into a bottomless pit, to complete annihilation.

It is clear to everyone that war or peace is the question of all questions. In this question are involved other urgent issues, such as the rise of the various reactionary, pro-fascist, nazi organizations, the Birch Society, the Christian Crusaders, the Rockwell nazis, and the other types of racists, anti-semites, and Negro-baiters, the rise of the ultra-rightist reaction in the country, coinciding with the rise of nazism and anti-Semitism in West Germany.

There is also the problem of the influence of these reactionaries on society and culture.

The problem of unemployment is present and of bitter poverty in the midst of senseless luxury.

There is the problem of automation.

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE THE CENTRAL TASK

The Eichmann trial indicated a number of problems which are still to be answered. Included here is the question of Israel, its security and existence, of helping to remove from it the unclean influences of Adenauer-Globke and DeGaulism and preserving Jewish life from these influences, and of building a healthy Jewish life in the U.S.A.

Questions and more questions come forward at this time. They require clarification, an answer, an outlook. What was, what is the role of the *Morning Freiheit* in regard to these questions?

We proudly declare that our *Morning Freiheit* has continually borne in mind the main question of the present time — the fight for peace; disarmament and peace. Unfortunately, in this, it is alone in the Jewish press. We would wish that all Yiddish papers conduct the struggle for peace. But the *Morning Freiheit* does conduct this struggle for peace.

The Morning Freiheit gives voice to the struggle for peace in the Jewish community. Whenever a labor leader speaks up for peace, or a Democratic leader, or a Zionist, a Socialist, a

Communist, a Republican, a Rabbi or any other clergyman, the *Morning Freiheit* is the place, the only place, in the Yiddish press where you will find the news of this. The other Yiddish newspapers ignore the present wide-spread peace movement in the nation, as if this were a bad thing for the Jews.

We must remember that the issue of peace is no mere abstraction. It is really not sufficient to say that one wants peace and it is not enough to say that one fights for it. There is a touchstone for this.

The touchstone is West Germany from which the world is threatened with a third destruction, a new world conflagration. The touchstone, the test, is the position in regard to the Hitler criminals. The touchstone is Adolph Heusinger, the struggle to drive him out of Washington. The touchstone is the NATO which is dominated by the Heusingers, the Speidels and the Foertches. In the light of these tests we stress with pride the role of the *Morning Freiheit*. Its alert, consistent and stubbornly conducted struggle against the war criminals and against Heusinger in particular represent one of the high points of its role in recent years, the role of a newspaper which truly serves the people!

One cannot enumerate the articles, editorials, front page news stories and various forms of education, of struggle against the nazi war criminals, against their haven in Adenauer-Globke's West Germany. As soon as it became known in October 1960, that Hitler's chief strategist, Heusinger was appointed chief strategist of the NATO, we began a campaign on the front page of our paper and continued it day in day out on this page and on almost every other page, continually without let-up, before anyone else took up this struggle. We have given the greatest help to the committees and organizations who initiated anti-Heusinger meetings and conferences. We began this campaign not waiting for anyone, because we were prompted by our feelings as Americans, as Jews.

Why did not the other Jewish newspapers start this struggle or take it up? Why? Why do they not lead a struggle

against Globke, the co-author of the Nueremburg laws to destroy the Jewish people? Did not the Eichmann trial make clear that Globke is equally guilty with Eichmann?

THE MAN-EATING MOLOCH: THE JUGGERNAUT

These are matters which every Jewish person, regardless of his point of view must consider for himself. Every positive answer, every expression of anti-nazism from any viewpoint ought to be welcomed. Recently when the *Yiddish Day-Morning Journal*, in January 1962 had an article, one article so far, against Heusinger we welcomed this fact.

It is, however, necessary to understand which *forces* are interested in the revival of nazism, in the maintenance and advancement of the Globkes and Heusingers to important positions. Just as we welcome every expression against Birchism, against the "Crusaders" and Rockwell gangs, and seek to create the utmost unity in this struggle, it is necessary to bear in mind and explain to the people, who the forces are that called for the ultra-right.

President Eisenhower, whether wittingly or not, made an important contribution in his address of January 17, 1961 when he made his farewell to the nation on leaving the White House. He warned against the "complex" of militarists and industrialists which exerts its influence, as he said, in Washington, D. C. and in the state and municipal governments throughout the nation. The repulsive picture of this "complex" was described in a special issue of *The Nation* of October 28, 1961, "Juggernaut," the Moloch, the man-devouring idol. This issue of *The Nation* was entitled, "Juggernaut, the Warfare State." It related how the complex of militarists and industrialists, the Moloch, devours fifty billion dollars of the people's wealth, and represents a kind of separate state in the American nation, a force which prevents America's agreeing to disarmament, a force which has drawn in particular strata of the population who believe that large military budgets signify prosperity.

The author of "Juggernaut," Fred J. Cook, justifiably indicates that in order to achieve these high military budgets it is necessary to continually maintain an "atmosphere of fear" in the country, to sustain a type of hysterical, false patriotism which labels everything which is in the interests of the people as "radicalism," "socialism," "communism." Fred J. Cooper shows how the Pentagon is connected with the ultras of the Right in the unholy effort of igniting anti-Communist hysteria and conducting witch hunts. These retrogressive anti-American forces need the McCarran Registration Act, the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and the Smith Act. These forces require an anti-Soviet hysteria. If one wishes to know why specifically in America, the land of enlightened libertarian traditions, there rages such an irrational anti-Communist hysteria which cannot even be conceived in the other Western capitalist nations one need only look to the "Juggernaut."

THE RED-BAITING HYSTERIA IS UN-AMERICAN

The late Mephistopheles of American reaction, John Foster Dulles at one time publicly declared:

"In order to persuade the people to carry the yoke caused by the maintaining of huge military installations it is necessary to create an emotional climate similar to a war psychology. The picture of an external threat must be continually maintained."

Blunt and clear. It is therefore obvious that the struggle against McCarthyism and McCarranism, the struggle against professional anti-Communism and professional anti-Sovietism is a struggle for the freedoms of America, a struggle for the life of the people, a struggle for peace—a truly patriotic struggle!

This is also a struggle for bread, for work. One must ask: why particularly in America, the land of the largest military budgets is there such a huge unemployment?

Certainly, unemployment is an ever-present phenomenon of capitalism. The ideologists of capitalism, the industrial barons, insist that unemployment is even necessary. General

Electric president Ralph J. Cordiner so expressed himself recently when he flatly stated that an unemployment rate of 5 per cent of the entire work force is needed for the "energetic mobility of labor power." Pres. Kennedy's economist, Walter Heller, speaks of a permanent unemployment of four per cent. But America has a steady rate of six per cent jobless and for this we must in large measure thank the economy which is based on high military expenditures.

WOMEN, STUDENTS, PROFESSORS IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

It is good to note that the fight for peace in America is becoming broader—here is the real America, Jefferson's America. The movement of the professors against the curse of the fallout shelters has swept through universities in almost every part of the nation, among them the most renowned: from Harvard and Princeton on the East coast to Stanford and others on the Pacific coast. By January more than four thousand professors were involved in this struggle. The student body of America is ceasing to be the "lost generation," or the "silent generation" or the "frightened generation." The students have to a large extent awakened. The women's movement for peace is expanding.

Among the positive developments in the nation may be included the success of the anti-nazi books beginning with William L. Shirer's "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich." Wide acclaim is also accorded anti-nazi films such as "Judgment at Nuremberg" and anti-nazi programs on television and radio. Though it is apparent that the Eichmann trial played a definite role here, there can at the same time be no doubt that this development is tied up with the upsurge of the peace movement. One influences the other.

For America, the fight for peace is organically connected with the fight for civil rights. It is obvious that the opponents of civil rights, of the American freedoms are found in the cold war camp. Peace fighters are for civil rights!

A positive occurrence of historical importance for all of

America, for the Jewish people, is the uninterrupted heroic struggle of the Negro masses against discrimination and segregation.

Injustices still continue in one form or another throughout the country, and unfortunately, in the labor movement as well. They continue in a barbaric form in the Southern states. The fight of the Freedom Riders to break through in the railroad stations, bus terminals and other public places, the struggle against segregation in the schools and universities, a struggle with a certain participation of whites — including Jews, it must be underscored with pride — was and remains one of the high points of the recent period in America and of the present moment. Thus the bastion of American reaction, the Dixiecrat bastion is being assaulted. That this is also a struggle against anti-Semites is clear without doubt.

The *Morning Freiheit* alone in the entire Jewish press was alert and remains alert to the struggle of the Negro masses in the country — our struggle! The *Morning Freiheit* was alert and remains alert to every expression for peace, against nazism, against the Adenauer-Globke regime, against the partners of Globke and Heusinger here in America, alert to every expression of every trend without exception. It is particularly alert to such expressions in the Jewish community — and of this more later — and in the labor movement.

THE SITUATION IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Here, however, we come to a depressing element: the role of the leadership of the labor movement. Here things are not well in regard to civil rights, to the abolition of anti-Negro discrimination. In the matter of the cold war a substantial section of this leadership finds itself frequently on the same side as the most violent enemies of the labor movement — the Barry Goldwaters, the Birchers and others of the reactionary camp. This is indeed a tragic circumstance. Here lies one of the causes of the negative role of American policy on the world scene. Here also lies one of the causes that finds the labor movement in a condition of impotence

and retreat. By strengthening the Barry Goldwaters and his like in politics, the labor officials also unwittingly strengthen them in their efforts against unionism and for the strike-breaking "Right to Work" slogan which is already embodied in law in 19 states. The reactionary line of the top leadership is actually a noose around the neck when attempting to organize workers and strengthen the trade union movement.

It is sufficient to recall the 1930's when the trade union movement, particularly the industrial unions of the CIO, made such magnificent advances, to appreciate the type of atmosphere required by the union movement. What is needed is an atmosphere of struggle against reaction, against Wall Street imperialism, together of course, with struggle against war, against nazism, fascism and anti-Semitism, struggle against Negro discrimination and segregation. The trade union movement cannot flourish in a cold war atmosphere. It is no accident that we have the following situation: When the AFL and the CIO merged in 1955 it was hoped that there would begin a new upsurge of the labor movement. Instead of this there came a setback. While the number of wage earners has grown to 67 million the entire union movement has a membership of 15 to 16 million. All in all, including the agricultural workers, the organized workers in America are slightly more than 23 per cent (23.3) of the entire number of wage earners. A rather sad situation!

It is realized that one cannot approach the various union leaders with the same yardstick. George Meany and Walter Reuther are not of one mold, and such labor leaders as Ernest Mazey, Patrick Gorman, Joseph Curran, Michael Quill, let alone a Harry Bridges, are not in Meany's category.

At this point one must also devote some thought to the Jewish labor movement.

THE SPECIAL ROLE OF THE JEWISH WORKERS

Since its first steps at the end of the last century and its consolidation at the beginning of this century, the Jewish labor movement occupied the most advanced positions in

American labor. Despite all the faults which many of them had, the spokesmen of the Jewish labor movement generally fought the conservative union officials. The Jewish labor movement, with its mass strikes, with its revolts against such union officials as Rickert and Lardger (of the men's tailors) did not sit well with the Gompers' and certainly not with the Matthew Wolls, who at that time went along with extreme reaction, with the old National Civic Federation.

How are matters now? We now find some Jewish union officials supporting the positions of the cold war and of collaboration with the employers. Some race ahead of Meany in cold war politics and feed him cold war "theories."

Taking progressive positions within the labor movement are the above-mentioned leaders, the Mazeys, Currans, Quills and Gormans. From time to time we meet certain Jewish union officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Packinghouse Workers, but this is by far not enough. (We speak now of nationally known labor leaders, not of local officers. In various industrial centers throughout the country one meets many Jewish union leaders who adhere to progressive positions.)

This is precisely why the role of the left and progressive elements in the needle trades and other trades is so important. They fulfill an important, historic task in that they maintain the fighting traditions of their unions and speak out against the policies of the Meanys. Here again the role of the *Morning Freiheit* is so essential, for through it these elements can express themselves.

It must be clear that the Jewish cold warriors among the union officials do not represent the majority of the Jewish workers. This was demonstrated in the same 1930's and in the war years when the extreme right wing clique of these union leaders was isolated from the Jewish masses who followed the Roosevelt coalition in the war against Hitler. Due to the climate of reaction, McCarthyism and McCarranism, these leaders are still in the saddle. But this has introduced hope and despair into the unions where this leadership dominates; the workers stay away in droves from union

meetings (which is not good, of course) and the conditions in the shops have declined.

The function of the *Morning Freiheit* in strengthening the left and progressive elements in the unions, its role in clarifying the problems of the Jewish workers and of labor generally is of vast significance for all workers, in considering not only the current needs of labor but also the needs of the American people, the national interests of our country. This implies clarification of the problems of labor from the viewpoint of militant unionism, from the viewpoint of struggle against monopoly capital, for the reforms of the period of Franklin D. Roosevelt - and more.

One must not fail to appreciate the courage of the lefts and progressives in the needle trades' unions who stubbornly conduct their struggle for the interests of the workers, for the noble traditions of their unions in the face of actual terror on the part of the union bureaucracy, of the really incredible McCarthyite slanders and betrayals in the Yiddish organ of the union bureaucrats, the *Forward*, and in some of the organs of the needle trades.

THE SITUATION OF THE NEEDLE WORKERS

The workers are now faced with the urgent need of a shorter work week with a higher wage. This demand has been acutely advanced by automation which is a curse for the workers in our country.

If the needle trades workers have been less affected by automation than workers in the heavy industries, they suffer from other evils which have again created a new "status" for them vis-a-vis the general labor movement. Whereas years ago the needle trades' workers occupied the first rank in regard to wage earnings, they now stand in the 19th place in New York State. On a national scale the needle trades' workers are at present on the lowest scale in regard to earnings, lower even than the textile workers who are 75 per cent unorganized. The open shop undermines the conditions of the needle trades' workers even in New York. This

situation is also influenced by the absolute lack of militant activity on the part of the officialdom of the garment unions, its fear of strikes and its unwillingness to insist that the contract gains be observed. In addition, we now have the plague of commodities imported from countries with cheap labor power and the transference of entire plants to these countries.

The specific problems of the needle trades' workers require the most thorough elucidation by the *Morning Freiheit*. But at the same time more attention must be devoted to the other trades in which Jewish workers are found, as it must devote more attention to the entire labor movement.

JEWISH WORKERS IN HEAVY INDUSTRY

Workers are the base of the *Morning Freiheit*. So it is with the various progressive mass organizations in New York and in other cities. The theory of the "disappearance" of the Jewish workers has long since been proved false. We indicated as much in our report two years ago. It is noteworthy in this connection that in a number of locals of the women's garment industry of the I.L.G.W.U. in New York Yiddish is still the language in which the meetings are conducted and the minutes are kept. These include the major Locals 9, 35 and 117 with a membership of about ten thousand workers. Such is also the case in some of the Bakers' locals and others. Outside of New York there surely are other locals in which Yiddish is the language used. Naturally, there are incomparably more Yiddish-speaking workers in the needle, shoe, building, food and other union locals in which the union business is conducted in English. Large numbers of English-speaking Jewish workers and employees, hundreds of thousands, are to be found in various industries, both organized and unorganized.

Two years ago I had occasion to point out that Jews form a large percentage of the employees in various businesses in New York, Chicago, Boston and other areas. The number of Jewish office employees is substantial. It has also been

pointed out that a large number of taxi-drivers are Jewish and that Jewish workers are employed in the airplane, radio and television industries and among dock workers. In regard to the participation of Jews in heavy industries we have in the recent period attempted to acquire more precise information, but until now with insufficient results.

The *Morning Freiheit* manager in the highly industrialized Cleveland-Detroit-Pittsburgh complex, Abraham Strauss, has done some research on Jews in the auto industry, in the steel factories, at General Electric and in the aluminum and rubber industries. How large the number of Jewish workers is here is not known. But in conjunction with this one important fact came up. Strauss was able to name many Jewish union officers in heavy industry locals. (His article was published in the Rosh Hashonah issue of the *Morning Freiheit* on Sept. 10, 1961; in the English section on Nov. 12 and 19, 1961).

Further research in this field is needed, both in New York and throughout the country. It is regrettable that the official Jewish bodies which engage in research in various areas of Jewish life in our country do not pay more attention to the social composition of the Jewish population.

JEWISH PROFESSIONALS, THE MIDDLE CLASS, FARMERS AND THE RETIRED

It is of interest to indicate a change in the participation of Jews in the learned professions: less among doctors, dentists and lawyers than formerly and an increase among engineers and teachers. This is a special feature of the present Jewish student body and naturally so. In part this is a reflection of the weakening of discrimination against Jewish engineers.

A study made by the B'nai B'rith has demonstrated that between 1935 and 1955 the percentage of Jewish students enrolled in law courses dropped from somewhat more than 22% (22.3) to slightly over 8% (8.2), where as the engineer-

ing courses registered a growth from less than 10% (8.9) to more than 17½% (17.6). The percentage of Jewish students who chose teaching careers rose from 16% (16.1) to almost 19% (18.9).

As is the case among workers where there is an evident drawing away from the "traditional" Jewish trades, so it is among the professionals.

It is surely unnecessary to disguise the fact that the middle strata of the Jewish population has shown a significant proportionate growth. Aside from historic Jewish reasons and aside from the fact that the Jewish population is almost entirely urban, there are a few general reasons for this situation.

It is common knowledge that the rate of growth of the service trades is much greater in America than the rate of growth in manufacturing. A study, "Occupational Trends in the U.S.A." by H. Dewey Anderson and Percy Davidson, shows that between 1870 and 1940 the number of employed in commerce grew more than three times percentage-wise, from 4.6% of the total amount employed to almost 14% (13.8) of the work force. Since 1940 we can surmise that there was an even greater growth of those employed in the service trades, not only in numbers but also percentage-wise.

It is redundant to assert that the middle class strata, particularly the less wealthy sectors, are an important ally of labor in the fight for progress. Again it must be indicated that Jewish middle class people know what fascism and anti-Semitism are. In the final analysis it is obvious that the hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers and employees, together with small craftsmen and the lower middle class generally, comprise by far the overwhelming majority of the Jewish population of America.

Incidentally, the Jewish Labor Committee claims to represent a half million Jewish workers. This is a much exaggerated figure, not because there are not this many Jewish workers, but rather because this Committee orients itself primarily on the organized workers. The majority of wage-earning employees in the country, among them the Jewish

workers, are not organized.

The Jewish farm population in America is usually estimated at about one hundred thousand persons. In recent years, however, due to the crisis of the individual farmer in the eggs and poultry business, the number of Jewish farmers has declined considerably.

Recent years have brought to the fore another occupation, if one may so express it – the retired, the former workers who now live on social security. They deserve much greater attention. They form a sizable percentage of *Morning Freiheit* readers. We usually are much concerned with the problems of social security and the *Morning Freiheit*, it may be mentioned, played a big role in the fight for social security. In this it was unique in the Jewish press. More ought to be written about the life and the social activities of the "retired" who can be, indeed must be, a force in the struggle for progress.

HOW MANY JEWS IN THE U. S. A.? WHERE DO THEY LIVE?

We have lately failed to commemorate a few historic occasions, among them the eightieth anniversary of the start of the Jewish mass migration to America which began in 1881-82, after the wave of persecutions and pogroms in the old Russia. There then commenced the third wave of Jewish emigration to America (the first being that of the Sephardic-Spanish Jews and the second that of the German Jews). From that time until 1924 when immigration was curbed 2,356,943 Jews entered the United States and from 1924 to 1959 inclusive 435,954 Jews were admitted. Although small numbers of Jewish immigrants still enter the country, the majority of these from Israel (5,335 in 1959 and approximately the same amount in 1960), we are dealing with a Jewish population of five and a half million of which the dominant element numerically is the second and third post-immigration generations. About 75% of the Jewish population in the United States, if not more, is native born.

Of more than five and a half million Jews (5,531,500), 2,401,600 are located in New York and its suburbs; in Los Angeles, 400,000; in Philadelphia, 331,000; in Chicago, 282,000; in Boston, 150,000; in Detroit, 90,000; in Cleveland, 88,000; in Washington, D. C., 80,000; Miami, 80,000; San Francisco, 66,000. About four million Jews (3,969,000), live in the ten largest cities in the nation. The large majority of the remaining one and a half million Jews is also an urban population. (These figures are taken from the American Jewish Year Book, published by the American Jewish Committee.)

These figures indicate that the social weight of the Jewish population in the country — politically, economically, culturally, in the labor movement and in the political parties — is incomparably greater than if there were 10 or 15 million Jews in the United States or even more, dispersed throughout the land according to the proportion of the rest of the population.

JEWES IN POLITICS AND CULTURAL LIFE

The concentration of the Jewish population in the large cities is a matter of great significance. In general this represents an influence favorable to democracy, in the direction of liberalism and to a definite degree in the direction of progress. Proof of this are the presidential elections in which as much as 80% of the Jewish population and even more voted against Republican Richard Nixon and for the labor-backed Democrats. The New York mayoralty contest of November, 1961, in which the overwhelming majority of Jewish voters voted for the Democrat Wagner, a Catholic, as against the Republican Lefkowitz, although a Jew, provided further proof of how Jews vote in elections.

In the area of struggle for civil rights, struggle against anti-Negro discrimination, against segregation, almost all Jewish organizations have adopted a positive approach. The participation of Jews, including a number of young rabbis, among the Freedom Riders is a most notable occurrence.

Among the more than 4,000 American professors who in the closing months of 1961 spoke out for peace and against the fallout shelter hoax many Jewish intellectuals were prominent. Several Rabbinical organizations spoke out against the cold war and against the Birchers. The Council of Jewish Women, one of the oldest Jewish women's organizations, has also opposed the Birchers. The Jewish War Veterans are active in the struggle against the Rockwell nazis.

Liberal magazines are in substantial measure dependent on Jewish readership. Though not entering into a broad evaluation of the role of the Jews in the cultural world as a factor for democracy, and such a study is quite necessary, it will perhaps be of value to mention the dramatist Arthur Miller, the movie producer Stanley Kramer (who made the pictures "On the Beach" and "Judgment at Nuremburg") as a definite indication of this role.

The outstanding declaration for peace of the conservative American Jewish Committee of last January merits attention. At its annual meeting this committee virtually issued a clarion call for peace. While calling for the strengthening of human rights the Committee asserted that human rights without humans is senseless.

The American Jewish Congress also issued a call to struggle against the Birchers last January and stressed that the ultra-Right represents a serious menace. The Congress urged the liberals not to permit their voices to be silenced by the "ultras."*

One cannot forget such McCarthy creatures as George Sokolsky, David Lawrence, Eugene Lyons and their ilk. They represent a certain element of American Jews. Generally it will be correct to state that, taken as a whole, the weight of

*At its convention in New York in April (1962) the American Jewish Congress unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the "repeal of the Smith Act of 1940, the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954 and drastic revision of the Immigration and Nationality (Walter-McCarran) Act of 1952." The stand taken at previous gatherings of the AJC for the abolition of the House Un-American Committee was reaffirmed.

the Jewish people in America — politically, socially, culturally — is on the side of democracy and civil rights, for the freedom traditions of our country, on the side of peace.

The causes of this phenomenon can be sought in the history of the Jewish people, a history of persecutions and struggle against oppression. History has taught and teaches that reaction is a calamity for Jews and that the interests of the Jewish people lie on the side of progress.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

Yet, Jewish life is not as it should be. There is a lack of content and a lack of force in the struggle for Jewish rights, in the struggle against anti-Semitism and discrimination.

Jewish communal life is highly *organized* and *disorganized*. The American Jewish Year Book of 1961 contains a list of about 220 national Jewish organizations, many of which have memberships of hundreds of thousands. For example: B'nai B'rith has over 300,000 members, Hadassah about 300,000, the Zionist Organization about 100,000. The Jewish Centers have a membership of over 700,000. The religious sector: Orthodox, Conservative and Reform actually pretend to have millions of members. The Jewish population is highly organized; it belongs and is affiliated, and is at the same time disorganized. Unity is lacking in the struggle against anti-Semitism. There is a lack of unity in building a healthy Jewish life here.

It is no contradiction to state that anti-Semitism in America has become both weaker and stronger. Weaker in that the Jewish population has become more integrated politically, economically and culturally. Jewish intellectuals meet with fewer obstacles on entering universities or in becoming teachers, professors in schools of higher learning, although restrictions still exist. If Jews are still discriminated against in the utilities (gas, electric, telephone) and in banks and elsewhere, the pressures of reality have forced open the gates of factories and laboratories for Jewish engineers. The role of Jews in science is quite significant.

The outbreak of "Birchism," the growth of the extreme rightist organizations of fascism and nazism is *not* a characteristic expression of the American population as we can see from the elections, or of the success of anti-Nazi literature or anti-Nazi movies or from the peace movement. The noise made by the extreme rightist and fascist forces is the expression of a minority of retrogressive forces and warmongers. So it is with the anti-Semitic incidents which are the direct result of this mobilization.

UNITY — A VITAL QUESTION

But where is the mobilization of the Jewish population — in concert with the non-Jewish population, with the Negro masses, with the labor movement — in the struggle against the anti-Semitic attackers of Jews, against the bombings of synagogues? Where is the force to oppose the Rockwell nazi hoodlums, to press for prohibition of racist propaganda, and strive, as a beginning in this matter, that the mails, at least, should not circulate anti-Semitic or racist literature?

Unfortunately, we still observe the old hush-hush policies to a large extent. Where there is activity it is accomplished in a disunited way, with unnecessary duplications, often ineffective.

In the recent period, in connection with the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem the question has been raised as to what the American Jews did in the years when nazism ruled in Europe, when the chimneys of the Oswiecizms were smoking? In certain circles we hear the excuse that the American Jews "did not know." Let us not go into this matter now. But the American Jews do know full well what the nazi gangs are doing now! Everyone knows that in all the years in which the synagogues have been bombed it has rarely happened that one of these hoodlums has been arrested or tried for these criminal deeds. What are the American Jews doing now?

Let it be noted here that at the time of the swastika plague at the beginning of 1960 united Jewish demonstrations were

held in France, England and Argentina. A united ghetto exhibition was arranged in England last year. In Paris recently a united Jewish rally was held at the memorial for the Jewish martyr. Only in America, with a Jewish community which is almost half of the world's Jewish population, are such actions not seen.

OLGIN'S EXAMPLE

Some mention ought to be made of the role of the progressive elements among the Jewish people, including those who are not interested in Jewish affairs, or rather especially those. What is their role in aiding the Jewish community, which as we have seen is such an important factor politically and otherwise? What is their role, the role of the progressives in helping the Jewish community to become activated in a united manner in the struggle against anti-Semitism and fascism, shoulder to shoulder with the Negro people, with the labor movement, with the broad population? Upon whom are they entrusting this activity among the Jewish people? Upon those elements who do not want unity, who do not want struggle?

We are winding up the fortieth year of the *Morning Freiheit*, one of whose founders was Moissaye J. Olgin. Olgin could have found his place, and a respectable place, in American affairs, in American political activity or in the cultural field. But he chose to remain among the Jewish masses, to help mobilize them in the struggle for a better life, to help build the Jewish people's organizations, to build a progressive Yiddish culture, to enhance the positive influence of Jews on the American scene. Let this serve as an example for those progressives who find it more comfortable to break with Jewish cultural work, to drop the *Morning Freiheit* or at best, to maintain a platonic relationship with it.

In the last period a number of studies have been made of the situation of Jewish life in the country. Such an analysis was made of the Jewish population in Minneapolis and

San Francisco. The magazine *Commentary* conducted a questionnaire among Jewish intellectuals and the magazine *Judaism* followed with a similar questionnaire. Monographs have been published on the condition of the so-called "Golden Ghetto," of suburbia. The underlying thought of these researches is that although Jewish life exists, is organized, its content, however, is weak or non-existent.

ATTITUDE TO RELIGION

It is necessary to remind ourselves of the statistics which have revealed that the much touted "religious upsurge" is a myth. The survey of San Francisco showed that although 62% (62.4) of the Jewish population is enrolled in the synagogues, only about one and one half per cent (1.6) actually attend synagogue services during the week. Over 98% do not even go to synagogue once a week. No better results were offered by the Minneapolis survey. It was also demonstrated that the larger the city the smaller was the percentage of those enrolled in synagogues.

We are now discussing an actual situation which is also recognized by religious leaders and we seek to draw our own conclusions. We are not conducting a struggle against religion. We seek to go together with religious people, with everyone without exception, in the struggle for peace and civil rights. We value the statements of rabbis for peace and against Heusinger. Not only are we not conducting a struggle against religion, but we are at all times prepared to fight for the rights of religious people to lead their lives as they see fit, as we are prepared to fight for the rights of the non-religious. We sound the alarm against the bombings of synagogues because these bombings are acts of nazism and anti-Semitism, and also because these bombings disrupt the way of life of the religious. Here, in our analysis, we seek to present the actual situation as we see it.

YIDDISH CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS, BOOKS, YIDDISH THEATRE

One must see all phases of the situation. The fact is that the synagogue, the temple, although not centers of worship are, however, the centers of varied activities. They exercise a particular role in the field of child education.

Jewish children's schools are now attended by about 600,000 children throughout the country. Forty per cent of these schools are under the direction of the Conservative synagogues, about 30 per cent are directed by the Reform Temples and about 20 per cent by the Orthodox synagogues. The remaining 10 per cent embrace other types of schools, including the so-called Yiddishist schools. A varied activity has been developed around the synagogues and temples. But this has nothing in common with a religious renaissance. Nor can one assert that children's education with a religious background will have any significant value. The above-mentioned questionnaires and other researches confirm this.

It is generally known that among certain Yiddishists there has been a swing toward religion in the last years, to religious customs presumably in order to strengthen Jewishness. In so far as the element of religion is becoming and must become weaker, and not solely among Jews, to that extent it is obvious that secularism must receive more and more emphasis.

The Jewish secular cultural activity suffers painfully from disunity, from its splintered character. The Jewish secular school movement is divided and the most important Jewish secular school system, the progressive, is discriminated against, is not even taken into account. That is why it appears that all the Yiddishist schools embrace barely one per cent of the children attending all Jewish schools, whereas, the progressive schools themselves have enrolled not much less.

So it is with the Yiddish book, and so it is with the Yiddish theatre. The theatre is a crying example of this disunity. Such an institution can exist only on a government subsidy, or by the mobilization of all social groups. Division

and McCarthyite discriminations have helped bury the Yiddish theatre.

THE ROLE OF THE PROGRESSIVE YIDDISH SECTOR

In order for us to enjoy a healthy Jewish life in America one's outlook, of course, must rest on the fact that we are *here*. It is not necessary now to argue about the contributions of funds for Israel or other efforts for Israel. Interest in Israel is understandably justified. We shall dwell on this later. But before all else a healthy Jewish life ought to be built *here*.

In a unified Jewish community the progressive elements must be permitted to occupy their rightful place. These are the elements who can make a special contribution to Jewish life, a great contribution, by placing emphasis on the behests and on the literature of the classical Yiddish writers of Europe and on our American classical Yiddish poets, by keeping alive progressive Jewish traditions side by side with the progressive traditions of America, by keeping alive the traditions of struggle of the Jewish workers, by keeping alive the heritage of the generations of builders of Yiddish culture, the heritage of Morris Winchevsky and David Edelstadt, of Joseph Bovshover and Morris Rosenfeld, the heritage of Moissaye Olgin and Chaim Zhitlovsky.

In building the clubs and the societies, the YKUF and the reading circles, the secular children's schools, the choruses and orchestras, the women's organizations, in maintaining the *Morning Freiheit*, the progressive-democratic Jewish forces introduce content into Jewish life in our country and thus perform an important task. The Rosenfeld anniversary celebrations this year are such an example, as were the Sholem Aleichem and I. L. Peretz commemorations in previous years, as was the commemoration of the hundredth anniversaries of Dubnov and Frug last year, as will be the marking of the hundredth year of the birth of Rueben Brainin this year, or the celebrating of the 25 years of the YKUF.

Where the progressive Jewish forces are active and such celebrations are organized as well as other cultural and social manifestations, there Jewish life is much richer than in those areas in which such celebrations are not undertaken. But how much richer Jewish life would be if many of these celebrations and other activities would take place on the basis of unity! The years when the American Jewish Conference existed, when the Jewish Book Council was free of McCarthyism, are specific examples.

McCarthyite discriminations represents an enormous calamity in Jewish life and it is often a calamity also for those who engage in these discriminations.

It is in the interests of all Jewish people's organizations to carry on a struggle against McCarthyism, to fling back and dissociate oneself from the anti-Communist battle-shriek of the Birchers. A clearcut struggle against Birchism and an atmosphere of unity would invigorate Jewish community life; it would aid in building Jewish secular culture, in rebuilding the Yiddish theatre and in circulating the Yiddish book.

WHAT DOES UNITY MEAN?

If you wish, unity, the unity of the people is the magic wand which can transform Jewish life, which would arouse to activity that overwhelming majority which is now complacent, which doesn't "excite" itself, which walks about in soft slippers. New well-springs of the people's creativity would gush forth. Isn't it obvious, for example, how many thousands and thousands of Jewish working people would respond to a united Morris Rosenfeld celebration, to a united Winchevsky anniversary, of the left and right together, of the Yiddish and English speaking in New York, the city of two and a half million Jews?

When speaking of unity, it must be remembered that one can and ought to come together with other elements on one issue, although separating ourselves on a different issue or other issues. One may and ought to join with the Jewish War Veterans in the struggle against nazi Rockwell,

while at the same time disagreeing with their position in regard to the Soviet Union. One may and ought to join, for instance, with the American Jewish Congress against the Birchers, or with the American Jewish Committee in the fight for peace, without being in agreement with them on such subjects as Zionism, Ben Gurion and again the Soviet Union. And -

Allow me here to underscore this for all of us, yes, for myself as well, that it is not enough to agree that unity is a good thing. It is necessary to set an example, to relinquish old sectarian methods, if one still holds such, to master the art of joining together in a friendly manner with other elements, to concern ourselves with the activities of other organizations in our neighborhoods, the Yiddish-speaking and the English-speaking, to establish contacts and to move out in unison wherever possible in the struggle for the interests of the Jewish masses, for Jewish culture, against every type of racism, against the Rockwell gangs, against the cold war.

Unity is the crying need of the moment! Unity in the struggle against anti-Semitism and fascims! Unity in the fight for peace! Unity to enable the United Nations to become an effective instrument to carry out its decision for complete and general disarmament and against colonialism! Unity in creating here a healthy Jewish life! From this assemblage let the call go forth for united actions, no matter how small they are, but let them be bigger, in behalf of the people, of America, of a happier world!

NEGATIVE FEATURES IN JEWISH LIFE

Unity does not signify eliminating one's own principles, it does not signify the banishing of differences or of surrendering the right to point out negative features. Jewish life in the United States is not only splintered and often chaotic but also has sharp negative features in the political sense and also in respect to its internal qualities.

Together with the previously mentioned extremely im-

portant positive political, social and cultural developments in Jewish life, there is existant at the same time an attachment on the part of a substantial segment of the Jewish leadership — and I stress *the leadership* — to the line of the State Department, regardless of how harmful this line is to America and for the Jewish people. Proof of this is the attitude of this leadership to the Adenauer-Globke regime and to the affaire Heusinger.

That West Germany's Adenauer-Globke regime is corroded with Nazism is conceded by many Jewish leaders. And it is an outrage and affront that the co-author and interpreter of the Nuremburg laws which brought such destruction to the Jewish people, Hans Globke, Eichmann's partner, is Adenauer's right-hand man. One simply cannot count the number of Nazis in the Adenauer government, in the army, in the diplomatic service, among the judges, teachers, professors, etc. When speaking of the Globkes and the Heusingers, we are dealing with the very murderers of the Jewish people. The latest exposures of Globke and Heusinger have revealed that these mass murderers are not a whit less guilty than Eichmann himself. When speaking of Bonn we are dealing with a fearful monster which is being built up against the Jewish people, against the United States, against all of mankind.

However, no open declaration by the Jewish leadership in America in opposition to the Adenauer-Globke regime, no struggle against the partnership with neo-Nazism in NATO is shaping up. Again they are the captives of Hitler's big lie of anti-Communism, of anti-Bolshevism, as they were on the eve of the second World War when the American Jews failed in their full duty to the Jewish people. We have witnessed united anti-swastika demonstrations and Warsaw Ghetto memorials in other countries, whereas, to our shame and disgrace, such actions have not taken place in the United States.

The *affaire Heusinger* was and is an eyesore. Senator Wayne Morse, a non-Jew, made an historic speech against Heusinger on the floor of the Senate on April 19, 1961. But

Sen. Jacob Javits, a Jew, not only did not remain silent, but in a letter to voters repeated the State Department line that Hitler's chief strategist, Heusinger, is kosher.

So it is in regard to the Berlin question. So it is in regard to the cold war generally and so it is in regard to the instrument of the cold war — anti-Sovietism. Too many Jewish leaders are to be found on the side of the State Department.

However, we must emphasize immediately: not *all* the leaders! Such a leader of Zionism as Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver is against the cold war and in the main does not follow in the wake of the State Department. An honorable role in the anti-Heusinger struggle has been undertaken by Rabbi S. Burr Yampol, an important figure in the Zionist movement and among the rabbis of Chicago. There are others. But they are a minority among the leaders, a small minority, unfortunately. If one wishes to convince himself about the Jewish leadership as a whole, it is sufficient to look into the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish middle class press, which is almost entirely, with a few exceptions of certain writers, on the side of the cold war.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE BIG BOURGEOISIE AND THE BEN GURION POLICY

One can say that the reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, the Jewish big bourgeoisie, and there is such, of course, in America, seeks to exert its influence on Jewish life. It has a decisive voice in the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) which supplies the budgets of many Jewish organizations and institutions. It seeks to exercise its influence through the American Jewish Committee which is active in the Reform Temple movement, in theological and other institutions, and has an effect on a section of the English-speaking Jewish intelligentsia through these organizations, through the large monthly magazine *Commentary* and other publications.

Here too, one mustn't over-simplify matters, particularly when considering the positive role of the American Jewish Committee on the question of peace, as we have seen, on

the Negro question and on civil rights generally. But definite influences of the big bourgeoisie are apparent nevertheless.

Second – or firstly – the influence of the Ben Gurion policy on many Jewish leaders. One cannot assert that they are overly enthusiastic about Ben Gurion. In particular instances he has been quite sharply criticized by American Jewish leaders and even by certain writers of Zionist publications. This is what happened after his address at Brandeis University, in March 1960, in which he negated everything the Jewish people created in the course of two thousand years. He was very sharply criticized when at a Zionist Congress in Jerusalem in December 1960 he cited a quotation that Jews who live in "Galut" [outside Israel—Ed.] have no God.

The fact remains, however, that his meeting with Adenauer, in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on March 14, 1960, did not, with a few exceptions, elicit any criticism in the Jewish middle class press, whether in English or in Yiddish, or on the part of the Jewish leaders. At that meeting the Ben Gurion line coincided, as it almost always does, with the State Department line and many Jewish officials found a double excuse for their silence.

There prevails the notion among certain leaders and newspapers that criticism of the Ben Gurion policy may harm Israel. This is a false and harmful conception. The Ben Gurion-Adenauer meeting, for example, was an eyesore for American opinion, for world opinion. In this instance, criticism of Ben Gurion could have been of positive value for Israel itself by indicating that this meeting was not in Israel's interests and that many people there are opposed to friendship with Adenauer-Globke.

THE ANTI-SOVIET HYSTERIA

Because of this double excuse – trailing after the State Department and trailing after Ben Gurion – anti-Sovietism has become more pronounced in the middle class Jewish press, both Yiddish and English. A study of the anti-Soviet campaign will disclose that unfortunately in this regard this

press outdoes by far the American press. This must be said with distress, particularly because it is so clear that anti-Sovietism is one of the most poisonous weapons of the cold war, of the Birchers, of the nazis.

The clamor about "Soviet anti-Semitism" is really monstrous when we consider that Globke is swallowed down. In a definite sense this clamor has the aim of protecting Globke and obscuring the nazism-anti-Semitism of West Germany.

Everyone who soberly observes Soviet society, especially the developments of the last years, everyone who has a regard for the facts which the *Morning Freiheit* carries daily, must reject this libel with contempt.

Only recently there was a report of the further increase in the number of Soviet-Jewish scientists, which now stands at 33,500. This figure indicates that there is a large Jewish student body which produces such scientists.

Previous discriminations are set aside, are rectified. Such has in a very large measure occurred in the field of Yiddish culture as we shall soon see. When speaking of struggle against anti-Semitism one must take into account the large number of Yiddish books in Russian and other languages, translated by scores of Russian and other writers and poets and issued by government publishing houses in the millions of copies – over 12,000,000 since 1956 – which acquaint the broad population in the USSR with Jewish life, with the sorrows and joys of the Jewish people.

When the clamor of "Soviet anti-Semitism" is heard, this signifies government anti-Semitism. This is an assertion which disgraces the leaders and newspapers who fabricate it or employ it. To reject the libel of government anti-Semitism does not at all imply that all problems regarding anti-Semitism among the people are already solved. The Soviet press reports from time to time of criminal cases – swindles, speculation, physical assaults – and anti-Semites who are criminals and are still around. There are surely remnants of the past periods, of the nazi occupation, of the Stalin-Beria period. What is important is that government officials, beginning with Premier Khrushchev, have referred to the struggle

which Lenin conducted against anti-Semitism in connection with the swastika plague for example. What is important is that the program adopted by the 22nd Party Congress speaks of the struggle against anti-Semitism as a struggle against a weapon of fascism. This is a *very significant development* of the last period, just as the program itself, as is generally conceded, is a great development, as was proven by the special edition devoted to the Program which the *New York Times* published on August 1, 1961*

We may assert with assurance that the declaration of the poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko in his poem "Babi Yar," which created such a stir throughout the world, is an expression of this struggle. Again it ought to be emphasized that it was a *Soviet* poet who declared: the time will come when the last

*On May 6 (1962) the *Morning Freiheit* published an open letter issued by 5 prominent Soviet Jews (Z. Wendroff, writer; Prof. Boris Eidelman, Master of Law; People's Artist Lev Pulver, composer; Prof. Iosif Braginski, Editor-in-Chief of the magazine *The Peoples of Asia and Africa*; Prof. Ilya Strashun, member USSR Academy of Medical Sciences) containing the following figures:

"According to the 1959 census the USSR population comprised 208,827,000. Of them there were 114,114,000 Russians, 37,253,000 Ukrainians, 7,913,000 Byelorussians, 6,015,000 Uzbeks, 2,692,000 Georgians, 2,268,000 Jews (1.1 per cent of the country's population).

"In 1960-1961 the USSR had 2,395,545 undergraduates, including 1,479,520 Russians, 346,618 Ukrainians, 77,177 Jews, 63,720 Byelorussians, 53,530 Uzbeks, 48,461 Georgians, etc.

"Specialists with higher and secondary specialized education in the USSR national economy include: 5,509,000 Russians, 1,338,000 Ukrainians, 427,000 Jews, 257,000 Byelorussians, 155,000 Georgians.

"Soviet scientific workers include 229,547 Russians, 35,426 Ukrainians, 33,529 Jews, 8,306 Georgians, 6,358 Byelorussians.

"Jews make up 14.7 per cent of all Soviet doctors, 8.5 per cent of writers and journalists; 10.4 per cent of jurists (Procurators [approximating our district attorneys—Ed.], judges, lawyers); 7 per cent of art workers (actors, musicians, artists, sculptors).

"In 1961, 7,623 Jews were elected deputies of the local organs of Soviet government. There are Jews among the deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania and other Union republics as well as the USSR Supreme Soviet, such as Minister Veniamin Dymshits, Colonel-General Yakov Kreiser, Hero of the Soviet Union, Rebecca Vischinikina, a collective farmer, Ilya Erenburg, an author, Ilya Yagudin, a collective farm chairman, Genrikh Zimanis, journalist, Minister Ilya Velyavichus.

"Many thousands of Jews hold key positions in the capital and the provinces."

anti-Semite will disappear from the earth; further, it should be noted that it was the most important *Soviet* literary organ, *Literary Gazette*, which published this poem.

The anti-Soviet campaign, as we have stressed earlier, is a weapon of the cold war. That is why it is doubly harmful and shameful. The interests of America and of the Jewish people require that this campaign be opposed. One cannot speak of securing world peace as long as these incitements continue! One cannot fight "Birchism" without knocking out of its hands its instrument of anti-Sovietism.

One must not ignore the special "contribution" of Ben Gurionism in the anti-Soviet incitement. The unrelenting clamor of Ben Gurion and other chauvinists that Soviet Jews have to emigrate from the Soviet Union must naturally be accompanied with taunts of anti-Semitism, government anti-Semitism. Who, incidentally, can guarantee that Ben Gurion, the "hero" of what in Israel is referred to as the "shameful affair," the Lavon affair, restricts himself only to exhortations? The campaign of "taking out" the Soviet Jew is dangerous from many viewpoints and must lead to undesirable results. Not much less harmful and dangerous is the Zionist slogan "the ingathering of the exiles" in regard to Jews in other countries.

THE ROLE OF ZIONISM

When we consider Zionism one must be forewarned that here too the approach ought not to be a simplified one, lumping together everything. What is involved here are not only the differences between followers and leaders, between leaders and leaders, between trend and trend. Much more is involved. The overwhelming majority of Zionist-minded Jews, or let us say, the majority of the Hadassah membership and even sections of the membership of the Zionist Organization of America, regard their Zionism as an expression of their sympathies for Israel and their desires to aid Israel. These are understandable sympathies and desires and have little connection with political Zionism. These members

often separate themselves from the State Department. Many of them are opposed to the cold war and some of them participate in the peace movement. It is therefore misleading to measure the broad masses of Zionist followers and sympathizers with the same yardstick with which one must measure most Zionist leaders.

Insofar as trends are concerned one has to appreciate that such trends as the Hashomer Hatzair, the Mapam or "Progressives for Israel" should not be confused with the General Zionists or the Revisionists (the Herut). However, this is applicable to all these trends: they are all bourgeois-nationalist trends which deny the possibility of Jewish life here in this country.

It is well known that since Israel's establishment Zionism has been in crisis. What is the source of this permanent, one may say, crisis?

DR. JOACHIM PRINZ ON ZIONISM

One cause of the crisis in Zionism is the conflict between the slogan of the "ingathering of the exiles" and reality. In all of 1961 a total of 1,375 persons from the United States and Canada together left *for* Israel, as contrasted with the many thousands, perhaps as many as ten thousand, who arrived in Canada and the United States *from* Israel. The long held conception of Zionism that emigration to one's "own" country will solve all problems has proved bankrupt. It is becoming obvious even to the followers of Zionism that Jewish problems must be solved here, on the spot. Political Zionism and its orientation solely on "there" frustrates the solution of these problems. This was admitted by the former veteran Zionist leader, Dr. Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress when he stated in early 1961. "Zionism is dead," "the Zionist phraseology and its unrealistic ideology can no longer appeal to the young men and women of today."

Dr. Prinz also insisted on a revision of Dr. Herzl's conception, one of the foundations of political Zionism, that

anti-Semitism is eternal and only through emigration to Israel can the world be rid of anti-Semitism. The developments in America as we have seen, prove that this concept is false, despite the ragings of the Birchers and the Rockwells. In the United States as in other countries, let alone Socialist countries with all the problems which are still present, it is evident that there is a fuller integration of Jews in society, in the labor movement. The Herzl concept of "eternal anti-Semitism" was false from its beginning. If it were really so that anti-Semitism is eternal then there would be no hope for the existence of a Jewish country, for Israel, in a world of permanent anti-Semitism.

We shall again refer to the question of anti-Semitism in speaking of the Eichmann trial. But together with these thoughts which show how Zionism is in conflict with reality there is yet another important aspect to be considered.

HARMFUL THEORIES ABOUT REVOLUTION AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE

At the Convention of the Zionist organization of America in August 1961, Dr. Emanuel Neuman in his opening address spoke of the present period in the world as a time "when entire continents are in rebirth and convulsion," and indicated that "in many instances such social and political upsurges had a shattering effect on established Jewish communities, being as they are caught up between contending forces." Dr. Neuman remarked that this was nothing new in Jewish history and cited as reference Judd Teller's book, "Scapegoat of Revolution." Revolution supposedly is misfortune for the Jewish people.

When we recall the words of the Kennedy administration member, Chester Bowles, on the revolutionary period in which we live, one could infer from Dr. Neuman's words that the march of history is going against the destiny of the Jewish people. But such a supposition is not only dangerous to the Jewish people, but is simply a slander upon them.

From the history of the American Revolution, from all revolutions since then and even before it, we know that the majority of Jews were on the side of revolution! History tells us of generations of Jewish freedom fighters in all times and many countries. History also tells us of the freedom and rights which these revolutions gave the Jewish people, from the American Revolution to the French Revolution to the October Revolution. The concept of "Scapegoat of Revolution" is both a falsification of history and an affront to the Jewish people. It is virtually a death sentence upon it!

AMERICAN FREEDOM TRADITIONS AND THE JEWS

However, if one of the principal spokesmen of American Zionism is disturbed by the revolutionary upsurge on the Asian and African continents and in Latin America and can reach for the concept of scapegoat, it is again obvious where *political Zionism* stands. And it is once more clear that it finds itself in sharp conflict with the most vital interests of the Jewish people.

Naturally, among the Jews as among other people there are certain strata whose interests do not coincide with the revolutionary upsurge in those countries which previously were colonies of imperialism. At the time of the American Revolution it is probable that some Jews were on the side of the Tories of that time who opposed the American Revolution and were loyal to the English colonial rule. Such Jews were evident at the time of the American Civil War and were supporters of the Southern side. But Dixiecrats of the Judah Benjamin type were not representative of the Jewish population of a century ago and not only did they not represent the interests of the Jewish masses, they betrayed them! The same may be said of those who today put forth the theory that the revolutionary upsurge of the peoples is a calamity for the Jewish people.

The *Morning Freiheit* rejects this concept decisively and with contempt. It regards the participation of Jews in the

American Revolution as something precious and seeks to keep alive the traditions of the Jewish freedom fighters of all times. In the current centennial celebrations of the Civil War it strives to project the role of August Bondi, Ernestine Rose, Michael Halpern, Rabbi David Einhorn and the overwhelming majority of the Jewish population which was on Lincoln's side in the struggle against Negro slavery.

The *Morning Freiheit* values the upsurge of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as a central feature of the great, epoch-making developments of our time. The *Morning Freiheit*, unique and alone in the American Jewish press is on the side of the people's revolution in Cuba!

THE POLICY OF THE BEN-GURION GOVERNMENT

Unfortunately, we observe that the theories of political Zionism which Dr. Emanuel Neuman calls upon receive their expression in practice in the conduct of the Israel delegation in the United Nations which in almost every vote dealing with Asia, Africa and Latin America — and with the rare exceptions in regard to Angola and South Africa — ranged itself on the side of colonialism and imperialism. The *Morning Freiheit* has persistently judged these actions as being harmful for Israel itself and as actions which can only bring harm to the Jews outside of Israel, the about 85 percent of the Jewish people.

Certainly, the thesis is false, profoundly false, that the Israeli government has the right to speak in behalf of the entire Jewish people. It does not have such a right! But enemies of the Jewish people can utilize this theory. It would be most harmful to the interests of Jews in America, France and other countries, if the impression was to be created that they are opposed to the independence of Algeria and other nations in Africa, and are against the attempts of the Latin American peoples to win a new life for themselves. Surely it is apparent that the Jews in Algeria are endangered when the Israel delegation in the United Nations votes with France on the Algerian question.

The policy of the Ben Gurion government is being criticized more and more in the Israeli press itself, especially since the so-called Lavon affair which seriously discredited the Ben Gurion group. Included in this criticism is the treatment of the Arab minority in Israel by the Ben Gurion government. The recent statement of Dr. Martin Buber was only an expression of the mood in Israel generally and of the position of almost all the parties to abolish the military regime over the Arab minority.

It is evident that the criticism of a Martin Buber or of the Israeli press is a criticism for the benefit of Israel. This is the character of the *Morning Freiheit's* criticism of the Israeli government. However, it is quite different with the bulk of the American Jewish press.

WHAT DO AMERICAN JEWS KNOW ABOUT ISRAEL?

Even such a newspaper as the weekly *National Jewish Post and Opinion* of Indianapolis, an American Jewish conservative weekly of national circulation, in its July 28, 1961 issue wrote that according to the view of Israel in the American Jewish press, both in English and Yiddish, it appears that:

"Israel has only two problems: threatening neighbors and a chronic lack of funds. Almost nothing is printed about the race problem which is developing there, the problem of the mounting crimes among the youth, the problem of the expediency of the existence of institutions which have outlived their usefulness, the growing schism between Israel and the Diaspora, election issues, the alienation of the youth from religion, the internal Arab question, the terrible growth of inflation, the necessity of an electoral reform, the decline of idealism, the question of the religion and the state and a mountain of other questions."

Most of the questions which the editor of the *National Jewish Post and Opinion* listed are indeed urgent. Especially is this true of the problem of the serious inflation and the declining living standards of the masses, while the number

of millionaires is on the increase. The fact that religion is not separated from the state, but is a state power is a serious question. And so is the Arab question and the racism directed against dark-skinned Jews.

This particular editor is disturbed because, as he writes, "Many American Jews travel to Israel expecting find a paradise on earth, and return disappointed." We are primarily concerned with the masses in Israel.

FOR PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB NATIONS

The *Morning Freiheit* has on many occasions projected the slogan, "*Israel is here to stay.*" This is clear. Israel is here to remain. But I believe that this slogan of itself is insufficient. It must be obvious that those reactionary elements in the Arab nations who speak of wiping out Israel not only wish to turn the clock of history backwards, but represent a danger to the peace of the world, let alone of the Mid-East! The same must be said of those "Activist" elements in Israel, regardless of who they are. We know that the chauvinism in Israel creates a breach even between Israel and the Jews of other countries, and of this the editor of the *Post and Opinion* spoke. It must also be apparent that this same chauvinism creates an abyss between Israel and her neighbors. The treatment of the Arab minority in Israel is one of the principal obstacles to an Israel-Arab peace, and in passing it must be mentioned that this treatment can provide the anti-Semites in America and other countries with a weapon against the Jewish minorities in these countries.

Of course, the question of Israeli-Arab peace is not solely dependent on Israel. Chauvinists and reactionaries among the Arabs, particularly among the Arab rulers, these tools of the oil trusts, the imperialists, and the State Department, personify a very serious negative element. They must be decisively fought as enemies of world peace. But to the extent that American Jews have a close relationship with the Israeli masses, they must, in combination with the struggle

against the Arab chauvinist-reactionaries also indicate what Israel ought to do, the type of initiative which it must put forth, how Israel can help create an *atmosphere of peace*, not only with pleasant words, but with deeds — by abolishing discriminations against the Arab minority in that country and by joining hands with the people of Asia and Africa on the road to their liberation.

SOLIDARITY ACTIONS FOR ISRAEL

Peace is the fundamental problem for Israel. Israel will be able to exist and develop itself in a world of peace. He who does not struggle for peace is not, in fact, struggling for the security of Israel. Many of Israel's problems stem from the cold war. The end of the cold war, peace between the great powers will help remove these problems. If the proposal which the Soviet Union advanced in 1957, that no nation in the mid-East accept arms from any other nation, was adopted and was supported by Israel as well, it would help a great deal. But here the question arises of the export of Israeli arms to the Adenaur-Globke regime, to the army which is being led by Hitler's generals. Apart from the moral standpoint, this action evoked the amazement of many peoples and aggravated the relations between Israel and the Socialist and other nations which justifiably regard the arming of West Germany as a great threat, a threat to all peoples and also for the Jewish people.

MATERIAL ON ISRAEL IN THE "MORNING FREIHEIT"

Jewish life in the U.S.A. and the Jewish press as a whole is *super-concentrated* on Israel. This is, of course, detrimental, as we have indicated, and is an obstacle to the building of a healthy Jewish life here. But this super-concentration has certain objectives. Whether or not we are dealing here with a conscious attempt to divert the American Jewish people from their tasks in America, in practice it serves this pur-

pose. False illusions are created among the Jewish people, chauvinism is sowed, the kosher sign is placed on the Adenauer-Globke regime, the struggle against the Heusingers is inhibited. It is therefore necessary, in the interests of creating a healthy Jewish life here, to continually criticize the negative aspects of the Ben Gurion policy. The interests of the Israeli people must be brought to the fore according to the slogan: The Ben Gurion government is one thing and the people are something else again. The truth of the life of the Israeli masses must be presented. Their problems must be reflected. Their achievements must be indicated as well as their struggles for peace, against nazism, against trade with the Adenauer-Globke regime, for the death sentence of Eichmann.

In the Eichmann trial the Israeli masses played a most considerable role. Their struggle and the struggle of the former concentration camp inmates, propelled the Israel government to bring Eichmann to trial. This was an historic achievement both of the people and the government of Israel. When a spokesman for Argentina, a nazi, demanded in the U.N. that Israel return Eichmann to the haven of the nazis and fascists — to Argentina, the representatives of the advanced nations, of the Socialist nations, placed themselves on Israel's side in the U.N.

THE EICHMANN TRIAL

The Eichmann trial was an act of historic significance. A Jewish court tried a murderer of the Jewish people! The witnesses at the sessions of the trial revealed to the entire world the whole blood-soaked saga of Jewish martyrdom during the Second World War, laid bare for the world the enormous hell, the awful vale of suffering and pain, of tears and blood. Together with the living witnesses there appeared before the court, in the eyes of the world, six million martyr-witnesses, six millions of our people, including a million children.

Faithful to their promise to the deceased, to their martyr-

dom and heroism, the living witnesses represented people of all trends: Zionists, Communists, Socialists, non-partisan people, the religious and the non-religious. This quality of unity, a rare quality, unfortunately, at this time, must not be overlooked. Through the living witnesses there was also brought out in a certain, though in a limited way, the Jewish heroism in the ghettos, the camps, and among the partisans. The Eichmann trial was an event of momentous historic significance!

And yet this trial evoked justified dissatisfaction. In order to illustrate this dissatisfaction we will mention an article by a person in Israel who himself engages in cold-war propaganda. He is M. Tzanin, editor of the Tel Aviv Yiddish newspaper *Letzte Naies*, ("The Latest News") which was purchased by the Ben Gurion Mapai (The Israel Labor Party). Even he points out in an article in the January, 1962 issue of the New York *Tzukunft* ("Future") magazine that instead of "an historic trial by the Jewish people of the Germans, "there took place a criminal proceeding against one person, Eichmann. They squeezed the case of Eichmann "into the Sodom bed of the conventional penal code and procedure."

Why did this occur? Is it only the fault of the Israeli prosecution, as Tzanin assumes, or as he writes, "legal-minded jurists clipped the historic wings" of the Eichmann trial? Of course, this is not the proper political approach to this question.

One must bear in mind that around the *affaire Eichmann* there took place a contest between two forces. On the one side — the Israeli masses, the former concentration camp inmates, the Tuvia Freedmans' who set as their life's goal the task of finding Eichmann and of properly punishing him. And on the other side, the policy of the Ben Gurion government. From the start the question was posed whether the trial should be of a broad character, should indict all of Hitlerism, should present all the Hitler murderers who participated in the dooming of the six million Jews and the millions of other peoples, including the Globkes and the Heusingers, or, should it be a "narrow" trial squeezed "into

the Sodom bed of the conventional legal code and procedure," as Tzanin wrote, against a single person, Eichmann, and guarding that his accomplices in crime shall not be mentioned, shall not be tried together with him.

This, unfortunately, is what happened. Such were the requirements of the policy of the Ben Gurion government in regard to Adenauer and Globke, in regard to the NATO, to the State Department and their Heusingers, Speidels, Foertches.

It is hardly to be wondered that among other peoples, especially in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe generally, where nazism caused such ruination and where they are so sensitive to the enormous danger which the rebirth of the power of the Globkes and Heusingers represents to world peace, there was dissatisfaction with the manner in which the Eichmann trial was conducted.

HISTORIC ASPECTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

The Eichmann trial unfortunately missed out on another important matter. Here at the trial was the opportunity to put anti-Semitism in the dock; to demonstrate that the gas chamber is the "logical" goal of the generations' old anti-Semitic propaganda. In the trial chamber in Jerusalem every anti-Semite ought to have been accused as Eichmann's potential accomplice. A clarion call should have rung out against anti-Semitism, as well as against all race hatred.

The London *Jewish Quarterly* (No. 8, Summer 1961), asserted that "nazi anti-Semitism represents the climax of Christian anti-Semitism." The magazine offered a series of analyses which drew the threads backwards — from the gas chambers to the four gospels, the foundations of the New Testament, in which the confusion is developed that the Jews killed Christ, that "the Jews are not a people of God, but the rulers of Sodom and Gomorrah." The magazine declares that Hitler based the bloody incitements of his book "Mein Kampf" on the gospels, and that Streicher also based his own slanders on them.

It is true: If one thinks more deeply into this murderous, barbarous Hitlerism, against which the church did not struggle and even in a definite sense condoned, one cannot avoid to stress the anti-Jewish propaganda of the Christian Church in the course of generations—just as one cannot overlook the role of religion generally, or certain aspects of religion, of *every* religion in the question of friendship between peoples and races.

Certainly, the earnest attempts of spokesmen of the various religions, Christian, Jewish and others, to set aside those features and expressions or “precepts” which sow hatred between peoples and races must not be overlooked. We observe, by contrast, religious spokesmen in the struggle for racial equality and friendship between people. But one must not shut one’s eyes to all that is written black on white in theological works. And certainly one cannot overlook the dark heritage of generations which is still an influence nor overlook the current obscurantism and, again, the role of the official churches in the countries where the Hitler massacres occurred. This must be done though not forgetting that here and there individual clergymen and religious persons generally revealed humane feelings to Jews, to Jewish children and in some instances even risked their lives.

The above-mentioned *Jewish Quarterly* carries some really terrifying quotations from Martin Luther’s so-called teachings, in his second period, which sound like the ravings of Hitler or Streicher: “Burn their synagogues,” “Food and shelter must not be given them,” “Jews must not be allowed to walk on ‘our’ streets, they must be compelled to do hard labor and be deprived of their property.” These behests of Luther were actually formulated by Globke and made a part of the Nuremburg laws.

It will, however, be a serious mistake to seek the causes of the Hitler barbarism only in the Christian Church, as this magazine does and as others do. Much more serious, barbarous and decisive was the role of German monopoly capital, of the Krupps and the Thyssens and all those who brought Hitler to power and provided him with the means

to conduct his barbarous program and his massacres, including the delivery of gas for the gas chambers, the ovens for the crematoriums. One must not overlook the class forces in capitalist society, the forces which need anti-Semitism as well as other forms of race hatred, *also against Christians*, particularly against those of a darker skin, to further their objective of oppression and exploitation, of divide and rule.

Perhaps it would have been too much to expect the Eichmann trial to delve so broadly in its historic analysis of anti-Semitism. But actually, no analysis was made at all. The judges clearly said in their decision that this was not their task.

In the fifteen-point indictment of Eichmann there were three points which dealt with crimes against other peoples. But these crimes were barely touched upon. This again narrowed the trial and thus evoked further justified dissatisfaction. The trial was actually weakened by this omission. The full picture did not come through that nazism regarded other peoples, even Christian peoples such as the Slavs as “inferior” peoples who must be enslaved and even destroyed. It is a fact that in the Oswiecims many non-Jews were killed.

PROBLEMS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

If it is true, and it is true, that the Hitler years and the destruction of six million Jews heightened the national feelings of Jews and began to move many Jews on the Jewish question who were formerly, partly or entirely, separated from Jewish life, then the same can in substantial measure be said of the effect of the Eichmann trial. The indescribable sufferings of millions of Jews in the ghettos and in the death camps were revived again by the trial, by books, by plays and films which were created under the influence of the Eichmann trial. This further strengthened the feeling of belonging to the Jewish people, of attachment to the Jewish people.

There is the opinion that anti-Semitism is the only connecting link between Jews of various countries since it is

the common enemy of Jews everywhere. If there were no other elements of attachment between Jews of various countries one could say: to the extent that anti-Semitism exists such bonds are also present and as long as anti-Semitism exists such bonds will continue to exist. In this, the actual situation must be taken into account, regardless of the opinion one may have about other ties among Jews of various countries.

However, there are such ties. When one does not wish to see them, or when they are denied, false conclusions are reached and one plays into the hands of the chauvinists who utilize in *their own manner* the understandable interest of Jews of one country for Jews of other countries.

American Jews are justifiably interested in the life of the masses in Israel, as we have seen, in the life of Jews of all countries, including, of course, the Socialist countries. One can perhaps say that Socialist-minded Jews are especially interested in the Jews of the Socialist countries in order to learn how these countries are solving the Jewish question and eradicating anti-Semitism.

The interest of Jews of one country in Jews of other countries has nothing in common with the chauvinist concept of a Jewish world-nation, a sort of super-nation. Such a concept is false and harmful!

American Jews are an organic part of the American nation, are Americans with no dual national loyalties. Nation implies the state, a territory. In this sense Jews are a nation only in Israel, although the Arabs there are part of the Israeli nation.

It is not with a "world-nation" that we are concerned, but with the common people's interests among Jews, since there is a Jewish people even though its parts are nationally integrated in various countries. They have an interest in each other and a bond between them and this is so not solely because of the common enemy of anti-Semitism. There are other bonds, more important than anti-Semitism or less important. These are: the history of the Jewish people, culture, language, tradition and in certain sections, religion. Family ties also play a part. The history of a people signifies its

family tree, its beginning, its yesterday, its day before yesterday. It signifies common sufferings throughout generations, martyrdom, heroism. The Eichmann trial has strengthened these ties by reviving the martyrdom and the heroism, not only of the six million dead and not only of the millions who were rescued. Jews, as a whole, everywhere, were in one or another manner in a sense, the partners of these sufferings, the partners to this heroism.

This April, as every April since 1943, the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto will be marked in many countries. The heroes and martyrs will be honored and the record of blood and tears will be reopened and the deeds of the Eichmanns, the Globkes and the Heusingers will be recited again. One can foresee really large commemorations next year, the 20th Anniversary of the Ghetto uprising. Here we have again the community of interests of a people in various lands.

We have previously noted how Jews in several countries moved out in a united way against the swastika plague at the beginning of 1960. And let us recall again the World Jewish Conference against the rearming of West Germany which was held in Paris in 1955.

In the recent period there has been a closer relationship between progressive Jewish cultural workers and creative people in various countries, an exchange between them and a desire to meet one another on an international scale.

When all these developments are considered one must reach the conclusion that not all the older formulations dealing with the national question justified themselves in real life as it has developed even before the Second World War and especially, during and since the war. *If the facts of life do not tally with a particular theory then it is evident that this theory is not correct.*

Facts are stubborn things, to cite a correct quotation. They must be taken into account if one is desirous of avoiding conclusions which can only do damage.

ABOUT ASSIMILATION

We were raised in Olgin's school, the school of internationalism, the school of struggle against nationalism and chauvinism. This was at the same time the school which emphasized that nationalism and chauvinism are one thing and national interests an entirely different matter. This is the school which teaches that the workers are the best fighters for the national interests of a particular people and that true internationalism is not at all in contradiction with national interests. On the contrary, it creates the healthy foundations for the defense of the national interests of peoples. Let us again recall Georgi Dimitrov, and how well he posed the question.

A correct approach to the national question demands, it would seem, some attention to the subject of assimilation. There are some people who maintain the theory that assimilation is progress. The question can be asked; if the *people* remain, if all the positive and negative features remain which cement a people for its further preservation, then what significance can the assimilation of certain individuals have? Can this not mean, doesn't it in fact mean, an abandoning of the struggle, surrendering the people to chauvinist leadership?

Further: if one assumes that assimilation is progress, is not a danger created that it can be speeded up, supposedly in the name of progress? Here we are entering into the realm of *forced* assimilation which is also opposed by most of the supporters of the theory of assimilation. But here other questions arise. Just what is "voluntary assimilation?" — when there is still the pressure of anti-Semitism, when we still have in the U. S., for example, the pressure of Anglo-Saxon domination, when the Jewish minority does not obtain the opportunity to develop its culture, to have its children's schools, publishing houses, newspapers, theatres, etc. with government assistance? The term "voluntary assimilation" in this context is dubious.

Of course, there are individuals who assimilate them-

selves. There are intellectuals, labor leaders who are separated from Jewish life. This is a loss for the people. But we are dealing here with a small, a very small minority. So far as the people is concerned, we must remember the attitude of the masses in the course of many generations to the subject of assimilation.

In Jewish life for many generations there was and has remained a revulsion to and a hatred of assimilation because this implied pressure, oppression, betrayal of national interests. During the eight days of the national Jewish holiday Chanukah, when the victory of the Macabees over the Greek-Syrian invasion and oppression and their struggle for independence is celebrated, the people contemptuously recall the Hellenists, the assimilators of that period who collaborated with the oppressors. In Czarist Russia the assimilator strata of the Baron Ginzburgs and others worked with the Czarist authorities. In the old Poland the assimilators, "Poles of Moses' faith" fought the strivings of the Jewish masses. In America they were for years the German-descended Jews the "Yahudim" of the big bourgeoisie. The working people here and in Europe fought against the rich strata, the assimilators and defended the people's interests, struggled for better living conditions and developed the people's culture.

KAUTSKY'S HARMFUL THEORIES

Speaking of false theories on the national question, it will be worthwhile to pause on the theories of Karl Kautsky on the Jewish question. It is deplorable that this was not done long ago. Kautsky's theories created enough havoc in the Socialist movement and possibly are still causing damage.

I have in mind Kautsky's book "Are the Jews a Race?" This book first appeared in 1914, but Kautsky's theories about Jews floated around much earlier and apparently are floating about even today.

It will be sufficient to cite only a few "gems" from this book to realize how bankrupt these theories are in the face of reality and how harmful they are.

I have before me the English edition which was issued by International Publishers in 1926. On page 154 Kautsky refers to one Ignaz Zollschan who declared — remember, 50 years ago! — that in the United States, “the process of dissolution of the native Jewry is proceeding at full speed.” On page 241: When the emigration from Russia to America will be ended and the second and third generations will no longer understand Yiddish, will no longer live together in a single section of cities and when religion will become a matter of indifference to them, “thus the last barrier to their assimilation will be removed.” On page 244: “The Jewish misery can disappear only under a political and social condition of Eastern Europe which will impel the Jews in those regions to speak the language of their environment, which means the beginning of their assimilation.” On page 246: “We cannot say we have completely emerged from the Middle Ages as long as Judaism still exists among us. The sooner it disappears the better it will be, not only for society, but also for the Jews themselves.”

Mistaken as he was, particularly in his latter period, Kautsky, of course, was fighting anti-Semitism. In fact, his book “Are the Jews A Race” was meant to be part of this fight. But Kautsky’s attitude towards the problem of assimilation, particularly as expressed here, blunted and harmed this fight. After the experiences with the Nazi “solution” of the Jewish question, Kautsky’s words, as quoted from page 246 of his book, retroactively evoke a painful reaction . . . As to the other quotations, it is simply unnecessary to prove the witlessness of the concept that decline of Yiddish denotes assimilation, or that poverty can be abolished this way.

For anybody who wants to know the truth it is clear that *the decline of Yiddish does not mean assimilation*. In the B’nai B’rith of over 300,000, in the Hadassah of 300,000 members the language used is not Yiddish. Again and still again: *integration*, also in the area of language, *is not the same thing as assimilation*. Of the concentration of Jews in the larger cities we have already spoken, and a concentration also in definite districts, even if the majority of Jews no

longer live in their old localities. As regards Yiddish which Kautsky predicted as far back as 1914 would disappear, we now witness how senseless was such talk. Even though the overwhelming majority of Jews in America speak English, there are still today hundreds of thousands of Jews whose language is Yiddish. In some half dozen universities, courses in Yiddish were introduced in recent years. There are Yiddish clubs in New York high schools and it is expected that Yiddish will soon become a recognized language course in certain high schools.

The Kautsky theory of assimilation is completely bankrupt. This again does not mean that some Jews are not assimilated or do not merge with other peoples. But these exceptions provide no standard for the Jewish people as a whole.

JEWISH CULTURE IN YIDDISH AND ENGLISH

It is necessary to underscore that precisely among the Yiddish speaking, much more proportionately than among the English speaking American Jews, there are elements who conduct a consistent struggle against chauvinism, for internationalism and for labor’s interests. This has much to do with the traditions which these elements inherited and keep alive, the Socialist traditions. This has much to do with the culture in Yiddish which they hold dear, progressive Yiddish culture, which is freighted with the behests of the classicists. These behests were further developed by today’s progressive Yiddish cultural creators and builders. These creators and builders were influenced and are now being influenced by the Yiddish culture in the Socialist countries, by the Soviet Yiddish culture in the first place.

We build our progressive Jewish culture in Yiddish. This is primary. Because of the aforementioned reasons Yiddish is not only a language, but is also in large measure *content* — to the extent that the behests of the classicists are kept alive. Yiddish was always despised and persecuted by the Jewish bourgeoisie. The modern Yiddish culture was

born together with the Jewish labor movement and here in America it was strengthened in the struggle against the sweat shop. For these reasons the *Morning Freiheit* is not only an instrument to build the people's organizations, it is not only an instrument in the people's fight for a better life, but it is of itself a progressive Jewish cultural institution of varied scope. At the same time we stress the need for progressive Jewish cultural work in English, an area which has been much neglected.

It must be asserted as seriously as possible: If we do not wish to speak to ourselves, if we want our viewpoint, our clarification of Jewish life and of the role of Israel to reach the masses of the Jewish population in America, we must devote more attention to the circulation of the English section of the *Morning Freiheit*, help strengthen and spread the monthly magazine *Jewish Currents*, and help build a progressive Jewish culture in English. Let us remember that the camp of nationalism and chauvinism has more than a hundred Jewish publications in English and many large magazines. More than 200 books per year on Jewish questions or on Jewish themes are published in English in the U.S. There is a wide interest and a broad audience. We must come with our own point of view.

JEWISH CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

Since our last Conference two years ago there have taken place significant developments in the field of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. The most important development was the publication of the magazine, *Sovetish Heimland* ("Soviet Homeland"). Masses of Jews in our country welcomed this magazine with joy. The limited number of about a thousand copies which arrive in the States are literally snatched up.

Our joy at the issuance of this magazine is of a varied character. Firstly, there is the fact that the Soviet Yiddish writer who is loved by the progressive elements in our country has once again made an appearance. We are happy at the fact that despite the destruction which the Yiddish culture

has suffered in the Beria-Stalin period — a destruction which cannot be forgotten! — and despite the destruction of some of the best and finest in our literature, a loss which is to this day an open wound, despite all this, or perhaps because of all this, it is a joy to see how a host of more than a hundred Soviet Yiddish writers are living and creating. The *quality* of their production, really a model quality, in prose and poetry, has aroused and continues to evoke great delight. This will again assist our own progressive creative forces.

We are pleased with the fact that the issuance of this magazine has, as it was stated in progressive Jewish circles in France, put an end to the discussion whether such Yiddish publications are needed. It is questionable whether such a discussion should have taken place at all. What was ruined in the times of the unfortunate "cult" period had to be restored according to what in the Soviet Union is termed Leninist norms, the norms which prevailed before the "cult."

It is true that 1962 is not 1948 and certainly not 1936. With us, too, much has changed since 1936. But the publication of *Soviet Homeland* with the greatest circulation which a Yiddish magazine has ever had, the circulation of books in Yiddish of the classical writers, and of David Bergelson and Osher Shwartzman, also in the large editions, the really phenomenal attendance at the Yiddish concerts, proves how justified those were who oriented themselves on the restoration of Soviet Yiddish culture in its varied forms.

Without retreating from such a position in general terms it is necessary to state that one cannot continually stand with a list in hand and figure out precisely what *we* want to see them do there. It appears as if we were the guardians of the Soviet Yiddish writers and cultural workers. However, they can speak for themselves (and perhaps they can come to us with a list of what we should do on the subject of building a progressive Yiddish culture?). Such an approach, sometimes from the top down can become harmful in many respects. Again, without retreating from the above formulated general conception, it is necessary through friendship and through closer contact to understand each other better and together build our progressive Yiddish culture.

We welcome the fact that *Soviet Homeland* seeks such closer contact and publishes the works of progressive Yiddish writers in America, France, Israel and other countries. It is a joy to emphasize that *Soviet Homeland* is much more than just a magazine, important and good as that is. This is an institution, an address! Through this magazine consultations were arranged of Yiddish writers, musicians and concert artists. Jews from abroad visit this institution, progressive writers and artists from abroad are received there.

We stress with happiness the achievements! This is a joy for all those who are for peace and co-existence, just as it is distressing for the cold warriors. Let these developments go forward with greater speed! Let more intimate contact be established between the progressive Jewish cultural creators of America and the Soviet Union! The time is long overdue that a writers' delegation should come from there! The time is long overdue that Nachama Lifshitz, Michael Alexandrovitch and other Jewish artists should perform here!

A visit by the Jewish State Theatre of Poland is also long overdue. It is a pleasure to hear of the visits of this theatre in other countries. It is a great joy to hear of Yiddish cultural activity in Socialist Poland and Rumania. One can only marvel at the work of the Yiddish cultural creators, particularly those of the very small Jewish community in Poland. It is a delight to receive the Warsaw *Folks Shtimme* ("Peoples Voice"), the monthly magazine *Yiddishe Shtriften* ("Yiddish Writings") and the books which the publishing house "Yiddish Buch" issues, and the works of the extremely important Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. We look forward to the time when our own iron curtain here will be lifted and meetings of the progressive Yiddish cultural workers of America and the other capitalist countries with the cultural workers of the Soviet Union will be possible.

WHO PUBLISHES THE "MORNING FREIHEIT?"

In my reports since our 30th Jubilee in 1952 I had occasion to define the type of paper the *Morning Freiheit* is. At

that Jubilee in 1952 our formulation was:

"The *Morning Freiheit* is a progressive Yiddish labor and people's newspaper, a consistently anti-fascist newspaper which expresses the interests of the broadest strata of Jews in America."

At our Conference in 1957 we gave this precise and correct formulation a clearer interpretation:

"The *Morning Freiheit* is a progressive independent Yiddish labor and people's newspaper. The only ones who control this newspaper are you, the representatives of the broad Jewish masses. We are obligated to no one but yourselves."

This clear and correct formulation was confirmed at our Conference in January 1960 and we confirm it again today. The *Morning Freiheit* has one boss — the people represented by yourselves!

SACRED BEHESTS

The April days are approaching. For us these days signify the holiday in honor of the birth of the *Morning Freiheit*, this time, the fortieth birthday. But the month of April brings with it a date which is sacred to all honest Jewish people. In this month we honor the immortal heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto. Recently I had occasion to look into the book of documents of the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw ("Documents and Materials," with an introduction and commentaries by Ber Mark), and I read this testimonial of an unknown hero, Jacob Kortz, who related:

"Early in 1941 there was founded the Worker's and Peasant's Fighting Organization which also had some influence in the Ghetto. The organization in the Ghetto had 150 members who put out a Yiddish paper, the *Morning Freiheit*. This paper had set itself the objective of making the Jewish masses conscious and ready for the common struggle with the Polish people against the Hitler occupiers. This paper encouraged and prepared in particular the working class for this decisive battle." (Pages 39-40).

What an honor it is, how inspiring it is that the fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto, the pioneers, the first harbingers of the struggle, took the name of our newspaper, the newspaper of Olgin and Winchevsky and placed it on the masthead of the front page of their very small mimeographed paper which was self-sacrificingly published in the cellars of Warsaw!

The *Morning Freiheit* went out from the cellars into the street of the Ghetto. *Morning Freiheit* against the murderers of the Jewish people! *Morning Freiheit* against the beasts who sent people into gas chambers! *Morning Freiheit* to encourage, to lift the spirits, to strengthen the hands! *Morning Freiheit* to call all, all, in the bunkers and the attic hideouts, the driven and tormented, the tortured and the humiliated, all, all to the struggle, to resist, to arms, unitedly, Jews of all viewpoints, side by side for the honor of the Jewish people, for the honor of man! What an honor this is for us that they took the name of our newspaper for the sacred struggle. What an honor and what an obligation! How obligated we are to be worthy of the honor they gave us!

So — forward with the luminous, tested banner, the *Morning Freiheit*, to its Fortieth Anniversary. Forward in the struggle which has in it definite features of the struggle of the Warsaw Ghetto — again against nazism, against anti-Semitism, against every form of race hatred, against a world holocaust, a world Hiroshima! And again, unitedly!

In this sacred struggle, forward with the *Morning Freiheit* for the happiness of the people, for the happiness of our America, for the triumph of a world of justice, abundance and culture, for a world of peace secured.

— Translated by SID RESNICK